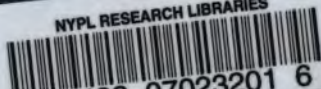


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# ADDRESSES AND ESSAYS

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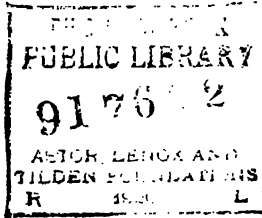
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PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY IN HARVARD  
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NEW YORK ·· CINCINNATI ·· CHICAGO  
AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

(1918)



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MORGAN, ADDRESSES AND ESSAYS.

W. P. I.

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## PREFATORY NOTE

THE contents of this volume, with the exception of the first address, have already appeared in print at intervals during the past seventeen years in the different periodicals which are cited under each title. Consequently they do not form a real unity, for they are sometimes merely the natural outcome of occasions, sometimes the result of more continuous thought bestowed upon a single subject. They are not chronologically arranged. Two addresses dealing with classical study in general are placed first; then something in lighter vein; then certain detached notes followed by longer studies in a Latin author on whom much of my time has been spent for several years; and, finally, I have ventured to add three copies of occasional verse.

CAMBRIDGE, June 28, 1909.

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## ADDRESSES AND ESSAYS



### THE STUDENT OF THE CLASSICS<sup>1</sup>

IN January, 1644, Mr. John Evelyn, an English gentleman who was then on the grand tour of the continent, visited the University of Paris, and afterwards made the following entry in his now famous Diary: 'We found a grave Doctor in his chaire, with a multitude of auditors, who all write as he dictates; and this they call a Course.'

It is obvious that worthy Mr. Evelyn, accustomed to Oxford methods, looked with some suspicion upon this manner of imparting instruction, yet we all know that it is far more prevalent to-day than it was two hundred and sixty years ago, and that it is not confined to the continent of Europe. If the shade of Evelyn ever visits these shores, he finds it flourishing—some might say, 'like a green bay tree'—not far from the place where I am speaking. It is a comfortable method—comfortable for the professor, who can pour forth his accumulated floods of learning undisturbed by the feeling that it is his duty to find out whether his hearers have prepared themselves to appreciate what he is saying,—uninterrupted, also, at least in our larger lecture courses, by questioning from

<sup>1</sup> An address before the Harvard Classical Club, March 2, 1905.

adolescent youth, — and sure that no better authority than himself is present to dispute his dogmas. This last comfortable certainty was not assured in Evelyn's day; for he goes on to record that a Cavalier who was in his party suddenly 'started up, and beginning to argue, he so baffled the Professor that with universal applause they all rose up and did him greate honors, waiting on him to the very streete and our coach, testifying greate satisfaction.'

It might sometimes be well if we professors could feel that we were subject at any moment to correction by a more learned visitor. The present method, however, is comfortable not merely to professors, but also to students. And to these its comfort brings with it a great danger. I do not now refer to the danger of irregularity in work, or to the postponing of serious study of a topic until late in the days of the course and sometimes even to the last few days before the examination is held. This is not in itself dangerous; it may in some cases be even advantageous, if the time thus unemployed in a particular course is systematically given to something better. The danger of which I am thinking is far more fundamental. It is the danger of acquiring certain wrong ideas about methods of learning and about the way in which you can make of yourselves scholars. I say 'make of yourselves.' For you can be perfectly sure of one thing, which is that no teacher, however brilliant or learned, can make scholars of you (whether you want to be philologists or historians or geologists), if you sit passive. To use the terminology of Aristotle, the teacher can, if he is a good teacher, give you 'the how,' but he can never give you 'the what.' He can point to methods, he can 'show you the way wherein

you must walk and the work that you must do,' but then he must leave you to do the work for yourselves. Scholarship cannot be melted up and poured into you, or chopped up fine and spooned into your mouths. You have to chew on it yourselves; you must become metaphorical Fletcherites and chew on it hard and long. But observe a difference: the Fletcherites do their chewing in public, and they are not a pleasant spectacle. He who would become a scholar has to chew in private; all by himself his work has to be done.

Now exactly here I believe lies the great danger of lecture courses,—that the auditors are too apt to think that in the lecture course they are getting the real thing. Far from it! The lecture course can and ought to be nothing but a skeleton. It must be clothed with the flesh and blood, which are the life, by each auditor for himself in private study, if he is to get anything more from the course than the power to pass an examination in it, which is the most unimportant thing of all. From my own observation of life in this and other American universities, I am convinced that the principal failing of American students is the failing to recognize the necessity of this private study. Do not mistake my meaning here. I am not making a plea for specialization or for what is called 'original research.' These, at least in our department, have hardly any rights in the undergraduate curriculum, and even in the Graduate School they should be approached with caution. The reason is that a philologist must be many-sided before he can be one-sided. And in particular he must always remember that a man who means to be a classical philologist must first of all become acquainted

with as much as possible of the contents of the Greek and Latin authors. That is, his reading should have been carried on extensively. As the great scholar Ritschl said: 'It is the fundamental knowledge of the ancient languages which makes the philologist, and marks him off from the mere antiquarian or historian who works with translations.'

And American students should awake to this need of broad reading as early as possible in their careers, because in our preparatory schools the curriculum in classics is so very meagre, compared with that of the schools of England, Germany, and France. Much of the Greek and Latin which we read in our colleges has already been read by English, French, and German boys in their school days. This is, of course, because the general school curriculum in their countries is so much narrower in the number of subjects taught than it is in ours. Whether they or we are wiser, does not now matter. The fact is that they have much more time to give to the reading of Greek and Latin in their schools than we have and so those boys become acquainted with a wider circle of ancient literature. But think how confined ours is,—especially in Greek, where scarcely anything is read except portions of Xenophon's *Anabasis* and portions of Homer. This used not to be the case in America, and the requirements in Greek for admission to Harvard College once called for some acquaintance with many more authors.

As one enters Sanders Theatre and looks up, the first thing to attract the eye is that beautiful window which represents Athene tying a fillet of honor about the top of a Greek column. The window is an appropriate memorial to Cornelius Conway Felton, once professor of Greek and



afterwards president of Harvard College. By the way, his professorship, the Eliot Professorship of Greek Literature, has been held by a line of remarkable men of whom the university is proud, and about whom every student of the classics here ought to know something. I mean Everett, Popkin, Felton, and Goodwin. I have often thought that it would be well if a lecture were occasionally delivered, for the benefit of our younger Harvard men and of students from other colleges, upon the lives and work of our professors in this department. We ought never to forget those who labored here in the days which we sometimes unthinkingly call the 'days of small things.' It does not follow that we are better because we are bigger. By the way again, the second of these Eliot professors, Popkin, seems to have been as early as anybody here to hint at the benefits of an elective system of studies. This was toward the end of the eighteenth century. At one time during his undergraduate life (1788-1792), he became discouraged at his apparent inability to make progress in a certain study which was a part of the required course. And he then wrote in a document called 'Reflections on Myself' the following words: 'This weakness of the intellect, arising from dejection, is a strong instance of a proposition which I have heretofore advanced; namely, that it is a great bar to one's advancement in science to have a constant conviction of his weakness. Hence I inferred that it was a great disadvantage to the cause of literature to oblige every one in a university to attend to studies in which he could not make any progress.'

But to return to Professor Felton: he was the compiler of several useful books, and among them was a Greek

Reader. For thirty years, from 1840 down to 1871, the matter contained in this Reader was the requirement in Greek for admission to Harvard College. What were its contents? Rich in variety. It included twenty-eight prose fables of Aesop, twenty-seven dialogues by Lucian, forty-one pages of selections from Xenophon, ten from Thucydides, thirteen from Lysias, seventeen from Herodotus, thirteen from Homer, as well as selections from Anacreon, Sappho, Simonides, Euripides, Aristophanes, and several other poets.

Now here again there is danger lest you mistake me. I am not suggesting that we ought to go back to Felton's Reader or to adopt any similar collection. I am not even suggesting that we ought to make a change in our requirements for admission to college. I am simply indicating the condition of things as they are. It is clear that those who made a good use of this Reader while in school got a much wider conception of the variety and richness of Greek literature than you got or than I got. I was better off than you in this respect; for I was introduced to Greek through Goodwin's Reader, which contained selections from Xenophon, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato; and, besides this, of course I had Homer. You, or at least the great majority of you, had no prose besides Xenophon.

This being the case, and coming to college, as you do, so limited in your conceptions of what ancient literature contains, the necessity is strong upon you to acquaint yourselves with it. To accomplish this, you are better equipped than our fathers were, unless our modern system of teaching is a failure; for you have had training in what is called 'reading at sight,'—that is, training in

grappling with the difficulties of a new passage without the aid of a lexicon or a grammar. And nothing can take the place of the constant and devoted reading which I am now urging upon you. It may be carried on in one of two ways; in fact, both are desirable. First, there is the exact and careful reading which you do when preparing yourself in some course for the passage which is likely to come up for the day, so as to be able to appreciate what the instructor or other members of the course may say about it, and so as to be ready yourself to contribute your share of information or (quite as valuable) question about this passage. In this kind of reading you work, of course, with all the aids that you can gather round you — lexicon, grammar, commentaries, and commentaries in other languages than English, if you can manage others. And here let me interject a remark which I have made to some of you before. Do not think that you need a teacher or must 'take a course' in order to get a reading knowledge of a language that is new to you. A man with brains who knows Latin and French can by himself in a short time learn enough Italian and Spanish to enable him to use books written in these languages; and anybody who knows English and German can easily learn to read Dutch. As for German, Macaulay learned to read it during his voyage to India, beginning with Luther's translation of the New Testament, — an excellent way in which to learn a new language is this. The Duke of Wellington learned to read Spanish, after his appointment to command in the Peninsula, by using a Spanish translation of the English Prayer Book.

The second way of reading may be called current or

cursory. It is carried on to introduce one's self to the general contents of a new author — to a conception of his style, and to a knowledge of the sort of matter which one may expect to find in him. For one cannot get introduced to all, or even to all the important, authors in the regular college courses. This second way may also be followed in the completion of authors whom you have begun in one of your college courses. Thus, if a student has read six books of Tacitus or six books of Homer under a good teacher, why should he not read all the rest of these authors by himself? As for the method in this cursory kind of reading, you might select the best printed text without notes and push ahead with some impetus, — never thinking, however, of daily progress, — never setting a stint of so many pages to be done each day, which is a method sure to be a failure in the end, as you hasten to finish your day's stint. You may set a certain period of time for daily reading, but never an extent of space. If you find that the author bores you, try another; we cannot all like everything, and of course some Greek and Latin authors are not worth reading at all by the general student. Still, you should at least make the attempt to interest yourself in all the authors whom the world has agreed to call the greatest, and, as you read, you should try to imagine yourself in the author's own time and surroundings.

"*Ἴσως ἂν τις ἔροιτο* — perhaps somebody may ask, 'But where am I to get the time to do this reading?' Some two years ago, an inquiry was made of large numbers of our undergraduates about the time which they found it necessary to devote to regular work on their courses here.

From the replies it did not appear that a very large proportion of a man's time was thus spent ; certainly much was left which could be usefully employed in reading. And then, how about vacations? Did you ever reflect that if the summer vacation is entirely given up to recreation, you have, during your college course, wasted an entire year of life so far as progress in scholarship is concerned? This time ought to be used; I do not mean every day of it, but a reasonable part of it. It is the best time in which to read the authors; it is the time during which the earnest student in England does his hardest reading; and we may well take pattern by his example. For think what an advantage vacation has over term-time. Here at the university we live in the midst of distractions: we hurry from our rooms to the lecture hall; from there to Memorial or to the club; from there to the Soldiers' Field; then perhaps to town for the evening; or if we stay at home, how seldom is it that we get a whole evening to ourselves, without interruption! But in the summer, how much more peaceful and undisturbed we are. Then we can get really intimate with an ancient writer, by having long sessions with him, and it is with him as with a man of to-day: only by sitting long with him can one come to that intimate friendship which enables one to get the best which he has to give. Take Livy, for instance: on what terms are you with him? 'Oh!' you say, 'I had him when I was a freshman,'—as forsooth you might say, 'I had measles,'—as if Livy were a sort of disease which you were glad to get over. But this is not knowing Livy. Have you ever seen him wink his eye at you?—as, for instance, when he is telling how the Roman king shouted

out a sham order to his own troops very loudly, in order to deceive the enemy. This, of course, was in the ancient legend which Livy was following, but he knew perfectly well that the enemy, being Etruscans, would not have understood the King's language; he recalled, however, that among them were some troops from the town of Fidenae, which had been made a Roman colony but had revolted and joined the Etruscans again. So he throws in the remark: 'magna pars Fidenatum, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant.' Who cannot see him wink as he wrote these words? Who can have anything but a feeling of pity for our principal German commentator whose absolute lack of a sense of humor is shown by his solemn note: 'The Etruscans, except these, did not understand the Latin language; see 9, 36, 3.' I have never felt the need of seeing 9, 36, 3. I am willing to grant, without looking it up, that *they* didn't, and that the people of Fidenae didn't, and that Livy *knew* that the people of Fidenae didn't,—and I would add that this was exactly why he threw in the statement that they *did*. Is it necessary to put up a signboard with a printed notice, 'The following is a joke'? It seems so, for many Europeans; but let not us Americans be so stolid.

And further, let us not be led by passages like this into the mistaken notion that Livy, as an historian, had no critical sense. It is a notion which is far too prevalent in our times; our editions of Livy and our histories of Latin literature are impregnated with it. Sometimes one feels as if many of these modern critics had never read Livy himself with any thoughtfulness. The fact is that Livy is extremely careful to tell us that what he is relating in his

early books is wholly legendary, and that there was no possible way to make it anything else. That is to say, he realized, as fully as do his modern critics, the insufficiency of evidence for the early period, — more fully perhaps, for he knew that there was no evidence to be got, while they censure him for not finding evidence, though they are very careful not to tell where it was to be found. Thus in his preface to the History he says : ‘ As for the traditions touching what took place before the city was founded or designed, things rather the fruit of poetic fiction than founded upon any pure records of facts, I intend neither to affirm nor to deny them.’ That is, he intends no more than to give his reader the legends as he finds them. Then, again, at the very opening of his sixth book, which follows immediately upon his account of the capture of Rome by the Gauls, he warns the reader against the credibility of the whole work down to this point, when he says : ‘ I have already given you an account in five books from the time that the city of Rome was built to the capture of it, first treating what happened under the kings, then under their consuls, dictators, decemvirs, and consular tribunes, what wars they had abroad and what seditions at home, — all of which are matters of obscurity, not only because of their great antiquity, which renders them hardly to be seen when we look back, as it were, through great vistas of space, but also because writings, the only faithful records of events, were in those days few and rare, and because even the descriptions that may have existed in the commentaries of the pontiffs or in other public and private records were destroyed when the city was burned.’ And again, in the seventh book, after relating two contradictory versions of a

legend, he says: 'I should not fail to follow it up, if there were any true way of investigating the truth of this matter.' And this attitude of scepticism is not confined to the earliest books: we find it cropping out again and again, even so late as in the thirty-eighth book, dealing with the year 187 B.C. We see, therefore, that Livy was far from being the uncritical and unintelligent thinker that modern writers have so often called him: <sup>1</sup> he had the sense to see, what many moderns have not had the sense to see, that it would have been futile for him to attempt to restore the lost facts, and he was too honest to pretend to be able to do so. Furthermore, we must always remember that we have only portions of Livy's work, or rather only some of the earlier forty-five books. These carry us down to 167 B.C. and cover the period of five hundred and eighty-six years. But there were nearly one hundred more books when the work was complete. And of these hundred, thirty-four dealt with a period of only forty-two years, from 53 to 9 B.C. It is therefore obvious that as Livy began to reach times of which he could write with some hope of reporting actual facts, his work grew vastly more detailed, and this, coupled with the scepticism which led him to treat early events in the more sketchy and general manner in which he *does* treat them, shows that if the later books were extant, we should have in them a trustworthy source of knowledge for the later period.

But enough of Livy for the present. I have shown,

<sup>1</sup> See Professor A. A. Howard's learned and convincing remarks, written since this lecture was delivered, on the unscientific manner in which modern critics have charged Livy with dependence upon Valerius Antias: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1906, xvii, 161 ff.



I hope, by this example that we must learn to know the ancient writers by living with them, not by getting our knowledge of them from lectures or from histories of literature. It is only through constant association with a writer that one can get a true conception of what his work is as a human document; only this enables one to utter such final verdicts as, for instance, that of Tennyson on Pindar, when he says: 'Pindar is a kind of Australian poet; that is, he has long tracts of gravel with immensely large nuggets of gold imbedded therein.' Or again, when of Virgil he says: 'People accuse Virgil of plagiarizing, but if a man made it his own, there was no harm in that. Look at the other 'great poets, Shakspeare included.' Here we have an extremely pithy and acute remark by one who had, I suppose, a truer appreciation of the greatness of Virgil as a poet than anybody who has ever lived since Dante. It really says in two dozen words, if you know how to interpret them, all that is to be found in the two dozen pages devoted to this point by a recent writer of *Studies in Virgil*.<sup>1</sup> The fact is, as Mr. Glover puts it, that we are not much helped to a real judgment on Virgil by the information that he took certain words or verses or episodes from this or that earlier poet. Rather should we ask ourselves: how far did this or that earlier poet influence the *mind* of Virgil? More, for instance, than North's Plutarch influenced the mind of Shakspeare? Was the poet's outlook on life affected? Was his habitual mode of expressing himself turned into nothing but repetition of the thought and the language of others? When such is

<sup>1</sup> By T. R. Glover. From the second chapter of this excellent book I have drawn several of the following thoughts.

the issue of literary influence, we can see what Carlyle meant when he spoke of imitation as the deadliest of poetical sins. But when this is not the issue, as Mr. Glover shows that it was not in the case of Virgil, then we realize the truth of Goethe's dictum that 'to make an epoch in the world two conditions are essential, — a good head and a good inheritance.' It was because Virgil had associated so intimately and so long with the greatest minds of the past that he was able to assimilate what was best in their minds with the original genius of his own, and so to produce a poem which, more than all the rest of Latin literature, has influenced the succeeding literature which is our inheritance. And it is ours to use. Therefore, do not neglect to use it.

But our field of classical philology is an extremely wide one, and there are many other things to be done in it besides the reading of the authors. Although I have uttered a warning against the idea that much in the way of real research can be done by a student while at the university, still a student may well begin, as we say in our department pamphlet, even in his Junior or Senior year, 'to devote a portion of his time to the study of some topic which requires independent reading and the collection and comparison of evidence from various sources.' To this purpose he may make his cursory kind of reading subsidiary. He may be on the watch, as he reads, for light which may be got on some subject or subjects in which he has become particularly interested. Notes upon this may be jotted down on the fly leaves of the book, or he may set up a notebook or a series of small notebooks in which to enter such hints as he comes upon them. But beware of getting

so carried away by a subject as to feel that it is the all-important thing, or to see it where it does not belong. The late Professor Lane used to tell a story about a young American who went to a German university years ago, bearing a letter of introduction to a then famous scholar. He presented it, and after the first words of welcome, the great man asked, 'And now, my young friend, what are your opinions on the theories and the text of the *Scriptores Gromatici*?' Needless to say that the youth had never heard of these obscure writers, with whom the learned professor passed most of his days and nights. And you may also take warning from the case of Mr. Dick in *David Copperfield*. You recollect that he had a fixed idea that in some mysterious way the head of King Charles the First was mixed up with his own fate, and that consequently King Charles's head always would make its appearance in everything he tried to write. Something of the sort seems to have happened to a certain living English writer; the Orphic mysteries are the King Charles's head in this case, and they are constantly cropping out in places where they have no business to be. To come closer home, I am myself at present accused of seeing the hand of the Roman architect Vitruvius as a sort of sign pointing the way to all that I do or say. I shall refute this slander by saying nothing on the present occasion about him, although, as Cicero remarked about the ichneumon: 'possum de Vitruvi utilitate multa dicere, sed nolo esse longus.'

But what are some of the topics to which a student may begin to devote some special study even during his undergraduate days, or which he may take up as a graduate student and perhaps develop into a dissertation for the doctor-

ate? It is hard to give general advice, for men's tastes differ so much, and so do their capacities for different kinds of work; but let us look at some of the divisions in our field of classical philology. Well, then, there are private antiquities, that is, studies in subjects relating to the everyday life of the Greeks and Romans; for instance, the kinds of shoes<sup>1</sup> worn by the Greeks, or the varieties of vehicles used by the Romans. These are topics which would call for the study both of literary and material monuments; or, of an entirely different kind and calling for the use of the literature only, such a topic as the mothers of eminent Greeks or Romans. What sort of persons were these mothers? What influence had they on their sons? We have all read of the mother of Euripides; something we all know about the mother of Demosthenes. Cornelia counting her jewels is a classic; the Empress Livia is another. Horace does not mention his mother; she is a mystery; perhaps there was a romance in her match; for it seems impossible that Horace should have inherited much except common sense from that hard-headed old person, his father, the freedman. Cicero does not mention his mother, but his brother Quintus refers to her in a passage which throws light upon her carefulness as a housekeeper. And we know that the two brothers were rather finicky creatures about their country houses. Then another subject in private life, a little one, is the question whether the ancients had barrels with staves and hoops. This has been both affirmed and denied, but never thoroughly investigated.

Turn to another field: ancient religion. Here a large

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bryant's article in the *Harvard Studies*, 1899, x, is confined to the classical period.

subject awaiting attention is the Roman festival of the Saturnalia, its ceremonies, their origins, and particularly their survivals. On the Greek side it would be a grateful task if somebody would collect everything that is to be found about the Orphic mysteries, and then publish it without a single change or comment of his own, so that we could for once see what has been transmitted by the ancients themselves on this difficult theme, without any modern scholar's attempts to explain or to alter it. Again, a shorter investigation might be on the Roman religious feeling, or superstition if you prefer to say so, about lightning. Old man Cato remarks, 'If your villa be struck by lightning, let there be utterances about the case.'<sup>1</sup> What sort of utterances? If a piece of ground that was struck by lightning had to be walled off and set apart from profane use, what about a human being who was struck and survived, like Anchises and Augustus? This question, if we may trust the elder Pliny, would not arise in the case of other animals; for a dumb animal is always killed, while the human being alone among animals can survive a stroke of lightning.

But to pass to another field: take political history. Here are, for instance, studies to be made in the history of specially prominent families; one, the Claudian, has already been treated by a Harvard doctor.<sup>2</sup> No doubt Professor Howard has still some questions about the Roman senate that need attention. In legal antiquities a good deal remains to be done; for instance, in the domain of Greek testamentary law and the rights of inheritance, as

<sup>1</sup> *R. R.*, 14, 3.

<sup>2</sup> G. C. Fiske, 'The Politics of the Patrician Claudii,' *Harvard Studies*, 1902, xiii.

every student of Isaeus knows. In military antiquities it has lately been suggested that we need a study of the development and changes in Roman tactics, while Professor Gummere has pointed out in his *Beginnings of Poetry* that some one ought to investigate the nature of the Greek Pyrrhic and other war dances.

The subject of grammar is always clamoring for attention, and here I think that a beginning ought to be made toward the production of a work on the grammar of Latin inscriptions, similar to that of Meisterhans for Greek, — a thesaurus giving the facts without anybody's theories. A little topic, but a troublesome one, in Greek grammar might be an inquiry into the usage, as found in inscriptions and manuscripts (*not* in the emended texts which we use) of the words *ποῖ, ποῦ, ὅποι, ὅπου*, and the like, with a view to determine, if possible, whether the distinctions laid down by grammarians in regard to these words are borne out by usage. Emended texts are constantly giving us great trouble, and perhaps in no field such great trouble as in the field of metrical studies, which are now beginning to receive fresh attention along new lines. Our printed texts, particularly those of Greek plays, so swarm with emendations which have been perpetrated to make the metre conform to modern ideas, that it is really very difficult to test the value of the new theories from our printed books. The late Dr. Hayley often said that it would be a great boon if somebody would give us a printed edition of all the Greek choruses without admitting a single emendation made for the sake of the metre, so that we could take a fresh start from the manuscript tradition.

Finally, there are many topics in the history of Greek

and Roman literature in which good work can be done by young scholars. These must be constantly cropping up in all the advanced courses which you are taking, and not merely in the formal courses on that history. Note down such topics as they are mentioned, and consider whether you are attracted to the study of some one of them. Then new fragments of the old writers, which call for careful study, are not infrequently discovered, especially in recent years at Oxyrhynchus, where the rubbish heaps have yielded so many interesting papyri. Perhaps I cannot better close these remarks of mine than by telling you something about the contents of two of these which have interested me. They are the certificate of the offering of a pagan sacrifice and the argument of a lost play by the comic poet Cratinus. Both are to be found in the fourth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, published last summer. What I shall say is not the result of much 'original research' on my part, but only a report for your information.

You all know the letter written by Pliny to the Emperor Trajan, in which he describes the trials of persons accused of being Christians, and you recollect that he obliged persons who wished to prove that they were not Christians, to perform acts of worship before the pagan divinities. This kind of test was continued in later times, and a person who had passed the test found it convenient to be provided with evidence that he had passed it, so as not to have to submit to it again. This would be particularly convenient at times of organized persecutions of the Christians. The evidence took the form of a certificate, signed and sealed by magistrates, which a man could

carry about with him and exhibit in case he were accused of being a Christian. We already knew something about such certificates from a passage in the Christian writer Cyprianus (*Ep.* 55) of the third century, from which it appears that real Christians sometimes bribed magistrates to give bogus certificates, and thus protected themselves without actually passing the test of a pagan sacrifice. But the actual form of the certificate was not known until discoveries of papyri began to be made in Egypt. About ten years ago, fragments of two certificates were found in the Fayûm,<sup>1</sup> and now a third has appeared at Oxyrhynchus. All these resemble each other, showing that they were prepared according to a set formula. This one from Oxyrhynchus is of the time of the Emperor Decius, whose persecution of the Christians, in 250 A.D., was one of the most rigorous. It is written in Greek, and may be translated as follows:—

‘To those in charge of the offerings and sacrifices at the city, from Aurelius, son of Theodorus and Pantonymis, of the aforesaid city. I have always continued to sacrifice and pour libations to the gods, and now also I have in your presence, in accordance with the ordinance, poured libations and sacrificed and tasted the offerings, together with my son Aurelius Dioscorus and my daughter Aurelia Lais. I therefore request you to subscribe to this. In the first year of Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, the 20th of the month Paṓni.’

Here the fragment ends, only a letter or two remaining of the part where the magistrates probably subscribed.

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Theol. Literaturz.*, 1894, 38 and 162.



Pliny specifically mentions two points in the test which are not noted in this document, — that he required the suspected Christians to worship not only the pagan gods in general, but also the image of the emperor, and that he required them to blaspheme the name of our Lord. The former of these acts may indeed be covered in our certificate by the words ‘the gods.’ The certificate otherwise conforms to what we should expect from Pliny’s requirements, and it would be a useful part of a commentary on that author.

The other papyrus fragment is far more interesting and valuable. I mean the argument to a lost comedy of Cratinus. In our histories of Greek literature, this poet stands chronologically fourth in the list of Athenian writers of comedy. Only about twenty verses have survived to us from all the plays of his three predecessors, and nothing but vague guesses can be made about the plots of their plays. But when we reach Cratinus, we find many more fragments surviving; nearly four hundred verses are printed in Kock’s collection of the comic fragments, and we know the names of more than a score of his plays. From the fragments and from what other ancient writers tell us about him, we can form a fair idea of his style, of his conception of comedy, and of his literary character; but when we try to discover the actual plots of his plays, we are very much at a loss and have to resort to all sorts of conjectures, so that two scholars rarely reach the same conclusion about them. To be sure, we learn something about his *Pytine* or *Flask* from a scholion to the *Knights* of Aristophanes, but it is only how in this play he dealt with certain literary questions touching his own atti-

tude toward comedy, and it really helps us hardly at all towards the details of the plot. Fancy, therefore, the delight of scholars when they learned that an argument to one of his plays had been found at Oxyrhynchus! This play turns out to be the *Dionysalexandros*, or *Dionysus Alexander*. A dozen short fragments of the play itself have long been known, but they threw no light at all upon the plot, so that previous to this discovery there was nothing upon which to base conjectures about it, except the title of the play. This title led Meineke to state, though with much hesitation, that the comedy dealt with Alexander the Great, and he believed that it was written by a younger Cratinus, not by the early poet. So also had Casaubon guessed, two hundred years before. Kock, however, conjectured that by Alexandros was meant Paris, the Trojan hero, and he assigned the play to the great Cratinus, pointing to other mythological characters appearing in the titles of his plays, such as Odysseus, Nemesis, and Tryphonius. This conjecture was not original with Kock, for it had been put forth in a forgotten article by one Grauert,<sup>1</sup> though Kock seems not to have known the fact. The question is now settled in favor of Grauert's idea by the Oxyrhynchus argument, which I shall proceed to describe — merely mentioning in passing that the literature of this new subject is still very small. I know of only three articles besides the original publication; one by Maurice Croiset in the *Revue des Études Grecques* (1904, xvii, 297 ff.), one by Körte in the *Hermes* (1904, xxxix, 481 ff.), and the third, in the form of a brief note, by

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, 1828, ii, 62.

Rutherford in the *Classical Review* (1904, xviii, 440).<sup>1</sup> From them I have drawn much of what follows here.

The new argument seems to have consisted originally of three columns of writing. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus includes the whole of the third and most of the second, but the first is lost. Fortunately, however, the title of the play and the name of the author are written at the top of the third column. Our argument shows that the chorus in the play consisted of satyrs, and that the plot was a perversion or burlesque of the story of the rape of Helen in which Dionysus took the place of Paris; hence the title. The papyrus begins with a few mutilated words from which we can gather only that there was probably a search for somebody, and that Hermes did something—perhaps left the scene. Then the rest of the argument is perfectly intelligible, and runs thus:—

‘And these, turning to the spectators’ (*πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς*, a regular phrase used of the parabasis, so that the writer of the argument is evidently now describing this part of the play; ‘these’ are therefore the chorus of satyrs) ‘talk about the getting of sons’ (what this means we shall later see) ‘and on the appearance of Dionysus they mock at him and scoff at him. But he, being offered by Hera a sovereignty not to be shaken, by Athene good fortune in war, and by Aphrodite the prospect of becoming most beautiful and much beloved, adjudges the victory to this last.’

<sup>1</sup> I had not seen Wilamowitz's discussion (*Gött. G. A.*, 1904, clxvi, 665) when I thus spoke, but I have now added something from it on p. 31. Since this lecture was delivered, Blass, Perdrizet, and Thieme (*Quaest. Com. ad Periclem pertinentia cap. tria*, Diss., Leipz., 1908, where a bibliography is given) have written on this subject, without adding much that is new to the part of it which I have here discussed.

Here we see that in this play Dionysus was the judge in what is commonly called the 'judgment of Paris.' The judgment took place on Mt. Ida, as the next sentence of the argument will show. The chorus of satyrs were witnesses of it, and no doubt a good deal of fun, sometimes licentious, was made. The offer of Aphrodite to make Dionysus irresistible, is different from the usual story in which she offers the fairest of women to Paris. We cannot tell exactly how it came about that Dionysus, and not Paris, acted as the judge. This was no doubt made clear in the missing first column of the argument, and in the play it may have been worked out in a comic vein. Perhaps when the goddesses arrived, Paris turned out to be too wise<sup>1</sup> a man to undertake the invidious job of deciding among them, and perhaps then it was somehow learned that Dionysus was in the neighborhood. At the beginning of our fragment is what seems to be a mutilated part of the verb ζῆτέω, 'to search after.' Perhaps Hermes went in search of him or of Paris, and, not finding Paris, took Dionysus, or perhaps Dionysus pretended to be Paris. However, the argument proceeds as follows: 'After this, Dionysus sailed to Lacedaemon, carried off Helen, and comes back again to Ida.' This does not necessarily mean that the scene changed. It is more probable that he went off, and that then the chorus sang an ode; or perhaps some dialogue took place, as in the *Acharnians* when Amphitheus goes to Sparta and returns between verses 133 and 175. The return of Dionysus with his prize, the beautiful

<sup>1</sup> In the play, of course I mean, not in the real myth, where his reluctance is naturally explainable by man's terror at seeing a divinity face to face; cf. Perdrizet, *Rev. des Études Grecques*, 1905, vii, 112 f.

Helen, would afford an opportunity for a personal exhibition of her charms, with, no doubt, a good deal of comment upon them, not altogether too modest, — such, in fact, as we find in the *Peace* between Trygaeus and his ladies. Our argument goes on : ‘ But soon afterwards, having learned that the Achaeans were wasting the country with fire, he takes refuge with Alexander, and, having hidden Helen in a basket as if she were a . . . ’ (here a word is missing at the end of a line. The editors of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri suggest τυρόν, *cheese*; the word for basket in the argument is τάλαιος, and we know that cheese was sometimes kept in a τάλαιος, for instance from the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. With greater probability Körte suggests ὄρνιθ, *bird*, as τάλαιος seems to mean *bird cage* in a passage in Athenaeus, or χήνα, *goose*, remembering Helen’s birth from an egg. But whatever Dionysus pretended that Helen was, the argument proceeds :) ‘ and having disguised himself as a ram, he awaits the issue.’ To this scene must belong, I think, although Croiset does not, a line preserved by several ancient writers, and by them expressly attributed to this play: —

ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος ὡς περ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίξει  
 ‘ The silly fellow walks, saying *baa baa* like a sheep.’

What fun there must have been in this scene. This Dionysus is the very twin brother of the Dionysus of the first part of the *Frogs*—a perfect buffoon. I may also remark, *à propos* of this verse, that our argument teaches us once more how very dangerous it is to try to emend fragments and to bend them to suit one’s theories. It is only ten years ago that a learned man, proposing an emendation of this verse in a well-known learned journal,

wrote these words : ' It is hardly conceivable that a person, however foolish or silly, could walk about saying *baa baa* - ' The argument goes on : ' But Alexander appears and detects them both, and gives orders to take them to the ships, with the intention of handing them over to the Achaeans. But Helen shrinks from this, and so he took pity on her and keeps her to be his wife, but sends off Dionysus to be handed over. The satyrs accompany Dionysus, encouraging him and saying that they would never desert him.' Could there be a better travesty of mythology than this? Paris kindly consenting, out of pity, to marry the most beautiful woman in the world, after she has been boxed up in a cage or shut in a basket, and poor Dionysus led off — perhaps still disguised as a ram — to be handed over to punishment. Truly a good take-off on the 'sorrows of Dionysus,' as we hear of them in early tragedy.

But this is not the end of our argument. There remains one more sentence which contains a great surprise. So far, the comedy has appeared to be nothing but pure burlesque, and it reminds one very much of our own invertebrate comic operas. But now comes the following sentence, with which the argument ends : ' In this drama Pericles is satirized (*κωμωδείται*) very plausibly by innuendo for having brought the war upon the Athenians.' Here is an astonishing statement ; for who would ever have imagined, from the rest of the argument and far less from the fragments of the play itself, that there was any political satire in this comedy. But now we suddenly learn that here, as in his *Thraatae* and in his *Chirones*, Cratinus attacked the leader of the party to which his own political

chief, Cimon, had been opposed. And we learn also that the comedy was brought out after the Peloponnesian War had begun. How, then, was the satire managed? Croiset suggests an answer to this question upon the following lines: —

The words of the argument, 'having heard that the Achaeans were laying waste the country,' suggest the first invasion of Attica by the Spartans in the summer of 431, as described by Thucydides (2, 19). In the comedy a messenger perhaps related to Dionysus the coming of the Achaeans, and his description of what they were doing would recall to the audience what had happened when the Spartans came. The invasion in the comedy was due to the carrying off of Helen by Dionysus. What Athenian gossip said about the libertine behavior of Pericles as a cause of the Peloponnesian War, is well known to us from Plutarch (*Per.* 13 and 32) and Aristophanes (*Ach.* 527). Dionysus acts like a coward in the comedy when he hears of the approach of the Achaeans, and Pericles was charged by his enemies with cowardice in 431 and 430 (Thuc. 2, 21; Plut. *Per.* 33). Then again it has been pointed out by Wilamowitz that the handing over of Dionysus in the comedy to the Achaeans is an allusion to the demand of the Spartans that Pericles as one of the accused descendants of Cylon should be driven out of Athens (Thuc. 1, 126 f.). Finally, if you accept, as I have done, Rutherford's brilliant explanation of the reading at the beginning of our argument, where the chorus 'talks about the getting of sons,' you have perhaps an allusion to the project for admitting the younger Pericles (the son of Pericles by Aspasia) to full citizenship in Athens, a project under foot in 430 B.C. And from all this satirizing of Pericles, we can perhaps, as

Croiset suggests, arrive at the date of the performance of the comedy. Plutarch (*Per.* 33) quotes some anapaests by Hermippus, the contemporary comic poet, directed against Pericles, which thus begin :—

‘Oh, king of the satyrs, why refusest thou  
To raise thy spear,— and yet  
Dost utter dreadful words about the war?’

Accepting the conjecture of Kock and Meineke that these verses come from Hermippus’s comedy of the *Moirae*, and conjecturing, from what Plutarch says, that they were written in the year 430, Croiset asks : ‘But why is Pericles called king of the satyrs? Our play by Cratinus shows us. He had lately appeared as such on the stage, being the Dionysus of Cratinus’s comedy. We may therefore perhaps conclude that the *Dionysalexandros* was produced at the Lenaea in 430 B.C.’

If this conclusion is correct (and certainly it is both probable and attractive), then this work of Cratinus is the oldest Greek comedy of the plot of which we have any detailed information. The oldest extant play by Aristophanes, the *Acharnians*, was produced, as you know, five years later. However it may be about the date,<sup>1</sup> here is one thing which we can say with certainty : this is the only fifth century Athenian comedy on a mythological subject of the details of which we really know anything at all. Finally, the discovery of this argument teaches us once again how dangerous it is to work up a theory of the contents of a lost work from the chance fragments of it that may have survived. For even now that we know what the play is about, there is only one of the dozen fragments of

<sup>1</sup> Thieme, p. 29, prefers the year 429.



it which we can fit into the plot with any sort of certainty. How much more untrustworthy, then, must be the results in the cases of most lost plays, of the plots of which we know nothing! More than thirty years ago, Leo said: 'fieri non potest ut atticæ comoediæ ullius argumentum e fragmentis refingatur.'

I recognize that these remarks of mine to-night have been somewhat rambling; but they could not be other than rambling, for I had no definite idea of what I was going to write when I began this address. As I end it, however, let me not violate a principle which I am often trying to impress upon some of you — that one should always summarize one's results at the end of a piece of work. In these remarks, then, I have intended first to emphasize the importance of private study without dependence upon the immediate presence of a teacher, and I have mentioned some of the lines in which such study can be carried on, and how it can be carried on. Particularly I have insisted upon the need of wide reading in the Greek and Latin authors and the advantage of getting upon as intimate terms with them as you possibly can. While warning you against the dangers of too early specialization, I have suggested examples of topics upon which even an undergraduate may well begin to think for himself. And by referring to the Oxyrhynchus papyri, I have indicated that, although some people have a notion that the field of classical study has already been worked out, yet this field is constantly offering something new to those who know where to look. Let me, therefore, close with a word of good cheer from Demosthenes: *σχεδὸν εἶρηχ' ἂ νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δ' εἰλοισθ' ὅ τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἅπασι συνοίσειν ὑμῖν μέλλει.*

## THE TEACHER OF THE CLASSICS<sup>1</sup>

ON the 24th of May, 1660, Mr. Samuel Pepys, the great English annalist, made the following entry in his Diary:—

‘Up, and *made* myself as fine as I could, with the lining stockings on and wide canons that I bought the other day at Hague.’

But some time later we find the following entry:—

‘31st. — To church; and with my mourning very handsome, and new periwig, *make* a great show.’

Is there a tailor among us, or lover of fine clothes, who can tell us whether there is anything much more animating in a suit of mourning and a periwig than in a pair of imported stockings with wide canons? If not, why should Mr. Pepys have used the present tense ‘make’ in his narrative of the one, but the past tense ‘made’ in his narrative of the other?

Let us now go back some two thousand years and examine the familiar opening lines of Xenophon’s *Anabasis*:—

‘To Darius and Parysatis *are born* two sons, the elder Artaxerxes, and the younger Cyrus.’ But in the next sentence: ‘Now when Darius lay sick and suspected that his end was nigh, he *wished* both his sons to be with him.’

Why does the narrator put the commonplace registry of

<sup>1</sup> An address before the New York Latin Club, November 12, 1902; first published in *The Latin Leaflet*, 1903, No. 61, 62, 64, 65.

birth into the present tense, but employ the past to describe the longing of a dying father for his sons?

Here are questions in seeking answer to which we get but cold comfort from the school grammars, Greek or Latin, which we teachers have been so faithfully fumbling these many years. One tells us that the present is employed 'to give a more animated statement of past events'; another that it is used 'as a lively representation of the past'; a third informs us that 'this usage, common in all language, comes from imagining past events as going on before our eyes.' One of the very latest says: 'In vivid narration the speaker may for the moment feel that he is living the past over again and so may use the present tense in describing events already past.' Then follow three examples, and the third is the first sentence in the *Anabasis*! What? Did Xenophon feel that he was 'living over again' the days when Parysatis was brought to bed of her two sons? Is Livy's soul enthralled by the vividness of past events when he gives us in his third chapter that long line of reigns and genealogies:—

*'Silvius deinde regnat; is Aeneam Silvium creat. Agrippa inde regnat. Proca deinde regnat; is Numitorem procreat; Numitori regnum Silvae gentis legat.'*

Not one whit more, I warrant, than the Evangelist when he wrote, using the *past* tense: 'Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren.'

But I am sure that I need not press this point further, for it must be perfectly obvious to you that the present tense in the sentences which I have quoted from Pepys, from Xenophon, and from Livy is not accounted for

under the usual treatment of the *Historical Present* in our schoolbooks. The term itself is a bad one, for it does not suggest the vivid narration of past events which it undoubtedly is the function of the present tense sometimes to express; and the explanations are defective because they do not account for the statement, in this tense, of dull, inanimate, historical facts. It must be clear that we have here two distinct usages which ought not to be confused and treated under the same head in a single section of a grammar. There is nothing very new in what I am saying; and I fancy that the distinction which should be drawn is familiar to not a few of you. If I repeat it here, it is because new school grammars and editions of the authors continue to ignore it, and because I remember how absurdly inconsistent the section on the historical present and the examples under it used to seem to me in the grammars which I studied when I was a schoolboy. The distinction was drawn by Professor Lane in his Latin Grammar, and it is recognized by Professor Gildersleeve in his invaluable new book on the Syntax of Classical Greek. Into the question whether the two kinds of presents are the same in origin or not, I do not now enter. I am talking now merely of usage by the Greek and Latin authors in their writings as we have them; not of the origins of usage. And I will venture here to pause and to interject the remark that I am strongly of opinion that some of us are attaching too much attention to 'origins' in a good many departments of our teaching. The first and all-important thing is that our pupils, whether in schools or in colleges, should be able to read the authors with understanding and appreciation; and it will in gen-

eral be found that this twofold task — and particularly the latter part of it, the appreciation of the authors — is all that a schoolboy, or a college student, until he gets a good deal more than halfway through his college course, can accomplish. He ought to be taught what each word or phrase meant to the writer who penned it; he need know nothing about the semi-civilized Indo-European who first mouthed it out, or something like it. He must know the manners and customs of the time about which he is studying, not necessarily their evolution up from prehistoric man. It matters very little to him how the adjective *nobilis* is formed; whether from *no-* and *-bilis* or from a hypothetical *\*nobus* and *-ilis*; but it ought to be impressed upon him that the word doesn't mean *noble* at all; just as he ought to know that when people called Cicero a *novus homo*, they didn't mean that he was a *bourgeois* or of a low, mean family. And so with our present tense; never mind its origin till much later, if ever; but let us make sure that our students see what it indicates.

There is, then, in the usage of the Greek and Latin authors an *Annalistic* or *Notebook* present, which is employed in brief historical or personal memoranda, 'to note incidents day by day or year by year as they occur.' Of this present I have given examples already, and those of you who keep diaries make use of it very often. And there is also a *Present of Vivid Narration*, a rhetorical device, used consciously to represent with animation a past action as if it were going on at the time of writing. One of the best examples of this kind of present is to be found in the first book of the *Aeneid* in the description of that storm which Aeolus blows up at the request of Juno: —

'When this was said, with spear reversed he smote the mountain on its side; and instantly the winds, as it were a battle line, rush forth and sweep over the lands in a cyclone. They've settled on the sea (observe the perfect definite), and Eurus and Notus side by side upheave it all from its very bottom — Africus, too, teeming with the hurricane — and huge are the waves which they roll to the strand. Then ensues the cry of men and the creaking of cordage. Clouds of a sudden pluck away the daylight from the Teucrians' eyes; dark night broods upon the sea. The heaven hath thundered (perfect definite again) and the ether flashes with fire on fire.'

Wonderful indeed is the vivifying effect of this present when it is rightly used and in moderation. It can be overworked: witness those English novels written by 'The Duchess,' a great favorite, I believe, with the ladies, though, of course, men never read her. I am told that the present of vivid narration is the only tense which she employs. But we must beware of seeing a vivid present where it is not really found; and this brings me to another passage which stands a little earlier in the same book of the Aeneid.

The goddess Juno, you remember, utters an impassioned complaint at the apparent escape of the Trojans from her vengeance, and then:—

*Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans,  
Nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus austris,  
Aeoliam venit.*

'To Aeolia doth she come.' Here indeed in *venit* we do have an example of the present of vivid narration. But what follows? I translate thus: 'Here, in a cavern huge,  
with a great

King Aeolus subdues unto his rule the struggling winds and sounding tempests, bridling them with chains and in a dungeon. They in resentment chafe about the barriers while the mountain mightily resounds; high in his hold sits Aeolus, sceptre in hand, and calms their spirits and abates their angry passions.' Now it is not uncommon to hear these six presents, *premit, frenat, fremunt, sedet, mollit, and temperat* explained as historical presents, like *venit*; but they are far from being such. The passage contains a description of the functions of the god of the winds, who is, of course, thought of by the poet as an active existing divinity. He is part of the machinery of the gods, and any ancient reader of Virgil who believed in the imported Greek mythology must believe in Aeolus along with the rest. No room for a historical present here, for we are dealing with pure present time. And the next sentence, as it happens, contains a point of syntax which is, in my opinion, constantly misinterpreted even in our best editions. It reads thus:—

*Ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum  
Quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.*

'Imagine him not doing so, they would surely whirl along with them impetuously seas, lands, and the deep vault of heaven, and sweep them through the air.'

This conditional sentence is not a 'condition contrary to fact'; it does not denote unfulfilled or non-occurrent action. It is true that in the old Latin of Plautus we do find such conditions sometimes expressed by the present subjunctive; it is true also that we find in Augustan poets, perhaps in Virgil, some imitations of this usage. But ours

is not one of them ; it is nothing but the common use of the subjunctive in a future condition ; it is equivalent to 'If he should cease to restrain them, they would whirl forth.'

And there is another very striking example of this same sort of a present subjunctive, also introduced by *ni*, in the sixth book of the Aeneid, which is also wrongly interpreted as a contrary to fact condition in many editions. It is the more interesting to us to-day because it is preceded by an excellent example of the present of vivid narration, and indeed the whole passage is animate with life. Aeneas and the Sibyl have begun their descent to Hades ; and the poet first sketches in a few verses the awful shapes that meet their eyes — Fear, Famine, the Furies, the tree of dreams, the stables of the centaurs, Chimaera, Hydra, and Gorgons. In telling of all these he uses that same present tense which he used in his account of Aeolus — the *real* present, for they are as truly existent as Aeolus himself. But in the next verse comes the picture of Aeneas' sudden fright. The first word is a present tense, *corripit*, no longer a true present, but the present of vivid narration :—

*Corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum  
Aeneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert,  
Et, ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas  
Admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,  
Irruat, et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.*

'Here in the terror of sudden alarm Aeneas plucks forth his brand and presents the drawn point at them as they come, and let not his wise mentor warn him that they are but semblances of lives without flesh, flitting in hollow mockery of form, he would be charging them and beating



the shadows this way and that with his brand, and all in vain.'

Could anything be more vividly put? It is hardly translatable<sup>1</sup> in its lively anticipation into our sober English tongue. How can an editor find it in his heart to note: 'the present subjunctive is used here for the imperfect in a condition contrary to fact'? Virgil, I warrant, never dreamed of such a thing. How could he, starting with a vivid present, follow it up with the self-denying ordinance of a contrary to fact idea?

But with regard to these clauses with *ni*, there is perhaps something to be said for the editors, who have not, poor men, the time to investigate every little point for themselves. The fact is that such clauses have never been thoroughly brought together from the different authors and systematically treated in a proper manner. Even for single authors this has not been done. And something still more surprising—suppose you wished to study *ni*-clauses in Virgil. The first thing to do would be to collect them all. Easy enough, you say, from the Index to Virgil. But here is the surprising thing—there is no modern index to Virgil. Is not this remarkable, that with all the teachers and students who are engaged throughout the world on this author, there should be none who has compiled and published a complete index of words, since Ribbeck published his epoch-making text fifty years ago? I recommend this very much needed work to your thoughts—why indeed should it not be a joint production, the labor divided among members of this club?

<sup>1</sup> I should be sorry to have it thought that my translation is an attempt to render the 'original' meaning of this subjunctive.

But I must not linger too long over questions of syntax and usage of words, lest you should think me one of those soulless creatures called gerund-grinders, who are so constantly held up to mockery by the opponents of the Classics. There are puzzles enough in our field of study for students who have no taste for these. To keep for the moment to Virgil; how full of difficulties is, for instance, the sixth book of the Aeneid. Although the fourth book, as generally and wrongly interpreted, is of more interest to the ordinary modern reader, because in it Virgil seems to make a modern romantic heroine out of Dido—a notion which of course he never had in his mind, for Dido is but an obstacle to the fulfilment of the mission of the Pilgrim of Destiny, *Aeneas, fato profugus*, and she is striving to retard the destiny of Rome and must be brushed out of the way as relentlessly as Rome brushed her city Carthage out of the way—though the fourth book, I say, is commonly read with greater interest, yet it seems to me that it should have for the serious student by no means the attractions that are to be found in the sixth. As the ancient commentator Servius remarks: ‘All Virgil is full of knowledge, but this book holds the first place.’ And one of its attractions is the riddles and enigmas which it offers for our solution. It is perfectly certain that this book is the result of wide and deep study on Virgil’s part into the writings of his predecessors, both poets and Greek philosophers, on the nature of the soul and the state after death. It is certain also that the book was left uncompleted by its author, and this is the principal reason why it presents to us several all but insoluble problems. I need not touch upon the greater of them here; indeed, time would not admit of it,

and you must have pondered them for yourselves. Why, for instance, are the heroes — the *bello caduci* — in the fore part of Hades, almost in a place of punishment, instead of in Elysium with Anchises? Are they to remain there forever, or do they pass on after a period of waiting? I shall not attempt to-day to answer this question, though I have an answer which all but satisfies me. I would not have it wholly satisfy me, for if it did, part of the attraction of the book would be gone. Instead, I shall speak merely of two small points: the Golden Bough, and the two Gates of Sleep.

A huge book in three volumes has been written, as you know, by Mr. Frazer on the Golden Bough. It is an invaluable mine of folklore and one of the chief treasures of the students of that fascinating subject, Comparative Religion. Yet I cannot see how anybody can agree with Frazer's view that the golden bough of Virgil was a sprig of mistletoe. Fatal to this view, as Andrew Lang has pointed out, is the fact that Virgil himself in his description of the golden bough *compares it to mistletoe*. Could there be a greater absurdity than the comparison of a thing to itself? Whatever the bough was, it was not mistletoe. But the carrying of it as a passport into Hades was no invention of Virgil's. It had been used before. Charon recognized it when the Sibyl showed it, and it is natural to think that she herself had carried it on that former occasion when, as she tells Aeneas, she went down with Hecate to the lower world. Virgil may have taken it out of some earlier poem now lost to us; but my own opinion is that pilgrims who visited the sacred places about Lake Avernus — and we know that pilgrimages to that

vicinity lasted down to the end of heathendom — that pilgrims to the spot in Virgil's time were required to carry in their hands the branch of some tree, a branch which Virgil poetically calls the golden bough. No doubt such pilgrims would be told that some great hero had carried the branch when he was there before them.

As for the other point, about the two gates, here is again a much-discussed question. You remember that Virgil says that one was made of horn and that by it true ghosts, *verae umbrae*, passed out; that the other was of ivory and that through it 'deceptive dreams' were sent up to the world. Now Anchises lets Aeneas out by this latter, the *ivory* gate. Why? *Quot editores, tot sententiae*, and little comfort to be got out of any of them. Old Servius said that the poet opened the gate of false dreams to Aeneas in order to indicate that the whole thing was fiction! This comes pretty well from one who had told us that the book was 'full of knowledge.' Neither will it do to say that Aeneas goes out by the ivory gate because he is not a true ghost: he is not a deceptive dream either! To say, as some do, that there is no point whatever in the choice of the ivory gate is a confession of ignorance of Virgil's method in composing this book. Nothing, I venture to say, absolutely nothing is set down here without a reason. We must be dealing here with a point of doctrine inherited from the past. The best explanation of the choice has been given, I believe, by my friend Dr. William Everett of Adams Academy in Quincy. It is simple, and wholly without those complicated theories which some scholars have called to their aid. There was a very widespread belief, which we find in the Greek and Latin authors from Plato to Ovid, that dreams

*before midnight* were deceptive dreams. The ivory gate would therefore be open before midnight, and the poet, in letting Aeneas out by this gate, merely means to indicate that he left Hades before midnight. He merely indicates the time in a poetical manner. If you look back through the book, you will find here and there poetical indications of the time that was passing (though none so vague to us as this), from the hour when just before sunrise Aeneas started upon the descent. He spent therefore considerably less than twenty-four hours in going and returning. So, too, Dante, the great pupil and imitator of Virgil, *indicates* by mere passing allusions here and there the time which he spent on his journey. I am bound to say that this explanation of Dr. Everett's, which was published in the *Classical Review*, has not met with that general acceptance which I had expected for it. Particularly the Germans scorn it; perhaps it is too simple for them. But neither do I feel absolutely certain of it myself; we cannot hope to know everything. For example, have you ever found out why it was that Virgil, in his account of the boat race, picked out the particular Roman families which he *does* pick out to give them the honor of being descended from the comrades of Aeneas? It is a very curious choice: 'Mnestheus,' he says, 'from whom comes the house of Memmius; Sergestus, from whom the house of Sergius, and Cloanthus, from whom thy race, O Roman Cluentius.' Think of it—Sergius and Cluentius! We know of only three or four Sergiuses in Roman history, and the only one of any consequence is Sergius Catiline the conspirator, for whom Virgil certainly had no admiration, since he puts him in Tartarus, poised over a precipice and

terror struck at the awful faces of the Furies. Almost the only Cluentius that we know is Cicero's client, a man of very shady character indeed, in the defense of whom Cicero afterwards said that he had thrown lots of dust in the eyes of the jury. Of Virgil's reason for choosing Memmius, something can be guessed. It seems probable that the family of Memmius claimed Venus, if not for their ancestress, at least for their patroness, and this in turn may account for Lucretius's beautiful opening address to Venus in his poem dedicated to one of that family. It may be that the Sergian and Cluentian families boasted some such connection with the great Aeneas, and possibly some light might be thrown on this puzzling question by collecting and studying all the passages in which Virgil singles out for mention Roman families that were existing in his day. Possibly, again, it might lead to nothing. I said a moment ago that we could not hope to know everything. Why, even Cicero, our great model, even Cicero didn't know everything about Latin syntax, if I may return for a moment to that fearsome subject.

For example, he once used a preposition before *Piræus* instead of treating it as the name of a town and so using it without a preposition; and in a letter to Atticus practically admits that he doesn't know whether he was right or not. A more famous example was that of the inscription which Pompey was going to cut upon his new temple of Victory. He wished to inscribe his name and the fact that the temple was dedicated in his third consulship; but he didn't feel sure whether he ought to say *consul tertium* or *consul tertio*. After anxious consideration he referred the matter *ad doctissimos civitatis* — and naturally enough

the *doctissimi* disagreed. Finally he consulted Cicero, and that greatest of authorities, being unwilling to commit himself, said: 'Suppose you don't write either termination, but simply stop at *t*, and say *consul tert*,'—which was accordingly done. And we cannot be too grateful to Cicero for leaving us this warning against being cocksure about matters of syntax.

This little story teaches another lesson. You will observe that Pompey did not leave the language of his inscription to be selected by his architect, but consulted those whose business it was to know about such things. It would be well if his example were followed in modern times. What extraordinary specimens of language and of the alphabet do our architects inflict upon us in their inscriptions on public buildings, and even upon university buildings! Take a simple point, this matter of Roman numerals. Since the twentieth century came in, how often we see MCM used for 1900. This is, of course, an abbreviation, and is no more in place than an apostrophe and two zeros would be; or 'naughty-naught' as the students call it. We do find abbreviations of numerals in Roman tombstone Latin, and in carelessly made inscriptions where the stonemason has not carefully calculated his space; but I venture to say that we shall not find IV, IX, or similar abbreviations in any carefully made public inscription of the classical Romans. Then, again, if our modern inscription is to be in classical Latin, the letter M should not be used at all; for, of course, it does not stand for the numeral until the second century after Christ. The proper numeral sign should be employed, which looks something like an 8 turned on its side. But if the inscription is to be English,

why use *Roman* numerals in it? Our Arabic figures are far handsomer and infinitely less clumsy than the Roman numerals, and we can be pretty sure that the Romans, who were the most practical people that ever lived before Americans were invented, would have been quick to give up their bungling method had they been acquainted with the Arabic.

I have spoken of abbreviations. Much is to be learned from them in various ways. A very interesting deduction has lately been made from them by Professor Traube, the eminent Latin palaeographer. There are, as you know, in the Vatican Library two illustrated manuscripts of Virgil. About the age of one of these, the *Romanus*, there has been much discussion. Formerly it was thought to have been written in the fourth century: but more recently arguments have been adduced pointing to a later date, and now Traube has shown from abbreviations found in it that it cannot possibly be earlier than the sixth century.

The illustrations of these two manuscripts of Virgil deserve, I think, far more attention than is paid to them in the teaching of Virgil in our schools. In one or two of our editions there are rude cuts in outline made from old engravings from them; but these give you no idea whatever of the originals, which are not outline drawings, but regular paintings in the miniature style. The Vatican Library, under the very liberal new policy of his Holiness, the present Pope, himself a Latin scholar of much ability, has lately published photographic facsimiles of these two manuscripts, including all the illustrations. Unfortunately the edition is limited in number and the price is high, but the books ought to be found in every great library. It would add greatly to the



interest of schoolboys and schoolgirls who are studying Virgil if they had copies of these ancient pictures before them. And in these days of universal photography it ought not to be a difficult thing to bring to pass. The teacher might get permission to make photographs with his own camera from the library copy of the book, or if not himself an expert in photography, he is pretty sure to find among his pupils or acquaintances somebody to do it for him. Or this club might cause a set of photographs to be made and sold at a nominal price to its members. There is an excellent article in French by De Nolhac about the pictures, which might well be translated to accompany them if the scheme which I have suggested were carried out.

But to return to Cicero: not only was he doubtful about some points, but we are much more doubtful about many points which concern him or the understanding of his writings. For instance, we talk of the style of Cicero, as if he had but one style. But what does he say about this himself? At the age of sixty he writes thus to Papirius Paetus:—

‘What do you think about my style in letters? Aren’t they in the *sermo plebeius*, the vulgar tongue? Yet one doesn’t use the same tone in all his writings. For what analogy is there between a letter and a speech in court, or an address at a public meeting? Even in court I don’t make a habit of handling all my cases in the same style. Private suits of slight importance I plead in the plainer style; those that affect a man’s civil status or reputation in the more ornate style; letters I compose in the language of everyday life — *verbis cotidianis*.’

Here, then, are at least three different styles which we

may expect to find at the same period in our great model, and this ought to be — but isn't — a warning to those who think that they can reach the exact date of a speech from the style employed in it. And then another interesting question about Cicero: what was his personal feeling about religion? This is one of the most difficult questions to answer about any man; on no topic is a man really more reserved, — open, or even dogmatic, as he may seem to be. We may be pretty sure that the real Cicero does not express himself openly about his personal religion in his public speeches; and in his philosophical works he is rather the expounder of systems, of theories, and then again of ethics, than of religion in the strictly personal sense. There remains to us no source of knowledge on this point except the collection of over seven hundred of Cicero's *Letters*. I looked them through last summer in the hope of gleaning information on this and several other subjects in which I am interested. I can tell you, therefore, from my own observation that there are only a few passages in the letters which throw any light on the subject of Cicero's personal religion; and of these, only two seem to me very significant. Both are addressed to his wife, — but who can mention her without pausing for a moment to marvel at that other puzzle of Cicero's divorce of Terentia after over thirty years of married life, when he was more than sixty years old, followed, as it soon was, by his marriage with a rich young girl, his ward, and his prompt divorce of her? But we have no time for this interesting problem to-day. The first of the two passages in the letters to which I have referred was written by Cicero in one of those moments of despair and bitterness

when the heart speaks out. On his way into exile he writes back from Brundisium to Terentia: 'I only wish, my dear, to see you as soon as possible and to die in your arms, since neither the gods whom *you have worshiped* with such pure devotion, nor men, whom *I have spent my time in serving*, have made us any return.' This difference between the faith of a woman and the worldliness of a man is only too often illustrated in our modern life. The other passage is of a similar nature, though it was written nearly ten years later. He had been melancholy, anxious, and a burden to those about him; 'but all these uneasy thoughts,' he writes, 'I have got rid of and ejected. The reason of it all I discovered the day after I parted from you. I threw up pure bile during the night, and was at once so much relieved that it seemed to me some god worked the cure. To this god, you, after your wont, will make full and pious acknowledgment.'

No intention expressed, you perceive, of making any such acknowledgment himself. This function is to be left to a woman.

These two passages which I have called significant may seem slight evidence on which to base one's opinion of a man's attitude toward religion, and they would indeed be slight were it not that they agree exactly with the general attitude of educated men in the age in which Cicero lived. Perhaps there never was an age in which unbelief was wider spread. The genuine old Roman gods (except Lares, Penates, and Genius, that is to say except the family gods) were all but forgotten, and the proper way to worship them had become a topic for antiquarian research. The Romans, of course, had never had a

mythology of their own such as the Greeks had — that is, a history of the dealings of divine beings with one another and with men. What is sometimes thought of as Roman mythology — I mean the stories found in Virgil, Ovid, and Horace about gods and heroes — are all Greek, not Roman at all, and even in Latin literature they really belong later than the time of Cicero. These Greek stories were commonly regarded, Cicero says, as idle tales. In his day the best educated men were sceptics or rationalists. Thus we see that even these two little passages may be considered as pretty trustworthy indications of one side of the character of Cicero.

It goes without saying that the letters are a perfect mine of information on all sorts of topics relating to the character and life of Cicero. For example: it is very interesting to read, in such confidential epistles as he wrote to Atticus, what he himself thought about his own speeches; how he laughed over the way in which he threw dust in the eyes of a jury; or how thickly he laid on the paint in ornamenting his account of the Catiline affair. Then again his relations with Julius Caesar come out most clearly in the letters which passed between them, or in Cicero's letters to others about Caesar and Caesar's views of Cicero himself. Is it not too bad that we do not try to bring these two men together in our teaching? We deliberately separate them. We set them in different years of the school course and give our boys no chance to see how they played into each other's hands or against each other. We lead our boys to think of them as always the deadliest foes; but the two had much in common. Both were lovers of literature. But what schoolboy ever

hears of Caesar as a literary man? They think of him as a soldier, or as a constructor of grammatical puzzles. And here again I yield to the temptation to speak of a point of syntax—but it shall be the last—and indeed I foresee that I am approaching the end of these somewhat disconnected remarks. The point to which I now refer concerns the expression of the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact in indirect discourse. What a pity it was that Caesar allowed himself to write the sentence which stands in the 29th chapter of the fifth book, which is, being translated, as follows:—

‘(He said) that he thought Caesar was gone into Italy; otherwise, the Carnutes would not have formed their design of killing Tasgetius, and the Eburones, if he were at hand, *would not be coming* against the camp.’

Here for ‘would not be coming’ we have *venturos esse*—and this unfortunate phrase has led to a special category in almost all our grammars. We are led by them to think that this is one of the regular ways of expressing in direct discourse an apodosis of action non-occurrent. But the fact is, I believe, that this is the only place in any Latin author where such a rule is borne out. In every other passage of the kind we have the future participle with *fuisse*. In my school grammar I have ventured to give an explanation of this unique phenomenon in Caesar. In that passage, the context clearly shows that *venturos esse* represents the imperfect subjunctive of the direct discourse. But ordinarily the future participle with *esse* might seem to represent a future indicative. Hence, I believe that to avoid ambiguity the Romans did not try to express present time in apodoses of this kind in indirect discourse. It

was easy to avoid it, and we ought to teach our boys to do so.

This whole matter of formal indirect discourse is disproportionately prevalent in Caesar. I mean disproportionately as compared to its appearance in other writers. The result is that a disproportionate amount of space is given to it in our grammars and a disproportionate amount of time in our teaching. The poor boy struggles for weeks over its problems, and when he has mastered them and gone on to other authors, he finds very little opportunity to exercise in them the skill which he has got from the study of Caesar. This consequence reminds me very much of another result which comes out of the stress which we are now laying upon what is called 'Reading at Sight.' I realize that I am now about to step on very ticklish ground; and I want to begin by saying that I am speaking my own thoughts, not those of my colleagues, for I do not know what they think on this topic; and that you must not think that I represent them or Harvard College or anybody or anything but myself. What I want to suggest to your thoughts is this: our boys take a vast amount of pains in learning to read Xenophon at sight, and then, after they have got the power, they find there is no more Greek like Xenophon upon which they can exercise it. And to a less degree this is true of Latin. Power to read Caesar at sight does not give a like power over any other author. Now understand me. I do not mean that we should abandon altogether the teaching of reading at sight. It does undoubtedly give a valuable kind of power over the language, but, on the other hand, I am by no means sure that it enables the student to carry on his studies of Greek and Latin, after

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he gets to college, with much greater ease than students prepared under the old régime; and it also seems to me that this long drill in a single author in Greek and a single author in Latin is not the way to encourage students to continue their studies of the Classics in college. It opens up to them no vista whatever of the wide and noble fields of literature which are there to be found. The subject-matter of Xenophon and Caesar is too much of the same kind—and that of a very narrow kind, being distinctly military. It was not always thus in the school course. As late as the time when I myself was at school we were required to read Sallust as well as Caesar for the elementary examination; and in Greek we had to read not only Xenophon, but selections from Plato and Herodotus and a bit from Thucydides as well. Of course in the schooldays of our fathers and grandfathers the authors read in schools covered even a wider field. They were not all writers of Attic Greek or of Classical Latin—but what of that? they were great writers,—immortal names,—and they showed boys that there was something else in the Classics besides marching by parasangs and making speeches in indirect discourse. And boys were attracted to go on to read more of ancient literature. Parts of Greek plays were read; they are read still in English schools; there are books of selections from Greek tragedies and comedies prepared for the English schoolboy. Ask old gentlemen what Greek and Latin books they remember with most pleasure, and ten to one they will answer ‘the books of selections from prose and verse.’ And how much pleasanter it must have been for the teacher to vary his reading with his pupils instead of trudging on year after

year over the same road. And if pleasanter, how much better he must have taught!

'Oh,' but you will say, 'we are teaching what the colleges require!' I reply: that answer might have done once upon a time, but it will serve its purpose no longer. Look at the changes in the college admission requirements during the past twenty years. Many of them are in answer to the demands of secondary schools. In these days of organizations of teachers—of organizations such as yours, for instance—you may depend upon it that changes which you agree upon as good, and for which you can give strong reasons, are pretty sure to be adopted. I would not, then, have you love Caesar less, or Xenophon less, but I would have you love Greek and Latin literature more, and I would have you make your pupils love it a great deal more. To be sure, this means more work for a time for some teachers who have not familiarized themselves sufficiently with the literature, but what of that? We are all workers, and there stretches before us the many weeks—some people think the *too* many weeks—of the summer vacation. I don't know how it is with you, but with me that is about the only period in the year when I have any time for new work or for the review of old—time to sit under a tree with a pipe and get introduced to an ancient author whom I have never met before; or time to feel about me once more the charm of the immortals whom I learned to know long ago. And we must take some of that time, or some other time, to consider the question why we teach the Classics at all. The old answers to this question will no longer serve. We can no longer contend that the acquisition of two dead languages and a



certain knowledge of the contents of works composed over two thousand years ago, are the best preparation which all boys and girls can have for *all* the demands of life. But neither is *any* subject, no matter how modern, an adequate preparation for all the demands of life. Nobody could hold such a view of Physics or Psychology or Philosophy or Mathematics, and there is no longer any reason why it should be held of Classics. Two or three hundred years ago, this was not the case. Men went to school to the ancients as their best teachers in all matters, and the men of those days were not mistaken. When the Greek and Roman literatures were rediscovered after the Dark Ages and people began to read about the ancients, they found themselves inferior to those ancients in very many points of civilization and learning. They felt like children before their teachers; or rather, they had for the ancients a feeling of veneration which few children, I am afraid, have for their teachers to-day. They looked upon the ancients as endowed with the profoundest sort of learning, which had been handed down from one nation to another, from Egyptians to Greeks, from Greeks to Romans. They were dazzled by the great productions of Greece and Rome as compared with the barren centuries immediately preceding themselves. And it is wonderful how long this respectful attitude towards the ancients survived. It survived long after great world-changing inventions such as gunpowder or printing; long after epoch-making discoveries such as that of oxygen and of the circulation of the blood; and long after the composition of modern literatures. Shakspeare and Bacon came and went; Descartes and Leibnitz lived and died; a new world was discovered in America; and still people

talked as if the ancients were in some mysterious way a higher order of beings, superior in everything to moderns. This opinion prevailed until halfway through the nineteenth century, but nobody would seek to defend it now.

I remember that Professor F. D. Allen<sup>1</sup> once said that in former times men approached the ancients 'on their knees.' We no longer assume this attitude. We do not study Greek and Latin because we think that the ancients were blessed with a higher civilization than our own, and we cannot pretend that this study affords more than a partial training for life. The overidealization of the ancients has perhaps done more real harm to the cause of classical studies than any other factor. You remember how the Athenians got tired of hearing Aristides called 'the Just,' and voted for his ostracism. So it was that men wearied of hearing that the ancients and their literature were infinitely superior to everything modern, — until at last it is asserted in some quarters that the Classics have not even a disciplinary value in the education of young pupils. This notion is of course as mistaken as the other, and the people who put it forward are generally people who know little or nothing about the manner in which classical studies are pursued at the present time. The fact is, as I have said, that our attitude has wholly changed. Classical studies have in recent times shared in the great progress made in all studies. We now look upon the ancients as men like ourselves; they were human, therefore they often erred. We are not afraid to find fault with what is feeble or even really mistaken in ancient litera-

<sup>1</sup> From one of his unpublished lectures I have drawn much of the latter half of the preceding paragraph.

ture. Formerly, all ancient writers, not merely the greatest, were venerated; but we no longer think of applying the same standards of comparison to compositions of different periods or by different kinds of men or by the same man at different times in his life. While every scholar knows that almost all our forms of modern literature are based upon the Greek, and while it is universally admitted that in some literary forms the Greeks were gifted far beyond any modern people, yet, on the other hand, there are works in Greek which are merely trivial or even contemptible. Again, take the matter of civilization; nobody should pretend that the Greek civilization was superior to ours in all respects. If we could take a train and travel to ancient Athens, I think that we should find ourselves on the whole pretty uncomfortable there. To be sure, many beautiful things, far surpassing what we see in modern cities, would be all about us; but, on the other hand, we should miss many appliances for physical comfort which we have gained through modern invention and which we have come to think of as among the necessities of life. And more than this, it can scarcely be doubted that the ancient Athenians were vastly our inferiors in private morality, in humanity, and in regard for law. But the comparison of civilizations of different nations and ages is an extremely dangerous thing, if we try to say that one is higher than the other. This is because civilization is not determinable mathematically. To one man civilization may mean clean streets, to another it may mean sculpture. We need to understand the man and his surroundings before we can postulate anything about his position in the scale of civilization.

It is in this spirit that at the present time scholars are more and more approaching the ancients and their literature. We come to them wishing to understand them rather than to lavish upon them fulsome praise or to blame them for the lack of attributes which they could not possibly possess. I am reminded here of another saying of Professor Allen. He once remarked: 'We think of the Greeks and Romans as ancients; but when they were alive, they thought themselves as modern as anybody.' This is the true spirit which ought to actuate us; to try to understand the ancients as men of like clay with ourselves, and to recognize in their literature the outgrowth of influences, and to seek to learn what these influences were.

But we must not be content with this. If a teacher has not tried to show his pupils not merely the influence of Virgil's own times upon Virgil, but also Virgil's influence on the history of poetic literature that has followed, he has not done his duty to that great author; he has left him as an isolated phenomenon. If a teacher has not tried to show his pupils that it is the influence of living thought that gives rise to what we call rules of syntax, not rules of syntax that govern the expression of living thought, he well deserves the opprobrious epithet of grund-grinder. If you reflect over what I have said about syntactical points to-day, you will see that the former is the line from which I have approached them. Thus it may appear that perhaps after all there has been a certain unity in what I have termed my 'rambling remarks.' Possibly you may recognize in them a kind of plea for the liberal literary study of the Classics. Not literary study in the sense of that definition which I once heard: 'literary study; yes;

that's where you all sit round and somebody reads the Greek out loud, and then you all say *fine!*' Not this at all — but that general literary study which must be based upon the understanding of three things: first, the influences of time and surroundings which led the author to write what he has written; secondly, what was the author's message to his contemporaries; thirdly, what ought to be his message to us. If we have no time for the study and teaching of these principles, let us consider whether we have not been devoting too much time to other things: to syntax, for instance, studied for the mere sake of syntax, for the sake of mere categories, a sort of pigeonholing, of which a great deal too much is done to-day in this land; or to reading at sight, for the sake of a facility which will lead to nothing but the passing of an examination; or to the marking of quantity, particularly of 'hidden quantity,' with which boys should seldom, if ever, be troubled. If we have been mistaken in these or in other ways, it is never too late to change our methods. For, depend upon it, the salvation of the study of the Classics is in nobody's hands but our own.

## THE REAL PERSIUS<sup>1</sup>

*'Innocuos censura potest permittere lusus'*

FEW literary men, either in ancient or in modern times, have been blessed with so spotless a reputation as that of Persius. And yet how slight is the evidence on which it rests! This evidence consists of only a few words, written we cannot be sure by whom or when. They are found in the *Vita* of our manuscripts, and are as follows:—

*fuit morum lenissimorum, verecundiae virginalis, formae pulchrae . . . fuit frugi, pudicus.*

Upon these words are based the flattering eulogies which we read in every modern commentary on the poet. Yet with the usual blindness of commentators, a most significant passage in the same *Vita* has remained all but unnoticed, a passage which, if approached in the true spirit of philological investigation, proves to be the key to the understanding of the poet's whole life, and opens a door through which scholars can pass to explore anew for a true estimate of his character. And where is this estimate to be sought? Dr. O. W. Holmes (who, as sharing the double mission of physician and poet, is, as we shall soon see, the fittest authority to cite in this connection) has in his *Life of Emerson* pointed out that no man writes other than his own experience. With this golden principle in mind, we approach the writings of Persius, and

<sup>1</sup> From the *Harvard Monthly*, 1898, xxvi, 47 ff.

the feeble farthing candle of the *Vita* straightway burns dim indeed beside the electric search light which breaks forth from the poems themselves. In an instant the poet appears in his true colors, as a broken-down *bon vivant*, a libertine, in short a wanton of the deepest dye.

The passage in the *Vita* which gives the investigator his first trace of the truth is as follows:—

*Decessit vitio stomachi anno aetatis xxx.*

This is surely a most remarkable statement, and yet how the molish, bat-like commentators have obscured its real meaning! Even from a pen like that of Otto Jahn could flow such stuff as this: '*iuvenem indefesso studio laborantem immatura mors absumsit*' (Prolegomena, p. XLV). And this is all! With his finger on the clue, he fails to follow it up. Or was it perfidy? Did he fear to lift the veil and show us his idol as he really was? But such an inquiry may be reserved for a dissertation *de Perfidia Doctorum*. I shall not be deterred by any such fear, but shall boldly enter upon the quest of the truth. And truth forbids me, in this age of octogenarian scholars, and in this vicinity, to believe, as Jahn would have me, that the *stomach*<sup>1</sup> of a young man was ever so much injured by study that he died. We shall soon see that Persius met with no such Utopian end.

But one word more before we come to the poet's own works. Every student of pedagogics, from Quintilian down, has recognized what a lasting impression, for good

<sup>1</sup> I cast aside for the time and reserve for another opportunity the tempting conjecture that the writer of the *Vita* (probably some drowsy monk) was translating from the Greek and mistook *στόμα*, *mouth*, for *stomachus*, *stomach*. If there is anything in this, it may be that Persius was murdered for his freedom of speech — probably by Nero.

or ill, is made upon a boy by his earliest teacher. Now who was the earliest teacher of Persius? None other than the infamous Remmius Palaemon, a creature so abandoned that even an old libertine like Tiberius and a half-witted imperial figurehead like Claudius united in declaring him unfit, in spite of his learning, to be an instructor of youth.<sup>1</sup> Jahn himself does not conceal this truth; he calls Palaemon a man *immodicae luxuriae*. But what says Conington? Perfidy again! He writes: 'The silence with which Persius passes over this part of his experience *may perhaps be regarded as significant*' (the italics are mine). Significant of what, trifler? One must be an augur not to laugh at such a Delphic utterance as this. But 'silence'? We shall see that Persius is very far from silent on what he learned from this wretch.

I approach now Persius's own works, being careful to use the latest German text, the third edition of Bücheler. The very first line of the prologue<sup>2</sup> is striking:—

*Nec fonte labra protui caballino.*

Persius is often enigmatic, but here his riddle is easy to read. These words clearly mean (under the figure of a horse-trough) 'I never took a drink of water in my life.' Was he not a drinker then? On this, see 5, 166,

*Ebrius ante fores extincta cum face canto.*

And we know even the kind of wine that he preferred; cf. 3, 1 ff.:—

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Gramm.* 23.

<sup>2</sup> Striking, too, may be the fact that the wily Bücheler now calls the prologue an *epilogue* in order to tuck it away out of sight at the end of the satires.



*iam clarum mane fenestras  
intrat et angustas extendit lumine rimas.  
Stertimus,<sup>1</sup> indomitum quod despumare Falernum.*

A truly disgusting picture to be drawn of himself by one so young! But he was as crazy for food as for drink; and, turning again to the prologue, we find perhaps the most shameless deification of the appetite known in the poetry of any land or time (vs. 10),

*Magister artis ingenique largitor,  
VENTER.*

This then was the Master he worshiped — not Cornutus, who by the way seems to have been led astray by his pupil. Of the great philosopher I wish to speak with reverence, but it cannot be denied that he yielded and fell. Else, there is no meaning in these words of the young epicure addressed to the sage (5, 41 f.):—

*Tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles  
et tecum primas epulis decerpere noctes.*

Obviously they feasted together all day and the first part of the night. But what immediately follows?—

*Vnum opus et requiem pariter disponimus ambo  
atque verecunda laxamus seria mensa.*

Here *opus* refers to the *eating* described in the foregoing,—to *eating*, the real *work* of Persius; but *requiem*, *etc.*, give another repulsive picture. Replete with food, the gray-haired philosopher and the prematurely bald<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It will not do to argue from his use of the plural that he speaks here of Romans in general and not of himself. The 'Plural of Modesty' (used to this day by editors) is so well known in Latin as to make references to the grammars unnecessary. Persius's frequent use of it is perhaps his sole claim to the title of *puerilis homo*, given him in the *Vita*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1, 9, *cum ad canitiem et nostrum istud vivere triste aspexi*.

young scholar (scholar,<sup>1</sup> forsooth!) sink back side by side (*pariter*) to sleep off<sup>2</sup> the effects of their gormandizing. But their sleep is short. They awake soon and, doubtless in the middle of the night, take a modest snack (*verecunda mensa*, what is now called a 'night lunch').

Gluttony inevitably leads to selfishness; hence we find Persius crying (6, 22):—

*Vtar ego, utar,  
nec rhombos ideo libertis ponere lautus,*

wherein he plainly says that he will not waste good food upon his dependants. Gluttony, too, leads one to mock at economy; and so we find him ridiculing a gentleman who kept up the simple meals of the Republic (4, 30):—

*tunicatum cum sale mordens  
caepe.*

This old worthy munched his onions with their jackets on and cared for no sauce but salt; Persius must have salads and relishes: *recusem cenare sine uncto* (6, 15); *et piper et pernae, Marsi monumenta clientis* (3, 75); evidently his poor country tenants were forced to send pepper and gammons to their rich landlord. He mocks also at philosophic studies in comparison with the pleasures of the table (3, 85):—

*hoc est quod palles? cur quis non prandeat hoc est?*

One throat is not enough for our gourmand; he wants a hundred (5, 26):—

*Ego centenas ausim deprecere fauces.*

<sup>1</sup> That Persius hated study is clear from 3, 44, where he tells us that he used to pretend to have sore eyes in order to get excused from work at school.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 3, 59, *oscitat hesternum*.

An unthinking reader might be deceived in the interpretation of this verse by the beginning of the same Satire :

*Vatibus hic mos est . . .  
centum ora et linguas optare . . .*

But to the researcher after truth this is interesting only as the sole instance in which Persius seems to be shamed into pretending that his own gluttony was a vice common to poets in general.

So much for one vice. Of the other, and the more fatal, it is not my purpose to speak at length. The obscenity of Persius is well known. The best way to find the worst passages is to turn to Conington's edition, which contains the Latin text on the left-hand pages, on the right a translation into English prose. By way of calling attention to the passages now in question, the translator has left blank spaces on the right-hand page where translations would ordinarily stand. The plan succeeds admirably, and even a novice in Latin will find no difficulty in discovering at once the coarsest passages in the poems.

We have seen what Persius's practice was. Let us now hear some of his preaching : —

*Indulge genio, carpharmus dulcia* (5, 151).

What could be more typically Epicurean ?

*Messe tenuis propria vive et granaria, fas est,  
emole* (6, 25),

that is, live up to your income, and don't save anything. A friend's birthday comes round, and suggests only an opportunity for drinking (*funde merum*, 2, 3). What does the discharged soldier (5, 74) receive as the reward of his

valorous deeds? Not honor and glory, but a truly Persian<sup>1</sup> recompense, something to eat:—

*Emeruit, scabiosum tesserula far  
possidet.*

Now we find the poet giving advice to a young fellow who has lived an idle life. What is he to do? Study? Far from it! But (5, 136):—

*tolle recens primus piper ex sitiente camelo.*

And finally he gives us the gist of all his philosophy, his *summum bonum*, in the words (4, 17):—

*Summa boni est<sup>2</sup> uncta vixisse patella.*

And this is the man who has been called a stoic!<sup>3</sup>

But the day of retribution came, as it always comes to the man whose god is his belly. The abused organ revolts and the epicure admits (1, 47):—

*neque enim mihi cornea fibra<sup>4</sup> est.*

Accordingly he resolves to diet himself and gives orders to his cook (5, 161):—

*Dave, cito, hoc credas iubeo, finire dolores  
praeteritos meditor crudus.*

It is clear from *hoc credas iubeo* that this was not the first time that he had so resolved. But this time, says he, *I mean it*. In the second of these verses I have altered the

<sup>1</sup> One thinks of the prophetic utterance of Horace (1, 38, 1):—

*PERSICOS odi, puer, apparatus.*

<sup>2</sup> Interpunctionem correxi.

<sup>3</sup> The Classical Department actually advertises a course on Seneca and Persius as Stoics — a pretty pair.

<sup>4</sup> It is obvious to the investigator that *fibra* is here to be taken in its literal sense, and that a good old-fashioned East Indian liver complaint is referred to. The scholiasts and commentators of course try to explain the word metaphorically, — of the liver as the seat of passion!

punctuation and restored *crudus* in its proper case. The Mss. and vulg. have

*'praeteritos meditor,' crudum Chaerestratus unguem  
abrodens —*

which is nonsense. Many men have bitten off their finger-nails, but nobody ever *cooked* his finger-nails before eating them away. The epithet *crudum* 'raw' is therefore absurdly needless. It is, in fact, an *epitheton ornans*, and, as the learned Professor Gildersleeve has well observed,<sup>1</sup> Persius scarcely ever uses *epitheta ornantia*. We must therefore restore *crudus* and take it in the sense of *before digestion*, a sense in which Persius actually uses it in 1, 51, *crudi proceres*. It is then evident that Persius formed his resolution, like many other gourmands, *immediately after dinner*. In pursuance of it, he gives orders for the preparation of a frugal meal, and that, too, though a holiday is approaching (6, 69): —

*Mihi festa luce coquatur  
urtica et fissa fumosum sinciput aure.*

He gives up nuts, for in every age they have been recognized as indigestible (*nucibus relictis*, 1, 10). But it is all too late, and now he thinks superstitiously of his neglected gods, — those awful Etruscan divinities to whom his pious mother, Fulvia Sisenna, had taught him to pray. But they do not answer his prayer. Alas! he sighs (2, 42): —

*grandes patinae tucetaque crassa  
adnuere his superos vetuere.*

In passing, it may be remarked that it is probable that

<sup>1</sup> See his edition, p. 74.

Persius offered these prayers himself; that is, he did not have recourse to the mediation of a priest. We may infer this in two ways: first, in the same Satire he inveighs against the venality of priests (vs. 69); secondly, Persius had clearly had enough of women, and it is well known that all priests in Rome were women. This custom was due to a law laid down at an early period, namely, in the famous *S. C. de Bacch.*, where we read: SACERDOS · NEQVIS · VIR · ESSET.

And so, as prayers were of no avail, Persius was driven to the last resource of the ancients, — the doctor. As a rule, the Romans distrusted physicians; hence we find in Virgil (*Aen.* 12, 46) the significant words, *aegrescit mendo*, 'he gets sicker as the cure goes on.' But Persius, in spite of this prejudice, was led to consult one because he had an intimate friend in the profession, as we know from the old *Vita*, where we read: *usus est apud Cornutum duorum convictu doctissimorum et sanctissimorum virorum, acriter tunc philosophantium, Claudi Agathurni medici Lacedaemonii et Petroni Aristocratis Magnetis.*

He went first probably to Agathurnus (for the other, as we shall see, was not a regular physician), and asked for a physical examination in the following words (3, 88): —

*Inspice, nescio quid trepidat mihi pectus et aegris  
faucibus exsuperat gravis halitus, inspice sodes.*

The good physician prescribed the rest cure<sup>1</sup> (*iussus requiescere*, 3, 90), and Persius followed his prescription for two days, but (3, 90): —

<sup>1</sup> One of our modern medical men seems to lay claim to this as *his* discovery!

*postquam*  
*tertia compositas vidit nox currere venas,*  
*de maiore domo<sup>1</sup> modice siliente lagoena*  
*lenia loturo sibi Surrentina rogavit.<sup>2</sup>*

The result of the debauch that ensued was of course another visit to the doctor, who cried out at once, *heus, bone, tu palles!* (3, 94). Persius described his symptoms again, and perhaps it was on this occasion that he added *sum petulanti splene* (1, 12), and *lapidosa cheragra fecerit articulos veteris ramalia fagi* (5, 58), and *turgescit vitrea bilis, findor* (3, 8). Realizing that it was a serious case indeed Agathurnus looked him over carefully again, and gave his verdict. He began by asking Persius to feel his own pulse and to take his own temperature, *tange, miser, venas et pone in pectore dextram* (3, 107). He next showed him that his skin was so diseased that a cry of pain followed the merest touch: *dicas cute perditus 'ohe!'* (1, 23). His bile, too, was disordered: *acri bile tumet* (2, 13; cf. 3, 8), and *calido sub pectore mascula bilis intumuit* (5, 144). The patient was also too fat: *fibris increvit opimum pingue* (3, 32); and enormously swollen with a dropsy: *pinguis aqualicus propenso sesquipede extet* (1, 57). There were sores in his mouth: *tenero latet ulcus in ore putre* (3, 113). But the real trouble lay much deeper, and the friendly doctor, wishing to spare his patient a shock, broke the bad news gradually to him. He began in a philosophic strain (the reader will have observed the term *philosophantium* applied to him in the *Vita*), crying out (4, 23): —

<sup>1</sup> Conington absurdly renders 'from a great house'; but of course Persius merely asked his *major-domo* for the wine.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *rogavit* with cod. P, rather than *rogabis* of *a* and Bücheler.

*ut nemo in sese temptat descendere, nemo!*

and, gravely shaking his head, warned Persius not to seek for the trouble outside: *nec te quaesiveris extra* (1, 7); adding *ego te intus et in cute novi* (3, 30). Then coming closer to the point, he said: *belle hoc excute totum; quid non intus habet?* (1, 49). Here *belle* is to be interpreted as meaning 'belly.' It is true that the word often means 'bravo!' but when we compare Gothic *balg-s*, Old Irish *bolc*, *bolg* (*saccus*, *uter*), and Gallic *bulque* (*sacculus*), there is perhaps no doubt that we have in this passage the unique survival in literature of a Latin *belle* in the sense of *venter*. It was probably a plebeian term. Everybody knows that Persius preferred the *verba togae* to the more polished language of the day.

Finally the doctor, considering that he had sufficiently prepared his patient, ended his diagnosis with the fatal words, *ilia subter caecum vulnus habes* (4, 43). After this appalling catalogue of diseases the thoroughly unmanned poet could only stammer out a request for a prescription or method of cure. But the doctor's sad answer was (3, 63)

*Elleborum frustra cum iam cutis aegra tumebit,*

which we can interpret only as meaning that his skill was of no avail and that the disease was mortal.

It is possible that the poet was not satisfied with this single verdict and that he consulted another physician. Coupled with the name of Agathurnus, we saw in the *Vita* that of another friend of Persius who is called Petronius Aristocrates Magnes. It can hardly be without a reason that this man is culled out by the biographer from Persius's host of friends. And why should anybody but a medical



man be named in the same breath with a person who was certainly of that despised profession? This Petronius was doubtless a physician, and to the careful student the words of the text show it clearly. What is the meaning of *Magnes*? The commentators, in their usual invertebrate fashion, explain it as meaning that Petronius was a Magnesian! But how should PERSIUS, the haughty Etruscan noble, be intimate with a *Magnesian*? It is all but certain that we have here no trousered Asiatic, but a second physician, an eclectic, in short, a *Magnetic Healer*! We know from Pliny (*N. H.* 36, 130) that the magnetic treatment was no modern invention, but one familiar<sup>1</sup> to the ancients. He speaks of it as curing among others a disease called *epiphorae*. Whether it was ever successfully applied in antiquity to a case like that of Persius, we do not know; but we may be sure that Petronius would leave untried no skill for the sake of his friend.<sup>2</sup> We have no reason to suppose that his efforts were successful.

The poet therefore was convinced that he was doomed—that there was no possible cure for him: *vetat hoc natura medendi* (5, 101). At this crisis some sparks of his ancestral vigor revived, and he resolved that, if he must die, his death should be noble. He shut himself up, therefore, and began to write his legacy to posterity (*scribimus inclusi grande aliquid*, 1, 13). No longer does he write, in

<sup>1</sup> Familiar, else Pliny would not have heard of it.

<sup>2</sup> It may be interesting here to note that the Mss. do not give this physician's name as I have printed it above (following the conjecture of Pithoeus). They read *Petroni aristotegratis Magnes*. The second name is obviously corrupt; but the syllables *gratis* may perhaps belong to *Magnes*, signifying that this healer treated his patients for nothing, in contrast to the fees required by the regular school.

his more youthful strain, the dramatic *praetexta*, the trivial *hodoeporicon*, or *vers de société* like his skit on the elder Arria. All these, as the *Vita* expressly tells us, were among his earlier works. But the Satires were not composed until his last days. This accounts for the moral lessons which they contain. They are real sermons, based on his own sad experience of the vulgar and fatal vices of gluttony and libertinism to which the Romans of the Empire were so given. If they show us the man as he really was, in his habit as he lived, they may be said to form one of the most precious and curious of the cryptogrammatic biographies which we possess.

## REMARKS ON THE WATER SUPPLY OF ANCIENT ROME<sup>1</sup>

THE Commissioner of Water Supply of the City of New York, in his report for the year 1900, remarked that the question of 'public water supply transcends every other subject and object of municipal government in importance and in immediate effect on every human being of whatever condition of life.' Whether the Commissioner was aware that he was merely amplifying the Pindaric *ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ* may be matter for doubt; not so the truth which he expressed, for with it everybody will agree. What is true now of the life of a modern municipality in so fundamental a concern must in great part have been true of the life of an ancient municipality, and therefore it behooves all students of ancient Roman life to consider what can be learned of the water supply of ancient Rome. Not to go into this subject in details, I shall at present confine myself to the consideration of the *amount* of public water supply available in Rome down to the end of the first century A.D.

Our authority on this point is of course that honest and painstaking official, Frontinus, who became water commissioner in the year 97 A.D., and who was, to judge from his own writings, the model of what a public official ought to

<sup>1</sup> From the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1902, xxxiii, 30-37.

be. Justly, therefore, he has been compared to the late Colonel Waring by Professor Bennett, in a recent excursion from the somewhat arid, though still, I think, potential plains of syntax into the definiteness of an article in the *Atlantic*. But Professor Bennett is not the only American who has written on Frontinus. Mr. Clemens Herschel, a well-known hydraulic engineer, published two years ago a volume invaluable for our topic. It contains a facsimile of the manuscript of Frontinus on the Aqueducts of Rome (here published for the first time), an excellent English translation, and an explanatory commentary written from the point of view of the modern engineer. Both classical scholars and practical engineers owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Herschel, who is, I believe, the only one of his fraternity who has shown during the last hundred years an intelligent interest in the ancient history of his profession.

In the course of his book Mr. Herschel endeavors to make a conservative estimate of the amount of water supplied daily to the Romans by the nine aqueducts, the last of which was completed in 52 A.D. It would indeed be very interesting if we could learn this amount, so that we could compare the water supply of ancient Rome with that of our own great cities. But unfortunately it is, I think, impossible to arrive at any figures which shall even approximate to exactness. This statement is entirely at odds with those which are to be found in modern handbooks on antiquities. For example, in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (i, p. 150) we are told that the supply amounted to 332 million gallons a day; in Middleton's *Remains of Ancient Rome* (ii, p. 349), to about 340 million; in Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations of Rome*

(p. 58), to about 423 million ; and these are fair samples of the figures which are given in the French and German books. Now, what would such supplies amount to *per capita* (to use the term of modern water reports) of the population? We cannot be certain about the number of inhabitants of ancient Rome ; but if we accept the estimate of a million for the time of Augustus, we should have from about 330 to 420 gallons a day as the per capita rate ; or, if we suppose that the population had grown to a million and a half by Vespasian's time,<sup>1</sup> we should have a per capita rate of from 220 to 280 gallons a day. As either of these estimates gives a much greater allowance than that made by any modern system of water supply, the books regularly go on to explain that this large allowance was made necessary by the constantly running public fountains, the private fountains, the great public pools and baths, the provision for sham naval fights, etc. But I am inclined to think, on *a priori* grounds, that the requirements of ancient Rome were not greater than those of a modern metropolis—perhaps even not so great. Consider, for instance, our hotels and apartment houses, great and small—in how many different public rooms, including lavatories and *latrinae*, is water constantly running. And so in the great business blocks and public buildings. The running water in all these is to be compared with that in the public fountains of Rome ; for our public fountains are still comparatively few, although the number is larger now than formerly. Consider also the water used for street sprinkling, for mechanical and manufacturing purposes, by rail-

<sup>1</sup> For the various theories and estimates, with references to the literature of the subject, see Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, i<sup>6</sup>, pp. 58-70.

road, gas, and electric light companies, breweries and sugar refineries, etc. Many new industries unknown to Rome are gathered in our cities, and the old industries are still going on under higher developments. I find, therefore, no defense in the supposed larger requirements of ancient Rome for the enormous per capita rate which the statements in the handbooks imply. And so on this ground alone I should doubt these statements.

Mr. Herschel also doubts them, but on other grounds. He points out that they must necessarily be based on the figures found in Frontinus, who gives the water supply of each aqueduct in *quinariae*. But the *quinaria* is a variable unit and therefore absolutely unscientific. It shows us nothing about the *volume*, for it is merely the measure of the area of a cross section of water in a pipe of a certain arbitrary size (known to us, but not necessary to specify here). As Mr. Herschel remarks, the volume cannot thus be measured; for it depends not only on the size of the pipe but on the velocity of the current moving in it; and this in turn on the answer to the question whether the water is discharged into free air, into still water, or into flowing water. It depends also upon the "head," that is, upon the depth of the basin from which it is drawn, and likewise upon the length of the pipe itself and its declivity. Now all these are points which Frontinus altogether ignores, if indeed in his day he could have had any but the vaguest ideas about the causes and effects of the velocity of a stream in a pipe. And further, he uses his unit *quinaria* of the same pipe both at its intake and its delivery, although the velocity was presumably not the same at these two points. Obviously it is impos-

sible to reach any exact figures about volume from such data as he gives.

Whence come then the figures given in our handbooks? They appear to be based, as Mr. Herschel remarks, upon a calculation put forth very cautiously by a French *savant*, De Prony, in 1817.<sup>1</sup> He tried to find the value of the *quinaria* by comparing it with the unit employed in Rome in his own day, and reached the conclusion that it was about 56 cubic metres, or 15,000 gallons (American) in 24 hours. Now as the total number of *quinariae* delivered every day by the nine aqueducts was, according to Frontinus, 14,018, this would give about 200 million gallons as the daily supply of ancient Rome. But De Prony deliberately based his estimate on two assumptions: first, assuming that the head acting on the *quinaria* was equal to its length; secondly, assuming that the *quinaria* was discharged into free air. But neither of these assumptions have we the right to make — certainly not the latter, for the *quinariae* did not discharge into free air, but out of the delivery tanks into the pipes that ran to buildings, fountains, etc. Still, De Prony's principle has been adopted and his figures in details amplified until we get in our books the vast number which I have cited.

Observing these fallacies, Mr. Herschel has tried to get a better idea of the amount of Roman water supply from some more recent investigations made by Colonel Blumenstihl, an engineer.<sup>2</sup> His method was as follows: he

<sup>1</sup> *Mém. de l'Institut: Acad. des Sciences, Math., et Phys.*, ii, p. 417.

<sup>2</sup> *Brevi Notizie sull' Acqua Pià: 1872.* Lanciani himself approved the method of these investigations in his large Italian work on the aqueducts, *I Commentarii di Frontino*, p. 362.

measured the actual velocity of the Aqua Marcia at the present time at a point near its intake, and found it to be  $3\frac{1}{4}$  feet per second. At about this point Frontinus says that it had 4690 *quinariae*. The proper calculation readily shows that a *quinaria* pipe running at this rate per second was discharging about 9250 gallons. But the term *quinaria* was, as we have seen, used by Frontinus of the amount of water at other points in the aqueduct, — at its point of discharge, for instance. The term, therefore, was employed of water flowing with less velocity — for example, at the rate of two feet or even of one foot per second. In other words, as Mr. Herschel remarks, the value of a *quinaria* might range from about 9000 gallons in 24 hours to about 2500 gallons. Taking a liberal average (say 6000 gallons), he calculates that the total of 14,018 *quinariae* delivered daily by the nine aqueducts may have amounted to about 84 million gallons a day. And this amount was, according to Mr. Herschel, the maximum of Roman water supply. He goes on, however, to observe that, according to Frontinus, a good deal of water was either wasted by leakage along the route or diverted by being drawn off illegally by individuals before it reached the distributing points in Rome. But the figures given by Frontinus are exclusive of such wastes and thefts. This is a fact which Mr. Herschel seems not to have observed when he proceeds to reduce his 84 million gallons by more than one-half in order to find the actual supply minus these thefts and leakages.

If, now, we accept the estimate of 84 millions, and suppose that this supplied a million people, we get a per capita rate of 84 gallons a day; or for a million and a half of people, 56 gallons a day. It must be remembered



that this estimate is almost purely conjectural, for it depends only upon the actually measured velocity of a single aqueduct near its point of intake. Still, it is obviously more trustworthy than the figures which we find in our handbooks, and it may therefore be compared with the water supplies of several cities in the United States. The figures for these are taken from reports kindly furnished to me, either in print or letter, by the water commissioners of the various cities, and are for the year 1901, except in the case of Chicago, which is for 1900. They represent actual consumption, not possible supply, which could not be given in all cases. The figures for Rome represent supply. But the discrepancy makes no difference to my argument, for it will be seen that in all but two cases the per capita consumption in the modern cities is greater than the per capita supply of 84 gallons estimated for Rome. The figures are as follows:—

CITY.	AVERAGE DAILY CONSUMPTION IN GALLONS.	PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION IN GALLONS.
Cambridge . . . . .	7,520,976	80.7
Borough of Brooklyn, N.Y. . .	97,000,000	83
Baltimore . . . . .	56,000,000	100
Boston . . . . .	101,492,000	120
Boroughs of Manhattan and The Bronx, N.Y. . . . .	275,000,000	134
Chicago . . . . .	322,599,630	161
Philadelphia . . . . .	279,975,453	211.9

From these figures we see that in the city of Cambridge<sup>1</sup> and the borough of Brooklyn the per capita con-

<sup>1</sup> With a population of 93,000 — the only city on the list having less than half a million people.

sumption is less than the 84 gallons of supply estimated for Rome. In passing we observe that Brooklyn, with a population of 1,166,000 (or about that which is generally estimated for Rome), has a consumption<sup>1</sup> almost exactly equal to Mr. Herschel's estimate of the Roman supply. We note further that the consumption of Boston is nearly one half as much again as the supply of Rome; the consumption of the boroughs of Manhattan and The Bronx is more than half as much again; the consumption of Chicago is nearly twice as great; and finally the consumption of Philadelphia is more than two and a half times the supply of Rome. If the population of Rome is taken at a million and a half, the excess of per capita rate in favor of modern cities will be vastly greater. Now the result of these comparisons is just what I should, on my *a priori* grounds, have expected to reach; namely, that the water supply of ancient Rome was not so great as that which a large city in modern times requires.

We must not forget, however, that this conclusion is based upon *conjectures* about the amount of supply and the number of inhabitants of Rome. But it may also be reached, I believe, without any conjecture at all in an entirely different manner; that is, by showing that the public water supply in modern cities has increased from time to time in greater proportion than the supply of Rome increased. I have drawn up from Frontinus a table which shows the comparative increase of Roman water supply with the building of the different aqueducts. Necessarily it is expressed in *quinariae*, but this does not

<sup>1</sup> The water commissioner, however, reports that the available supply is wholly inadequate to the demand.

affect my purpose. The table gives also the dates at which the aqueducts were built.

AQUEDUCT.	DATE.	SUPPLY IN <i>quinariae</i> .	TOTAL SUPPLY.
Appia . . . . .	312 B.C.	704	704
Anio Vetus . . . . .	272-269	1610	2314
Marcia . . . . .	144-140	1935	4249
Tepula . . . . .	125	445	4694
Julia . . . . .	33	803	5497
Virgo . . . . .	19	2504	8001
Alsietina . . . . .	Augustan	392	8393
Claudia . . . . .	38-52 A.D.	2812 <sup>1</sup>	11,205
Anio Novus . . . . .	38-52 A.D.	2813 <sup>1</sup>	14,018

From this table it appears that it had not been found necessary to double the supply between the time of Cicero, who died in 43 B.C., and the completion of the Claudian and New Anio aqueducts in 52 A.D., a period of 95 years, including the Augustan age with all its grandeur and development. After the building of these two aqueducts it was almost tripled. But take the city of New York. The consumption in 1860 was 54 million gallons; in 1900, after a period of only 40 years, it had become 255 million, or 4.7 times as much. I am careful here to compare only the present borough of Manhattan with what was the old city of New York. In the same period the per capita consumption has doubled. The year 1860 is the earliest for which figures could be furnished to me by the New York Commissioner of Water Supply. For

<sup>1</sup> We know the amount supplied by these two aqueducts together, but not by each singly.

Boston we can go back farther, and it appears that since 1850, in the period of 51 years, the per capita consumption has increased nearly 2.9 times (from 42 gallons to 120). In Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the 50 years from 1852 to 1902, the per capita consumption has increased 7.1 and 6.3 times respectively (from 14 to 100 gallons, and from  $33\frac{86}{100}$  to 211.9 gallons). Chicago (but this is of course a most peculiar case) had in 1854 a per capita consumption of 8.9 gallons, which had risen in 1900 to 161 gallons. During the last thirty years it has increased 2.2 times.

It appears, therefore, that we cannot trust our books on antiquities, and that until other evidence is produced we should believe that the Roman uses for water, and consequently the water supply, were less than those of a modern metropolis.

## ΣΚΗΝΑΩ, ΣΚΗΝΕΩ, ΣΚΗΝΟΩ

### A CONTRIBUTION TO LEXICOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

THE verbs *σκηνάω*, *σκηνέω*, *σκηνόω* have never, to my knowledge, been fully examined. In this article it is proposed (1) to collect all the forms which occur, both of the simple verbs and of their compounds; (2) to assign each form to its proper present; (3) to discuss the meanings.

The collection of forms discloses an interesting fact. The words are confined to a few authors, and of 69 forms which occur in classical Greek, there are 59 in Xenophon. The other classical authors who use these words are Aeschylus (once), Aristophanes (once), Thucydides (three times in the Mss., but probably really twice), Demosthenes (once), Plato (four times). The words are not found in Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristotle, or in the orators, except in the single passage of Demosthenes.<sup>2</sup> In late authors, lexicographers and grammarians, I find 44 additional forms, as well as two others in inscriptions, a total of 115 forms in all.

The assignment of the different forms to their proper presents is no easy task. One difficulty arises from the

<sup>1</sup> From the *American Journal of Philology*, 1892, xiv, 71-84; *ibid.* p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> These statements are based upon the special lexicons to Homer and the tragedians, Dunbar's Concordance to Aristophanes, Essen's Index to Thucydides, Paulsen's to Hesiod, the Index Graecitatis in Reiske's Orators, Ast's *Lexicon Platonicum*, the Index to the Berlin Aristotle, Keller's Index to the *Hellenica*, and on my own examination of the other works of Xenophon.

uncertainty of origin attaching to the contracted forms. In fact, when they are considered as mere forms, the only one in the authors which necessarily presupposes a *σκηνάω* is *σκηνάσθαι*; there is no form in itself calling for *σκηνέω*; from *σκηνώω*, however, are formed *σκηνοῦν*, *ἐσκήνου* (3d person impf. act.), *σκηνώσω*, *-εσκήνωσε*, *ἐσκήνωσαν*, *σκηνώσαι*, *σκηνώσας*, *-εσκηνώκατε*, *-εσκηνωκένοι*, *-εσκηνώκει*, *ἐσκηνωμένος*, *-εσκηνωθήναι*. But the following might be formed from either *-άω* or *-έω*: *σκηνήσουσι*, *σκηνήσειν*, *σκηνήσοιεν*, *ἐσκήνησαν*, *σκηνησάμενος*, *ἐσκήνηται*, etc.; the following from *-έω* or *-όω*: *σκηνοῦμεν*, *σκηνοῦσι*, *σκηνοῦντες*, *ἐσκήνουν*; and from either *-άω*, *έω* or *όω* the subjv. *-σκηνώσι*.

Observing that no form calls necessarily for *σκηνέω*, one might be inclined to say that there is no such word. Still, Thomas Magister recognizes it in the following passage (337, 18 Ritschl): —

*καὶ σκηνὴ καὶ σκήνωμα παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ· οἱ ῥήτορες δὲ σκηνήν μόνον γράφουσιν. καὶ σκηνώ σκηνώ μόνον παρ' ἐκείνῃ· παρὰ δὲ τούτοις σκηνέω σκηνώ ὡς ἐπιπολύ, ἅπαξ δὲ καὶ σκηνώ σκηνώ. Ἀριστείδης ἐν Θεμιστοκλεῖ· παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον ἐσκηνήσθαι· καὶ πάλιν· ὁμοῦ τοῖς ναύταις ἐσκηνωμένος.*

And the Scholiast (Rav.) on Ar. *Ach.* 69 recognizes three verbs (see below, p. 92). Further, it would be extraordinary if there were formations in *-άω* and *-όω*, yet none in *-έω*, for verbs of this last form are, certainly so far as Xenophon is concerned, far more common than those of the first two. Thus, a count of these verbs in the *Anabasis* (including compounds) shows 87 in *-άω*, 26 in *-όω*, and 247 in *-έω*. Excluding compounds, the figures respectively are 41, 18, and 125.

That the difficulty of distinguishing the forms was recognized early, Eustathius indirectly testifies (*Il. a*, p. 70): *καὶ τὸ σκηνώδὲ σκηνώσω, ἔξ οὗ καὶ σκήνωμα, καὶ τὸ σκηνώ σκηνήσω, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ σκηνῆται, διαφορὰν ἔχουσιν φανεράν.* It is evident that we must inquire into the distinction of meaning among the different presents before attempting to assign the doubtful forms to their proper verbs.

As the verbs are denominatives, a consideration of the substantives formed from the same root may be useful. The chief is *σκηνή*. This word means literally no more than *a shelter*. It denotes in usage something temporary, as a hut, booth, or tent, but these not necessarily intended for soldiers. The same may be said of *σκήνος*, *σκήνωμα*, cf. *κατασκήνωσις*, etc. Of course the words are common enough in the sense of a soldier's tent. But we find them also applied to shops and public inns (Becker-Göll, *Charities*, ii, 196), to temporary dwellings for new settlers provided by the old inhabitants of a town (C. I. G. 3137, B. 57 = Ditt. Syll. 171, 57), to the theatre building (Ar. *Pac.* 731, Xen. *Cyr.* 6, 1, 54). But above all other civil uses, the *σκηνή*, *σκήνος*, or *σκήνωμα* was most frequently employed at religious festivals and general assemblies, including the great games, in fact at every *πανήγυρις*. The case is stated in a nutshell by Foucart (sur Lebas, *Voyage Archéol.* i, p. 170):—

'Les lois religieuses des Grecs ne permettaient pas d'élever des habitations permanentes dans les enceintes sacrées. Du reste elles auraient été insuffisantes pour la foule que les solennités attiraient. *Tout le monde campaient.*'

This is not the moment to enlarge upon the ancient

'camp meeting.' It is enough for the present purpose to say that it was a familiar idea to the Greeks.<sup>1</sup>

One more substantive formed from the root *σκα* must be considered, because in Xenophon it has a peculiar meaning. This is *συσκηλία*. Its proper meaning is of course *a dwelling in the same tent*, and the corresponding word *σύσκηνος* would mean *tent-companion* (Thuc. 7, 75, 4). But in Xenophon *συσκηλία* frequently means *a feeding together*. Trieber, in his *Forschungen zur spartanischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, p. 21 ff., has shown how this came about. The words *συσσάτριον* and *σύσσιτος* are ordinarily employed in this second sense. But Trieber points out (p. 15) that *συσσάτριον* in Sparta was the name of a small division of the troops, and that hence Xenophon, in his Lacedaemonian State, cannot use it to signify *a feeding together*, and substitutes for it *συσκηλία*, and for *σύσσιτος* uses *σύσκηνος*. Trieber adds that Hippodamus (ap. Stob. *Flor.* 43, 93) used *συσκαυίας* in the same Xenophontic sense.

Now of the different uses of the substantives formed from the root *σκα*, three will be found of value in establishing the meanings of the verbs — (1) the military; (2) the religious; (3) the feeding sense, as found in Xenophon. These differences have been ignored by lexicogra-

<sup>1</sup> The following list of citations proves this clearly. It is given here as a contribution to the subject, in the belief that the passages have not before been so fully collected: —

*Ar. Thesm.* 624 and schol.; 658; *Pac.* 879 and schol.; [*Andoc.* 33, 9] *Xen. Hellen.* 5, 3, 19; 7, 4, 32 (cf. 28); Paus. 10, 32, 9; Plut. *Alc.* 12; Luc. *Amor.* 12; C. I. G. 1625; 3069, 30; 3071; Ditt. Syll. 189, 11; 125, 28; 362, 2; 388, 34. See also Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, ii, p. 196. For *σκηνοπηγία* applied to the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, C. I. G. 5361. In this list references are given to substantives and adjectives and not to the verbs *σκηναίω*, etc., as they will be treated below.



phers. Of the verbs themselves Curtius (*Das Verbum*, i<sup>2</sup>, p. 358) says only this: 'alle drei gut attisch, ohne bestimmte Gebrauchsverschiedenheit.' In Liddell and Scott's lexicon we find: 'the proper difference of σκηπέω (or -άω) and σκηνώω is, that the former signifies *to be in tents, be encamped*; the latter, *to set up tents, encamp*; though this is not strictly observed.' This is the ordinary distinction found in the older general and in the special lexicons. But in practice the makers of the dictionary seem to have abandoned the distinction altogether, and the result is chaotic, especially in the treatment of the compounds. Vaniček (p. 1055) says: 'σκηνή . . . σκηνώω, *in einem Zelt u. s. w. wohnen, sich aufhalten, niederlassen*; (\*σκήνος) σκηνώω, *ein Zelt u. s. w. errichten*, = σκηνώω; σκηπέ[σ]ω, = σκηπέω.' These are all the general remarks upon the verbs which I have seen.

What Curtius says (*ibid.*, p. 355) about the interchange and the meaning of verbs in -άω, -έω, and -όω shows how difficult and how often impossible it is to learn the meanings of the different kinds by having recourse to etymological formulae. But in speaking of verbs in -άω he says that they come from noun-stems in α, and get their meanings from these nouns, generally denoting the exercise of some activity or the existence of some state. Taking σκηνάσθαι, the only form which necessarily presupposes a verb in -άω, we might say that it comes from σκηνώω, meaning *to tent, to encamp* (cf. σφενδονάω, *to sling*, ἀριστάω, *to breakfast*, τελευτάω, *to end*). If we found no active form we might say that in this verb the active was never or only rarely used, and might compare μηχανάομαι, σταθμάω, βιδάω. If we found active forms we might say that both

active and middle or passive were used in the same sense, and might compare *πειράω*. In this case we should have the right to say that the doubtful forms *σκηνήσω*, *έσκήνησαν*, etc., might be from *σκηνώω* as well as from *σκηνέω*. If, however, we examined the passages in which the doubtful middle or passive forms occurred and found that in all, or practically all, there was a peculiar meaning, and that this was not the military meaning found in the substantives, but the religious, and that the reverse was the case with the doubtful active forms, we might be inclined to say that we were dealing with two distinct verbs, one in *-άω*, the other in *-έω*, and that these verbs were carefully distinguished in usage. For instance, cf. Thuc. 1, 89, 3, *έν αἰς αὐτοἰ έσκήνησαν* (military), and 2, 52, 3, *έν οἷς έσκήνηντο* (religious), passages to be considered more fully below. Now it will appear that this difference actually did exist. Abandoning, therefore, the previous line, I approach *σκηνώω* from a different point. The active *θεινώω* is transitive and means *to feast, to entertain*, the middle and passive intransitive, meaning *to feast, to banquet*; so *είνώω*, *to put to bed*, mid. and pass., *to lie abed*; cf. *διατάω*, *διατάομαι* (cf. Rutherford, *Phrynichus*, p. 188), *κοιμάω*, *κοιμάομαι*. So if we had a *σκηνώω* from *σκηνή*, a *shelter*, it might mean *to put in shelter*, mid. and pass., *put oneself or be put in shelter, tent, camp out, take up one's abode*. Now, these are the meanings which we actually find with all the middle or passive forms, but confined to the civil, and practically to the 'camp meeting' sense. The present of the verb, as found in the authors, never means *to be in camp*, or *to dwell*, as Liddell and Scott and Vaniček say. Turning to the authors, we find the compound *κατασκηνώω*

σθαι in Plat. *Rep.* 614 E, τὰς ψυχὰς . . . ἀσμέναι εἰς τὸν λειμῶνα ἀπιούσας οἶον ἐν πανηγύρει κατασκηναῖσθαι, where the meaning is that Er saw the souls camp out as people do at a festival. Here we have the verb in what I have called the religious meaning. A little further along (621 A) we find Er saying of the souls in the plain of Lethe that he saw σκηναῖσθαι οὐν σφᾶς ἤδη ἐσπέρας γιγνομένης παρὰ τὸν Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν. The same idea is plainly to be understood. Now, there are seven other passages in the authors in which middle or passive forms are found, all of which may come from σκηναῖσθαι. In the order of tenses first comes σκηνησάμενος, Pl. *Legg.* 866 D. Here the homicide, if cast ashore on the coast of the country from which he has been exiled, is directed to watch for a ship, σκηνησάμενος ἐν θαλάττῃ τέγγων τοὺς πόδας. This is generally rendered 'having taken up his abode on the shore,' etc. Evidently there is no military sense here; the thought is merely of a temporary shelter, and the word is as likely to be chosen from the use of the σκηνή at festivals as from its employment in military camps. The same participle occurs in the manuscripts of Thuc. 1, 133, 1, where the spy on Pausanias is spoken of as σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν διαφράγματι καλύβην; this is rendered 'having prepared for shelter a hut divided by a partition.' This passage has frequently been suspected on the ground that the verb (variously called by editors σκηναῖσθαι or σκηναῖσθαι) is elsewhere intransitive. Even if it were transitive, we have seen that it would not be so in the sense required here, and some correction of the text, like Madvig's σκευασαμένου, must be adopted. In the Republic again (610 E) we find a form, the perfect, and in the

neighborhood of the passages already quoted. Of injustice it is said, οὕτω πόρρω που, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐσκήνηται τοῦ θανάσιμος εἶναι. Here, too, there is no military reference any more than before; the word means *dwells*, as in Aristides below. We come next to two passages in a late author, Aristides. One of them is referred to by Thomas Magister in the place quoted above (p. 86); in the other the same form ἐσκηνησθαι appears. In the first (ii, p. 246 Dind.) a man is said παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον ἐσκηνησθαι: in the second (ii, p. 581) the words are οὐδ' αὐτῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἤρκει παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας ἐσκηνησθαι τοῦ πατρός. Neither of them necessarily supposes a military use of the word, although the first certainly looks in that direction. It will be remembered that Thomas Magister (see above, p. 86) took this form from σκηνέω. It is perhaps rather hard on him to use his words towards proving the existence of a σκηνέω and then to suggest that he was wrong in taking this particular form from that verb. Still, we shall find that the real σκηνέω is active and intransitive, and is confined to the military sense. In Aristides the verbs, here *perfect*, not present, mean no more than *to dwell* (cf. the perf. ἐσκηνωμένος, below, p. 98), the *present* meaning *take up one's dwelling*:

Next is the form ἐσκηνημένοι in Aristophanes (*Ach.* 69). The scholiast here says: κέκλιται τὸ ῥήμα ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῶν περισπωμένων. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης, ἦν ἂν διὰ τοῦ ω, ὡς κεχρυσωμένοι.<sup>1</sup> That is, he appears to take the form to be from -άω. It is passive, and means *sheltered, screened*, the reference being to the covered carriages used

<sup>1</sup> The form in -άω was the commonest of the three in usage (see p. 103); hence this warning scholion.

in Persia. Blaydes compares *σκηνή* in Aesch. *Pers.* 1000; Plut. *Them.* 26.

The pluperfect occurs in Thuc. 2, 52, 3, *τά τε ἱερά ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν*. Here (and in 2, 17, 1<sup>1</sup>) the meaning is not that persons were quartered actually in the temple buildings, but *ἱερά* means the sacred precincts about the temples, in which people actually camped out at festivals, and *ἐσκήνηντο* is used in the religious sense (cf. 1, 89, 3, where *ἐσκήνησαν* is used in the military sense).

This completes my collection of middle and passive forms, and it appears that Liddell and Scott were right in referring them all to *-άω*, but not exact in the meaning assigned to the present. It will be observed that not one of them necessarily suggests the military meaning of *σκηνή*. In Hesychius, however, we find in Schmidt's editions *σκηνώντες · σύσκηνοι. λέγονται δὲ καὶ σκηνωταί*. We have seen that the active of *σκηνάω* might be transitive; here it appears to be intransitive. But the manuscript has *σκηνόντες*, and Schmidt followed Musurus in reading *σκηνώντες*. Now, the form *σκηνόντες* may be Doric for *σκηνοῦντες* (from *-έω*), (cf. *κρατόντες, κοσμόντες*, Blass-Kühner, *Ausf. Gram.*, p. 202); or, if we read *σκηνώντες*, this also may be Doric for *σκηνοῦντες*, from *-έω* or *-όω* (*ibid.*, p. 205). We are therefore dealing here with a dialectic form of *-έω* or *-όω*, and not with *-άω* at all.

It is worth noting that of the ten classical occurrences of the verbs outside of Xenophon, seven have already been treated. I shall next examine *σκηνώω*. Of verbs in *-ωω*, Curtius (*ibid.*) says that in the majority of cases they are

<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρήμα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, κτλ.

formed from adjectival *o*-stems, and that they have a causative or factitative meaning, so that we can translate them *to make something*. With this class we are evidently not dealing now. He adds, 'along with these go others which come from substantives, and have a similar meaning, that of *bring about something, provide with something, e.g. στεφανώω*.' On this principle *σκηνώω* should be formed from *σκήνος* and be transitive, meaning *provide with a shelter, make tent, put into camp*. I find only one trace of this causative sense, and that in Plutarch, *μακρὰν ἀπεσκηνώκει τὰ ὄτα τῶν μουσῶν*, 2, p. 334 B. But in its ordinary usage the verb is not causative. Rutherford (Babrius, p. 25) speaks of this and compares *ιδρώω, ῥιγώω*, and *μεσώω*. Even the causative *ὑπνώω* has sometimes an intr. meaning; cf. also *ὀμοιώω, προσομοιώω, ἐξισώω, κατορθώω, χηρώω*. Among other verbs in *-ώω*, *κυκλώω* is not causative. Another, *βιώω*, is not causative, and it is very often found with the cognate acc. *βίον*. Somewhat like this is the well-known place in Aesch. *Eum.* 634, *φάρος περσεκήνωσεν* (cod. M) or *παρσεκήνωσεν* (dett.). This is the only passage in classical Greek in which the verb in *-ώω* has an accusative. In all the other passages it is intransitive, and we shall find that it properly means *to tent, camp, camp out, pitch one's tent*, and *encamp*, the general meaning ascribed to it by Liddell and Scott.

In the classic authors the only forms which necessarily imply a *σκηνώω* are *σκηνοῦν* and *-σκηνοῦν, ἐσκήνου, -εσκήνωσεν, ἐσκήνωσαν, -εσκηνώκατε*. These forms (omitting the Aeschylus passage) occur 16 times. In twelve of them the verb has the meaning *encamp* or *go into quarters*, in the military sense, as follows: *σκηνοῦν* and *-σκηνοῦν*, Xen.

*A.* 4, 4, 10; 5, 23; 5, 7, 31; *Cyr.* 2, 1, 25; 8, 5, 3; *Hellen.* 7, 1, 38; ἐσκήνου, *A.* 7, 4, 11; *Hellen.* 5, 4, 56; -εσκήνωσεν, *A.* 2, 2, 16; *Cyr.* 4, 5, 39; ἐσκήνωσαν, *Dem.* 54, 3; -εσκηνώκατε, *Cyr.* 6, 2, 2. In one place it has primarily the same meaning, but Xenophon would probably not have used the word here were it not for the idea of *feeding* which we have seen that he attached to the substantive *συσκηνία*. This is in the *Cyr.* 6, 1, 49, καὶ νῦν μὲν σε ἀφήμι, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν, ἀθις δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ δέησει σε σκηνοῦν σὺν τοῖς σοῖς τε καὶ ἐμοῖς φίλοις. Here *δειπνεῖν* and *σκηνοῦν* are practically synonyms. In the other three of the sixteen passages the verb has not what Liddell and Scott call its proper meaning. In these it denotes not an activity but a state of being. That is, it has a meaning which, on Curtius's principle, we might have expected to find with *σκηνάω*, but did not, and which is actually and rightly attributed to *σκηπέω* by Liddell and Scott. Thus in *Anab.* 5, 5, 11, νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν βία παρεληλυθότας ἐνίοις σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, means 'we hear that you have forced your way into the city and *are quartered* in the houses'; so also the same word in 5, 5, 20. In the third passage the word is used once more with reference to the *feeding* idea in *συσκηνία*, *Cyr.* 4, 5, 8, αὐτὸς τε ἐμεθύσκετο μεθ' ὧνπερ ἐσκήνου ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχία. Hence in thirteen of the sixteen classical passages *σκηνώω* has the primary idea *to tent*; in three, *to be in a tent*; (cf. in this sense *μεσώω*).

That the former is the proper meaning of the verb is made still more certain by its usage in late authors. In these the forms which must come from *σκηνώω* are *σκηνοῦν*, *-σκηνοῦν*, *σκηνώσω*, *-εσκήνωσε*, *ἐσκήνωσαν*, *-εσκήνωσαν*, *σκη-*

νώσαι, -σκηνώσαι, σκηνώσας, -σκηνώσαντες, -εσκηνωκέαι, -εσκηνώκει, ἐσκηνωμένος, -εσκηνωθήναι. These forms occur 25 times. In twenty of the passages the verb has its proper usage and meaning, in four it takes an accusative or is used in the passive with a subject accusative, and in one the form is ἐσκηνωμένος, which must be considered by itself. In not one is it used in the meaning *to be in quarters, be in camp*. This meaning is assigned by Liddell and Scott to σκηνώ, and it begins to look as if Eustathius was right when he said *καὶ τὸ σκηνώ δὲ σκηνώσω . . . καὶ τὸ σκηνώ σκηνήσω διαφορὰν ἔχουσιν φανεράν* (see above, p. 87). In eleven of the twenty passages the word means *to pitch one's tent, camp, encamp* in the military sense (with suitable variations for the compounds), viz. -σκηνοῦν, Polyb. 14, 2, 8; 35, 2, 4; Plut. *Eum.* 15; -εσκήνωσε, Plut. *Demetr.* 9; Polyb. 10, 31, 5; ἐσκήνωσαν, Poll. 1, 160; -εσκήνωσαν, Polyb. 21, 13, 7; Polyæn. 7, 21, 6; Poll. 1, 160; -σκηνώσαντες, Polyb. 4, 18, 8; 4, 72, 1. In one of the nineteen it means *camp out* in the religious sense, Ael. *V. H.* 4, 9, Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἐν Ὀλυμπία συνεσκήνωσεν ἀγνώσιν ἀνθρώποις. The remaining eight of the twenty form a class by themselves, for in them the verb has neither the military nor the religious sense, but means simply *fix one's dwelling, take up one's abode*.<sup>1</sup> The first is from an inscription (Ditt. Syll. 126, 3 = Hicks, 149, 3),

<sup>1</sup> This is its only meaning in the New Testament and in the Greek version of the Old. I have not chosen to include its Scriptural occurrence in the body of my article, but insert here the following passages, on the authority of Professor Thayer's Lexicon, as the only ones in the New Testament in which the verb is found: *Matth.* 13, 32; *Mk.* 4, 32; *Lk.* 13, 19; *Jn.* 1, 14; *Acts* 2, 26; *2 Cor.* 12, 9; *Rev.* 7, 15; 12, 12; 13, 6; 21, 3. Neither σκηνώ nor σκηνώω are found in the New Testament; cf. Thom. Mag. quoted above, p. 86; so Thayer.



σκηνοῦν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πανηγυρ[ί]ζειν μετὰ τῶν παρ' [ὑμῶν ἀφικομέ]ων καὶ καλεῖσθαι Τήϊον. The inscription concerns the incorporation of the people of Lebedos with the Teians, at the end of the fourth century B.C. Although this passage is very like Plato, *Rep.* 614 E, οἶον ἐν πανηγύρει κατασκηναῖσθαι, I do not think that the meaning of σκηνοῦν in the inscription is as limited as that of κατασκηναῖσθαι in the Republic. The inscription goes on to state how temporary dwellings are to be provided. The meaning *take up one's abode* is found also as follows: παρασκηνοῦν, Plut. 2, p. 51 E, κατασκηνοῦν, Diod. Sic. 19, 94; κατεσκήνωσε, Josephus, *A.* 3, 8, 5; σκηνώσαι, κατασκηνώσαι, Poll. 1, 73; κατεσκηνωκέσαι, Synesius, Migne lxxvi, p. 1179; in Diod. Sic. 14, 32, μετασκηνοῦν means *remove*.

I come next to the four cases in late authors in which σκηνώ takes an accusative. One has already been mentioned, the only passage in which the verb is causative (Plut. 2, p. 334, B, see above, p. 94). In Polyaeus, 7, 21, 6, we find προσεποιήσατο στρατοπεδεύειν, τὰς μὲν μεγίστας καὶ ὑψηλοτάτας σκηναὶς κατὰ πρόσωπον σκηνώσας, *he pretended to encamp, pitching the biggest and highest tents in front*. In classical authors the phrase would be σκηναὶς πήξασθαι, so far as we can judge from Hdt. 6, 12 and [Andoc. 33, 9]<sup>1</sup> (cf. σκηνοπηγία, σκηνοπηγέω), or σκηναὶς ἵστασθαι, cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8, 5, 3. Polyaeus used the phrase on the principle of cognate accusatives. Perhaps he was influenced by the Latin use of *tendere*; though *tentoria tendere* does not occur in the authors, we have *iubet praetorium tendi*, Caes. *B. C.* 3, 82. Cf. also the cognate

<sup>1</sup> In Plat. *Legg.* 817 C, σκηναὶς πήξαντες, the reference is to a tent or booth set up by actors in a tragedy.

accusative in Aesch. *Eum.* 634 (above, p. 94). The next accusative is in Aelian (*V. H.* 3, 14), *προσέταξε τὰ καπηλεία ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν διασκηνωθῆναι*, *he ordered shops to be set up along the wall*, where the object has become subject of the infinitive. Last we have in Plutarch (*Cam.* 31), *βιαζομένου σκηνοῦν ἐρείπια*, *forcing them to inhabit ruins*. Here is the result of the post-classical use of *σκηνώ* in the sense of *take up one's abode*. It has become as transitive a verb as *οἰκέω*.

Out of the 25 passages to be examined there remains one in which occurs the form *ἔσκηνωμένος*, Aristid. ii, p. 277 Dind., *ὁμοῦ τοῖς ναύταις ἔσκηνωμένος*. Here we might have expected *ἔσκηνημένος* (see p. 92). Thomas Magister quoted this passage for the very reason that we have in it an unusual form, one he says found nowhere else *παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι*. The fact, which will become more evident as we go on, that *σκηνώ* was by far the commonest verb in late Greek, may account for its usage here. Or its existence may be due to the principle of analogy; the verb *σκηνώ* ought to be causative; it really is so used in one passage in Plutarch; hence the perf. pass. might be thought to mean *provided with a tent*, i.e. *tent* (cf. the passives of *γυμνώω*, *χολώω*, *μονώω*, *αἵματώω*, and the form *δεδομάτωμαι*, Aesch. *Suppl.* 958).

I have now spoken of every form which necessarily comes from *-όω*, and it appears that in the very great majority of cases (33-3, omitting the five places where the verb takes an accusative and omitting also *ἔσκηνωμένος*) the verb *σκηνώ* has what I have spoken of as its proper meaning. It will also be observed that the military sense predominates with this word (26-16). This was far from being the case with the verb in *-άω*.

Examining next the forms which might come from either *-τω* or *-δω*, I find that they occur 33 times. In seven of these the primary meaning is *encamp*; five of the seven are military, and I do not hesitate to refer all seven to *σκηνώω*, viz. *ἐσκήνουν*, Xen. *A.* 3, 4, 35; *Cyr.* 2, 1, 25; Arrian, *A.* 1, 3, 6; 3, 29, 4; Josephus, *B. J.* 3, 7, 17. The sixth is in Plutarch (2, p. 627 A). The words here are: *μὴ μακροῦ οὕτως ἀποσκηνοῦ τῶν ἰδίων*, *don't settle so far afield from where you belong*. I should be inclined here to amend the accent and read the active *ἀποσκήνου*, were it not for two reasons; first, in Plut. 2, p. 334 B (see above, p. 94) the active of this very verb is used causatively; secondly, we had the form *ἐσκηνωμένος* in Aristides (see p. 98). The seventh form is *μετασκηνώ τῆς πατρίδος*, Anon. ap. Walz, *Rhett.* 3, p. 583, 25; the meaning is *remove* (cf. *Diod. Sic.* 14, 32, above, p. 97).

In nine of the 33 passages the primary meaning is *be in camp*. It is true that I was obliged to admit (p. 95) that *σκηνώω* had this meaning in three cases. But these nine may be assigned to a different verb, *σκηνέω*, and under it I shall place them. All are military except the last. The first eight are: *σκηνοῦμεν*, Xen. *A.* 5, 5, 21; *σκηνοῦσι*, Xen. *A.* 5, 5, 20, *-σκηνοῦσι*, Arrian, *Anab.* 2, 12, 4; *σκηνοῖεν*, Xen. *A.* 7, 4, 12; *σκηνοῦντος*, Xen. *Hellen.* 4, 6, 7; *σκηνοῦντες*, Xen. *Cyr.* 4, 2, 11; *σκηνοῦντας*, Xen. *A.* 4, 5, 33; 6, 1, 1. The ninth is in Plutarch (2, p. 735 D): *οἱ δὲ φυλλοχόοι μῆνες ἤδη τῷ χειμῶνι παρασκηνοῦντες*, where the idea resembles *abiding*, not *taking up one's abode*.

Next there are five passages in which I cannot decide between *σκηνέω* and *σκηνώω*. Four are military, and the meaning may be either *encamp* or *be in camp*, viz. *ἐσκήνουν*,

Xen. *A.* 1, 4, 9; 4, 8, 25; 6, 4, 7; *σκηνοῦντες*, 4, 4, 14. The fifth is an instance of the 'camp meeting' use. In the description of the festivities held in the *τέμενος* which Xenophon dedicated to Artemis (*A.* 5, 3, 9) occur the words *παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσι ἄλφιστα κ. τ. λ.* Here *σκηνοῦσι* may mean *to those who were wont to camp out* or *to those who were camping out*.

Finally, out of the thirty-three, there are twelve passages, all in Xenophon, in which the verb has the 'feeding' sense. I have already mentioned (p. 95) that this notion was attached to Xenophon's use of *σκηνώ* in two passages. Therefore, a form doubtful in itself, but which means *to feed*, should be ascribed to *σκηνώ*; one which means *be feeding* should be ascribed to *σκηνέω*. Out of the twelve I give to *σκηνώ* the forms *συσκηνοῦσι*, *R. L.* 13, 1; *Hellen.* 5, 3, 20; *ἔξω σκηνοῖεν*, *R. L.* 15, 4; *οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας*, *R. L.* 5, 2; and to *σκηνέω* the forms *συσκηνοῦντων*, *R. L.* 5, 4; *C.* 3, 2, 25; *Hellen.* 3, 2, 8; *συσκηνοῖεν*, *C.* 2, 2, 1; *σκηνοῦντας*,<sup>1</sup> *Hellen.* 7, 4, 36. Three forms remain, compounds of *διδ.* The meaning of all is *leave the table* (i.e. *eat through to the end*), and all may be assigned to *σκηνώ*, viz. *διασκηνώσιν*, *R. L.* 5, 3; *διασκηνῶν*, *Hellen.* 4, 8, 18;<sup>2</sup> *διασκηνοῦντων*, *C.* 3, 1, 38.

This completes my examination of *σκηνώ*. The forms occur 60 times, of which 26 are Attic, 25 late, 8 in lexicographers and grammarians, and one in an inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Here Treiber (p. 22, note 1) would read *συσκηνοῦντας*, a probable improvement. We have seen that the 'feeding' sense may attach to the simple *σκηνώ*, but this was only when prepositions (*σύν* and *μετά*) and their cases, or adverbs (*οἴκοι*, *ἔξω*) strengthened the verb.

<sup>2</sup> Here Keller accepts and prints the emendation *διασκέων*, which has much *in its favor*; still one might expect to find *διασκηνῶν* in his index of words.

I come finally to the forms of *σκηνέω*. Of verbs in *-έω* Curtius points out that at a very early period they differed from forms in *-άω* by being intransitive. We saw that we might have expected *σκηνάω* to denote the exercise of some activity or the existence of some state; but we found no certain active form of *σκηνάω* in the authors. We did find *σκηναῖσθαι*, etc., and, from the peculiarity of its usage, argued that *σκηναῖν*, had it occurred, might have been found to have the transitive meaning of *shelter*. If we find, therefore, forms such as *σκηνήσω* and *ἐσκήμησα*, which might come equally well from *-άω* or *-έω*, and if these forms are intransitive, we might refer them to *σκηνέω*. The following are all such forms that I have found: *-σκηνήσω*, *-σκηνήσετε*, *σκηνήσουσι*, *σκηνήσοιεν*, *σκηνήσειν*, *ἐσκήμησε*, *ἐσκήμησαν*, *-εσκήμησαν*, *σκηνήσαι*, *-σκηνήσαι*, *-σκηνήσαντες*. Now *σκηνέω* might mean *be in camp*; cf. *στοιχέω*, *be in line*, *ὄρμέω*, *be moored*, *οἰκέω*, *house*, i.e. *be in a house*,  *dwell*. Or it might mean *encamp*, like *αὐλέω*, *flute*, *play the flute*, *δειπνέω*, *dine*. The future forms occur five times, the aorists sixteen times. Three of the futures have the meaning *will be in camp*, *will be quartered*, and are military, viz. Xen. *A.* 4, 7, 27; *Hellen.* 5, 1, 20 (bis). Another future, *σκηνήσω*, is mentioned by Eustathius with the remark that it clearly differs from *σκηνώσω* (see above, p. 87). The fifth has the 'feeding' sense, and means *will be feeders together*, *συσκηνήσετε*, Arrian, *Epict.* 2, 22, 37; cf. Trieber, p. 22. To *σκηνέω* I have already assigned nine contracted forms of the present tense (p. 99), meaning *be in quarters*, and all but one military, as well as five similar forms (p. 100) used in the sense *be feeders together*. I agree, therefore, with Liddell and

Scott in giving this verb the meaning *be in camp, be quartered*. But on coming to the forms of the aorist tense it appears that *ἔσκησαν*, for instance, does not mean *they were or had been in quarters*, but *they went into quarters, they encamped*. Still, this might have been expected, and there is no confusion here between *σκηνέω* and *σκηνόω*. The fact is we are dealing with an ingressive aorist. 'The aorist of verbs which denote a state or condition generally expresses the entrance into that state or condition' (Goodwin, M. T. 55).

It is instructive on the difference in meaning between the presents in *-έω* and *-όω* that Xenophon says in *A. 4, 4, 8* *ἔδοξε διασκηνησαι*, but in *4, 4, 10* *ἔδόκει οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν*, not *διασκηνεῖν*. This difference has not been heretofore noted, so far as I am aware. There is no evidence at all that the meaning *go into camp* ever attached to the present tense of *σκηνέω*; hence the treatment of this verb, and especially of its compounds, in lexicons is erroneous. Returning to the sixteen forms of the aorist, it appears that all are used in the military sense, and all but two are in Xenophon, viz. *ἔσκηνησε*, Dio Cass. 51, 1; *ἔσκηνησαν*, Thuc. 1, 89, 3; Xen. *A. 2, 4, 14*; *4, 2, 22*; *7, 3, 15*; *7, 7, 1*; *Cyr. 8, 3, 34*; *-εσκήνησαν*, *A. 3, 1, 28*; *3, 4, 33*; *7, 4, 11*; *Hellen. 4, 2, 23*; *σκηνησαι*, *A. 6, 5, 21*; *-σκηνησαι*, *A. 3, 4, 32*; *4, 4, 8*; *-σκηνησαντες*, *A. 4, 5, 29*; *Hellen. 4, 5, 2*.

Finally, there remains the only verbal which I have found, *διασκηνητέον*, Xen. *A. 4, 4, 14*. In spite of the lack of an aorist passive or of any other passive form of *σκηνέω*, this verbal must be assigned to *διασκηνέω* on account of the use of this verb just above in the aorist active in the

sense of *encamp apart* (4, 4, 8). This completes my examination of the forms of *σκηνέω*. They occur 39 times, of which 31 are Attic, 4 in late authors, and 4 in grammarians (Eust. and Thom. Mag.).

I have been unable, in the case of five forms (p. 99), to decide between *-έω* and *-όω*. The Hesychian *σκηνώντες* was left doubtful also (p. 93). One other form, hitherto unmentioned, I must leave undecided. A Phocian inscription (Foucart, *B. C. H.* viii, p. 215 = Collitz, *Sammlung: Die lokrischen und phokischen Inschr.*, 1531) runs as follows: *εν τοι φανακειοι θνοντα σκανεν [γ] υναικα [μ]η παριμε[ν]*. The meaning is evidently 'a sacrificer may pitch his tent in the Anakeion; women not admitted.' Here the form *σκανεν* may represent either *σκανείν*, Att. *σκηνείν* ( $\epsilon = \epsilon\iota$ ), or *σκανάν*, Att. *σκηνάν* ( $\epsilon = \eta$ , then *σκανήν*; cf. *ἐπιτιμῆν*, Wescher-Foucart, 304; *ὄρην*, Blass-Kühner, p. 205). If it represents *σκηνάν*, it is the only active form of this verb; if it represents *σκηνείν*, it is the only place in which the present of this verb means *pitch a tent, encamp*. I see no way of settling this question, but even if it could be settled it would throw no light on the usage of the forms in Attic Greek. In fact, G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 51, says 'phokisch *σκανήν* = Att. *σκηνοῦν*, (cf. also Roberts, *Grk. Epigr.*, p. 232).

In the following table the occurrence of the forms is summarized:—

	Total.	Attic.	Late.	Lex. and Gram.	Inscr.
<i>-άω</i>	9	7	2	...	...
<i>-έω</i>	39	31	4	4	...
<i>-όω</i>	60	26	25	8	1
Doubtful	7	5	...	1	1
	115	69	31	13	2

In closing, something may be said on the general usage of *σκηνέω* and *σκηνόω* in the military sense. In this sense the verbs in the Classics are almost Xenophonic. It will not do to say that the rarity of occurrence in other authors is due to the unimportance of the camp in ordinary Greek campaigns, and that there is nothing surprising in finding the word so often in Xenophon, where camping is constantly mentioned in the long expeditions which he describes. The Greek camp was, to be sure, unimportant, compared to the Roman (Droysen, *Kriegsalt.*, pp. 88, 139, 184); still, camping is spoken of not infrequently. But the regular word used is *στρατοπεδεύω* and its compounds. Thus, Thucydides uses this word (the simple verb) 27 times (Essen), Xenophon himself 29 times in the *Hellenica* (Keller), and 16 times in the *Anabasis*. As an example of late Greek I have noted 32 occurrences in Arrian's *Anabasis* (he used *σκηνόω* twice and *σκηνέω* once). Its compounds, especially of *κατά*, are very common. There is, of course, this difference in meaning, that *στρατοπεδεύω* cannot be used of one man, while *σκηνέω* or *σκηνόω* may be used of one or of many. Thus, I have observed only two cases of *στρατοπεδεύω* in the singular in the *Anabasis* (2, 2, 15; 7, 2, 11), but these are no real exceptions, as the subject is a king or general and of course the troops are included (cf. Polyæn. 7, 21, 6). It might seem, however, that *στρατοπεδεύω* could denote an open-air encampment, but *σκηνέω* or *σκηνόω* an encampment only under shelter, in tents or in the houses of a village as quarters. This distinction appears in Xen. *A.* 4, 4, 7-14. But it is hardly ever preserved. Thus we find *ὑπαίθριοι δ' ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε*, *A.* 7, 6, 24, but *σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι* in 5, 5, 21.



Again, we have *κώμην δὲ δέξας αὐτοῖς οὐ σκηνήσουσι*, 4, 7, 27, but *ἔστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν κώμῃ*, 3, 5, 1 (cf. 4, 5, 11; 4, 8, 19). In 2, 2, 16 and 17 *κατεσκήνησαν* and *ἔστρατοπεδεύσαντο* are used of the same camp, and for still greater confusion see 6, 4, 1, and 7. We do not, however, find this loose usage in other authors, and it may well be supposed that, in *σκηνέω* and *σκηνώω* Xenophon, who was a real and not a 'play' soldier, was using words which were constantly in the mouths of the men. If we had a Doric literature we might find that these words were preferred by the Spartans.

## NOTES ON LYSIAS<sup>1</sup>

Or. 7, 39: ὅσφ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν ἐπαιτιώτατοι καὶ ἀπορώτατοι τῶν κινδύνων, τοσοῦτφ πάντες αὐτοὺς φεύγουσι μάλιστα.

THE meaning of ἐπαιτιώτατοι has passed without mention in all the commentaries except those of Shuckburgh and Kocks. The German's note is 'um so mehr Schuld und Verlegenheit aus ihnen erwächst u. s. w.' Shuckburgh's is 'ἐπαίτιος properly means *held to blame for*, but here it appears to mean *calculated to attach blame*.' Both of these editors seem to have the right idea, for the point deserving of notice is that ἐπαίτιος is here active in sense. Hence the passage means 'the more blame such suits cause (that is, the more invidious they are) and the more perplexing they are, so much the more all avoid them.' On the face of it, there seems to be no reason why ἐπαίτιος should not have an active as well as a passive meaning (cf. ἐπιζήμιος, active, e.g. in Thuc. 2, 32, passive in Plat. *Legg.* 765 A.); but the active sense is not entered in our dictionaries, and the passive so predominates that Shuckburgh is led to call it the 'proper' meaning. Yet the active occurs also in Thuc. 5, 65, 2, τῆς ἐξ Ἀργεῶν ἐπαιτίου ἀναχωρήσεως, 'the retreat which had caused him (Agis) to be blamed' (Fowler, after Classen, who refers back to

<sup>1</sup> From the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1892, iii, 191 f.; 1894, v, 49 ff.; 1901, xii, 236.

Thucydides's statement in 60, 2, *ἐν αἰτίᾳ δ' εἶχον κατ' ἀλλήλους πολλῇ τὸν Ἄγιν*, and to the same effect about the same retreat in 63, 1). These two passages from Lysias and Thucydides are the only ones in which the adjective *is* active or causal, and also the only ones in which it agrees with a common, not a proper, noun.

The word itself seems familiar enough, yet it is of somewhat rare occurrence. I find it in only nine<sup>1</sup> other places in the authors, and in them all it is passive. Its earliest occurrence serves to show the meaning in all the rest. This is Hom. A 335:—

οὐ τί μοι ὕμμες ἐπαίτιοι, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων.

The others are Aesch. *Eum.* 465, 467; Eur. *Hipp.* 1383; Thuc. 6, 61, 1; Ap. Rhod. 1, 414; 2, 614; Plut. *Comp. Dion. c. Brut.* 2; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 7, 59.

There is, however, the following curious gloss in *Lex. Seguer.* (Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 188, 5): *ἐπαιτιώτατοι συκοφάνται*. From the rarity of the adjective, occurring, as it apparently does, only once in the orators, one feels almost inclined to think that the gloss must refer to the passage in Lysias. Yet, if it does (and always provided that the gloss contains the right interpretation), *τοιούτοι* refers to *συκοφάνται*, and then it seems hardly possible to keep *τῶν κινδύνων*. There is a strong temptation to strike out these two words and to read *ὄσφ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν ἐπαιτιώτατοι καὶ ἀπορώτατοι, τοσοῦτῳ πάντες αὐτοὺς φεύγουσι μάλιστα*, 'the more culpable and hard to deal with (for *ἀπορώτατοι* used of accusers in just this sense, cf. Plat. *Apol.* 18 D) such men are, so much the more all avoid them.' The rhythm of the sentence would then be a little

<sup>1</sup> In Xen. *Anab.* 2, 1, 5, I follow Hug in reading *ἐπαίτων*.

better; but for the absolute use of *ἐπαίριος* (without a genitive or adverbial modifier) the only parallel is Thuc. 5, 65, quoted above; and there *ἐπαίριος* is active.

Or. 12: The new Aristotle *On the Constitution of Athens* seems to me to make it clear that the twelfth oration was delivered by Lysias at the *εὐθυναί* of Eratosthenes, and not at a trial for murder. When Lysias returned to Athens from exile, he found there the very man through whose agency his brother Polemarchus had been delivered over to the Thirty for execution. Eratosthenes had not gone to Eleusis under the terms of the amnesty (stated in Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 39); for, once there, he could not have been brought back to answer such a charge as Lysias had to make. Even if past murders are included under the provision in *Resp. Ath.* 39, *τὰς δὲ δίκας τοῦ φόνου εἶναι κατὰ τὰ πατρία εἴ τις τινα αὐτόχειρ ἀπέκτεινεν ἢ ἔτραπεν*, this would not apply to Eratosthenes; for he had not killed Polemarchus with his own hand. And however doubtful the rest of the text is here (I have followed Sandys), we must read *αὐτόχειρ* or a word of similar meaning, like *αὐτοχειρὶ* or *αὐτοχειρίᾳ*. Staying on, as Eratosthenes did in Athens, he must have known that charges would be brought against him by his enemies, and hence he would avail himself as soon as possible of that clause in the amnesty by which those of the Thirty who chose to submit their accounts of office, were no longer liable to attacks for the past. This would have been the easiest way once and for all to have done with those who had anything against him. Fuhr and Gebauer in their editions have held (as against Blass, *Att. Bereds.* i<sup>2</sup>, p. 540 ff., Meier and Schoemann, p. 257 f.

Weidner in his edition) that Eratosthenes was tried for murder at the Palladion. Their strongest argument is that there is no direct mention of *εὔθυναί* in the text. But, as Blass points out, the same sort of argument is equally strong against them; for Lysias, in the first part of his speech, makes almost as much of the pillage of his property as he does of the execution of his brother, and he does not even mention Polemarchus in his recapitulation at the end. To this argument I would add that the action of Archinus (*Arist. Resp. Ath.* 40) in persuading the Senate to put to death without a trial a person who had broken the oath *μη̄ μνησικακεῖν*, and the salutary results of that action, make it extremely doubtful whether the partisans of the Thirty were at this time brought to court in any cases except those of *εὔθυναί*.

Since I have referred to the oath *μη̄ μνησικακεῖν*, I may add that it has sometimes been thought (following Luebert, *de amnestia*) that this oath was not sworn to until after the final overthrow of the Thirty in Eleusis, as described by Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 4, 43. But Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 40), *διελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίῳ κατοικήσαντας ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξολόγησιν, ἐπὶ Ξενοκράτους ἀρχόντος*, shows that this final overthrow did not occur until two years (401–400 B.C.) after the democracy was restored. Hence Xenophon, unless absolutely at fault, can only refer to a reaffirmation of this oath. It cannot be supposed that the trial of Eratosthenes took place so late as this.

Or. 12, 16: *τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν.*

It is impossible to identify these doors with certainty. We do not know how elaborate was the house of Damnip-

pus inside, although we know that it ran from one street back to another (*ἀμφίθυρος*, § 15). Nor do we know where Lysias and Damnippus had their hurried talk (§ 14). They may have been in the *αὐλή*, for Lysias may simply have called D. to him as he stood among the other prisoners; or they may have stepped into one of the rooms which opened from the *αὐλή*; or they may even have passed the *μέταυλος θύρα*. Nothing is known of D., but he appears to have been trusted by the Thirty, as they were using his house, and he does not seem to have been a prisoner. Theognis and his men were guarding the front door (§ 16), and if they allowed Lysias to speak to D. at all they might have let them go together into a room. Or Lysias may have originally been thrust into a room. The editors of Lysias do not seem to appreciate the uncertainties of the case, and they are too offhand in their explanation of what these three doors were. The following all seem to me to be *possible* explanations:—

I. (Supposing that L. and D. talked in the *αὐλή*): 1, the *μέταυλος*; 2, door from the house to the garden, *κηπαία θύρα* (if D.'s house had a garden); 3, from the garden to the back street.

II. (The explanation of Fuhr and Frohberger): 1, the door of the room in which Lysias was imprisoned (but I see no reason for being sure that D.'s house had *doors* to the rooms instead of *curtains*; cf. Hermann, *Gr. Privatalt.*, 3d ed., p. 156, A. 1); 2, the *μέταυλος*; 3, door from house to street.

III. 1, *μέταυλος*; 2, door into one of the working-rooms, *ιστῶνες*; 3, door into the street.

IV. (If L. and D. had passed the *μέταυλος*): 1, into the *ιστῶνες*; 2, into the garden; 3, into the street.

Or. 12, 44: οὕτως οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πολιτῶν ὄντων ἐπεβουλευέσθε, ὅπως μὴτ' ἀγαθὸν μὴδὲν ψηφίσησθε πολλῶν τε ἐνδεεῖς ἔσεσθε.

Here the vulgate before Bekker had been *ψηφίσεσθε*, the reading of the inferior Mss., while X has the aorist subjunctive. Bekker changed to *ψηφίσησθε* and he was followed by Sauppe and Scheibe. Cobet, in the course of his restorations of 'Attic Future' forms (*Var. Lect.* p. 177), corrected the old vulgate to *ψηφιεῖσθε*, and this has ever since been the received reading. Although ΨΗΦΙΕΙΣΘΕ might easily engender (palaeographically) ΨΗΦΙΣΗΣΘΕ, still probably X is correct: it is the more difficult and expressive reading, and it is also correct in syntax. The aorist tense is, as usual, used to denote simple occurrence; they were not to be allowed to pass a single advantageous decree. The future tense with ἐνδεεῖς denotes the continuing state into which they were to be thrown. How careful Lysias is in his use of the aorist in the dependent moods has already been shown in a note to Lysias 16, 6 in the appendix to my edition. As for the combination of both subjunctive<sup>1</sup> and future indicative within the same sentence in object clauses, cf. Xen. *Symp.* 8, 25 (cited by Goodwin, *M. T.* 339): οὐ γὰρ ὅπως πλεονος ἄξιος γένηται ἐπιμελείται, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλείστα ὠραία καρπώσεται. So, too, in Aeschines 3, 64 needless levelling has been at work in the change of ὅπως μὴ περιμελίητε to ὅπως μὴ περιμελίτε because two clauses containing future indicatives follow. Weber (*Entwick. der Absichtssätze*, p. 42) gets rid of the example by bowing to Weidner's dictum that,

<sup>1</sup> For the subjunctive after a secondary tense, cf. Lys. 1, 29 and Aesch. 3, 64, below.

in such combinations of the aor. subjv. and fut. ind., the aorist with *ὅπως μή* always follows and never precedes. Weber has, however, already accepted the change to *ψηφιεῖσθε* in Lysias (p. 23), and later on (p. 86) he reads, with Mehler, *γενήσεται* in the passage in Xenophon.

Or. 12, 60: *μισθωσάμενοι δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὄλας πόλεις ἐπάγοντες καὶ τελευτώντες Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀπόσους ἐδύνατο πείσαι κτλ.*

Chapter 38 of Aristotle's *Resp. Ath.* makes some corrections necessary in previous explanations of Lysias. Hitherto it has been supposed that *πόλεις* referred to the cities of the Spartan allies, who (except the Boeotians and Corinthians) followed Pausanias when his jealousy of Lysander led him to Athens (Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 4, 30). But Aristotle says that the Ten<sup>1</sup> who succeeded the Thirty had already fallen before the arrival of Pausanias, and that they were succeeded by a second Ten, who had begun negotiations for peace with the patriots in Peiraeus before Pausanias came. (Lysias and the other authors do not mention this second Ten.<sup>2</sup>) The forces, therefore, that aided the first Ten were Lysander, with his mercenaries

<sup>1</sup> Why was not Eratosthenes one of the first Ten (§ 55)? Was it because Phidon and his associates were not really of the party of Theramenes, but held still a middle ground between this party and that of Critias, while Eratosthenes belonged to Theramenes out and out? Or was it because Phidon and his colleagues were real followers of the Thirty, chosen by a trick on the people? If the latter is the true explanation, Eratosthenes, as a known opponent of the advanced party in the Thirty, would not have been chosen into this Ten.

<sup>2</sup> Their existence, however, is confirmed, as Sandys says, by Isocr. 18, 6, 'Ρίτων, εἰς τῶν δέκα γενόμενος; for Aristotle mentions Rhinon as the leader of the second Ten.



(Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 4, 28 f., in number 1,000, according to Diod. Sic. 14, 33), and his brother Libys with a fleet (Xen. *ibid.*; of 40 ships, Diod. Sic. *ibid.*). Aristotle does not here mention either of these by name, but says only that the first Ten were helped by Callibius and the Peloponnesians then at hand, together with some of the knights. Callibius was the harmost, sent with a garrison (of 700, according to Arist. 37) to maintain the Thirty. By Πελοποννησίων τῶν παρόντων Aristotle may mean what was left of this garrison, or he may mean Lysander and Libys with their forces, or both. Lysias is evidently speaking loosely of what was done under the two Tens. For μισθωσάμενοι cannot truthfully be used of the second, nor πόλεις ἐπάγοντες of the first; while the words Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τῶν συμμάχων . . . πείσαι belong properly to the expedition of Pausanias, who was not summoned by either Ten so far as we know (least of all by the first!). Finally, the following words, οὐ διαλλάξαι ἀλλ' ἀπολέσαι παρεσκευάζοντο can refer only to the first Ten, the second having actually begun to negotiate before Pausanias arrived. Hence the second may well be included under the ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί (παρασκευάζοντο τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ δι' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῦς).

These ἄνδρες, according to the editors of Lysias, were the avowed or secret friends of Athens in Argos, Thebes, Corinth and elsewhere, as well as all who were jealous of Lysander. But the patriots of Peiraeus too are meant, and now we must add the second Ten and their supporters in the ἄστυ.

Or. 12, 65: In speaking of the πρόβουλοι Lysias says that Theramenes στρατηγὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἤρέθη; but it does not appear from any author that the πρόβουλοι had power

to fill any of the offices. Theramenes, one of the Four Hundred, was nominated and chosen general by the Four Hundred themselves; Arist. *ibid.*, 30.

Or. 12, 77: τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αὐτοῖς αἴτιος γεγενημένος.

On the unusual order editors have compared Dem. 19, 174, τὴν μὲν γραφεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. See also Frohberger's critical note in his large edition. Lysias has the substantive following the participle in 13, 43, τὰς γεγενημένας συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει. But in our passage I think that the unusual order of ὑπ' ἐμοῦ is to be defended, not by any general principle, but that it is here rendered necessary for clearness in order to separate αὐτοῖς, which follows, from τρόποις.

Or. 16, 6: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατήλθετε, ἐψηφίσασθε τοὺς φυλάρχους ἀπενεγκεῖν τοὺς ἱππεύσαντας, ἵνα τὰς καταστάσεις ἀναπράττητε παρ' αὐτῶν.

Here the Ms. has ἀναπράττηται, and the vulgate before Scheibe was ἀναπράττητε. Of recent editors only Jebb and Shuckburgh retain the vulgate, but they seem to me to be right, for it is near the reading of the Ms., and in its tense (G., *M. T.* 87) it denotes the repeated number of cases which would arise after the report of the phylarchs had *once for all* (ἀπενεγκεῖν, *aorist*) been made. Lysias is very careful in observing this distinction between the present and the aor. subjv. or opt. The final clauses cited from him by Weber (*Entwick. der Absichtssätze*, p. 160 ff.) all bear out the rule in G., *M. T.* (save the only apparent

exceptions in which εἶδητε and ἐπιστηθε appear). This is particularly well illustrated in 12, 72 and 32, 22, where both tenses are used in the same sentence. Fuhr reads ἀναπράξητε (schedae Brulart.), cf. Harp. s. v. κατάστασις; so Weber himself, p. 162. Sauppe and Weidner, ἀναπράξαιτε.

Or. 16, 7: καίτοι ῥάδιον τοῦτο γινῶναι ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς φυλάρχοις, εἰ μὴ ἀποδείξειαν τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰς καταστάσεις, αὐτοῖς ζημιούσθαι.

Here αὐτοῖς is dative, in spite of its nearness to the inf. because of φυλάρχοις, which belongs closely to the impersonal phrase ἀναγκαῖον ἦν; cf. Andoc. 2, 7, and my note in *Harvard Classical Studies*, ii, p. 58. Below, in ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τοὺς ἰππεύσαντας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ἀπενεχθῆναι, the participle ἰππεύσαντας could not be dative, in spite of its nearness to the impersonal, on account of the preceding ἐκείνοις. The other instances of the use of this impersonal in Lysias are μοί ἐστι λέγειν, 17, 1, and ἀναγκαιότατον ff. in 12, 9, where the μοι belongs to ἐδόκει. As for the impersonal phrase with ἀνάγκη, Krüger's remark (*Spr.* 62, 1, Anm. 3) that ἐστί very rarely occurs with this word, holds good for Lysias. Ἀνάγκη occurs twelve times; with ἐστί twice, 13, 92 and 44 (but in the latter there is no inf.); without ἐστί seven times, 4, 8; 10, 5; 12, 1; 19, 1 and 23; 22, 7; 26, 6; with ἦν twice, 13, 79; 33, 4; with γεγένηται once, 32, 1. Only in the last passage is the dative used with the phrase, and it is inserted between ἀνάγκη and its verb. Cf. the usage of Andocides, noted in the *Studies*, ii, p. 57.

Or. 16, 10: *καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὕτως βεβίωκα ὥστε μηδεπώποτε μοι πρὸς ἓνα μηδὲν ἔγκλημα γενέσθαι.*

The phrase *μοι . . . γενέσθαι* is interpreted by the commentators in different ways. An explanation of it is also offered by Liddell and Scott. The question is whether it means, 'No person has ever had ground of complaint against me,' or 'I have never had ground of complaint against anybody.' This question can be settled only by a comparison of other passages in which a similar phrase occurs.

In Sophocles (*Phil.* 323) *ἔχεις ἔγκλημ' Ἀτρείδαις*, the dative of the person is evidently used in the sense of 'against.' In the following passages the same dative occurs, and also *πρὸς* with the accusative of the offended party or the party that brings the *ἔγκλημα*: Xen. *Hellen.* 7, 4, 34, *καταλιπεῖν εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον τοῖς παισὶν ἔγκλημα τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς θεοῖς.* Hyp. *Lyc.* 13, p. 31 (Blass), *οὔτε αἰτίαν πονηρὰν οὐδεμίαν πώποτ' ἔλαβον, οὔτ' ἔγκλημά μοι πρὸς οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν γέγονε.* Lys. 10, 23, *τίνος ὄντος ἐμοὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγκλήματος;* (the context fixing the meaning). In Dem. 1, 7, *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων μισοῦσι (Φίλιππον)*, there is no dative, but we have the same *πρὸς* and accusative; so in Lys. 25, 23, *ὥσπερ μηδεὶν ἐγκλήματος πρὸς ἀλλήλους γεγενημένου.*

These passages show that the phrase in Lys. 16, 10, should be rendered: 'there has never been any ground of complaint at all against me on the part of a single solitary man.' They also explain Xen. *Cyr.* 1, 2, 6, *γίγνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παισὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ ἀνδράσιν ἐγκλήματα.* This passage leads the editors of the Lexicon to say that 'I have a ground of complaint against somebody' could

be expressed by γίγνεται or ἔστι ἔγκλημά μοι πρὸς τινα. In support of this, they quote Lys. 10, 23 (see above), which, rendered as they propose, could not possibly make sense with the context. The imaginary sentence would rightly be expressed: γίγνεται δ' ἔγκλημά τινι πρὸς με. In all these sentences the use of πρὸς is very like that in Lys. 13, 75; cf. 23, 13, ἀμφισβητῶν μὴ πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον εἶναι οἱ τὰς δίκας. But Shuckburgh goes too far in rendering 16, 10, μηδὲ πρὸς ἕνα, by 'before no one single magistrate.' Although Lutz (*die Präpositionen bei den attischen Rednern*, p. 160) recognizes this local use of πρὸς, he wrongly states that with ἔγκλημα it has the sense of 'against'; he cites no example to prove it (p. 163). For ἔγκλημα meaning 'ground of complaint' (not the mere written bill of charges), see Meier and Schoemann, *Att. Process*, p. 195, Lips.

## NOTES ON PERSIUS<sup>1</sup>

I, 13. *Scribimus inclusi, numeros ille, hic pede liber,  
Grande aliquid.*

THE general idea in this passage is clear enough, but critics have always differed in their views of the style in which it is expressed. In this note, without offering much that is positively new, I have brought together the principal opinions with the object of showing that nothing better than the vulgate has been suggested, and that the vulgate itself is intelligible.

The only variant from the traditional text is *numero* in an inferior manuscript (B5 of Jahn). But on the meaning and syntax of single words, questions have been current from an early time. Thus we find among the scholia: '*inclusi*, cura remoti, aut metri lege coarctati'; and '*numeros ille*, numeri proprie rhythmici sunt, nunc vero metrum significat.' Before considering the improvements (?) which have been suggested, it will be convenient to see whether the words, taken in the light of nature, mean anything as they stand.

*Scribimus* presents no difficulty. For *inclusi*, 'shut up' (or, with Gifford, 'Immured within our studies'), cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2, 45, *hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi*; 6, 614, *inclusi poenam exspectant*; Hor. C. 3, 16, 1, *inclusam Danaen*; 4, 6,

<sup>1</sup> From the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1896, vii, 191-203.

13, *ille non inclusus equo*; Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 21, *inclusum atque abditum latere in occulto*; Petr. 26, *cum inclusi* (*sc.* in a room) *iacerent* (cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 744, *conclusam hic habeo uxorem saevam*). But why 'shut up'? One of the oldest commentators, Fontius (1477), notes: "quod secretis in locis a strepitu ac turba remotis scribitur"; and his contemporary Britannicus (1481) compared Juv. 7, 28, *qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella*. Lubinus in 1603 added Ov. *Tr.* 1, 1, 41, *carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt*. Casaubon (1605) cited Quint. 1, 12, 12, *cum ad stilum secedet*. And if further evidence on this ancient practise is needed, one may consult Pliny's description of his *Zotheca* in *Ep.* 2, 17, 21 and 24, and his advice to Fuscus on the latter's studies *in secessu* 7, 9, 1. Instructive too is Cicero's expression in *Legg.* 3, 14: *ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque*; cf. Hor. *E.* 2, 2, 77, *scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem*. Old Fontius, it appears, was on the right track; not so Heinrich in his note: 'includi ist verkehrt, von Mönchen ausgedacht, die glaubten, man könne nur in Zellen eingeschlossen schreiben.'

We pass on to the rest of the sentence. Again the natural way is (with Jahn, who compares Sen. *Ep.* 79, 7, *iam cupis grande aliquid et par prioribus scribere*) to take *grande aliquid* as the principal object of *scribimus*. In explanation of 'something in the grand style' are inserted two sorts of literary productions. The general feeling, as one reads, suggests that they are in poetry and in prose respectively; for of course *numeros* suggests poetry and *pede* equally suggests *sermo pedestris*, while *liber* suggests *soluta oratio* (for *liber* frequently linked as a synonym to *solutus*, cf. Reid's note to Cic. *Acad.* 2, 105). But general feeling is

often a dangerous guide, and, as everybody knows, *numerus* does not really mean *poetry* but *rhythm*. One cannot *write rhythm*, say the critics, since it is *in rhythm* that one writes. *Scribere numeros* finds no support in *tendere versum* (1, 65), or *claudere versum* (1, 93), in spite of Hauthal<sup>1</sup> and Kissel<sup>2</sup>; for *versus* and *numerus* are very different words. A typical example of the proper use of *numerus* is to be found in *Ov. Am.* 1, 1, 1, *arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam edere*; and Persius knew this usage, — witness 1, 64; 92; 5, 123; 6, 3. But, passing over this objection for a moment, we go on to *hic pede liber*. This, taken naturally, means ‘another in prose,’ and it can hardly mean anything else. Granting this, *numeros ille*, harsh though it may be (cf. Jahn, ed. 1843, p. 81), must mean ‘one in poetry’; and we must say that *numeros* is here used for *carmina* and that it was a new usage, originating with Persius (unless some lost author first wrote it).<sup>3</sup> The expression is far from defen-

<sup>1</sup> *A. Persii F. Sat. I ed. et castigata ad XXX edd. antiqq.*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Specimen Criticum*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> In *Virg. Aen.* 9, 776

*Crethea Musarum comitem, cui carmina semper  
Et citharæ cordi numerosque intendere nervis*

the use of *numeros* seems to be at least a step in the direction of its meaning in Persius. The commentators, however, take it in the sense of ‘rhythm.’ Servius says: *rhythmos facere intentione nervorum; nam numeri sunt rhythmici, ut numeros memini si verba tenerem. Hoc ergo dicit secundum chordas verba componebat.* Ludewig’s note is: ‘*intendere*, steigern, erhöhen. Dem Rhythmus des Liedes durch den Klang der Saiten grössere Kraft verleihen. *Nervis* ist abl. instr.’ Benoist: ‘*sonos edere intentione nervorum. Ordinairement on dit intendere nervos numeris.*’ And so in effect Conington, who calls it a mere effort after variety. But is it not possible that Virgil was consciously imitating a use of *ἐντείνω* in Greek? Cf. *Plat. Prot.* p. 326 A *ποιήματα διδάσκουσι μελοποιῶν, εἰς τὰ κιθαρίσματα ἐντείνοντες.*



sible as a model. There are many expressions in Persius which the stylist will not defend. But I for one am not surprised to find it in this young unformed poet, any more than I am surprised to find *intus palleat* (3, 43<sup>1</sup>) — or than I wonder at blemishes in the works of another youthful poet, — Keats. Persius, in beginning the verse, was following Hor. *E.* 2, 1, 117, *scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim*. His choice of phraseology was unfortunate but the result seems to me intelligible. Not so to all others. And doubtless one of the objections to the above interpretation has always been the feeling that *inclusi* and *liber* form such a nice contrast that *inclusi* ought to be taken with *numeros*, as part of the phrase that means poetry, just as *pede* and *liber* are taken together. It has been thought that Persius would hardly have missed so happy a turn.

Accordingly Hand, in a note in his edition of Gronov's *Diatrise*, i, p. 277, suggested *inclusi numeros, illhic pede liber*. But 'illhic' (i.e. *illic*) is only ante-classical; and *numeros* is impossible as a 'Greek accusative.'<sup>2</sup> For even if nothing else were to be said against it, the *numeri* themselves 'include' or 'hamper' (as Jahn remarks) and are not themselves the sufferers. Gronov himself had suggested *inclusi numeros illi, hic pede liber* (*Elenchus Antidiatribes*, ii, p. 267), upon which Hand's emendation was hardly an improvement. Markland (ad Stat. *Silv.* 4, 5, 67) read *inclusus numeris*,<sup>3</sup> and before him Cruceus (*Antidi-*

<sup>1</sup> See *Classical Review*, 1889, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that Persius never used this construction. Burmeister, *Observationes Persianae*, p. 19, cites *pellem succinctus*, 5, 140, as the sole occurrence; but the two words have no syntactical connection.

<sup>3</sup> After what has been said, Passow's combination *inclusus numeros* (adopted by Heinrich and Maclean) calls for nothing more than mention.

*atrise*, ii, p. 86) *inclusi numeris*. This ablative has met with some approval (see Pretor's note), and 'hampered by rhythm'<sup>1</sup> is easy enough to understand. But the very simplicity of the correction is against its acceptance when we consider the obstinacy of the tradition, both in text and scholia, in favor of *numeros*, and the utter lack of reasons for corruption from *numerus* to the 'lectio difficilior.' Some, too, would say that the very nicety of the balance between *inclusi numeris* and *hic pede liber* is just the sort of thing that Persius, the lover of the strange and unexpected, strove to avoid. Emendation, therefore, has done nothing for this passage, and the vulgate must stand.

1, 14. *Grande aliquid quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet.*

Here *a* has *quo*, and so four or five inferior manuscripts cited in Jahn '43, while P and the others have *quod*. Of the editions, the Paris of 1472 (see Hauthal, *ibid.*, pp. xxi, 17), Jahn of '51 and '68 and Bücheler of '86 have *quo*. In all the others, including Jahn of '43 and Bücheler of '93, *quod* is found. No editor of consequence has thought the matter worth a note save Gildersleeve, and he merely remarks "*quo* is not so vigorous." But recently Johann Bieger,<sup>2</sup> in his general defence of cod. P, supports *quod* here by new arguments (p. 27). He calls attention to Persius's fondness for the use of the accusative with intransitive verbs instead of the ablative of cause. He cites:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Liv. 24, 8. 7 *imperatorem . . . nullis neque temporis nec iuris inclusum angustiis*.

<sup>2</sup> In his valuable thesis *De Auli Persii Flacci Codice C* (= P of Bücheler) *recte aestimando*. This work is already of great authority in the determination of questions of the text of Persius; witness Bücheler's third edition ('93) in

- 1, 124 *iratum Eupolidem . . . palles* (for *Eupolide irato lecto palles*).  
 3, 43 *palleat infelix quod proxima nesciat uxor*.  
 3, 59 *oscitat hesternum*.  
 3, 85 *hoc est quod palles*.  
 5, 184 *recutitaque sabbata palles*.

In not a few of these passages he says that the metre forbids us<sup>1</sup> to think that the ablative has been changed to the accusative by scribes. In view of this habit of Persius he concludes that we cannot read *quo* here; further, that, if we read it, we must clumsily supply *quo recitato* or *quo in recitato*.

But Bieger does not seem to see that of his five examples two (1, 124; 3, 85) are cognate accusatives (so Gildersleeve and Conington). There is nothing at all surprising in this construction, whether the verb be transitive or not. Omitting his example with *oscitat*, the other two (3, 43 and 5, 184) are cases of verbs of emotion, which, intransitive in English, are transitive as well as intransitive in Latin. Thus used, *palleo*, for instance, has to be rendered 'be pale at'; *doleo*, 'grieve for,' etc., and the category is too common to need illustration here. But Bieger's view of the meaning of *palleo* as used by Persius seems different; for he goes on to compare *anhele* with the accusative in the verses quoted by Cic. *N. D.* 2, 112, *gelidum de pectore frigus anhelans . . . Capricornus*; also Lucan 6, 92, *rabiem anhelant*, Mart. 6, 42, 14, *siccus pinguis onyx anhelat aestus*. Yet in all three we clearly have nothing but cognate accusatives. His argument, therefore, does not help us much

which, influenced by Bieger's arguments, he seems in many instances to follow P simply because it is P.

<sup>1</sup> The metre interferes in 1, 124 and 5, 184.

towards a choice between *quo* and *quod* in our passage. Nor does it illustrate fairly the syntactical usages of Persius with this class of verbs. For, to judge by Bieger, one would think that Persius had the habit of using the accusative (and that, too, not the cognate accusative) with them. But compare *rideo* used with the ablative in 3, 86, and with the cognate accusative in 5, 190; *gaudeo* with the ablative in 6, 63, cognate accusative in 1, 132; *impallesco* with the ablative in 5, 62. It is clear that Persius cannot be said to have had a *habit* in this matter. Hence it is, so far as Bieger's arguments go, still an open question whether *quo* or *quod* is the right reading; and hence Bieger is not justified in confidently counting (p. 27 f.) this passage as one of the eight in which P is far superior to *a*.<sup>1</sup> This conclusion affects only Bieger's line of argument and does not mean that Persius did not write *quod*. He may have done so, and it doubtless is, as Gildersleeve says, the more vigorous reading. But whether the poet always chose the more vigorous way of putting a thing is another question, into which I do not venture now to enter. I should prefer to defend *quod* on two grounds: 1) because the ablative of cause is never, so far as I know, found anywhere with *anhelo* unless here; 2) because the accusative is not infrequently found with this verb. For to the cognate accusatives cited above may be added Lucr. 4, 864, *Auct. ad Her.* 4, 68, Cic. *Cat.* 2, 1, Stat. *Theb.* 11, 7. So far is the accusative from being unusual that dictionaries treat the verb as a real transitive as well as intransitive,

<sup>1</sup> On the same principle his preference for *iram scintillant*, iii, 116, another of his eight passages, could be attacked; but there now seems to be some doubt about the real reading of P here (see Bücheler's third edition).

assigning to it the meaning 'emit.' This finds its best support in Stat. *Theb.* 11, 241, *haec trepido vix intellectus anhelat*; cf. also Cic. *de Or.* 3, 41, *verba . . . inflata et quasi anhelata*, Ov. *H.* 12, 15, *anhelatos ignes* (so *F.* 4, 492). If this view be adopted, Conington rightly translates 'to be panted forth by the lungs with a vast expenditure of breath.'

1, 60. *Nec linguae quantum sitiatur canis Apula tantae.*

On *sitiatur*, Bieger (p. 2) remarks: 'coniunctivus nullo modo satis explicandus.' But the usage, which has passed without note in the editions, is merely potential and it is sufficiently illustrated by Hor. *S.* 1, 6, 127, *pransus non avide, quantum interpellat inani Ventre diem durare*; Mart. 12, 83, 4, *dicentem tumidas in hydrocelas Quantum nec duo dicerent Catulli*; Juv. 5, 69, *solidae iam mucida frustra farinae, Quae genuinum agitent*. Bieger's remark, however, is part of a general attack which he makes (p. 2 f.) upon the versification of Persius, and which he ends with the words: 'huius poetae arti metricae parum perfectae atque eleganti.' Without disputing for the moment this conclusion, one may examine the grounds upon which it is based.

Bücheler, in his well-known article in the *Rh. Mus.* (xli, p. 454 ff.), observed that where the two recensions represented by *a* and *P* agree, we must follow their tradition (save in a few cases of mere orthographical blunders) in all except in five passages (1, 97; 111; 2, 19; 3, 66; 5, 134). Bieger holds that in two of these five the tradition is not at fault. In each of these the question at issue is one of metre. In 3, 66,

*discite, o miseri, et causas cognoscite rerum,*

and in 5, 134,

*et quid agam? rogas? en saperdas advehe Ponto,*

he believes that the hiatus in the one and the use of *rogas* as a pyrrhic in the other were blunders which Persius was likely to have committed. He proceeds to prove his theory by criticizing ten other passages as being metrically unsound. Mr. G. R. Scott in a notice of Bieger's thesis (*Classical Review*, 1890, xiv, p. 467 f.) briefly remarked that, in some of these, grammar, not metre, had been sacrificed. Let us look at them in detail.

In four of the ten (2, 13; 2, 10; 3, 9; 5, 57) the metre does seem to limp. But in the first, 2, 13,

*inpello, expungam, nam et est scabiosus et acri,*

codd. *a* and P do not agree. Only *a* has the verse as just quoted, while P has the impossible *nam est* which p (the second hand of P) corrected to *namque est*, the reading of many other manuscripts and of the vulgate. Such a passage cannot be accepted in evidence against the poet. In 2, 10,

*o si*

*Ebulliat patruus, praeclarum funus, et o si,*

not only are the manuscripts again at odds (P reading *ebulliat*, *a* p *ebullit*, and inferior manuscripts *ebullet*<sup>1</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> There is really no essential difference in meaning between *bullo* and *bullio*. The former occurs (see Neue, *Formenl.*<sup>3</sup> iii, p. 291) five times intransitively, of the bubbling of liquids (Calp. 1, 11; Plin. *N. H.* 9, 18; 18, 359; 28, 68; Cato, *R. R.* 105, 1). The latter occurs about as often in the same sense (Pers. 3, 34; Apic. 8, § 334; 345, etc.; Vitruv. 8, 3, 2), and in a metaphorical sense in Apul. *Met.* 10, 24, p. 250, 34 *ne bulliret indignatione* and in Hieron. *ad Eustach.* p. 236, 1, 1 *libidine incendia bulliebant*. But when we come to the compound verb we find a different state of things.

but also modern authorities on metre are not agreed altogether to condemn such a synezesis as *ebulliat*.<sup>1</sup> Here again therefore we must hesitate before accusing Persius too harshly. The third passage is 3, 9, in which we find the verb *rūdere* with a long vowel, contrary to all the extant usage except in the imitation of this verse in Auson. *Ep.* (5) 76, 3 (p. 313 Peiper). But does this necessarily mean that Persius committed a downright metrical blunder? Is it likely that a man of his education and surroundings would not have known how to pronounce a word so common as *rudere* must have been? If he blundered, is it probable that Cornutus, in correcting his pupil's manuscript, would have suffered so obvious an error to stand as a mark for ridicule? Hardly. What is to be said when we find *strīgibus* in Plautus, but *strīgibus* in Ovid and Propertius, — *cōturnix* in Plautus and Lucretius, but *cōturnix* in Ovid and Juvenal, — *glōmus* in Lucretius, but *glōmus* in Horace?<sup>2</sup> That either of these poets made a blunder? Rather that each was following the pronunciation in vogue in his own day. Now what are the facts

Only *ebullio*, not *ebullo*, is found in the authors outside of Persius, and it is used metaphorically (cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 4; 2; Petr. 42; 62; Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 42; *Fin.* 5, 80; Apul. *Met.* 2, 30, p. 128; Tert. *Idol.* 3; cf. *ad Scap.* 3). When we find the phrase *animam ebullire* in Seneca and in Petronius, the odds are heavily in favor of the same verb in Persius. But of course there is no intrinsic reason why *ebullo* may not also have been in use, although we do not find it in the remains of Latin literature.

<sup>1</sup> See Christ, *Metrik*,<sup>2</sup> p. 32; Müller, *de R. M.*, p. 299 ff.; Lachmann *ad Lucr.* 3, 917. Instances of synezesis in Persius are *pituita*, 2, 57; *tenuia*, 5, 93; *deinde*, 4, 8; 5, 143. Note also the Pompeian verse (*CIL.* iv, 813),

*Otiosis locus non hic est. discede morator.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stolz, *Hist. Gramm. der Lat. Spr.*, i, p. 226; Müller, *de R. M.*, p. 436 ff.

about *rudere*? Virgil and Ovid have *u* short, while Persius has it long. Between the deaths of Ovid and Persius there are only two years less than there were between the deaths of Lucretius and Horace, — forty-five in the one case, forty-seven in the other. This is ample time for the pronunciation to have changed.<sup>1</sup> The fourth passage is 5, 57,

*hic campo indulget, hunc alea decoquit, ille.*

Here Bieger admits that ictus and caesura (penthemimeral at that!) are some excuse for *-ēt*; and well he may, particularly considering that this may be a survival of original long *-ēt*; cf. *subiit*, 2, 55, and my note in the *Classical Review*, 1889, xiii, p. 10. This is hardly the sort of thing to charge up severely against one who was such an imitator of Horace, who has the license a dozen times. It is unlikely that Persius would have observed the fact that the license is not admitted in the *Epodes* and *Epistles*; enough for him that it was employed by most of the great poets from Ennius down. It is scarcely to be called a metrical fault, but it was perhaps an error of taste; for the license began to find disfavor under Augustus and it is almost obsolete in the Silver Age.<sup>2</sup>

In the remaining six of Bieger's ten passages the difficulties are not in themselves metrical but syntactical. Scott, as we have seen (p. 126), felt that Bieger's citation of these did nothing towards proving his point, but Bieger would probably contend that the poet could not swing the

<sup>1</sup> It may also be thought that Virgil and Ovid were following the 'dictionary' pronunciation, Persius that of everyday life; cf. Quint. 1, 6, 21 and 27.

<sup>2</sup> On it, see Christ, *Metrik*,<sup>2</sup> p. 200; Müller, *de R. M.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 396 ff., especially p. 405 ff. The latter indeed admits *metuis* in vi, 26, but here P reads *metuas*.



metre freely enough, being so hampered by its requirements that he forced the laws of language in his anxiety to fulfil the bare necessities of the metre. The first two cases occur in the same sentence, 3, 28 f.,

*an deceat pulmonem rumpere ventis  
Stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis  
Censoremve tuum vel quod trabeate salutas?*

With this passage Bieger might have compared 1, 123,

*audaci quicumque adflate Cratino  
Iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles.*

For all three belong together. On the last, Gildersleeve remarks: 'Persius, like some other Roman poets, goes beyond reasonable bounds in the use of the vocative as predicate. The Greeks were cautious and in Virgil the vocative may be detached and felt as such,<sup>1</sup> but not here, nor in 3, 28.' The examples generally cited here in support of Persius's usage (Virg. *Aen.* 2, 283; 9, 485; Hor. *S.* 2, 6, 20; Tib. 1, 7, 53) do not, with one exception (Juv. 6, 277) supply us with anything so harsh as Persius's uses of the vocative as predicate *in a relative clause*. Bieger's next case also occurs in the same sentence. It is the collocation *-ve . . . vel*, in support of which, in spite of the pages that have been written, nothing satisfactory has been said.<sup>2</sup> If the text is correct (*a* and *P* do not here

<sup>1</sup> So it may in Pers. 4, 124.

<sup>2</sup> The fullest note is to be found in Hauthal's edition of 1837, p. 188 ff. Bücheler in his third edition thinks it worth while to explain thus: "vel quod censor tibi cognatus est vel quod ipse es eques." This is far from being new, for though Gildersleeve ascribes it to Pretor and Stocker to Farnaby, and though both Pretor and Farnaby, like Bücheler and, years before, Lubinus, as well as J. B. Mayor (*Classical Review*, 1888, xii, p. 85), put it forth without a hint that it was not original, the fact is that it is the explanation of Valentinus (1578) and that the suggestion for it comes from Badius Ascensius (1499).

agree) the superfluous particle was tucked in carelessly as the needed extra syllable. The fourth of Bieger's six is 5, 114, where he says of *liberque ac sapiens*: 'absurdum est -que . . . ac, quoniam hoc toto loco ostendere studet poeta idem esse sapientem fieri et liberum.' The sequence -que . . . ac (or *atque*) is certainly rare though it is found (the grammars and the dictionary to the contrary) earlier than Virgil in poetry and Livy in prose; cf. Lucr. 5, 31 and Munro's note, also Varro ap. Non. p. 75, 20. But Bieger's line of criticism might as well be applied to Virg. *Georg.* 1, 182, *saepe exiguus mus Sub terris posuitque domos atque horrea fecit*. Or the idea in *ac* may be 'and so,' 'and thus,' in both passages. A better passage for Bieger's purpose would have been 2, 32, *frontemque atque uda labella*, where the rare combination seems certainly to be used for the metre. Bieger's fifth passage is 1, 60, wherein the subjunctive *sitiat* has already been defended (p. 125). His sixth is 4, 2, where the 'historical' present *tollit* in a relative clause is exceedingly harsh, in spite, as Gildersleeve remarks, of all the examples and all the commentators. But this is no reason for saying that Persius had not facility in writing verse, unless we are to bring the same charge against Virgil and Horace (see the examples cited by Jahn).

Our examination of the ten passages cited by Bieger shows that, whatever may be thought of the poet's taste in the choice of language, there is very little in them upon which to base against him a wholesale accusation of metrical ignorance or even of infelicity.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the

<sup>1</sup> I am, however, far from asserting the converse, that Persius was a skilful metrician. Witness, for example, his harsh elisions of monosyllables (1, 51;

two passages which led to Bieger's argument are not to be defended on the ground which he takes. They were 3, 66 and 5, 134. For the hiatus in the former,

*discite, o miseri, et causas cognoscite rerum,*

there is no exact parallel. Passages containing proper names should not be taken into account, nor those in which ictus falls on the unelided syllable. It seems strange to cite Virg. *Ecl.* 2, 53, *addam cerea pruna: honos erit huic quoque pomo*, and *Aen.* 1, 405, *et vera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem*, and hence to believe that on account of the pause in the sense after *discite* the hiatus may stand. For there is certainly as much of a pause after *miseri*; and yet that word is elided, in spite of the ictus. With Müller (*de R. M.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 371) and Bücheler (*Rh. Mus.*, *l. c.*) I believe that this hiatus is not to be left in our text, and that we must take our choice between the readings of the inferior manuscripts *disciteque* or *discite et*, as being, either of them, more like Persius than the *io* of Barth or the *vos* of Guyet.

^ We come finally to a more vexed question, 5, 134. Here a P give

*et quid agam? rogas? en saperdas advehe Ponto.*

The scholiast too seems to have read *rogas*, which must, of course, be taken as a pyrrhic. The inferior manuscripts help us out of the difficulty with *rogitas saperdas* or *rogitas en saperdam*. The reading *rogitas* is the vulgate, found (before 1886) in all the editions that I have examined except in the Venetian of 1482. But in this, the commentary (by Fontius) has *rogitas* for a lemma, so that *rogas* in 66: 131; 4, 14; 33) and his admission of elisions in the fifth foot (14 times, see Eskuche, *Rh. Mus.*, 1890, xlv, p. 236 ff., 385 ff.).

the text may be a misprint. Bücheler (*Rh. Mus. l. c.* and in his apparatus to his edition of 1886 where he printed *rogas*) suggested *rōgān*, comparing *min*, 1, 2 and *vin*,<sup>1</sup> 6, 63. But in his third edition (1893) he has this note on *rogas*: 'num corripuit poeta *rogas* more prisco ac vulgari? cf. scholion.' Why not? The verse is highly dramatic, — divided, in fact, between two speakers. And *rogas* seems to belong to the class of iambic words which were frequently used in verse as pyrrhics because people pronounced them so in everyday conversation.<sup>2</sup> The principle is familiar enough. We find it working in Persius, for example, in *putā*, 4, 9; *vidēsīs*, 1, 108; cf. *volŕ*, 5, 84, 87; *vetŕ*, 1, 112; *queŕ*, 5, 133. When, for example, we find *avŕ* in *Ov. Am.* 2, 6, 62 we know that we have not to do with any mere metrical license, for Quintilian (1, 6, 21) expressly tells us that the word was universally pronounced with *ŕ*. But the shortening of the ultima was not confined to iambic words; cf. *accedŕ*, 6, 55; *nescidŕ*, 3, 88; *dixerŕ*, *Hor. S.* 1, 4, 104; *mentidŕ*, *S.* 1, 4, 93; *quomodŕ*, *S.* 1, 9, 43; *ergŕ*, *Ov. H.* 5, 59; *salvŕ*, possibly in *Mart.* 11, 108, 4. But it is true that before final *s* the long quantity was very persistent and instances of shortening are rare. We find *manŭs*, *Plaut. Mil.* 325; *habŕs*, *Aul.* 187; possibly *virginŕs*, *Enn. Ann.* 102 M., and *Plaut. Pers.* 845 (unless we take it as *virgnes* in both). The phenomenal *palŭs* in *Hor. A. P.* 65 is much

<sup>1</sup> Here P has *vis*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, p. 210, 'This shortening was not a mere metrical license but reflected the actual pronunciation,' and Keller, *Grammatische Aufsätze*, p. 264, who thinks that the 'rule' of *breves breviantes* worked, chiefly at any rate, only in familiar words which were in constant use. Thus he distinguishes between *dŕmī*, 'at home,' and the true genitive *dŕmī*.

debated. Of actual *-ās* we have *enicās*, Plaut. *Rud.* 944; *intonās* and *claudās* in hexameters in an inscription of the third century, *CIL* viii, 4635. Doubtless other instances might be picked up. But for actual *rogās* I know only *CIL* i, 1454, on one of the *sortes* :

*Qur petis postempus consilium? quod rogas, non est,*

and on a hexameter (?) like this little can be based. In Plaut. *Bacch.* 980 a foot is lacking, and Ritschl inserted *hem* before *rogas*. Still, I think one can scarcely doubt that many people said *rogās*. The question is whether it is likely that Persius would have admitted it into his verse. When I think of the shortenings which he *did* admit, and reflect how many words and phrases there are in his 650 verses which seem to be taken directly from the dialect of the people, from slang, and even from a lower language still, I am strongly tempted to believe that he wrote *rogās* here.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the reading *rogitas* of the inferior manuscripts cannot be impeached (as some have attempted) on the ground that this verb is a frequentative and therefore out of place here. Passage after passage might be cited, from Plautus (*e.g.* *Pseud.* 1163) down, in which *rogito* serves as a mere synonym of *rogo*. Further, a glance over Jahn's index will show Persius's fondness for verbs of the frequentative formation. Küster (*de A. Persii Fl. elocutione quaestiones*, p. 6) cites eleven verbs

<sup>1</sup> To speak only of words, not phrases, cf. *agaso*, 5, 76; *baro*, 5, 138; *cackinno*, 1, 12; *calo*, 5, 95; *palpo*, 5, 176; *aristae*, 3, 115; *bullire*, 3, 34; *cankus*, 5, 71; *centussis*, 5, 191; *cevere*, 1, 87; *cirradi*, 1, 29; *ebulliat*, 2, 10; *exossatus*, 6, 52; *gurgulio*, 4, 38; *inmeiare*, 6, 73; *iunix*, 2, 47; *lallare*, 3, 18; *mamma*, 3, 18; *pappare*, 3, 17; *patrare*, 1, 18; *popa*, 6, 74; *saperda*, 5, 134; *sartago*, 1, 80; *scloppus*, 5, 13; *tressis*, 5, 76; *trossulus*, 1, 82; *tucceta*, 2, 42.

occurring in twenty passages. In but a few of them can the real meaning of the frequentative *be* be distinguished. Against *rogitas*, then, we can say only that it is the easier reading, found in inferior manuscripts.

2, 1. *Hunc, Macrine, diem numera meliore lapillo,  
Qui tibi labentis apponet candidus annos.*

Here P and half a dozen of the inferior manuscripts have *apponet*, the variant *apponat* stands in G by a correction, and all the other manuscripts (including *a*) have *apponit*. This is one of the twenty passages in which Bieger (p. 48) believes that P is inferior to *a*; he thinks *apponet* a pure blunder. This is a strange verdict, particularly as coming from one whose *métier* it is to find the best in P whenever he possibly can. It seems as if Bieger must have been influenced by tradition; for it is a fact that the future *apponet* had, when Bieger wrote, been adopted by only two editors of consequence—Pithou in 1590 (naturally, as he was the owner of P) and Schrevel in his edition of 1648 and later reprints. In 1893 it was revived by Bücheler in his latest edition, possibly on the principle that it is the reading of P though rejected by P's defender.

I think it the right reading. For 1) it is undoubtedly the 'lectio difficilior'; 2) it is supported by such futures as are found in relative clauses like Hor. *C.* 1, 9, 15, *quem fors dierum cumque dabit lucro Appone*, Mart. 2, 32, 8, *sit liber, dominus qui volet esse meus*, and Pers. 1, 91, *verum nec nocte paratum Plorabit, qui me volet incurvasse querella*.

## ON THE WORD PETITOR<sup>1</sup>

THE warning that *petitor* in the sense of 'candidate for office' does not occur in classical prose has long stood in the principal authorities on usage. Thus, in the sixth edition of the *Antibarbarus*, Schmalz summarizes what is to be found in earlier editions and in the lexicon of Georges as follows: '*Petitor* wird in klass. Prosa nur in gerichtlicher Beziehung gebraucht von dem, der auf etwas *Anspruch* macht; besonders ist es ein *Kläger* in einem Privatprozeesse. — Bei Hor. *Od.* 3, 1, 11, ferner bei Scip. Afr. in Macrob. *Sat.* 3, 14, 7, sowie *N. Kl.* bei Sueton. (*Iul. Caes.* 23) bedeutet es *Bewerber um ein Amt*, welcher *Kl. candidatus* hiess, vgl. Bagge<sup>2</sup> p. 39.' Harper's Lexicon says of the word in its political sense, 'not in Cicero.'

Nevertheless, *petitor*, 'candidate for office,' is found in Cicero twice: 1) *Mur.* 44, *petitorem ego, praesertim consulatus, magna spe, magno animo, magnis copiis et in forum et in campum deduci volo.* 2) *Planc.* 7, *his levioribus comitiis diligentia et gratia petitorum honos paritur.*

The passages escaped the compilers of the old lexicons to Cicero (hence probably the statements in the *Antibarbarus* and our lexicons), although of course they are to be

<sup>1</sup> This and the next four notes are from the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1901, xii, 232 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to Bagge's *de Eloc. Suetonii*, where he merely sends us back to Krebs and to Georges.

found in Merguet. Neither have the editors of Horace used either passage, although the first well illustrates *descendat in campum petitor*.

Cicero's brother Quintus also made use of *petitor* in our sense four times in his *Commentariolum Petitionis* (§§ 18, 25, 42, 45). It would be strange enough if *petitor*, 'candidate,' were actually lacking in classical prose, considering how common are *peto*, *petitio*, and *competitor*, referring to office seeking. In general usage, however, it was pushed out by *candidatus* (no doubt originally election slang), which is often employed by Cicero, and indeed just before and just after our first passage; and by his brother twice (*ibid.*, §§ 31 and 44). The old-fashioned term was still understood, we see, in the time of Suetonius; but Macrobius, after quoting the passage from Scipio in which it occurred, felt it necessary to explain to his readers that it meant *candidatus* (*ibid.*, 8).

It may be mentioned here, for the sake of adding to the record, that in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* of B.C. 44 (*CIL* ii, 5439, ch. 132) we have the curious double expression *petitor candidatus* three times and *candidatus petitor* once. This looks much like that adjectival use of *candidatus* which is said to occur only in poetry and in post-Augustan prose (see the *Lexicon*). It seems to describe the office-seeker *after* he has entered his name as a regular candidate. My friend Professor A. A. Howard informs me that in Suetonius, *Aug.* 10, *candidatum se ostendit*, according to his own collations the Parisinus 6116 (S. xii) has *candidatum petitozem* and the Parisinus 5801 (S. xii) *petitozem* in the margin and *candidatum* in the text. These Mss. represent two different classes, and in



view of the inscription just cited I think it possible that something is to be said for the double expression in Suetonius.

### ON QVIN WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN QUESTIONS<sup>1</sup>

THE use of *quin* with the subjunctive in direct questions has been passed with scant notice by authors of grammars and collectors of statistics. Hence in Lane's *Latin Grammar*, § 1982, I was led to write as if *quin* were found but once in this usage: Pl. *Mil.* 426 — an example drawn from Kienitz, *de quin particulae ap. pr. scr. lat. usu*, p. 4. This is in fact the stock example; cf. Lübbert, *Jenaer Litt. Zeit.* 1879, p. 65. Since then I have met with other occurrences, and it may be worth while to print them here.

1) Plaut. *Mil.* 426, Sc. *me rogas hem qui sim?* Ph. *quin ego hoc rogem quod nesciam?* Here, as Kienitz observes, no other mood could stand; cf. Ter. *Andr.* 749, My. *satin sanu's qui me id rogites?* Da. *quem igitur rogem qui hic neminem alium videam?*

2) Ter. *Phorm.* 1015, *ego, Nausistrata, esse in hac re culpam meritum non nego; sed ea quin sit ignoscenda?* Dziatzko suggested in a note that this *quin* clause might be nothing but a direct question (thus getting rid of numerous forced explanations), and he is now followed by Elmer in his note and by Hauler in his text and note. None of them, however, cite parallels with *quin*, confining themselves to subjunctives with *cur non* and *quidni*.

<sup>1</sup> Since this was published Professor Sonnenschein has cited other examples in the *Classical Review*, 1902, xvi, 167 ff.

3) Ter. *Eun.* 811, TH. *quid nunc agimus?* GN. *quin redeamus?* Here D<sup>2</sup> and G, according to Fabia, read *redimus*, which might of course stand (so Kienitz, p. 4, though no recent editor), but there seems no strong reason for such a change nor for the colon of our printed editions, instead of which I have written the second interrogation mark. It must be noted, however, that in A we have *quin* corrected to *quid* by the 'corrector antiquissimus' or A<sup>2</sup> of Hauler and Kauer, a hand which they consider not much later than A itself. If we accept this correction we must read with Fleckeisen<sup>2</sup>: *quid? redeamus: etc.*

4) Lucretius I, 798,

*quin potius tali natura praedita quaedam  
corpora constituas, ignem si forte crearint,  
posse eadem demptis paucis paucisque tributis,  
ordine mutato et motu, facere aeris auras,  
sic alias aliis rebus mutarier omnis?*

5) Tac. *Ann.* 4, 11, *quin potius ministrum veneri excruciet, auctorem exquireret, insita denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora adversum unicum et nullius ante flagitii compertum uteretur?*

The next two examples are fragments, so that we cannot be certain that the sentences were independent questions; still, they have every appearance of being such. Hence I append the question mark.

6) Lucil. ap. Non. 426, 5,

*quin potius vitam degas sedatu' quietam,  
quam tu antiquiu' quam facere hoc fecisse videris?*

7) Lucil. ap. Non. 300, 27,

*quin totum purges, devellas me atque deuras,  
exultes et sollicites?*

So far there can be, I think, little doubt of the readings. The next two are much less certain.

8) Cic. *Rep.* 6, 14, *quin tu aspicias ad te venientem Paulum patrem?* Here the Palimpsest and Macrobius fail us, but the other Mss. of the *Somnium* read *aspicias*. Editors since Halm print his emendation *aspicis*. Munro, however, in his note to Lucr. 1, 798, lends the weight of his deliberate judgment to the subjunctive. It ought perhaps to be added that below in § 15 we have *quid moror in terris? quin huc ad vos venire propero?*

9) Cic. *Legg.* 1, 14, QUINT. *quid enim agam potius aut in quo melius hunc consumam diem?* MARC. *quin igitur ad illa spatia nostra sedisque pergamus?* Here codd. A B<sup>a</sup> give the subjunctive (though Vahlen notes that the *a* in A seems due to a correction). Editions since Halm have *pergimus*. The emendation is distasteful. The indicative with *quin* generally gives an impatient tone to the question, which often becomes practically a command or an exhortation to the speaker himself; cf. *Rep.* 6, 15, cited above. But a polite suggestion is in place here, and that seems indicated by the dubitative nature of the subjunctive. Still it is curious that, just as in the *Republic*, so here in the *Laws* we have in the immediate neighborhood of our passage an undoubted case of *quin* with the indicative, § 13, *quin igitur ista ipsa explicas nobis his subsicivis, ut ais, temporibus et conscribis de iure civili subtilius quam ceteri?*

## QUINTILIAN'S QUOTATIONS FROM HORACE

FOR the reading *intonsis capillis* in Hor. *C.* 1, 12, 41, Quintilian is our only ancient authority. Against him all the Mss. of Horace, as well as Servius and Charisius, give *incomptis capillis*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of the editors (*e.g.* Bentley, Keller, Orelli-Hirschfelder, Müller, Wickham) read the latter. But Kiessling and Smith follow Quintilian, rightly as I believe. Without entering into other reasons for this reading (on which cf. the two editors just mentioned), I wish merely to show that Quintilian deserves respect as an authority on the text of Horace. The attempt seems worth while because Keller, in his note on the passage in the *Epilegomena*, calls Quintilian's reading false and refers to his note on *C.* 1, 13, 2. There he is dealing with misquotations of Horace by the grammarians, and cites one each from Priscian, Victorinus, Flavius Caper, Charisius and Diomede, two from Servius, and our passage from Quintilian. All of these he considers errors due to the habit of quoting from memory. Now, although everybody knows that misquotations are made by very many writers and in all times and languages, yet Keller's dictum here seems a little too sweeping. It is uttered as if he had not taken sufficient account of the memories of individuals, and as if he had not stopped to inquire whether Quintilian and the other writers mentioned were really alike in their methods of quoting from Horace. To examine the works of all of them would perhaps be a long task, but it is not difficult to find Quintilian's record in this matter.

He quotes Horace twenty-four times and refers to pas-

sages, without quoting them, three times. The references may be found so conveniently in Meister's edition, p. 346, that I omit them here. In only four of these does Quintilian's evidence<sup>1</sup> differ from that of our Mss. of Horace. The first is the passage already cited. The second is *A. P.* 311, where nobody doubts that, as against the present tense in codd. B and C, Quintilian (1, 5, 2) is right with *sequentur*, agreeing as he does with the other Mss. and with Porphyrio. The third is *S.* 1, 4, 11, where Quintilian 10, 1, 94, has: *ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat*. Here the Mss. and editions of Horace give:

*cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles.*

The only real difference lies in the word *possis*, because it is evident that the passage appears in Quintilian as a paraphrase and that the other changes are due to his use of *putat* to introduce it. The fact that *esse aliquid* fits in metrically with *quod tollere possis* is possibly a mere accident, so that we cannot feel certain that Quintilian thought that he was *quoting* these two words. The fourth passage is *Ep.* 1, 1, 73 f., which reads thus in Horace:

*olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni  
respondit, referam.*

Quintilian, 5, 11, 20, speaking of the use of fables, has: *et Horatius ne in poemate quidem humilem generis huius usum putavit in illis versibus:*

*quod dixit vulpes aegroto cauta leoni.*

Here we certainly seem to have a slip of the memory; but here and in the use of *possis* in the third passage are

<sup>1</sup> Omitting, of course, mere orthographical variants, like *classes* and *classis*.

the only places in which we can convict Quintilian of this fault. Therefore, until an equally good record can be made out for the grammarians mentioned, we should be slow to class him among them. He either had a good memory for Horace, or else he usually verified his quotations.

### ON CICERO, *QVINCT.* 13

*qua in re ita diligens erat quasi ei qui magna fide societatem gererent arbitrium pro socio condemnari solerent.*

A MUCH discussed and emended passage. Long interprets thus: he was as active in this business (*i.e.* in cheating his partner) as if those who acted as *honest* partners were usually convicted instead of the (dishonest) partner. But with this explanation the word *arbitrium* is unnecessary, and indeed some of the older editors omitted it as a gloss. Others read *ad arbitrium* or *ad arbitrum*, 'before the arbitrator'; and Landgraf *per arbitrum* (see p. 44 of his *de Cic. elocutione in or. pro Q. et pro R. Am. conspicua*). Emendation, however, is unnecessary, for we are dealing here with legal language, in which the use of the double accusative with *condemnare* (*i.e.* *aliquem aliquid*) was common; see Stolz and Schmalz, *Lat. Gr.*<sup>8</sup>, p. 233. In our sentence the accusative of the penalty, *arbitrium*, is retained with the passive voice; cf. Gaius 4, 32, *tantam pecuniam condemnentur*. Cicero says then: 'as if men who acted as honest partners were usually condemned to *arbitrium pro socio*,' this is, were obliged to go before an arbitrator on a question of partnership, for defrauding a partner. This explanation is borne out by *Rosc. Com.* 25, *quae cum ita sint, cur*

*non arbitrum pro socio adegeris Q. Roscium quaero.* The same phrase *arbitrum adigere* with the accusative of a person occurs in *Off.* 3, 66, and without such an accusative in *Top.* 43. Hence we may suppose that the passage in *pro Quinctio*, if not strictly a legal formula, was modelled on, or suggested by the certainly legal formula *arbitrum adigere.* And *pro socio* is legal phraseology for 'in a partnership question': cf. *Rosc. Com.* above and *Fl.* 43; *Dig.* 17, tit. 2.

#### ON THE DATE OF THE ORATION PRO ROSCIO COMOEDO

THE question of the year in which this speech was delivered has been much discussed and remains undetermined. Probably 77 or 76 B.C. is ordinarily preferred. The latter (first suggested by Fabricius) was favored by Teuffel (cf. Teuffel-Schwabe, i<sup>6</sup>, § 179, 3); it or 77 (Ferraci, Orelli, Klotz) is supported by Landgraf (*de Ciceronis elocutione, etc.*, p. 47 ff.); and 76 has recently been defended by W. Sternkopf (*Jahrb. für Cl. Phil.* 1895, p. 41 ff.), although he believes that either 74 or 73 is also possible. On the other hand, the year 68, fixed by Manuzio, had the support of Drumann (v, p. 346 ff.), and Schanz adopts it (*Gesch. der Röm. Litt.* i<sup>2</sup>, p. 249); A. Mayr has very lately proposed and defended 66 B.C. (*Wiener St.* 1900, p. 115 ff.). C. A. Schmidt, in his useful edition of our speech, Leipzig, 1839, p. 13 (the last edition, except Long's, with a commentary), argued briefly that the date was not earlier than 68 and might be any one of the next few years.

The question is interesting biographically; for if we adopt 77 or 76 we are still in the period of Cicero's youth,

before he began to hold public office, although after his return from his studies in Asia. In 68, however, he had already been quaestor and aedile, and had impeached Verres; in 66 he was praetor, advocated the Manilian law, and defended Cluentius. Without entering fully into the arguments which have led the scholars just mentioned to their conclusions, let us see what information about the date can be gleaned from the speech itself.

1) It is a fair inference that the great career of Roscius the actor, which ended only with his death in 62 B.C., was now drawing near its close; cf. § 23, *decem his annis proximis HS sexagiens honestissime consequi poluit: noluit. Laborem quaestus recepit, quaestum laboris reiecit; populo Romano adhuc servire non destitit, sibi servire iam pridem destitit*. The same section contains an allusion to the popularity of the dancer Dionysia and the great sums which she was earning at the time, with the statement by Cicero that Roscius, if he wished, could be earning even more. The only other mention of Dionysia is found in Gellius 1, 5, 3, from which it seems likely that in the year 62 (when Cicero and Hortensius defended Sulla) she was a popular personage.

2) From § 42 we learn that Flavius, whose killing of the slave of Roscius and Fannius had led to the case in which our speech was delivered, had long been dead—*is iam pridem est mortuus*. It appears later, however, that *iam pridem* cannot here refer to a period of much more than two years (see p. 145). But in its context *iam pridem* is not an exaggeration; *two years dead* is *dead long ago* when the question is one of looking vainly to a dead man for evidence.



3) After the killing of the slave, his owners, who had expected to make money out of his gains as an actor, brought suit against Flavius. Just as the suit was ready to be tried, Roscius concluded a settlement with Flavius. This settlement took place, according to the reading of all our Mss., fifteen years before the delivery of our speech: § 37 *abhinc annis xv*. Of the time of this settlement is also used the expression *iam pridem* (38), and the adjective *vetus* (39). They are contrasted with *nunc*, *nova*, and *recens*, used in the same sections of a proceeding next to be mentioned.

4) Fannius claimed that he, as the partner of Roscius, was entitled to a share of what Roscius received from Flavius under the settlement. Roscius denied this and the question came before an *arbiter*. Under his advice a compromise was effected between them. This compromise took place three full years before the delivery of our speech (*amplius triennium*, 8; *triennio amplius*, 9; *abhinc triennium*, 37). It is this compromise which is called *nova* in 38, *recens* in 39, and of which *nunc* is used in 38.

Summarizing what we have learned thus far, we see that the compromise was of three years' standing, that a much longer time intervened between it and the earlier settlement, and that Flavius had died so long ago that *iam pridem* could be used of the event which cut Cicero off from the possibility of calling him as a witness. These facts do not help us at all towards fixing any particular date. Toward this we have, so far, only the *inference* that the speech was delivered in the last years of Roscius, who died in 62 B.C.

5) After the settlement between Flavius and Roscius, the original suit against Flavius was continued by Fannius and finally won by him (§ 41 f.). This end came *after* the compromise which had been effected between Roscius and his partner Fannius (*ibid.*). The *iudex* in this suit was Cluvius, called an *eques* (42, 48), but otherwise unknown to us. The fact that Sulla deprived the *equites* of the privilege of acting as *iudices* in 81 B.C. and that this privilege was not restored to them until the Aurelian Law of 70 B.C. seems to show that Cluvius could not have rendered his decision during the intervening period. It is true that some have supposed that Sulla's law did not refer to the judges in *private* suits such as the one in question (cf. Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der röm. Civilprocess*, ii, p. 805; Keller, *Der röm. Civilprocess*, § 10). If this were so, we should not be helped at all towards a date by the mention of the knighthood of Cluvius. But as Mayr (p. 117) points out,<sup>1</sup> there is not the slightest evidence for a distinction between public and private suits in this matter, and he further adds that there is on record no case wherein a knight acted as a judge which we can certainly ascribe to the period between the Cornelian and Aurelian laws. It follows, therefore, that Cluvius gave the decision either before (or in) the year 81 or after (or in) the year 70. And inasmuch as his verdict was given *after* the compromise between Fannius and Roscius, which was reached three years before our speech was delivered, and further as Cicero's oratorical career began not earlier than 82 B.C. and probably in 81,<sup>2</sup> and was interrupted by his two years

<sup>1</sup> So also, apparently, Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 209 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Brut.* 311, 312, 328.

in Asia (79-77 B.C.), we get for the first time something definite towards fixing the date of the speech. The next point affords us something more definite still.

6) Under the settlement mentioned above, Roscius received from Flavius a certain estate. The value of it was among the important topics treated in our speech, and in § 33 Cicero says: *accepit enim agrum temporibus eis cum iacerent pretia praediorum; qui ager neque villam habuit neque ex ulla parte fuit cultus; qui nunc multo pluris est quam tunc fuit. Neque id est mirum: tum enim propter rei publicae calamitates omnium possessiones erant incertae, nunc deum immortalium benignitate omnium fortunae sunt certae; tum erat ager incultus sine tecto, nunc est cultissimus cum optima villa.*

From this passage we learn two things: first, that the estate passed into Roscius's hands at a time when the value of lands was low, *and* (this *and* is important) when the misfortunes of the Commonwealth caused all men to feel uneasy about their holdings; second, that a considerable time must have elapsed since Roscius had received the estate, because it came to him as utterly uncultivated land without buildings, whereas now it was in the highest state of cultivation and had on it a very handsome villa. Under the second head we get no immediate helps towards a date for the speech, but only further reason for believing that it was delivered long after the troubles between Roscius and Fannius with Flavius began. Under the first head, however, we are led at once to look for a crisis affecting the value of lands. This crisis must be searched for not earlier than the fifteenth year preceding 82 or 81 B.C. (the beginning of Cicero's career) and not later than the fif-

teenth year before the death of Roscius in 62 B.C., — that is to say, between the years 97 and 77.

Within these twenty years the Marsic War might at first seem to be the period for which we are in search, and indeed Sternkopf (p. 47) holds that Cicero is referring to it. This war broke out towards the close of 91, and was brought to an end in 88; fifteen years later would give us a choice between 76, 74, or 73, for the delivery of our speech.<sup>1</sup> Two objections, however, may be advanced against any of these dates. The first is that Cluvius the *eques* would thus be found rendering a verdict within the prohibited period (see p. 146). The second and the more important (since some may still hold the view that Cluvius might have acted in a *private* suit) is that we have no evidence of any such *general* depreciation of the value of lands and of any such universal financial anxiety during the Marsic War as Cicero describes in § 33. If Cicero had stopped with the words *cum iacerent pretia praediorum*, we might think that he was referring to land in Etruria (for, as we shall soon see, it is probable that the piece of land which Roscius received from Flavius was situated there); but he says also *omnium possessiones erant incertae*. And there is no allusion elsewhere in the authors to any such general state of uncertainty during the Marsic War.

But within our period of twenty years there was another crisis, namely, that caused by the Sullan proscriptions which began towards the end of 82 and extended into the middle of 81. This was a reign of terror which, so far as it concerned matters of property and titles to it, perfectly corresponded to the account given by Cicero in § 33. The

<sup>1</sup> The year 75 is barred out by Cicero's absence in Sicily.

state of things described in the speech for Roscius of Ameria makes this evident; cf. also with Landgraf *Paradox.* 46, *qui expulsiones vicinorum, qui latrocinia in agris . . . qui possessiones vacuas, qui proscriptiones locupletium, qui cladis municipiorum, qui illam Sullani temporis messem recordetur*, and Sall. *Cat.* 51, 33, *uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicuius concupiverat, dabat operam ut is in proscriptorum numero esset*. To Landgraf's citations we may add *pro Caecina* 11, *fundum in agro Tarquiniensi vendidit temporibus illis difficillimis solutionis*, which likewise contains an allusion to the Sullan period; cf. also § 95 of the same speech, where he uses *calamitas reipublicae* as in our speech. Nor does Landgraf refer to the fact that Etruria (Flavius, from whom Roscius received the estate, lived, like the man of *pro Caec.*, in Tarquini, § 32) was a special centre of fighting and disturbance at the time; in *Rosc. Am.* 20 we find Volterrae still holding out after the submission of Rome herself. We have, therefore, abundant evidence to lead us to adopt the year 81 as the period referred to in § 33. And this will bring us fifteen years later with Mayr to 66 B.C. as the date of our speech, to 70 or 69 (*amplius triennium*, § 8, *abhinc triennium*, § 37) as the date of the compromise, and to some time very soon after the compromise to the verdict of Cluvius, who is thus found acting as a judge after the Aurelian Law gave him the right. The year 66 is in fact the only one which without any forcing fits all the circumstances described in the speech, and it is a year in which we know that Cicero was active, since in it he delivered the speeches *de Imp. Pomp.*, *pro Cluentio*, *pro Fundanio*, and *pro Gallio*. Pompey had just cleared the

sea of pirates, and on that element as well as on land it might be said with truth *nunc omnium fortunae sunt certae* (33).

Only two obstacles stand in the way of the general adoption of this date, one of them more than three hundred years old, the other a little over twenty. Neither of these, I think, ought to make us abandon the date which we have reached, I trust, by the natural method of procedure and on rational grounds.

The first obstacle need not detain us long. It is the emendation *v* or *iv* for *xv* in the expression *abhinc annis xv* (37), which stood in the vulgate for centuries down to the text of Klotz, and which, though not printed in the Teubner or Tauchnitz texts, has the support of many scholars, including Drumann<sup>1</sup> and Landgraf.<sup>2</sup> In his first edition Lambinus changed *xv* to *v*, but in his second he read *iv* with Hotman whose reasons for the change he approved. Hotman's note is as follows: 'manifestum mendum. Legendum opinor *iv* id est quatuor. Primum quod iam supra nomen hoc 1000 HS de quo haec controversia est non nisi ab hinc quadriennium a Fannio in adversaria relatum dicat. Scribit enim amplius triennium. Deinde quod modo repromissionem ab hinc triennium factam confirmet, quam satis constat non multo post Roscii transactionem factam esse. Postremo tamdiu prolatam esse rem mihi certe non fit verisimile.' Long ago Klotz and Schmidt

<sup>1</sup> Who thought that the allusion in § 33 was to the time of Spartacus; but I know of no other passage which points to a disturbed condition of land values and titles at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Whose adoption of the year 77 or 76 as the date of the speech must oblige him to accept the emendation, since he thinks that the allusion in § 33 is to the time of Sulla.

saw that this emendation was based on mere feeling, not on any sound argument. Hotman did not feel that the case against Flavius could have been left undecided for so many years as are required by the reading *xv*; and he felt that Roscius's settlement with Flavius could not have taken place very long before his compromise with Fannius. His feeling is of no consequence in the face of the fact that the Ms. reading is a possible one and in face of the language used by Cicero in § 33. For, as Baron<sup>1</sup> remarks, no writer would talk in this strain about a period of only four years.

The second obstacle lies in Landgraf's investigation of the language and style of the speech, from which he draws the conclusion that it must be placed in 77 or 76, soon after Cicero's return from Asia, since it resembles more closely his earlier than his later works and yet differs enough from the earliest to show that it belongs to a kind of transition period. In a brief answer to Landgraf, Mayr (p. 119) points to the fact that our speech is only a fragment and that its 56 sections cannot properly be compared with the 253 sections of the certainly early speeches *pro Quinct.* and *Rosc. Am.* He adds: 'tum si huiusce aetatis scriptorum in singulis libris dicendi usum respicimus, nonne eos a consuetudine sua nonnumquam discedere invenimus? Non hic vel illic post longius quoddam temporis intervallum ad eum, quem antea adamaverant, loquendi usum inscii vel etiam inviti relabuntur? Certe non is sum, qui talia, qualia supra allata sunt, argumenta spernenda esse censeam, sed si ea pugnant cum gravioribus, quae ex rebus

<sup>1</sup> Der Process gegen den Schauspieler Roscius. In *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 1880, i, 2, p. 118.

*ipsis petita sunt, haec illis anteferre non dubito.*' And he concludes with the remark that the case of Roscius Comœdus was not an important one, and that consequently Cicero was not likely to have spent much toil upon the speech, so that we need not be surprised if he sometimes falls back into methods of expression which he had abandoned in his greater works. These reasonings by Mayr seem sound, but I hardly think that they are needed, for I am more than inclined to doubt whether Landgraf has actually shown that the language used in this speech really does point to the early period.

Before considering Landgraf's points in detail, a general warning may be in place. If we take up the first volume of Cicero's orations and read them in the order in which they are printed, we feel, as soon as we begin the *Divinatio in Caecilium*, that we are in a different literary atmosphere from that of the *pro Quinct.*, *Rosc. Am.*, and *Rosc. Com.* But is not this a misleading feeling, due to the fact that in the *Divinatio* we are suddenly relieved from the technical details of which those works are so full? Perhaps this absence of the difficulties caused by technicalities makes one fancy that the *Divinatio* is written in much better Latin than is really to be found in it. However this may be, we must not think that either it or the Verrines represent Cicero at his best in oratorical style; for these speeches resemble those of his early period much more nearly than they resemble the great speeches of his prime, — the *pro Sestio* for example. The Verrines are in fact treated by Hellmuth<sup>1</sup> as belonging to the earlier period and he finds in them much in common with the earlier

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sem. Phil. Erlang.* i, 1877.



speeches, *e.g.* redundancy, union of synonyms, paronomasia, alliterations, all recalling the style of earlier Latin or the language of the comic poets. Still, all these characteristics are found to a less degree in the Verrines than before, so that they exhibit a certain advance in the direction of a purer prose style and less inequality. They are, therefore, called by Thomas<sup>1</sup> 'la dernière œuvre de jeunesse de Cicéron et la première production de sa maturité.' If public orations like the Verrines must occupy this middle ground, is there anything surprising in finding a return to it in a speech written a few years later for an unimportant private suit like that of Roscius? But to return to the points which Landgraf makes: they are five in number.

1) Examples of the Asian style consisting of the joining together of pairs of synonymous words. Landgraf cites *oro atque obsecro* (20), *pravum et perversum* (30), *planius atque apertius* (43), *locupletes et pecuniosos* (44), *irasci et suscensere* (46), *consistere et commorari* (48), *ductum et conflatum* (48), *callidus et versutus* (48), *resistere et repugnare* (51). Here are nine pairs and to them we may add three others: *copia et facultate* (2), *conclusa et comprehensa* (15), *sanctos et religiosos* (44), — a total of twelve in all. This means an average occurrence of one pair in about every  $4\frac{1}{2}$  sections of the oration; but in the 253 sections of the *pro Quinct.* and *Rosc. Am.* there are, according to Landgraf's count (p. 48), 127 pairs or one in every two sections. This great difference in proportion, which it does not seem to have occurred to Landgraf to calculate, ought at once to make us suspect the truth of his state-

<sup>1</sup> *Cicero: Verrines*, Introd., p. 32.

ment, 'totius orationis habitus prioribus similior est quam posterioribus.' Let us turn to two of the later orations, selecting the two which we know were delivered in 66 B.C., the *Imp. Pomp.* and the *pro Cluentio*. Examining the first fifty-six sections in each (the number of sections in our fragment), we find at least 14 pairs of synonyms in the former and 15 in the latter, as follows: *Imp. Pomp.*: *deposci atque expeti* (5), *excitare atque inflammare* (6), *necandos trucidandosque* (7), *pulsus superatusque* (8), *repressos ac retardatos* (13), *ornatas atque instructas* (20), *superatam atque depressam* (21), *terrore ac metu* (23), *varia et diversa* (28), *superatos prostratosque* (30), *attenuatum atque imminutum* (30), *vitam ac spiritum* (33), *imperio ac potestati* (35), *meminisse et commemorare* (47); in the *pro Cluentio*: *convicta atque damnata* (7), *finis atque exitus* (7), *portum ac perfugium* (7), *expulsa atque exturbata* (14), *effrenatam et indomitam* (15), *squalore et sordibus* (18), *vi ac necessitate* (19), *breviter strictimque* (29), *initio ac fundamento* (30), *indicia et vestigia* (30), *blanditiis et adsentationibus* (36), *compertum atque deprehensum* (43), *infesta atque inimica* (44), *comperta manifesteque deprehensa* (48), *aperta et manifesta* (54). From this examination it must be apparent that in the matter of the joining of pairs of synonyms Landgraf's view is quite mistaken; for the fact is that herein our oration resembles more closely the two which were delivered in 66 B.C. than the two delivered before Cicero's journey to Asia. More striking is Landgraf's observation that whereas in the *pro Quinct.* and *Rosc. Am.* the word used to connect such synonyms is *atque* (82 times) or *ac* (45 times), in the *Rosc. Com.* it is *et*, except in §§ 20 and 43, where *atque* appears, while *ac* is never

used.<sup>1</sup> Noting that in the certainly later orations Cicero employs *atque*, *ac*, and *et* indiscriminately, Landgraf argues that Cicero had become conscious of his 'Asian' fault of coupling synonyms, and that in his struggle against it in the *Rosc. Com.* he purposely employed *et* instead of *atque* (*ac*) which had been his habit. But this observation of Landgraf's is rather curious than practical, and the conclusion which he deduces from it cannot be trusted. This is obvious the moment we note that in the first 56 sections of *Imp. Pomp.* we have, in the examples given above, nine occurrences of *atque* (*ac*) to only two of *et*, — almost exactly the reverse of the figures in the *Rosc. Com.* where are ten of *et* and two of *atque*. On Landgraf's principle we should see in the *Imp. Pomp.* (if we had only the first 56 sections of it) a return to Asianism!

2) Landgraf next notes Cicero's use of the phrases *tantum laborem capere* and *paullulum compendii facere* in § 49, and points out that both phrases are found in Plautus and Terence and that Cicero does not later employ them in the orations. But Landgraf here fails to observe that there is a very good reason why Cicero should employ these colloquialisms in our passage. He is not speaking in his own person, but is giving us an imaginary dialogue, in a truly comic vein, between Roscius and Cluvius. The colloquial color is just what is wanted, and it proves nothing at all about Cicero's usual style at the time and consequently nothing about the date of the speech, in which it occurs as a mere accident of treatment. Further, *tantum laborem capere* (for the commoner *tantum laborem suscipere*) is pretty closely paralleled in *Verr.* 5, 37, *nequaquam capio*

<sup>1</sup> *fraudis ac furti* in § 26 looks very like a case of synonyms coupled by *ac*.

*tantum voluptatis quantum et sollicitudinis et laboris*; and finally, in the *De Officiis* 3, 63, Cicero allows himself to say *tantum se negat facturum compendii*. Neither of these usages, therefore, need surprise us in the colloquial passage in our oration.

3) The superlative *novissimus* occurs in § 30, *qui ne in novissimis quidem erat histrionibus, ad primos pervenit comoedos*. The word has a familiar sound to us because Caesar uses it so often, but, as Landgraf notes, it is found nowhere else in the works of Cicero, and indeed Gellius (10, 21) remarks that Cicero never used it at all. Hence we might be inclined to think that the word in our Mss. was due to a gloss; but if it is allowed to stand as a ἀπαξ I do not see how it points to the year 76 rather than to ten years later. Varro tells us that his master Aelius Stilo condemned the word, and that within his recollection it was avoided by *senes*. This information comes from Varro's *Lingua Latina* (6, 59; Gell. *ibid.*), and yet we find Varro himself using *novissimus* half a dozen years later in his *Res Rusticae* (1, 2, 11), showing that he had got rid of his master's prejudice. Cicero also was an admiring pupil of Aelius Stilo (cf. *Brut.* 205 ff.), and it seems rather more likely that he would have departed from the teachings of that philologist in a later than in an earlier work. At any rate, there is nothing 'Asian' nor poetical in *novissimus*, and these are the two factors on which Landgraf chiefly relies to prove that the language of the *Rosc. Com.* points to an early date.

4) 5) The adverb *exemplo* (8) and the phrase *exspecto quam mox* (1 and 44) seem certainly to be drawn from the early poets. The former occurs nowhere else in Cicero's

writings except in his *Aratea*;<sup>1</sup> the latter is found only here and in *Inv.* 2, 85. Landgraf might have gone even further and noted that in § 1 of our speech we have a perfect septenarius:

expécto quam mox Chaérea hac orátione utátur.

If this occurred in the proem of an oration, it would indeed be astonishing; but our fragment is wholly without a proem, and possibly it may be that we have here either a quotation or an adaptation from some play, suggested, of course, by the name *Chaerea*, which seems to occur only here before imperial times except in the *Eunuchus*. But I should not wish to press this point, and of course neither quoted nor accidental verses prove anything towards a date. Regarding *extemplo* and *exspecto quam mox* as mere words, however, and as words used by the early poets, the question arises whether, because Cicero used them only here, we are therefore to set an early date to the oration. It is certainly true that in the *pro Quinct.* and the *Rosc. Am.* we find a considerable number of such traces of Cicero's reading in the early poets, and that those speeches belong to his most youthful period. But in our speech we are dealing with a very small number, in fact with only two, and the evidence is too limited to prove anything at all. This is obvious the moment we begin to apply such a test to orations which we know do not belong to that youthful period. For instance, the Verrines fall ten years later, in 70 B.C., and yet here we find Plautine and Terentian words such as *abitus* (3, 125), a substantive which does not, according to the new *Thesaurus*, occur again in prose

<sup>1</sup> In *Att.* 13, 47 *extemplo* is no doubt part of the quotation.

until Pliny the Elder; the verb *ablego* four times (2, 73; 74; 79; 5, 82; and in three of these, by the way, joined to a synonym by *atque* or *-que*), and nowhere else in the orations, nor, save for a couple of sporadic cases, again in prose until Livy. Eighteen years after the Verrines we find in the *pro Milone* the Plautine *abnuo* (100), its only use in the orations. A few years before this, the *pro Caelio* (56 B.C.) yields us *cum adolescentiae cupiditates defervuissent* (43), which seems suggested by Ter. *Ad. 152 sperabam iam defervisse adolescentiam*. This rare verb *deferveo* is found once again in the same speech (77), and elsewhere in the orations only in that one of the year 66, a part of which we have examined above for another purpose, the *pro Cluentio* (108). In view of all this we have a right to say that the occurrence of *exemplo* and *exspecto quam mox* in the *Rosc. Com.* does not prove that the speech belongs to the early period.

To conclude, then, the obstacles raised by the arguments of Landgraf are by no means sufficient to cause me to turn aside, to emend the numeral xv, or to adopt the date of 76 for the oration. The year 66 is the earliest upon which a natural interpretation of the fragment will allow us to fix.

## ON THE LANGUAGE OF VITRUVIUS<sup>1</sup>

**D**URING the last ten years the question of the date and the authorship of 'Vitruvius de Architectura' has been revived after a long slumber. In 1896, Professor J. L. Ussing published a treatise in Danish, in which his object was to show that the writer of that work was not an architect, but an amateur who lived about the middle of the third century of our era, and who was a mere compiler, drawing chiefly from Varro. Two years later, in 1898, this treatise, much enlarged, was translated into English and carefully revised by the author, and in this form it was published in London by the Royal British Institute of Architects under the title *Observations on Vitruvius de Architectura Libri Decem, with special regard to the time at which this work was written*. To prove his point, Ussing made use of two kinds of arguments, the first being based upon the language and style, and the second upon the subject-matter of the work. Both the original Danish and the translation into English have attracted the attention of classical students and architects in no small degree. Still more recently a French scholar, M. Victor Mortet, has written a series of articles entitled *Recherches Critiques sur Vitruve et son Œuvre* in the *Revue Archéologique*

<sup>1</sup> From the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 1906, xli, 467-502.

(1902, pp. 39-81; 1904, pp. 222-233; 382-393) in which he holds that our author wrote during the reign of the Emperor Titus. His arguments depend almost altogether upon the contents of the work, not upon its language and style, which he does not treat in any detail.

In fact, it is to the nature of the contents of Vitruvius that attention has been almost entirely directed by those who have written upon the subject of his date. Scholars who have examined the question are familiar in this connection with the names of Newton, Hirt, Schultz, Osann, Detlefsen, Diels, Oehmichen, Thiel, Degering, and others to whose writings there is no need of further reference here. To be sure, Praun in his *Bemerkungen zur Syntax des Vitruv*, Bamberg, 1885, and Eberhard in his two programmes *De Vitruvii genere dicendi*, I, Pforzheim, 1887, and II, Durlach, 1888, have made careful and valuable studies in the language of Vitruvius, but neither of them endeavored to show anything about his date, accepting the common view that he wrote under Augustus.<sup>1</sup> Consequently when Ussing made use of arguments based upon language and style he was opening an almost new field, although for his collection of examples he relied chiefly upon Praun. His use of these arguments seems to have had a considerable effect upon scholars known personally to me; further, his conclusion was accepted by Lanciani (*Bullettino Comunale*, 1899, p. 24, n. 2); and it led Wölfflin to the statement that the case must be consid-

<sup>1</sup> Such was also the attitude of Richardson in his article in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1890, i, 153 ff. The dissertation of Stock, *De Vitruvii sermone*, Berlin, 1888, is of no value for our purposes. The treatises of H. Ulrich, *De Vitruvii copia verborum*, I, Frankenthal, 1883, and II, Schwabach, 1885, I know only from the review in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, i, 126.



ered as once more reopened for further discussion (*Archiv*, x, 301). This dictum caused Degering in his article on Etruscan temples (*Gött. Nachrichten*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1897, 2, 137) to think that Ussing might possibly be in the right, although recently (*Rhein. Mus.* 1902, lvii, p. 8) he has supported the contrary view on grounds of subject-matter. But neither he nor any one of the reviewers<sup>1</sup> of Ussing's treatise has published a detailed study of Ussing's linguistic and stylistic arguments with a view to determining whether they really do furnish evidence of a late date of composition. It seems worth while, therefore, to examine them closely, and this I propose to do in the following article. Ussing's contention is that the phenomena to which he draws attention 'point to the decadence of the Latin language and to its transition to the Romance tongues.' I shall inquire whether these phenomena or traces of them are found in republican Latin writers and in the Augustan and Silver ages.

But before beginning this inquiry three observations are necessary. In the first place, we must never forget that in 'Vitruvius de Architectura' we are dealing with a work which, if it was composed before the end of the Augustan age, is absolutely unique in its kind. We have no other prose work on a technical or scientific subject (unless we include agriculture among such subjects) written in Latin as early as this period, and we have no other treatise on architecture, either in Greek or in Latin, coming down to us from antiquity. And even in other fields than science,

<sup>1</sup> The chief of these are to be found in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1897, 773 ff. (by Krohn); *Revue de Philologie*, xxi, 118 ff.; Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1901, cviii, 118 ff. (by W. Schmidt); *Journal Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3<sup>d</sup> Ser., 1899, 149 ff. (by Brown); *Athenaeum*, 1897, 586.

the amount of Latin prose of the Augustan age that has survived to us is really quite small, so that for all these reasons a standard or norm of comparison for the prose of that age is hard to obtain. But secondly, I am not concerned in this article to distinguish too exactly between the prose of the Augustan and that of the Silver age, nor to show that 'Vitruvius de Architectura' was composed under Augustus rather than under Titus. Ussing argues that it is a work of the third century. If I can show that the linguistic and stylistic peculiarities upon which he relies are found in the writings of the republic and early empire, it will be enough for my present purpose. The decision between the time of Augustus and the time of Titus is a different matter, and whether it is to be reached by means of arguments drawn from the language or from the subject-matter<sup>1</sup> does not at this moment concern me, although it will, I hope, be treated before long in another article. Thirdly, the whole gist of the linguistic part of Ussing's argument seems to consist in his belief that if a writer lived in the 'classical period' his style must therefore be 'classic.' This is a pure assumption, and it is confuted by all actual experience. Thus, a man to-day may be an excellent architect or may excel in other technical and scientific pursuits, and he may have received a good general education, — yet he may not be able to express himself in writing with polish, or with freedom, clearness, or even always with mere correctness. Very many such men are among the writers to-day. Why should we think that there were no such men living and writing in the classical period of Latin literature? We

<sup>1</sup> For a few notes on this, see below, p. 225 ff.

know that there were such men. It is enough to compare the correspondents of Cicero with Cicero himself, the authors of the *Bellum Africum* and *Bellum Hispaniense* with Caesar, to read what is known of the involved and affected style of the great patron of literature, Maecenas, and to remember that *Vergilium illa felicitas ingenii in oratione soluta reliquit* (Sen. *Contr.* 3, praef. 8, p. 243 κ). Having made these observations, we are ready to proceed to the consideration of Ussing's criticisms.

He thus begins (p. 4): 'One of the peculiarities which occur especially in the authors of the later period of the empire, where they wanted to write nicely and philosophically, is the frequent use of abstract nouns, even in the plural. So also Vitruvius.' — Nobody would be found to deny that abstracts are common in late Latin, but what is omitted from Ussing's statement is for us the important fact, viz.: that the common use of abstracts began long before the later period of the empire. On this point, see Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>8</sup> p. 430: 'In der Sprache des Volkes waren die Subst. abstr. gerade nicht unbeliebt, wie ein Blick auf dem Wortschatz des Plautus zeigt; aber immerhin ist *erst mit Cicero* und zwar *infolge seiner philosophischen Studien* eine Bereicherung eingetreten.' Thus, to illustrate, I may take a single example: the abstract *repugnantia* appears first in Cicero's philosophical writings (*T. D.* 4, 23; 29; *Off.* 3, 17; 34); and it is used in the contemporary Second Philippic, 19 (see Sihler *ad loc.*). In the quotation from Schmalz I have italicized certain words because I think it worth observing that Cicero was dealing with Greek ideas and Greek sources at the time when he felt the need of enriching Latin with new ab-

stracts. May not this in large measure account for the great number of abstracts in Vitruvius? But not altogether, for it appears that the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*, even the earliest from Cato and Varro to Columella, exhibit a liking for abstracts<sup>1</sup> which, in these truly Roman writers, cannot be attributed to exigencies due to the use of Greek sources. The fact is that as new ideas called for expression in Latin prose, the avoidance of abstract substantives in the expression of them was often really a *tour de force*, and only the best writers struggled very hard to avoid them or, when they used them, apologized for their use.<sup>2</sup> And finally the frequent employment of abstracts in the correspondence of Cicero shows that they were also common in the colloquial language of the educated and used as a briefer form of expression of thought than that which the master reserved for his greater works.<sup>3</sup>

Ussing proceeds: 'Among abstract nouns which appear only in his writings I will mention *ignotitia* (64, 4<sup>4</sup>), *indecentia* (174, 9), *pervolitantia* (232, 3), *nascentia* (232, 17), *crescentia* (238, 14; 23; 239, 3), *commensus = mensura* (15, 25; 31, 3; 65, 25; 103, 21; 134, 11).' — Of these, it may in the first place be remarked that Ussing's statement is not exact, for three of them do appear in other writers: *ignotitia*, Gell. 16, 13, 9; *indecentia*, Cael. Aurel. *Chron.* 3, 8 (p. 254, Vicat); *nascentia*, see Rönisch, *Itala u. Vulgata*,

<sup>1</sup> See Cooper, *Word Formation in the Sermo Plebeius*, p. 2, and the lists, pp. 5-50.

<sup>2</sup> Cooper, *ibid.*, p. xxxiii f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stinner, *de eo quo Cicero in Epistolis usus est sermone*, p. 7, and such an array as that in Cooper, p. 6, where we have 24 abstracts in *-tio* occurring earliest in Cicero's letters.

<sup>4</sup> For convenience, I have changed Ussing's references to the pagination of *Rose*.

p. 50. To be sure these are late writers, but let us, before concluding that the occurrence, say of *ignotitia*, in Vitruvius is a proof that the work which goes under his name is a late production, inquire what other abstracts there are which he could have used in the sense of 'ignorance'? There are four, *ignorantia*, *ignoratio*, *inscientia*, and *inscitia*. But all of these are new contributions to the enrichment of the language made, so far as we know, in the time of Cicero or by him. The first, as we know, did not please him and it is usually avoided (Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*,<sup>8</sup> i, p. 618). Vitruvius does not use any one of the four, but has instead once *ignotitia*, a violation of the rules of composition (the only one of this sort in Vitruvius), but paralleled by *insatietas* (Plaut.), *intemperies* (Plaut., Cic.), *invaletudo* (Cic.), *inreligio* (Auct. ad Herenn.). Of course I am aware that the last two have been emended away, yet see Wölfflin, *Archiv*, iv, p. 403. And *ignotitia* is not surprising in a writer who has *notitia* three times (5, 12; 7, 13; 133, 27) in the sense of 'knowledge.' The second abstract, *indecentia*, would be surprising if the truth were, as one might gather from the Lexicon and from Schmalz (*ibid.*, p. 660), that *indecens* first appears in the Silver age. But Vitruvius has it only three lines below (174, 12), and why is he led to employ these words? Because he is employing them technically in an anecdote illustrative of sins against propriety (*decor*) in art (173, 19), — propriety, which with him is one of the six component elements of true architecture (11, 12 ff.), and a subject to which he frequently alludes.<sup>1</sup> In thinking of *decor* he forms *inde-*

<sup>1</sup> Praun, *Syntax des Vitruv*, p. 43, has also urged that in the whole anecdote Vitruvius is following a Greek source.

*centia* as naturally as Cicero, thinking of *dolor*, forms *indolentia* (*Fin.* 2, 11). The third abstract, *nascentia*, occurs in the context *non e nascentia sed ex conceptione genethliologiae rationes explicatas*, where Vitruvius is referring to those astrologers who based horoscopes not on the moment of birth but on that of conception. Here the Greek technical terms were γένεσις or ἔκτεξις and σύλληψις; cf. Sext. Emp. p. 737, 18 Bk.: τὴν δὲ γένεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πεσομένων ἀρχαιώτερον ἦτοι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σπέρματος καταβολῆς καὶ συλλήψεως λαμβάνειν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτέξεως. See also Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.* 4, 3. Another word for 'birth' in this connection was ἀπότεξις (Sext. Emp. p. 737, 7), and the simple τέξις was also used (*ibid.*, p. 739, 12). Vitruvius's *conceptio* is obviously a translation of σύλληψις and it was thus used by Cicero (*Div.* 2, 50). For γένεσις or ἀπότεξις what should he have used? This is a question which seems not to have occurred to those who would blame him for using *nascentia*. Cicero does indeed avoid the use of a single abstract and has the somewhat clumsy phrases *ortus eius qui nascatur* (*Div.* 2, 89), *ortus nascentium* (*Div.* 2, 91; see also *Div.* 2, 92; 94). For the Augustan period we have no evidence, so far as I am aware, unless it be found in Vitruvius. In Censorinus we have *genesis* (*Nat. D.* 13), in Tertullian *genitura* (*De Anima*, 25 *fn.*). Pliny also employs both of these words, yet not in connection with astrology (*N. H.* 36, 19; 18, 202), and Augustine uses *genitura* like Pliny (*Civ. D.* 5, 3). Suetonius has *genitura* several times: once in the general sense of 'birth' (*Nero*, 6), otherwise meaning 'horoscope' or 'nativity'; he also has *genesis* at least twice in this sense, (cf. Petronius 39). For this Tertullian (*Idol.* 9) has *nati-*

*vitatem*. Thus it appears that except in Vitruvius we know of no early abstract used for 'birth' in connection with the horoscope, and that the late writers who have occasion to speak of it do not use *nascentia*. Its occurrence in Vitruvius, therefore, cannot be taken as evidence of late authorship, but quite the reverse, for a late writer would have used *genitura* or *genesis*. There remain the three<sup>1</sup> abstracts cited by Ussing which are really not found elsewhere than in Vitruvius. The first, *pervolitantia*, is the expression by an abstract of the idea expressed by *pervolitat* (219, 10), both employed of the revolution of the *mundus* or *caelum*. Abstracts in *-antia* occur before Vitruvius's time: e.g. *flagrantia* (Plaut., Cic.), *incogitantia* (Plaut.), *errantia* (Acc.), *variantia* (Lucr.). The second, *crescentia*, is used three times, twice to denote the increasing length of the hours on a dial (238, 14; 239, 3), and once of the increasing length of days (238, 23). Both are employed technically and in their contexts are no more objectionable than Cicero's *indolentia* mentioned above. Of the third abstract, Ussing uses the expression '*commensus = mensura*.' But this seems to be a misapprehension. Vitruvius has *mensura* fourteen times, always in the simple meaning of 'measure' (see Nohl's *Index*), but *commensus* he employs ten times (*ibid.*), and never in that simple sense, but always with the idea of *comparative* or *proportionate* measurement, just as Cicero employs the verb *commetior* in *Tim.* 33: *siderum ambitus . . . inter se numero commetiuntur*; cf. *Inv.* 1, 39: *nam saepe oportet commetiri cum tempore negotium*. Thus we have in Vitruvius a new abstract employed as a technical term, and its appearance ought to

<sup>1</sup> Of course he might have cited others: see Cooper's lists.

be no surprise at any period in an author who has so much to say on the subject of the importance of proportionate measurements as has Vitruvius.<sup>1</sup>

Continuing his remarks about abstracts, Ussing says: 'Striking plurals are *conscriptioes* (103, 24; 155, 10), *eruditiones* (2, 18; 36, 23), *scientiae* (10, 24: 62, 23; 233, 2), *sollertiae* (158, 12).' — Here we need only remark that *conscriptioes* occurs in Cicero, *Cluent.* 191, and *scientiae* in Cicero, *D. O.* 1, 61; *C. M.* 78, *conscientiae* in Cic., *R. A.* 67. In the last two passages in Cicero the plurals are no doubt influenced by other plurals in the passage (*C. M.* 78: *tot artes, tot scientiae, tot inventa*; *R. A.* 67: *suae malae cogitationes conscientiaequae animi terrent*), and the same may be observed in the Vitruvian usages of this plural and of *eruditiones* and *sollertiae*<sup>2</sup>; cf. the similar use of *eruditiones* in Gell. *praef.* 3. But why delay over such a point? The use of the plural of abstracts, though great in late authors, is no proof of the late authorship, for it is found at all periods: 'besonders bei Plautus in verhältnissmässig grosser Zahl; in klass. Zeit erweitert sich dieselbe wesentlich durch Cicero' (Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.*,<sup>3</sup> p. 431). Seneca (*Ep.* 114, 19) criticises the plural *famas* in Sallust and his imitator Arruntius. See also a list of the plurals used by Mela, in Zimmermann, *De Pomponii Melae sermone*, p. v ff.

Neither is a late date assured by the usage to which Ussing next draws attention; 'Sometimes these abstract nouns retain so much of their verbal character that the

<sup>1</sup> See also on *symmetria*, p. 170, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> It must also be observed that *sollertiae* in 158, 12, means 'instances of skill'; cf. Cic. *Q. F.* 1, 1, 39: *iracundiae*, and 40: *avaritiae*. The whole passage is misunderstood by the translators. It means 'by compiling from antiquity remarkable instances of the skill shown by genius.'



author finds it sufficient to add only *est* instead of *factum est*, as in *cum fuerit fundamentorum ad solidum depressio* (15, 19), and *cum erit moenium conlocandorum explicatio* (20, 24). — See Schmalz again, p. 430, where this use is shown to be not foreign to Cicero, and cf. also Cic. *Pis.* 84 (*accessio*), *Rab.* 4 (*consensio*), *Cat.* 1, 32 (*consensio*).

Ussing's next point appears to be based upon a misunderstanding. He says: 'One of the words frequently occurring in Vitruvius is *symmetria*; according to Nohl's *Index*, it is found about a hundred times. At the time of Pliny this word is still a stranger to the Latin language; comp. *Hist. Nat.* 34, 65: *non habet Latinum nomen symmetria*. Pliny no doubt appreciated his own Latin style, but he does not carry his purifying tendencies so far as to exclude every foreign word, if it was generally adopted in the language; his apology testifies to the fact that such was not the case with *symmetria*.' — Here, as I observed, Ussing seems not to understand Pliny's meaning. He was writing of Lysippus and of the greater grace and freedom from bulkiness which this sculptor exhibited in the bodies of his statues, 'by which they were made to seem taller.' Then he adds: *non habet Latinum nomen symmetria quam diligentissime custodit*, that is: 'there is no Latin word for that symmetry which he observed so carefully.' What Pliny says is therefore no condemnation of the use of the word *symmetria*, which indeed he himself employs in three other passages (34, 58: *in symmetria diligentior*, a comparison of Myron and Polyclitus; 35, 67: *Parrhasius primus symmetrian picturae dedit*; 35, 128: *Euphranor primus videtur usurpasse symmetrian*), but a definite statement that when a Latin writer is talking about 'symmetry,' he must use the Greek

word. Now 'symmetry' is one of the very points upon which Vitruvius most insists in every department of the architect's profession. Near the opening of his work, he mentions it as one of the six components of good architecture (11, 12), and soon afterwards he devotes ten lines to a definition of what it is (12, 14). Having done this, even the earliest of Latin prose writers would be fully entitled to employ the word as often as he chose. If it is not found earlier than Vitruvius, this is simply because of the accident that there is no Latin work extant in which there was so much occasion to speak of 'symmetry' in the technical sense.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving the subject of abstracts, Ussing next takes up another topic in which he is equally unfortunate. 'Not infrequently,' he says, 'words are found in a different connection and different signification from that of the classical authors. Thus *notitia* in the sense of "renown" (63, 6; 133, 6), *ponere* "put forth" (64, 30), and *anteponere* "put forth at first" (33, 4 and 10); *dignum est* for *operae pretium* (46, 6); similar things are quoted from Vopiscus, Lactantius, and Augustinus; *necessitate* = *necessario* (246, 3).' — By the phrase 'classical authors' Ussing must, for the sake of his argument, be taken as meaning authors writing in the classical period, no matter what their reputation for style or lack of it may be. Therefore we are entitled to point to *notitia* meaning 'renown' in Nepos, *Dion*, 9: *Hi propter notitiam sunt intromissi*. In poetry it is found thus in Ovid, *Pont.* 3, 1, 50; 4, 8, 48. Ussing's example of *ponere*, in the sense of 'put forth,' disappears, since it is an

<sup>1</sup> It may be worth observing that Vitruvius employs his new formation *commensus* in contexts along with *symmetria*, as if perhaps he felt that the Greek term needed some help from Latin: see 15, 25; 31, 3; 134, 11; 138, 23 and 27.

emendation for *exponere*, adopted by Rose in his first edition but rightly abandoned in his second. As for his example of *anteponere*, it should be written as two words, *ante ponere* (so Rose<sup>2</sup>; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 1, 9, 21: *ut paulo ante posui*), and the Vitruvian employment of *pono* in these two places should be compared with the common colloquial usage of it, as for example in Cic. *Fin.* 2, 31; *Legg.* 2, 6; Livy 10, 9, 12. For the use of the impersonal *dignum est* in the sense of *operae pretium*, it would not be difficult to find examples (cf. for instance Plaut. *Ps.* 1013, and, with *indignum*, Sall. *Iug.* 79, 1), but the real peculiarity in the Vitruvian usage is that *ut* with the subjunctive follows, the whole sentence being: *quae si prope urbem essent, dignum esset ut ex his officinis omnia opera perficerentur*. This impersonal usage does not indeed seem to occur before the very late authors mentioned by Ussing (cf. Dräger, ii, 258). A very similar employment of the personal *digna* is, however, found in Livy 24, 16, 19: *digna res visa ut*, etc., where of course the relative construction would be as impossible as in the Vitruvian sentence.<sup>1</sup> Finally, of *necessitate* used in the sense of *necessario*, it must be admitted that this cannot be paralleled in or before classical times, and that the employment of the ablative of an abstract instead of an adverb is one of the characteristics of African Latin (Sittl, *die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache*, p. 107). It has in fact been observed that many stylistic peculiarities that are found in the African writers occur also in Vitruvius (Praun, p. 13, n.). However, if the ablative of any abstract is allowable instead of an adverb it would surely

<sup>1</sup> For the great variety of constructions with *dignus* in Vitruvius, see below p. 214 ff.

be *necessitate*; cf. Caesar's *qua necessitate adductus*, *B. G.* 6, 12, 5, *qua necessitate permotus*, *B. C.* 3, 24, 4, with the pleonastic *necessitate coactus* of *Bell. Afr.* 55, 2 (cf. 21, 1; 24, 4), which is like *necessario coacti* in *Ter. Andr.* 632; *Bell. Hisp.* 24, 2; 32, 1. This pleonasm with *necessitas* is common in Vitruvius.

Ussing's next remark, as he himself seems to be conscious, is of no value as proof of late authorship: 'In  $\equiv$  few instances *videtur* is meant to signify *placet: magnitudines balnearum videntur fieri pro copia hominum* (126-11); *itaque minime fistulis plumbeis aqua duci videtur* (210, 13). In other places Vitruvius correctly adds *oportere*, so that the omission might perhaps rather be called a peculiarity of style in the author, as in *primo volumine putavi . . . exponere* (36, 23).' — But this use of *videtur* cannot be called a peculiarity of Vitruvius nor evidence of late authorship, for the passive of *video* in the sense of *placet* or *δοκεῖ* occurs three times in the *Bellum Africanum* (5; 25, 1, 42, 1). Of *putavi exponere* it might be thought that as the verb *oportere* has occurred in the foregoing sentence and as it occurs again in the following sentence, its omission with *putavi* may be excused without danger of misunderstanding. Or perhaps we have here a use analogous to that of *cogito* in the sense of 'intend' followed by the infinitive, found frequently in the letters as well as in other works of Cicero.<sup>1</sup> However, as Ussing himself observes, the usage may be attributed to the author himself rather than to the habits of a late period of Latinity to which it has not been shown to belong.

Ussing's next observations would be very striking in-

<sup>1</sup> See Stinner, p. 54 f.

deed, if they were found to bear examination; but this is not the case. 'Shall we consider it merely accidental that the word *narrare*, which was generally used during the classical period, does not occur at all in Vitruvius, who only uses *memorare*; or that the verb *ire* (without prefix) appears but once, whereas we frequently find *vadere*, which in Cicero means "to depart," and only in Virgil and Ovid signifies "to go," thence entering into the later prose and subsequently into the Romance languages, entirely superseding the genuine Latin word?'—The first of these observations is misleading. It is true that Vitruvius never uses the verb *narro* (in any form), but on the other hand he never uses the active voice of the verb *memoro*. He has the verb twelve times, always in the passive. Once it is used absolutely: *mors eius . . . varie memoratur* (158, 3). Five times it is used with a personal subject and the active infinitive: *is memoratur dixisse* (62, 17; cf. 161, 18; 280, 18; 42, 27; 43, 6). Six times it is used with a personal subject and the passive infinitive: *inventio sic memoratur esse facta* (86, 21; cf. 177, 2; 199, 19; 231, 15; 272, 22; 156, 5). Now suppose that *narratur* or *narrantur* were found in these eleven passages: we should at once be told that here was evidence of late authorship, for this is a usage which, beginning with Livy, is found in the Plinys, and is prevalent in late Latin (Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*,<sup>5</sup> s.v. *narrare*). That it does not occur in Vitruvius, therefore, is significant of an early period, if it is significant at all. But his use of the passive of *memoro* is classical, though rare: cf. Cic. *V.* 4, 107: *ubi ea gesta esse memorantur*. It appears to be nothing more than a bigger word for *dicitur*, and Praun (p. 7) remarks: 'Vitruv hat wohl nach Art der

Halbgebildeten den landläufigen Ausdruck vermieden, um durch ein selteneres Wort seiner Rede ein schöneres Kolorit zu geben.' Next let us examine the case of *vado* and *ire*. To begin with, it is not true that 'only in Virgil and Ovid' does *vado* signify 'to go.' For cf. Ennius, *A.* 281 M.; *vadunt solida vi*; *A.* 591: *ingenti vadit cursu*; *Auct. Herenn.* 2, 29: *cum feras bestias videamus alacres et erectas vadere*; Catullus 63, 31: *vaga vadit* (sc. *Attis*); 63, 86: (*leo*) *vadit fremit refringit virgulta pede vago*; Sallust, *Iug.* 94, 6: *Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantum modo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere*; Cic. *T. D.* 1, 97: *vadit enim in eundem carcerem atque in eundem paucis post annis scyphum Socrates*. In all these passages we find *vado* used in the sense of 'go' rather than 'depart,' but the 'going' indicated in them is something more than is meant by the everyday sense of that word; for something rather more grand is intended. The English 'move' would be a better translation. Here it is interesting to compare with the Ciceronian passage Livy 2, 10, 5, where of Horatius Cocles he says: *vadit inde in primum aditum pontis*, and Weissenborn-Müller notes: 'er geht mit gewaltigem Schritte, *μακρὰ βήσας*.' See also Livy 6, 8, 2 and 7, 24, 6. Finally we have *vado* in two letters of Cicero: *Att.* 4, 10, 2: *ad eum postridie mane vadebam cum haec scripsi*; *Att.* 14, 11, 2: *Lentulus Spinther hodie apud me. Cras mane vadit*. I believe that I have now cited all the Ciceronian passages in which the simple *vado* occurs, and it seems probable that when Ussing speaks of *vado* as meaning 'to depart' in this author, he is thinking of the two occurrences in the letters. But it is obvious that in *them* it is only the context that authorizes the translation

'depart,' which would have applied equally well to *iturus eram* for instance, if it had stood in the former of them. And on the latter Tyrrell and Purser suggest the translation 'passes on his way,' adding: 'There is a slight poetical color about this word; cf. Stinner, p. 16.' Having thus prepared ourselves to understand the meaning of *vado*, let us turn to Vitruvius. We are told that he uses *ire* only once but *vadere* 'frequently.' The fact is that he uses a form of the verb *vado* five times. But never was there a case in which statistics were more misleading if we conclude from them, without examining the contexts, that to Vitruvius *vado* and *eo* were synonyms, and that he uses *vado* in the everyday sense of *eo*. At the outset we must remember that Vitruvius is not an historian, orator, or dramatist, and that consequently we should not expect to find the verb *eo* used often by him; he has little occasion to speak of anybody as 'going' anywhere in the usual sense. This observation alone would be sufficient to account for the absence of the simple verb *eo* from his work. Now how does he employ the verb *vado*? Five times he has the simple verb. Of these occurrences, three refer to movements of the sun or moon: 220, 13: *sol autem signi spatium quod est duodecima pars mundi mense vertente vadens transit*; 240, 2: *itaque quemadmodum sol per siderum spatia vadens dilatat contrahitque dies et horas*; 225, 4: *cum (sc. luna) praeteriens vadat ad orientis caeli partes*. In these three passages we have no common 'going,' but the grand movement of heavenly bodies, and it is worth observing that Cicero never uses the simple verb *eo* of movements of the sun, moon, or stars in his orations or philosophical works. He has *elabor*, *vagor*, *erro*, and the

compounds *accedo*, *antecedo*, *discedo*, *recedo*, *antevertō*, *peragro*, *subsequor*, *abeo*, *adeo*, and *obeo*<sup>1</sup> (see Merguet's Lexicons, s. vv. *sol*, *luna*, *stella*). The other two passages in which Vitruvius uses the simple verb *vado* are both in prefaces, in which, as is well known, our author often aims at a higher style than in the body of his work. The first is 132, 8: *at qui non doctrinarum sed felicitatis praesidiis putaret se esse vallatum, labidis itineribus vadentem non stabili sed infirma confictari vita*. Here the picture of the foolish man who depends on luck rather than on learning, 'moving in slippery paths,' is appropriately colored by the use of *vadentem*. The second is 215, 25, where in the famous anecdote about Archimedes it is said: *exsiluit gaudio motus de solio et nudus vadens domum versus significabat clara voce invenisse quod quaereret*. Here the use of *vado* is like that which is found in Cicero's letters as cited above (p. 174). It appears, therefore, that there is nothing in Vitruvius's use of the simple verb which is at variance with classical examples. On the contrary, Ussing would have been more fortunate had he criticised the single occurrence in Vitruvius of the simple verb *eo*, 220, 11: *luna . . . caeli circumitionem percurrens ex quo signo coeperit ire ad id signum revertendo perficit lunarem mensuram*; for we have seen that it is not Ciceronian to employ this simple verb of the movements of heavenly bodies. But how about the Vitruvian use of the compounds of these verbs? Here the statistics tell the opposite tale, for he has compounds of *eo* (*ad-*, *ex-*, *in-*, *prod-*, *red-*, *sub-*, *intro-*) fifty-six times and compounds of *vado* only twice,

<sup>1</sup> That Vitruvius also uses compounds of *eo* may be seen, for example, from two of the passages just cited.



in each case with *per-* (221, 24: *Saturni* (sc. *stella*) . . . *pervadens per signi spatium*; 226, 21: *sol signa pervadens*). Both of these are descriptive of the movements of heavenly bodies, and the compound *pervado* is Ciceronian (e.g. *V.* 3, 66; *N, D.* 2, 145). To conclude: Vitruvius's use of *vado* and *-vado*, six times in the present participle and once in the form *vadat*, is shown by an examination of the contexts to be no proof of late authorship.

To pass on to Ussing's next point: 'Is it accidental that, after the fashion of more recent authors, Vitruvius frequently transcribes the simple future by *erit ut?* e.g. 7, 10: *erit ut uterque liberetur*. 130, 27: *ita erit uti possit turris insuper aedificari*; 144, 9: *tunc erit ut . . . fiant*. Dräger, *Hist. Synt.* 2, p. 267, quotes a similar example from Apuleius, *Met.* 2, 3: *nunquam erit ut non apud te devertar*.' — This observation is drawn from Praun (p. 51), who cites two other cases (28, 9: *tan'tum erit uti . . . habeant*; 92, 16: *erit ut emendentur*), and remarks that Vitruvius has only twice used the classical (though rare) present tense *est ut*. There is, however, an earlier occurrence of *erit ut* than that of Apuleius; cf. *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4, 41: *Sed non erit, tamquam in plerisque, ut, cum velimus eā* (sc. *exornatione*) *possimus uti*. We have, therefore, no evidence of 'the fashion of recent writers' in the Vitruvian passages, particularly when we consider that Apuleius is the only 'recent writer' cited in this connection, and that his use of *erit ut* is negatived. So is the use in the *Auct. ad Herenn.*, while the Vitruvian uses are all positive. But while the present tense *est ut* is usual in periphrases, we also have *fuit ut*, Cic. *Cacl.* 48, and why then should we be surprised at *erit ut* (not exactly paralleled elsewhere) in a writer like Vitruvius?

Ussing proceeds: 'With regard to the comparison of adjectives, we often find the comparative unnecessarily emphasized: *maxime facilius* (3, 23), *maxime tutiores* (22, 15), *maxime utiliores* (38, 15), *quo magis ex meliore vino parabitur* (180, 22), *potius digniores* (134, 1). Compare *nimum penitus* (211, 7). Similarly Lactant. *Instit.* 1, 21, 10: *maxime dulcior*. Comodian, *Apolog.* 5: *plus levior*. Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* 2, 46, 5: *plus iusto inflatior*.'— Here we may begin by pointing out that the example with *potius* (134, 1) is not like the others on account of the following *quam*, the context reading thus: *iudicant . . . ipsos potius digniores esse ad suam voluntatem quam ad alienam pecuniae consumere summam*. With this cf. Nepos 9, 5, 2: *potius patriae opes augeri quam regis maluit*; Cic. *D. O.* 2, 300: *cum quidem ei fuerit optabilius oblivisci posse potius quod meminisse nollet quam quod semel audisset vidissetque meminisse*. Next, for the example with *magis* we have early parallels in Plautus (e.g. *Capt.* 644; *Men.* 978, and see Wölfflin, *Comparison*, p. 46); in the classical period in the *Bellum Africum*, 48, 3: *magis suspensiore animo*; 54, 5: *magis studiosiores*, and in the time of the Emperor Claudius in Pomponius Mela 2, 86: *magisque et magis latior*. For *maxime* with a comparative I know of no instances before very late Latin, but it ought not to surprise us in Vitruvius, because, as Wölfflin has remarked (p. 47, cf. 63 ff.) in the case of the example from Lactantius cited by Ussing, these are instances in which the comparative has lost its force and is used like a positive. No reader of Vitruvius is unfamiliar with this frequently recurring phenomenon (see e.g. Praun, p. 80). Finally I fail to see how the example *nimum penitus* (211, 7) figures among

emphasized comparatives. It means 'too deep.' For *penitus* modified by another adverb, see Cic. *Clu.* 4: *tam penitus*; *V.* 2, 169: *bene penitus*; and examples of *nimum* modifying an adverb are not uncommon (cf. e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 1, 10: *nimum diu*).

Next we find: 'The superlative is repeatedly placed parallel to a positive in such a way that the difference is effaced: 53, 12: *si sit optima seu vitiosa*; 188, 12: *quae gravissimae duraeque et insuaves sunt partes*. Of course there are cases where no harm is done by such a juxtaposition, and where it may occur even in classical authors; see Wölfflin, *Comparison*, p. 54 f.; but this is not the case here.'—The selection of the two Vitruvian examples is not very fortunate, because it might be thought, particularly in the first, that the difference is not 'effaced.' He is there recommending the use of the 'best' brick, and this is contrasted with brick which is 'faulty,' though not necessarily the 'worst.' In the other example, the foregoing clause should be observed. However, what Ussing really means to criticise is the lack of symmetry shown in the coupling of a positive with a superlative, a lack of which he thinks that Cicero and writers of his taste would not be guilty (yet see Cic. *D. N.* 3, 68: *recte et verissime*), and for this purpose better examples had been 24, 6: *parvo brevissimoque*; 83, 15: *dignam et utilissimam*; and others cited by Praun (p. 79). This unsymmetrical coupling is, to be sure, found very often in late Latin, particularly in the Africans,<sup>1</sup> but we must not think that there is no trace of it in early or Augustan Latin. Thus we find: Plaut. *Rud.* 1321: *miserum istuc verbum et pessimum*; Ter. *Ph.* 226:

<sup>1</sup> See Sittl, *die lokalen Verschiedenheiten*, p. 101 ff.

*iustam facilem optumam*; Sall. *Or. Lepidi* 1: *maximi et clari estis*; Dec. Brutus ap. Cic. *Fam.* 11, 19, 2: *seditionum et incertissimum*. And a little later, in Velleius 2, 69: *acri atque prosperrimo bello*. We have even the comparative and superlative joined in *Bell. Afr.* 56, 2: *inlustriores notissimique*, formerly emended away by Wölfflin, but allowed in his edition of 1896.

The next set of evidences which Ussing presents is as follows: 'Among the adverbs may be mentioned *aliter*, not in the sense of "otherwise," but "differently from one another"; 33, 24: *in eo hominum congressu cum profundebantur aliter e spiritu voces*; cf. 218, 23: *itaque longe aliter distant descriptiones horologiorum locorum mutationibus*; *forte* = *fortasse*: 133, 3: *Sed forte nonnulli haec levia iudicantes putant*, etc.; *parve*: 229, 14: *parve per eos flectitur delphinus*; *temperate* (with genitive as *parum*); 18, 6: *volucres minus habent terreni, minus umoris, caloris temperate, aëris multum*, cf. 45, 20: *umoris autem temperate*; 57, 4: *umoris temperate*; 57, 21: *terreni temperate*.' — Here it must first be observed that although *aliter* is strangely used by Vitruvius in the two passages cited,<sup>1</sup> yet since no parallel is quoted by Ussing or Praun<sup>2</sup> from a late author, this again must be set down as a peculiarity of the style of Vitruvius<sup>3</sup> (see above, p. 172). Of *forte* in

<sup>1</sup> And in 14, 24: *cum ad usum patrum familiarum aut ad pecuniae copiam aut ad eloquentiae dignitatem aedificia aliter disponentur*. Here the best manuscripts have *alte*, but the emendation (found indeed in L) is certain. Vitruvius has *aliter* elsewhere 15 times in the usual applications.

<sup>2</sup> Or cited in the *Thesaurus*, where *Vitr.* 33, 24 is not included at all, and where the peculiarity of 218, 23 is overlooked; see *Thesaurus*, s.v. *alius*, p. 1653, 52.

<sup>3</sup> The nearest resemblance is Seneca, *Q. N.* 4, praef. 22, as it is quoted in the *Thesaurus*, p. 1656, 40: *uno enim tempore (Sicilia) vidit Pompeium Lepi-*

the sense of *fortasse*, I know no occurrence in prose before or in the Augustan age. Besides 133, 3 (cited by Ussing), we find it in 116, 7: *dicet aliquis forte*. It also occurs unobjectionably with *si* in 24, 10 and 184, 22; and not in the sense of *fortasse* twice; 168, 13 and 176, 12. In two out of six occurrences Vitruvius violates the approved usage and writes like a late prose author. But it should not be forgotten that a poet of the best period used *forte* thus: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 16, 15: *forte quid expediat quaeritis*. As for 'the adverb *parve*,' no student of Vitruvius should be willing to base any statement about style on the obviously corrupt passage in which it appears in the manuscripts (see Rose's apparatus criticus, and Kaibel, *Hermes* 29, 95; Thiele, *Himmelbilder* 55). Of the Vitruvian usage of *temperate* (in itself a perfectly good Ciceronian adverb) with the genitive, three things are to be remarked: first, that it cannot be used as evidence of late authorship, because no late author is cited as employing it; second, that it is not in meaning the equivalent of *parum*, for in 57, 4 the words *umoris temperate* are followed by *parum terreni* (cf. also 45, 20); third, that the genitive with *temperate* is evidently due to the influence of the other perfectly regular genitives with *minus*, *parum*, *minimum*, *multum*, which are found in the contexts of the four passages under consideration.

*dumque ex maximo fastigio aliter ad extrema deiectos, cum Pompeius alienum exercitum fugeret, Lepidus suum.* Editions here with manuscripts cited in them have *aliter aliterque*. Some good reason for the reading in the *Thesaurus* will, I suppose, be given by Gercke, who made the excerpts from this work of Seneca's for it, in his forthcoming edition of the *Q. N.* But it seems to me that, with this reading, the passage is erroneously placed in the *Thesaurus* under the caption *aliter et (-que)*. Another use of *aliter* in the sense of 'differently' is found in Pomp. Mela 1, 57: *multo aliter a ceteris agunt*.

Still speaking of adverbs, Ussing continues: '*iuxta* = *secundum*, "according to," 10, 23: *iuxta necessitatem*. The same occurs in Justinus and later. *Trans* without an object, "on the other side," 220, 1: *circumacta trans locis patentibus ex obscuris egreditur ad lucem*, elsewhere in clerical authors, cf. *Archiv*, iv, p. 248. *Trans contra*, "opposite to," 219, 7 and 225, 13, as in Aurelius Victor and Boethius, cf. *Archiv*, v, p. 319 ff.—The context in which the strange phrase *iuxta necessitatem* occurs, is as follows: *cum . . . ratio propter amplitudinem rei permittat non iuxta necessitatem summas sed etiam mediocres scientias habere disciplinarum*. This is certainly a badly expressed sentence, and we may observe the usage of *permitto* with the infinitive as found in Livy, later historians and ecclesiastical writers, which would be stamped as vulgar did it not occur once in Cicero (*Verr.* 5, 22), and also an accumulation of plurals of abstracts such as a polished writer would have avoided. The phrase *iuxta necessitatem* occurs nowhere else to my knowledge, but the word *necessitas* is a favorite one with Vitruvius (27 times, according to Nohl's *Index*; cf. especially the phrase *ad necessitatem* in 260, 21 and 266, 3), and the use of *iuxta* in the sense of 'conformably to,' 'as the result of,' 'gemäß,' besides here, is found first, not in Justinus, but in Livy 39, 9, 6: *huic consuetudo iuxta vicinitatem cum Aebutio fuit* (see Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> p. 263). In Vitruvius the phrase must mean, 'of necessity,' 'necessarily,' but to say just what it modifies is a difficult matter.<sup>1</sup> In his observation

<sup>1</sup> Generally it has been taken with *summas*, but, so taken, Vitruvius would be saying that an architect need not possess 'necessarily the highest,' but only a moderate knowledge of all the arts and sciences which he has mentioned in §§ 3-16. What follows, however, would seem to show that he feels that

about *trans*, Ussing has certainly pointed to a misuse of that word which is not found elsewhere before the ecclesiastical writers. This preposition was originally a participle (Thielmann, *Archiv*, iv, 248), not an adverb like other prepositions, and we have no early parallel of its employment as an adverb, though we might expect to find it in the less careful writers from analogy with the adverbial use of other prepositions. In Vitruvius, *trans contra* seems to be a translation of *καταντικρύ*, especially in 219, 7, where he had in mind the pseudo-Aristotelian *de mundo*, 2, or a similar account of the *πόλοι*. It may also be observed that Vitruvius uses *intra* as an adverb half a dozen times (see Nohl's *Index*), a usage commonly called post-Augustan, but found in *Bell. Hisp.* 35, 2 (Köhler, *Act. Erlang.* i, p. 400); also *adversus* five times as an adverb, — found thus in prose not elsewhere before Nepos (*Thesaurus*, s. v. p. 851, 48 ff.). And we must be slow to stamp *trans contra*

practically the architect cannot be expected to have even a moderate amount of knowledge of them all. The reading of S<sup>o</sup> is perhaps, therefore, worth consideration, especially in view of Degering's estimate of the value of this manuscript (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1900, p. 9 ff.); for here we find *iuxta necessitatem* standing not before *summas* but before *mediocres*: *non summas sed etiam iuxta necessitatem mediocres*. And we may go further, for my friend Professor A. A. Howard has suggested that a second *non* appears to be lacking in the clause *sed . . . mediocres*. If Vitruvius was written in lines of from 17 to 20 letters, like Livy, perhaps here originally stood:

NONBVMMASSEDETIAM  
NONIVXTANECESSITATEM  
MEDIOCRESSCIENTIAS

Then the accidental omission of the second line by the scribe of the archetype of our manuscripts and its insertion in the margin might give rise to the differences found in HG on the one hand, and S<sup>o</sup> on the other. The restoration of this second *non* gives to the passage the meaning which Eberhard (*de Vitruvii genere dicendi*, I, p. 9) desired to find in it, though with his reading this would not be possible.

as a necessarily late doublet, lest we meet with the fate of that 'grammaticus haud incelebri nomine' in Gellius (19, 10), who sneered at *praeterpropter* only to be confounded by learning that it had been used by Ennius, Cato, and Varro.

Next Ussing turns to prepositions, saying: 'In the use of prepositions we are struck by several peculiarities which indicate the dissolution of the language: *ab*, indicating the cause, "because of," in 58, 1: *ab pondere umoris non habent rigorem . . . ab lentitudine firmas recipiunt catenationes*; 59, 6: *ab suci vehementi amaritate ab carie aut tineae non nocetur*. *Ab*, "compared with," has been — no doubt correctly — substituted by Rose for *ad* in 142, 2: *non enim atria minora ab maioribus easdem possunt habere symmetriarum rationes*, a habit which Wölfflin in *Archiv*, vii, p. 125, has proved to exist in the ancient Latin translations of the Bible, Itala, and Vulgata, and which is analogous to the use of other prepositions such as *prae*, *super* or *supra*, *ultra*.' — These criticisms may be briefly dismissed. A glance at the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *ab*, pp. 33–34, will be enough to show that the use of this preposition to denote cause is no evidence of the 'dissolution of the language,' unless the language began to dissolve with Lucretius, Varro, Livy, and the Augustan poets. The other criticism, about *ab*, 'compared with,' is taken from Praun (p. 79), who, by an oversight foreign to his usually careful work, has misinterpreted the passage. There is no idea of comparison here, for *ab maioribus* does not depend upon *minora*. The sentence means: 'In the case of smaller atriums the symmetrical proportions cannot be the same as in larger.' See the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *ab*, p. 39, 55.

'*Ad* is placed instead of the dative or parallel with it, as



in 91, 3: *metopae quae proximae ad angulares triglyphos fiunt*; 182, 4: *hae regiones sunt proximae ad septentrionem* (equally by Euodius in Augustine, *Ep.* 158, 2: *ad finem vitae proximus*); 147, 1: *lavationi rusticae ministratio non erit longe*, but soon after: *ad olearios fructus commoda erit ministratio*. Equally in 256, 16: *ita hortis ad inrigandum vel ad salinas ad temperandum praebetur aquae multitudo*; 251, 18: *ut ad solvendum non esset*, in lieu of the generally applied *solvendo*. "On the whole," Praun observes on p. 65, "the preposition *ad* with the gerund or the gerundive has extended its sphere at the expense of the other constructions, the genitive, the dative, and *in* with the ablative." — The use of *proximus* with *ad* and the accusative is found much earlier than Euodius; cf. Varro, *L. L.* 6, 8: *ad nos versum proximum est solstitium*; Lucr. 2, 135: (*ea corpora quae*) *proxima sunt ad viris principiorum*; Pliny, *N. H.* 2, 64: *ad terrae centrum humillimae atque proximae*. We have also *proprius ad* in Cicero, *Fin.* 4, 64. It must not be thought that this is the only construction with *proximus* found in Vitruvius. He has the simple dative twenty-one times, and *ad* with the accusative only three times (add 135, 11 to Ussing's examples). In his second set of examples under this head of the use of *ad*, Ussing (following Praun, p. 89) seems to think that we have two constructions with *ministratio erit*, first the dative and then *ad* and the accusative. But this latter belongs to *commoda*, and the construction is that which is found twice on the preceding page (146, 6: *ad omnes res commoda*; 146, 14: *ad usum commoda*). Though elsewhere rare, yet we have in Caes. *B. C.* 3, 100, 3: *tempore anni commodiore usus ad navigandum*, and in Ovid, *F.* 2,

288: *nec satis ad cursus commoda vestis erat*. It cannot therefore be held to be a sign of the 'dissolution of the language.' In the third set of examples (256, 16) Ussing with Praun (p. 64) seems to have taken *hortis* as a dative, and to have thought that with *praebetur* we have both a dative and an accusative with *ad*. But it seems far more probable, if not certain, that we have here two locative constructions: *hortis*, 'in gardens' (for Vitruvius's use of the locative ablative of many appellatives, see Nohl, *Anal. Vitr.*, p. 10, and observe that only eight lines below our passage he has the locative ablative *locis* with *praebendum*, 256, 24: *sin autem magis altis locis erit praebendum*), and *ad salinas*, 'at saltworks.' It is true that I do not find the locative phrase *ad salinas* in any other writer, but this is mere accident, for it is an expression which belongs in the class of other locative phrases with *ad* cited in the *Thesaurus*, p. 522 f.<sup>1</sup> And Vitruvius has this use of *ad* elsewhere: e.g. *ad villas* (148, 9), *ad circum*, *ad campum*, *ad portum* (30, 12 f.). It is worth noting that by another accident *ad campum* (sc. *Martium*) seems not to occur elsewhere in literature, but that it is found in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, 2, 40. The variation in the locative expressions, from *hortis* to *ad salinas* is Vitruvian: see e.g. the considerable variety in 30, 7-22; also *in gymnasio . . . foro* (174, 10); *ad villas . . . in urbe* (148, 9-11); *in montibus aut ad ipsos montes* (188, 18). Next, Ussing's fourth example under this head, *ut ad solvendum non esset*, presents the unique *ad solvendum* instead of the common dative *solvendo* (found for instance in Cic. *Phil.* 2, 4; *Off.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Livy's *circa Romanas salinas* 7, 19, 8; also *ad gallinas*, Plin. *N. H.* 15, 137; Suet. *Galba* 1.

2, 79; *Att.* 13, 10, 3; *Fam.* 3, 8, 2; and in the jurists). What should be inferred from this? That our Vitruvius is a late writer? Not at all, for no late writer is cited as using *ad solvendum*. It is a peculiarity in Vitruvius and nothing more. Of the same sort is that peculiarity in Cicero's letters when he uses twice *esse ad scribendum* (*Att.* 1, 19, 9; *Fam.* 12, 29, 2) instead of the common *scribendo adesse* (for which see the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *assum*, 918, 43 ff., and Cicero himself in the second passage just cited). And a glance at the context of Vitruvius shows why he used the peculiar *ad solvendum*. It runs thus: *Sic Paeonius ducendo et reducendo pecuniam contrivit ut ad solvendum non esset*. Obviously the usual dative *solvendo* was avoided for fear of obscurity on account of *ducendo* and *reducendo*. Finally, with Praun's general observation cited by Ussing, we need not trouble ourselves here, for of course Praun never meant it to be taken as evidence of the late authorship of Vitruvius.

'*De* instead of the simple ablative in 1, 16: *parenti tuo de eo fueram notus*. Likewise *e* in 3, 22: *circini usum, e quo maxime facilius aedificiorum expediuntur descriptiones*.' — But causal *de* is in itself no proof of recent authorship, and the use of it as denoting 'den Erkenntnisgrund' is one of Dräger's categories (i, p. 630) illustrated by him with examples from Plautus and Cicero, to which may be added *Auct. Herenn.* 4, 44, *res tota parva de parte cognoscitur*. Furthermore, in the passage cited from Vitruvius, the simple *eo* could hardly have been written without danger of obscurity on account of *parenti tuo*. The use of *e* with the ablative instead of a simple instrumental, may seem lumbering and awkward in 3, 22; but that it was not

unknown to the classical period is obvious from its appearance in Cicero, *Rep.* 2, 58: *exaere alieno commota civitas*, as well as several times in *Bell. Afr.* as cited by Köhler, *Act. Erlang.* i, p. 439. See also Pomp. Mela, 2, 21.

Passing next to conjunctions, Ussing says: 'With regard to conjunctions, Dräger (ii, p. 153) has already pointed out that *aut* and *sive* are used quite indiscriminately by Vitruvius. A critic in the *Athenaeum*, Jan. 1, 1898, says: "the misuse of *aut* or *sive* is no great matter." I had not expected this declaration from "a skilled reader." Most Latin scholars would have the contrary view.'—But the remark of the critic in the *Athenaeum* must not be judged apart from its context. He does not mean that the confusion of *aut* and *sive* is no great matter as a point of style, or that it would be found in a polished writer. His whole contention is that one should expect to find such errors in unpolished writers, and that consequently this error cannot be used in settling the date of Vitruvius. And this contention is borne out by the facts found in the *Thesaurus* in the treatment of the use of *aut*. Dräger, also, in the passage cited by Ussing, shows how the Elder Pliny employs *aut* and *sive* as synonyms, so that this confusion cannot be held to be evidence of very recent authorship. And for the Vitruvian employment of *aut* . . . *sive* or *sive* . . . *aut* in the same sentence, parallels are quoted from the *Aetna*, from Manilius and from Celsus in the *Thesaurus* (s. v. *aut*, p. 1571, 11 ff., and 78; cf. the somewhat similar *seu* . . . *aut* in Plautus, *Ps.* 543, cited on p. 1570, 56), with the following general remark on such combinations in prose writers, p. 1571, 55: 'increbrescent apud eos qui poetarum sermonem etiam *alias* imitantur et apud minus cultos (Vitr. Cels.).'

Ussing proceeds: 'Equally unclassical is the use of negatives in sentences consisting of two alternatives. The word *neve* does not occur in Vitruvius. He always puts *ne . . . neque* instead of *ne . . . neve*, as 5, 16: *ne sit cupidus neque in muneribus accipiendis habeat animum occupatum*. As for negations, it is also to be observed that he likes to place them foremost in the sentence. He says *non putavi praetermittendum* (I, 14) instead of *putavi non praetermittendum*; *non puto dubium esse* (124, 1), etc. This is done occasionally in other authors, but in Vitruvius very frequently. A striking example is 48, 22: *non enim quae sunt e molli caemento subtili facie venustatis, non eae possunt esse in vetustate non ruinosae*.' — With regard to Ussing's first point, it is sufficient to quote Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.*,<sup>8</sup> p. 358: 'Selten ist die Anknüpfung mit *nec* statt mit *neve*; bei Cicero wird *nec* nach *ne* nie angetroffen (vgl. C. F. W. Müller zu Cic. *Off.* I, 91), auch nicht bei Caesar und Sall., aber bei Nepos, bei Vitruv., und Sen. Phil., welche *neve* gar nicht kennen, bei Liv., Flor., nach Liv. vereinzelt, häufig bei Dichtern, so schon bei Plaut., bei Verg., Hor., Ov. u. a.' It is obvious that we have here what may be called a distinct division on a point of style. Though the Ciceronian must be taken to be the better, yet we see that late authorship cannot be proved from the other usage. On the second point, the setting of negatives foremost in the sentence, no evidence is presented that this was a habit of late authors. In phrases like *non putavi praetermittendum*, Praun, who cites (p. 27) eleven occurrences of it in Vitruvius, holds that the attaching of the negative to *puto* is the Greek idiomatic use as in οὐ φημί. He might have compared οὐκ οἶομαι, οὐ νομίζω,

etc.; see Kühner-Gerth, *Gr. Gramm.* ii, p. 180. And W. Schmidt in *Jahresbericht Altertumsw.*, 1901, cviii, p. 119, draws attention to Caesar, *B. G.* 2, 31, 2: *qui ad hunc modum locuti: non se existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere.* But I think it probable that this position of *non* was, in the less polished speech, commoner than is usually supposed, for it appears not only in the *Bellum Africanum* 59, 1: *Non arbitror esse praetermittendum quemadmodum*, etc., and 84, 1: *Non videtur esse praetermittendum de*, etc., but also there is a similar use in the eighth book of the Gallic War, by Hirtius, 48, 10: *quod ego non existimavi mihi esse faciendum, propterea quod*, etc. Finally, in Ussing's last example we have in *non enim quae . . . non eae possunt* nothing but the rhetorical figure of anadiplosis, found (to compare great things with small) in Demosthenes 9, 31: ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὦν ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν. And the recurrence of *non* once again in *non ruinosae* may be compared with Cic. *Fam.* 13, 18, 2: *non potest mihi non summe esse iucundum* (see also Dräger i, p. 135). Neither of these usages is any proof of late authorship.

Taking up a new topic, Ussing says: 'It is a well-known fact that in the Silver age the conjunction *num* is gradually replaced by *an*, and later on disappears entirely from the language. In Vitruvius *num* does not exist at all, neither do we find (the single) *an*, *ne*, nor *nonne*. The only particle by which he introduces a dependent interrogative clause is *si*, e.g. 53, 14: *si est firma probatur*; cf. 32, 4; *quaesit si essent agri*; 133, 20: *quaerebant si honeste essent educati*; 156, 20: *quaesit si quem novissent*; 183, 10: *de aqua . . . quibusque rebus si erit salubris et idonea*

*probetur explicabo.* Only in double clauses we find *utrum* . . . *an*, as 18, 26: *dubitantes utrum morbo an pabuli vitio laesa essent.* But *si* occurs equally, cf. 53, 12: *de ipsa autem testa, si sit optima seu vitiosa ad structuram, statim nemo potest iudicare*; 173, 17: *neque animadvertunt si quid eorum fieri potest necne.* *Si* in this sense already occurs in Plautus; so we do not wonder that it is found in Vitruvius, but we wonder that it is the only interrogative conjunction he knows, as it is the only one which has migrated into the Romance languages. Whether this *si* is due originally to an influence from the Greek language, I dare not decide.' — The examples for this paragraph are taken by Ussing from Praun (p. 74 f.), but the inferences drawn from them by these two scholars are different. Ussing holds that the almost exclusive use of *si* in indirect questions instead of other particles is evidence of late authorship; Praun, that such was 'die Richtung der Volkssprache' in the classical period. This phenomenon of the almost exclusive use of *si* with which Ussing concludes his paragraph is really the only point in it that has any force, for the preceding details are unimportant. Thus, there is nothing surprising in the absence of *num* from Vitruvius, since it is not found in Catullus, Tibullus, or Pliny the Elder (Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>8</sup> p. 360). On the other hand, *num* does not 'entirely disappear' from late authors, for it is found in an indirect question in Orosius 1, 19, 9. Boethius has *numne* (*Herm. Sec.* p. 46, line 12, Meiser), and Arnobius has *numquid* 46 times (Schmalz, *ibid.*). The word *nonne* in indirect questions is exclusively Ciceronian (Schmalz, p. 361). As for *-ne*, Caesar and Sallust have it only half a dozen times each, whereas Tacitus has it nearly thirty

times, so that nothing about the date can be argued from its absence from Vitruvius. We should not be surprised at missing *an* in Vitruvius in the simple indirect question with *quaero* or other verbs meaning 'ask,' because it is not commonly found in the ante-classical or classical period except in connection with *scio* and verbs of doubting (*The-saurus*, s. v. *an*, p. 7 ff.). What then is left of Ussing's observation? Nothing but eight examples in which *si* is said to be used in indirect questions in Vitruvius (seven quoted by Ussing, to which add 162, 17: *quaeratur solum si sit perpetuo solidum*). But a closer examination of these examples will show that half of them may be eliminated at once. I mean the two with *probari* and those with *animadvertere* and *iudicare*. In all of these except one (53, 12) we have the indicative in the clause with *si*, and none are indirect questions but all are conditional protases used instead of indirect questions (see Praun, pp. 70 and 72 on the two examples with *probari*). This leaves only the four cases with *quaero*, which certainly cannot be called into evidence for late authorship, since *quaero si* is found in the Augustan period, for instance in Propertius (2, 3, 5) and Livy (29, 25, 8; 39, 50, 7). The only truthful observation, therefore, which can be made about Vitruvius's habits in expressing indirect questions is that he seldom employs the 'sentence-question'<sup>1</sup> and only in the phrase *quaero si*.

Ussing next passes to Hellenisms: 'The most ancient Roman authors not unfrequently borrowed words from Greek to express ideas or to name objects for which their own language lacked words, but they did not borrow forms or constructions. The age of Cicero and Augustus tried

<sup>1</sup> For other kinds of indirect questions in him, see Praun, p. 75 f.



to remove the Greek words and to keep the language pure, but these attempts did not entirely succeed, and in the Silver age we find repeatedly that where it became necessary to use Greek words, the authors liked to show their knowledge in retaining the Greek flexions, as *os* in the nominative instead of *us*, *u* in the genitive, etc. In the course of time such Hellenisms increased, and the great number of them which occur in Vitruvius also help to indicate the period when he lived.' — Here the confession of Ussing, that the attempts of Cicero and Augustus to remove Greek words and to keep the language pure 'did not entirely succeed' is fatal to his argument. We must remember that we are dealing with an author who stands alone in his kind. It is true that Ennius, Plautus, and Terence, when they used Greek words, generally Latinized them in form, but we know that Accius preferred to retain the Greek terminations (Varro, *L. L.* 5, 21; cf. 10, 70), and we see that Lucilius, Catullus, and Varro as well as the Augustan poets employed many Greek forms, while the number of Greek words in *Bell. Afr.*, *Bell. Hisp.*, *Celsus*, Pliny the Elder, and Petronius shows that we have not to wait until late Latinity for the appearance of this tendency. I need say nothing of Cicero's letters, which in spite of his own dictum in the *Tusculans* (1, 15), *scis me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine*, prove that 'Greek words and phrases were the *argot* of literary Rome.'<sup>1</sup> If Cicero uses Greek as 'part of the terminology of rhetoric and politics, not merely calling it in to supply a deficiency in the Latin language but dropping into it when he might as easily

<sup>1</sup> Tyrrell, *Correspondence of Cicero*, I, p. 66.

have used Latin,' we ought not to be surprised at finding Vitruvius doing the same in treating a subject on which not many Romans had written before him. When we find Greek terminations in Vitruvius, we must remember that Cicero wrote *tyrannida* in *Att.* 14, 14, 2, though *tyrannidem* in *Off.* 3, 90, and that this Greek ending is not confined to letters to Atticus, but is found in *hebdomada* in *Fam.* 16, 9, 3. And in *Or.* 191 we have *paean*, though *paeanem* stands in *D. O.* 1, 251. Neither should it be thought that Vitruvius uses only Greek terminations for Greek words. For example: Nohl's *Index to Vitruvius* gives under the letters *a*, *b*, and *c*, 973 words (excluding proper nouns and adjectives, and Greek words quoted as such, like *id αβαρον vocitari iusserunt*). Of these 973 words, 101 are adopted from Greek, including of course forms of such words as *athleta*, *barbarus*, *basilica*, *camera*, *centaurus*, *chorda*, which were fully naturalized in the Latin of the classical period. Now of these 101 words it appears that 71 are used by Vitruvius with Latin terminations. Of the remaining thirty, eighteen are technical terms belonging to the vocabulary of architecture, and hence naturally Greek, such as *amphithalamos* (nom.), *baseos* (gen.), *cathe-toe* (nom.). This leaves of the 101 words, only twelve untechnical terms in which Vitruvius employs Greek terminations. They are: *acroasin* (Cicero and Varro have *acroasi*), *aethera* (Cic.), *agrammatos*, *amusus*, *aniatrolotetos*, *arctoe* (Cic.), *arithmeticen*, *arteriace* (Plin., Cels.), *asty*, abl. (Ter. and Nepos have *astu*), *catacecaumeniten* (Plin. has *catacecaumenitae*), *colossicotera*, *cratera*, acc. (Virg., Ov.). Therefore, of the 101 words only seven are found in Vitruvius with Greek terminations which are not

Similarly found in other authors, the latest of whom is Pliny, and these seven are all unusual words, all but one in fact (*acroasis*) making their appearance in Latin for the first time in Vitruvius. This examination, therefore, incomplete as it is, may probably serve to show that Hellenisms in terminations are no more common in Vitruvius than in writers of the classical period.

'He uses Greek words not only when he may possibly quote from a Greek source, but also in his own argumentations, and connected with Greek flexions, as 132, 27: *philologis et philotechnis rebus*; 247, 19: *collossicotera*; 8, 14: *aniatrologetos*. He does not even seem afraid of *-ois* instead of *-is*, as *pentadorois*, 39, 7.'—In the first of these examples we have a word not found elsewhere, *philotechnis*. It is not difficult of interpretation and seems a natural term to connect with *philologis*. To Vitruvius *philologia* means 'literature' or 'literary studies' in a wide sense (156, 7; 157, 20; 203, 14); so it did to Cicero (*Att.* 2, 17, 1). And just as to Cicero there was within *philologia* such a thing as *τεχνολογία* (*Att.* 4, 16, 3: *reliqui libri τεχνολογίαν habent*, here used of the technical discussion of statecraft in the latter portion of the *De Republica*), so to Vitruvius *philotechnicae res* are the artistic (particularly in his case the architectural) parts of literary pursuits. Thus also we find *φιλότεχνοι* (*lovers of art*) and *φιλόσοφοι* distinguished in Plato, *Rep.* 476 A. The ideas, therefore, which Vitruvius expresses in this passage were not foreign to the classical period, and the word *philotechnis*, not occurring elsewhere, cannot be taken as evidence of late authorship. Neither can *collossicotera*. I am not aware that the positive of this adjective is found elsewhere, either in Greek or

Latin, in any other than its literal sense as applied to a 'colossal' statue. Vitruvius has it thus in 50, 3: *statuam colossicam*, and 251, 3: *colossici Apollinis*. Yet in the more general and derived sense Vitruvius (and no late author) has it twice in the comparative degree,—in the passage cited above (247, 19) where it is used of weights too enormous to be raised by the *sucula*: *sin autem colossicotera amplitudinibus et ponderibus onera in operibus fuerint, non erit suculae committendum*; and in 81, 1, where it is applied to buildings which are, as we might say, somewhat gigantic: *opera . . . ipsa colossicotera*. Here again we must remember what has been said of Greek as the literary *argot* of the classical period. Cicero in his letters does not shrink from introducing Greek comparatives into Latin sentences; e.g. *Att.* 12, 45, 2: *nam ceteroqui ἀνεκτότερα erant Asturæ*; *Att.* 4, 2, 7: *cetera quæ me sollicitant μυστικώτερα sunt*. Other such comparatives are πολιτικώτερα (*Att.* 14, 14, 1), φιλολογώτερα (*Att.* 13, 12, 3), ἐκτενέστερον and φιλοστοργότερον (*Att.* 13, 9, 1). Caesar also used them, as we see from *Cic. Q. F.* 2, 15 (16), 5: *reliqua ad quendam locum ῥαθυμότερα: hoc enim utitur* (sc. *Caesar*) *verbo*. The word *aniatrologetos* (8, 14) is also a ἀπαξ (cf. *ιατρολογέω* and *ιατρολογία*). It is worth observing that the whole passage is full of Greek names and words: *architectus, grammaticus, Aristarchus, agrammatos, musicus, Aristoxenus, amusus, Apelles, graphidos, plastes, Myron, Polyclitus, plasticae, Hippocrates*—all these occur in the same section. And we may note that in our word the ending *-os* is due to an emendation by Giocondo, the manuscripts giving *-us*. Finally, of the ending *-ois* as found in *pentadorois*, there is no manuscript evidence that

Vitruvius used it, but if he did, he was perfectly excusable since the whole passage bristles with Greek, and Pliny, *N. H.* 35, 171, shows that, if he was not drawing from Vitruvius, he had the same Greek source before him. Vitruvius is describing the kinds of bricks used by the Greeks in their buildings: *ex his unum πενταδωρον, alterum τετραδωρον dicitur. δωρον autem Graeci appellant palmum quod . . . palmam. Ita quod est quoquoversus quinque palmorum pentadoron, quod est quattuor tetradoron dicitur, et quae sunt publica opera πενταδωροισ, quae privata τετραδωροισ struuntur.* I print the passage as Rose gives it. The manuscripts have only Latin letters.<sup>1</sup> For *πενταδωροισ* and *τετραδωροισ* they give *pentadoros* HS, *pentatoros* G; *tetradoros* GS, *tetradoro* H. If Vitruvius himself used Latin letters here, it is obvious that he may have written *pentadoris* and *tetradoris* with Latin terminations, so that in either case nothing is left of Ussing's argument, since even Cicero does not hesitate to treat a Greek dative like a Latin ablative (cf. *Att.* 5, 21, 14: *de ἐνδομύχῳ probo idem quod tu*).

'A characteristic Hellenism is the use of the genitive corresponding to the comparative *than*, as 105, 23: *superiora inferiorum fieri contractiora*; 22, 2: *ut ne longius sit alia ab alia sagittae missionis*. This Grecism is found in Apuleius, as in *Met.* 3, 11: *statuas et imagines dignioribus meique maioribus reservare suadeo*;<sup>2</sup> *De Dogm. Plat.* 1, 9:

<sup>1</sup> This is also frequently the case in cod. M of Cicero's letters to Atticus, where our editions give Greek letters; see Tyrrell and Purser to *Att.* 2, 20, 1 and 14, 3, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The reading here of *mei* depends upon the 'manus recentissima' of cod. F (Vliet, p. xiii). The manuscripts themselves have *meis*, and Vliet reads *meritis*.

*animam . . . omnium gignentium esse seniozem.* In Tertullian, *Apol.* 40: *maiozem Asiae et Africae terram*; in the Latin translations of Irenaeus and Hermes Pastor; very frequently in the oldest Latin translation of the Bible (Itala), as I *Maccab.* 6, 27: *maiora horum facient.* The Vulgate here has the regular construction: *maiora quam haec*, and mostly so, but occasionally the genitive has been retained; comp. Wölfflin, *Archiv*, vii, p. 117 ff. The above-mentioned reviewer in the *Athenaeum* says that this "slipshod Greek genitive is not avoided by Plautus and Ennius." I should have been much obliged to him for indicating the places. I thought I knew my Plautus pretty well, but have never found it.' — Here we should have the strongest evidence of late authorship which we have thus far reached if we could really feel sure that Vitruvius used the Greek construction of the genitive of comparison. That he did so, seems to have been doubted by no recent writer on the subject of this genitive, and it is defended either on the ground that he was following Greek sources (Wölfflin, *Archiv*, vii, 118; Sittl, *die lokalen Verschiedenheiten*, p. 114), or by pointing to traces of this use in even earlier writers. These traces were of course what the reviewer in the *Athenaeum* had in mind, and that he is somewhat unjustly treated by Ussing will be granted by anybody who will take the trouble to read Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> p. 253, n. 1. Even Wölfflin, in the very article cited by Ussing, points to these traces in Plautus. But in Vitruvius it must be confessed that we have no longer 'traces,' and that, if we take the passages as they are usually taken, without further investigation, the real Greek genitive of comparison is found in him for the first time in

Latin.<sup>1</sup> Is it, however, certain that the two passages cited by Ussing<sup>2</sup> are properly taken? The first of them must be seen in full before it can be studied. It runs thus: *Ergo si natura nascentium ita postulat, recte est constitutum et altitudinibus et crassitudinibus superiora inferiorum fieri contractiora*. Now in an earlier sentence Vitruvius had written *uti firmiora sint inferiora superioribus* (75, 16). Here is the usual ablative of comparison. Why does he not employ it in our passage? He purposely avoids it, I think, because after *altitudinibus* and *crassitudinibus* another ablative, *inferioribus*, would be awkward and perhaps obscure. So in Sall. *H. 2, 37: vir gravis et nulla arte cuiquam inferior*, another ablative instead of the dative is inconceivable. But it does not follow that in Vitruvius *inferiorum* is a genitive of comparison. Every careful reader must already have seen that we are dealing with a brachylogy, and that *altitudinibus et crassitudinibus* are to be taken a second time so that *inferiorum* does not depend upon *contractiora*. In first drawing attention to this example, Praun did not cite it completely, but omitted the two ablatives, and in this mangled condition it has since been quoted as a case of the genitive of comparison — which it is not. There remains then only one case to be considered (22, 2), and here I do not believe that Vitruvius

<sup>1</sup> I cannot accept Varro, *R. R. 2, 5, 10*, cited by Schmalz, as a certain case. See Keil's note on it.

<sup>2</sup> A third, cited by Praun (p. 79) and Wölflin (*Archiv. vii, 118*), is not a genitive of comparison as has already been noted by Nobl (*Wochenschrift f. kl. Phil. iii, p. 563*). It is 231, 1: *Ad anguis inferius ventris sub caudam subiectus est centaurus*, which means 'Beneath the Snake's belly, under its tail, lies the Centaur'; cf. Aratus 447; *ὄρη δὲ κρέμαται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κενταύροιο*. Here *ad inferius* = *ad inferiorem partem ventris*; for the use of *ad*, see the *Thesaurus*, s. v. p. 519, 23; 525, 6-36.

wrote *sagittae missionis* but rather *sagittae missione*.<sup>1</sup> Errors in writing the genitive in *-is* instead of the ablative in *-e* or *-i* are not uncommon in the manuscripts of Vitruvius, especially where another genitive precedes. Thus we find *rationis* (2, 23) for *ratione*, where *sollertiae* precedes in the manuscripts. We have also *solis orbis* for *solis orbi* (224, 28); *decussis* for *decussi*, where *additis* precedes (67, 13). And we also find the plural in *-es* for the ablative singular, as: *necessitates* for *necessitate* (54, 14), *partes* for *parte* (94, 29), *frontis* for *fronte* (82, 12), and *frontes* for *fronte*, where *ornationis* precedes (119, 17). So it appears that there is little or no good evidence that Vitruvius used the genitive of comparison at all.

Ussing next observes: 'It has often been said that Vitruvius "translated largely from the Greek." I am not sure that he has translated more than the chapters of Athenaeus which will be mentioned below.'<sup>2</sup> He seems more likely to have drawn his knowledge from Latin sources, but his style is appreciably influenced by Greek.

<sup>1</sup> As it was printed by Schneider. Perhaps, as the codd. have *sagitta emissionis*, we should keep the longer word as in 283, 18: *sagittae emissionem*, — reading it, however, in the ablative with the earliest printed editions.

<sup>2</sup> Here Ussing is referring to pages 29–41 of his article where, accepting the view of Diels that this Athenaeus Mechanicus was a post-classical writer, he argues that Vitruvius, drawing from him, must be even later, and rejects Thiel's theory of a common source for both in Agesistratus (whom, however, Rose<sup>2</sup> has indicated for Vitruvius, 275, 16). How unsuccessful Ussing is in this argument has been shown by Schmidt (*Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 1901, viii, p. 120). In another part of Ussing's book (p. 28) there is a very just observation which he would have done well to bear in mind throughout: 'A — if it were possible to write about the very same things without occasionally using the same words; or as if there must not necessarily be found a simi — larity in those who proceeded from the same school, and had drawn their knowledge from the same book.' A principle of common sense which 'source-hunters' often ignore!



Among these influences we will mention his preference for *non minus* (οὐδὲν ἥσσον) instead of *item*; cf. 103, 24; 187, 12; 218, 7, etc. Further, the superfluous use of *etiam* (καί) in comparisons, as 216, 4: *aequo pondere quo etiam fuerat corona*. Equally the striking omission of the demonstrative pronoun before the relative, as 30, 6: *aedibus sacris quorum deorum maxime in tutela civitas videtur esse*; and 30, 11: *Herculi in quibus civitatibus non sunt gymnasia*; and the still more striking attraction of the relative in 34, 27: *spatio relicto quanto arborum longitudines patiuntur*.— This paragraph does not seem quite apropos of the argument, for it merely suggests Greek sources for certain usages in Vitruvius without indicating that they are found in late Latin. I am not aware that *non minus* in the sense of *item* is so found. It appears to be like *nec minus* as used in Varro, *R. R.* 1, 13, 3; 3, 1, 6; Propertius 1, 3, 5.<sup>1</sup> The ‘superfluous *etiam* (καί)’ calls for no further comment here; and for the substantive standing in the relative clause without a demonstrative in the main clause, as well as for the attraction of the relative, see Schmalz’s *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>8</sup> pp. 372 and 373. These usages are not evidence of late authorship.

Neither is there such evidence in the following paragraph: ‘In the Syntax of Vitruvius, one of the things that attract our attention is his way of expressing measures. He often uses the regular construction with the accusative, as *latitudine maior quam pedes xx*; but he equally employs

<sup>1</sup> *Non minus* in this sense is found more than thirty times in Vitruvius; besides he has *non minus etiam* nine times (cf. *nec non etiam*, Varro, *R. R.* 1, 1, 6; 2, 10, 9; 3, 16, 26; and Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>8</sup> p. 351, on such pleonasm in uncultivated style).

the genitive, a construction which also appears in more ancient authors, as Varro ap. Pliny, *N. H.* 36, 92: *pyramides . . . imae latae pedum quinum septuagenum, altae centenum quinquagenum*; Columella 2, 10, 26: *areas latas pedum denum, longas pedum quinquagenum facito*; Plin. *N. H.* 18, 140; 36, 7. Thus Vitruvius 77, 9: *uti lata et longa sit columnae crassitudinis unius et dimidia*; cf. 77, 18; 100, 24; 94, 14; 205, 20; 207, 25, etc. But instead of this *genitivus qualitatis*, Vitruvius also uses the ablative; cf. 39, 1: *longum sesquipede, latum pede*; 94, 28: *crassitudines extenuentur his rationibus uti si octava parte erunt quae sunt in fronte, hae fiant x parte.* — To these examples of the ablative may be added<sup>1</sup> 170, 1: *alte circiter pedibus tribus*; 99, 24: *altae dimidia parte*; 99, 26: *altam suae crassitudinis dimidia parte*. But they cannot be taken as evidence of very late authorship, for Columella has this ablative in 5, 9, 3: *digitis quatuor alte*; *Arb.* 1, 6: *tribus pedibus alte*; and both the genitive and ablative in 3, 13, 5: *quidam dupondio et dodrante altum sulcum, latum pedum quinque faciunt*.

Coming next to locative constructions, Ussing says: 'A similar wavering is found in the local determinations. Country names are put in the ablative without prepositions, as 43, 27: *Achaia Asia*; 134, 14: *aliter Aegypto, aliter Hispania, non eodem modo Ponto*; 182, 3: *Ponto et Gallia*; 176, 15 ff., frequently. Even the genitive appears,

<sup>1</sup> It is the more necessary to present these additional cases because the two which Ussing cites are not very convincing. The second lacks any adjective like *longus, latus*, or *altus*, and is therefore an ordinary genitive of quality; the first is easily emended away, as *pede* in 278, 7, is now emended to *pedem*, and, as in Plin. 35, 171, *longum sesquipedem* is now read instead of the older reading *sesquipede* of the inferior manuscripts.

59, 3: *Cretae et Africae*. Names of towns in the ablative instead of the genitive, 49, 8: *Arretio*; 101, 22: *Sunio*; 195, 19: *Zacyntho*. This harmonizes with the use of *eo* instead of *ibi*, 120, 16: *eo tragici et comici actores in scaena peragunt*; 284, 11: *arboribus excisis eoque conlocatis*. (If the same is found in Cicero's *Ep. ad Brutum* 1, 2, 1, it may as well be considered as a testimony against the genuineness of these epistles.) — A full collection of Vitruvius's use of country names in the ablative without a preposition has been published by Nohl in his *Analecta Vitruviana*, p. 9. From this it appears that twenty-one names are thus used.<sup>1</sup> This is a large number, but the usage itself cannot be accepted as proof of late authorship because we find in Virgil *Ponto* (*Ecl.* 8, 95 f.), *Latio* (*A.* 1, 265; 6, 67), *Lycia* (*A.* 12, 344), *Italia* (*A.* 1, 263), and in Pliny, *Hispania* (*N. H.* 8, 226), and *Aegyptus* (13, 56; 18, 123; 19, 79).<sup>2</sup> For the rest, Vitruvius uses also the regular construction of *in* with the ablative in the case of twenty-five country names, some being the same as those which he has used without the preposition. When Ussing remarks, 'Even the genitive appears,' he must mean the 'locative,' for there would be nothing surprising in the employment of a true genitive construction. I do not believe that the true locative of any country name is found in Vitruvius, since I think that all the forms which seem to be such may be explained on other grounds, just as the apparent locatives of country names in Pliny have been explained away.<sup>3</sup> Only six cases call for consideration. Of these, *Asiae* (190,

<sup>1</sup> For *Lucania*, however (198, 9), *Lucanis* of the manuscripts should be retained; see below, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Funaioli, *Archiv*, xiii, 327 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Funaioli, *Archiv*, xiii, 581 f.

14) and *Phrygiae* (196, 14) are chorographic genitives (see Schmalz, *Lat. Gr.*,<sup>3</sup> 234 f.), such as are found in Caesar, Livy, and Pliny. In 195, 15, *Aethiopiae* is now read *Aethiopia*, but, if the manuscript reading is kept, we have a genitive depending on *lucus*. In 198, 8, *Boeotiae* (a genitive) has been emended to *Boeotia* on account of the following ablatives. In the example cited by Ussing, *Cretae et Africae* (59, 3), one of two explanations may be given. Although the name *Cretae* is generally treated like that of a country and consequently appears in Cicero with *in* and the ablative, yet as an island it is used in the locative by Varro (*R. R.* 1, 7, 6) and Virgil (*A.* 3, 162). If Vitruvius used it thus, then the following *Africae* is an assimilation for concinnity, like Sallust's *Romae Numidiaequae* (*J.* 33, 4). But both *Cretae* and *Africae* may be genitives depending on *regionibus*, for the whole sentence reads: *nascuntur autem eae arbores maxime Cretae et Africae et nonnullis Syriae regionibus*. There remains only 200, 24: *sunt autem etiam fontes uti vino mixti, quemadmodum est unus Paphlagoniae, ex quo*, etc. Here *Paphlagoniae* is to be taken as a genitive. But even if locatives of country names were actually found in Vitruvius, we could parallel them from the classical period, since we have *Peloponnesi* in Varro (*R. R.* 2, 6, 2), *Chersonesi* in Nepos (1, 2, 4), and *Galliae* in Hirtius (*B. G.* 8, 1, 2).<sup>1</sup> As for names of towns in the ablative instead of the locative, Nohl's treatment (*Analecta*, p. 10) is not exact, for he does not distinguish between towns and islands. The names of towns actually thus used by Vitruvius are *Arretio*, *Chio* (283, 3, where the

<sup>1</sup> Here I think that *Galliae* must certainly be taken as a locative on account of *rebus gestis Alexandriae* just below. Still, see *Archiv*, xiii, 331.

word *murum* shows that the town is meant), *Halicarnasso*, *Lyncesto*, *Paraetonio*, *Sunio*, *Tarso*, *Teo*, *Teano*, — that is, nine in all.<sup>1</sup> It is true that this misuse becomes common in late Latin (*Archiv*, xiii, 315 f.), but still we find occurrences of it early enough to show that in Vitruvius the phenomenon is due to his lack of finish, and that it cannot be taken as evidence of late authorship. Thus, Cato has *Venafro* (*R. R.* 135, 1), and Varro has *Amiterno* (*L. L.* 6, 5). On the whole, with regard to these three categories we must treat them as errors of style, just as Pliny's frequent use of *in* with the ablative of a town name (*Archiv*, xiii, 337) is treated. Nobody thinks of stigmatizing the Natural History as a piece of late workmanship because of them, particularly in view of the practice of the Emperor Augustus, who used prepositions with names of towns in order to avoid obscurity (*Suet. Aug.* 86). We come next to Ussing's remark about the use of *eo*. Here it is not necessary to try to defend Vitruvius by means of the disputed passage in Cicero, *Ep. ad Brutum*, nor even to refer to the undisputed erroneous use of *eo* in Celsus 8, 9, 1: *ibi pus proximum erit eoque uri debebit*. It is enough to show that Vitruvius's use is correct. This has been done for 120, 16, by Rose, in a footnote in his second edition, where he refers to *perago* used twice with *ad* and the accusative on a later page. In 284, 11, *eo* is due to the meaning of *conlocatis*, which here does not mean simply 'to place,' but rather 'to bring together'; consequently *eo* is properly used, as are *in* and the accusative in Plaut. *Men.* 986: *in tabernam vasa et servos conlocavi*, a construc-

<sup>1</sup> For the passages, see Nohl. On the other hand, Vitruvius has the locative of stems in *-o* six times, and always in stems in *-a*.

tion found also in Vitruvius himself, 272, 9: *in eos cuneoli ferrei . . . conlocantur*. Of course Vitruvius has also the other use of *conloco*, with *in* and the ablative, or with *ibi* or *ubi*, examples of which may readily be found in Nohl's *Index*. With these two uses with *conloco* may be compared the same two with *coacervo*; for instance, *Bell. Afr.* 91, 2: *eo coacervatis*, and *Cic. R. A.* 133: *coacervari una in domo*. As for the proper meaning of *eo* ('thither,' not 'there') Vitruvius is perfectly aware of it, and so employs it in seven other passages.<sup>1</sup>

Passing now to other topics Ussing says: '*Noceri* is constructed personally in the passive voice, 45, 22: *neque ab ignis vehementia nocentur*; 59, 7; *larix ab carie aut tinea non nocetur*. Similarly Apuleius, *de Dogmate Platonis*, 2, 17.' — These two examples are not sufficient evidence of late authorship, for Vitruvius always uses this verb properly in the active voice (six times absolutely and eight times with the dative<sup>2</sup> case), and also has it once impersonally in the passive (59, 14). The two examples are rather to be treated among those violations of regular usage which crop out here and there even in the best writers. It is true that I know of no similar case of *noceri* before Ulpian, *Dig.* 43, 19, 3, 2; for *Sen. Ira*, 3, 5, 4, cited by Neue (*Formenlehre* iii, 5), is not a personal use, and *Nepos*, 7, 4, 2, is open to doubt. But for examples of other verbs which take the dative in the active voice and which occur occasionally in the personal use in the passive,

<sup>1</sup> He has *eo loci* also twice correctly. If he has it twice besides in the sense of *ibi* (233, 17; 235, 14), so have Cicero (*Sest.* 68) and Pliny (*N. H.* 11, 136).

<sup>2</sup> If the work were late we might expect to find the accusative; see Kühner, *Lat. Gr.*, II, p. 76, 5 *fn.*

cf. *crederetur*, Cic. *R. A.* 103 and *credor* used thus by Ovid, *Tr.* 3, 10, 35, and *M.* 7, 98; *obstrepī*, Cic. *Marc.* 9; *antecelluntur*, *Auct. Herenn.* 2, 48; *invidior*, Hor. *A. P.* 56; *imperator*, Hor. *Ep.* 1, 5, 21; and the numerous instances of the passive participle of *persuadeo*, Wölfflin, *Rhein, Mus.* xxxvii, 115 f.

'*Est causa cognoscere*, 59, 17, instead of *cognoscendi* is a construction now and then occurring in the poets; cf. Madvig, *Lat. Gr.* § 419. It has been noticed that the genitive of the gerund is very rare in Vitruvius, whereas the ablative is exceedingly frequent; cf. Praun, p. 57 ff. It is, as we know, the ablative form which passes into the Romance languages Italian and Spanish.' — There is nothing in *est causa cognoscere* that points to late authorship, for nothing like it is cited in any other author, late or early. The peculiarity of it does not consist in the construction used with the word *causa*, for the infinitive with this word occurs in poets (Verg. *A.* 10, 90; Tib. 3, 2, 30; Lucan 5, 464), and for the general principle involved see Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> p. 293. The peculiarity lies in the *meaning* of the word *causa*, for, as Praun has remarked (p. 20), *est causa* here is equivalent to *operae pretium*, and no parallel for this, early or late, is cited. It must therefore be considered as a peculiarity of the author.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the rest of Ussing's paragraph, two observations should be made. First, that the rare use of the genitive of the gerund in Vitruvius (only five occurrences, Praun, p. 57 f.) is partly due to the fact that he never uses it with an adjective or with *causā* or *gratiā* (Praun, *ibid.*). But with adjectives this construction is very rare in old Latin,

<sup>1</sup> Rose<sup>2</sup> emends to *causam*.

not common in the classical writers, and of slow growth before Tacitus, who greatly developed it (Lane, *Lat. Gramm.* § 2258; Schmalz,<sup>8</sup> p. 304). See also Praun's remarks (p. 65) on the use of the gerund or gerundive construction with *ad*, instead of in the genitive, as found in writings of less formal and polished style. Secondly, regarding the prevalence of the ablative construction in Vitruvius, this is the commonest of all the gerund and gerundive constructions at all periods. Praun (p. 59) cites Valerius Maximus as a special lover of it, so that we need not come down to late Latin to find it. Even the modal use, which is such a favorite with Vitruvius, is found, once in Cicero, and examples occur in Caelius, Sallust, and the *Bellum Hispaniense*, until finally Ovid and Livy made it common (Schmalz,<sup>8</sup> p. 305).

Next there follows in Ussing a long paragraph which I do not think it worth while to reproduce here. It deals with the undoubted fact that in Vitruvius the mood employed in indirect questions is very apt to be the indicative.<sup>1</sup> After referring to this usage in Plautus, Ussing says: 'No classical prose writer would indulge in putting the indicative in a dependent clause which really expresses a reflection or a doubt.' He does not say that late writers do so, but of course it is well known that such is the fact (for instance, see the literature cited in Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten*, p. 134), and his argument therefore is that this phenomenon in Vitruvius is evidence of late authorship. In this paragraph Ussing says nothing about the appearance, here and there, of this indicative in several

<sup>1</sup> The fullest collections are to be found in Praun, p. 71 ff., and Richardson, *Harvard Studies in Cl. Phil.*, 1890, i, p. 157.



prose writers who not only belong to the 'classical period' but who are also so strict in their standards of style that they are entitled themselves to be called 'classics.' That is, Ussing adopts the attitude of those earlier generations of scholars who, from the time of Lambinus down to near the present day, did not scruple to emend away all offenses against the strict norm of classical style. Such is not the attitude of most scholars now; individualities in writers are recognized, and departures from the strict norm are often welcomed, rather than rejected, as indications either that the literary language had not yet attained to exactness in following rules or that the writer in question is employing the phraseology of colloquial speech, which then, as always, was less careful than the literary style. In this spirit we ought to consider the appearance of the indicative in indirect questions in Vitruvius. The best general statement with regard to this employment of the mood has been made by Schmalz (*Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> p. 359). The usage crops out in the *Auctor ad Herennium*, in Varro, in Cicero's early writings and his letters, and in letters to him. It is avoided by the historians though not by the poets of the Augustan age, and it is found in Petronius and Pliny the Elder. The closest parallels to the indicative in clauses expressing 'a reflection or a doubt' as in Vitruvius, are to be found in the seven examples cited by Marx from the *Auctor ad Herennium* in his edition of that book, p. 176 f.

In Ussing's next paragraph there is but one sentence that calls for attention: 'It is certainly unclassical to employ the subjunctive in an indefinite relative clause, as 158, 5: *quorum utrum ei acciderit, merenti digna constitit poena.*' — While the subjunctive in this use probably does

not occur in the classical period, yet it is found not infrequently in the Elder Pliny (Frobeen, *Quaestiones Plinianaë*, p. 33), so that, if it were found in Vitruvius, the phenomenon would be no proof of late authorship. But in fact, I do not believe that *acciderit* is a subjunctive. The truth probably is that *constitit* comes not from *consto* (as Nohl takes it in his *Index*), but from *consisto*, the perfect of which is not infrequently used in a present sense. For this use, see the grammars of Kühner (ii, p. 95) and Lane (§ 1607), and for numerous examples, Munro's note to Lucretius i, 420, where he cites Cicero's letters, the two Senecas, Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. This present meaning of *constitit* makes *acciderit* allowable as a future perfect. Of course, however, the really remarkable thing in the sentence is the employment of *utrum* where there is a choice of more than two things (see the context). For this use I know of no parallel, early or late.

Ussing's last observation is as follows. 'Finally we shall briefly mention the position of the words. We have already noticed the inclination to put the negation foremost in the sentence. Similarly the auxiliaries, *esse*, *posse*, and *velle*, etc., are preferably placed before the infinitive to which they belong, as 10, 10: *ut possint . . . disciplinas penitus habere notas*; 91, 5: *qui metopas aequales volunt facere*. In sum, the governing verb is very often put before its object, whether a word or a whole sentence.' — And he begins his summary, which immediately follows, with this sentence: 'These features and many others point to the decadence of the Latin language and to its transition to the Romance tongues.' — As for this argument, I am not aware that sufficient collections have ever been

made regarding the position of the auxiliary verbs to warrant the use of it in fixing the date of a literary work. This was the reason why Sittl published nothing on the order of words in his treatise on the African writers, where he says: 'Die Beobachtung der Wortstellung ergibt ebenfalls viel interessantes, aber da hier über die nichtafrikanische Literatur fast keine Beobachtungenvorliegen, wage ich es vorläufig noch nicht, unseren Provinzialen etwas zu vindizieren' (*Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten*, p. 135). If now we examine the case of *volo* in Vitruvius, we find him placing it 22 times before the infinitive and 6 times after the infinitive. But the *Auctor ad Herennium* has it 42 times before and 18 times after (see Marx's Index); in the *Bellum Africum* the use is equally divided, seven of each (Wölfflin's Index); so in Varro's Menippeans, four of each (Riese's Index), while in his *Res Rusticae* it stands first 22 times and after the infinitive 33 times. With regard to *possum*, Lupus has observed that in Nepos the infinitive very often follows it and other verbs (*Der Sprachgebrauch des Nepos*, p. 191). In Vitruvius, the verb *possum* is used with the infinitive 300 times (Nohl's Index). But in exactly half of these, there is a negative attached to *possum*, and it is this expression of *impossibility* which Vitruvius prefers to place before the infinitive. He has 126 instances of it thus placed and in only 24 does it follow the infinitive. Of the other 150 cases where there is no negative with *possum*, the infinitive precedes 76 times and follows 74 times. In view of such varieties, I do not see how the position of these auxiliaries can be used in discussing the date of Vitruvius until their position in other authors has been carefully studied.

Thus the linguistic and stylistic phenomena noted by Ussing have been examined, and in summarizing them it appears that there are only a very few which cannot be paralleled either exactly or in principle during the Republican, Augustan, or Silver ages of Roman literature. These few are: the *impersonal* use of *dignum est ut* (p. 171), *necessitate* as an adverb (p. 171), *forte* meaning 'perhaps' (p. 181), and *trans* as an adverb (p. 183). And something has been said in explanation of all these except the last. The many heads of Ussing's indictment are therefore reduced to the minimum. But what if it be argued that, although instances of the several phenomena may be found in various authors of the earlier time, yet since they are not all found in any one author except Vitruvius, this accumulation of them in him points to late authorship? The answer to this cumulative argument is that it begs the whole question. For, as I have pointed out above (p. 161), no other technical treatise written in the better age is extant, and therefore we are not entitled to say that such treatises did not abound in examples of the phenomena which appear in Vitruvius. As for the resemblances between the language of Vitruvius and that of the Romance nations, Krohn<sup>1</sup> has already observed that these are *a priori* only natural. Latin was not transmitted to Romance lands by the polished works of Cicero, but by the every-day writings and the colloquial speech of people like Vitruvius, — professional men, *publicani*, business men, and soldiers. The resemblances, therefore, are not necessarily evidence of late authorship. In conclusion, I may add that it seems improbable that anybody who thinks that

<sup>1</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1897, p. 774.

Vitruvius is like the late Latin authors, can have actually read him through with much care. They, whatever their faults of grammar and style, are smooth and easy reading by comparison with him. He has all the marks of one unused to composition, to whom writing is a painful task. A forgery or a late compilation of an earlier work would presumably proceed from a hand used to literary performances.

## NOTES ON VITRUVIUS<sup>1</sup>

### (1) *On the Text*

2, *praef.* 2 (31, 24): *cogitationes et formas dignas tuae claritati.*

HERE the mss. have the dative with *dignus*. Wesseling (*Obs. Var.* p. 68) emended to the genitive *claritatis*, and Rose in both his editions has followed, in spite of Wölfflin's protest.<sup>2</sup> It is true that the genitive with *dignus* is not unknown: cf. Balbus ap. Cic. *Att.* 8, 15 A, 1; Verg. *A.* 12, 649 (with *indignus*); Tac. *A.* 15, 14; to say nothing of the disputed passage in Plaut. *Trin.* 1153 (Nonius for the genitive, but the mss. of Plautus for the ablative). Still the dative also is found as follows: Plaut. *Poen.* 256: *diem . . . dignum Veneri* (emended to the ablative by Ritschl and so Leo); Sall. *Or. Phil.* 20: *decernite digna nomini* (where Maurenbrecher, i, 77, 20, emends to the ablative); *Cod. Theod.* 9, 28, 1: *quoniam nec condigna crimini ultio est*; *CGL.* ii, 305, 12: *ἐραλῶν ἄξιος laudi dignus*. See also Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> p. 249, who cites from late Latin examples of this dative in Commodian, Vopiscus, and Arnobius, as well as passages in Apuleius, Jerome, and Cyprian, where the form leaves the question of genitive or dative doubtful. To these last may be added the Pompeian *dignus rei publicae* (*CIL.* iv, 566; 702; 768),

<sup>1</sup> From the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1906, xvii, 1-14.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* xxxvii, p. 115.

and note also the usage of Priscillian (*Archiv*, iii, p. 317). As a good warrant for the dative with *dignus*, Wölfflin suggests the use of *decet* with the dative in early Latin; cf. Sommer, p. 241, '*dig-nus* aus \**dec-nos* zu *decet*.' We may now examine the constructions which actually do accompany *dignus* in Vitruvius apart from this passage.

The word is used certainly once as a mere attributive adjective: 83, 15, *dignam et utilissimam rem*; and probably this should be the explanation of 158, 6: *merenti digna constitit poena*, for the dative *merenti* here belongs to the whole following phrase and not to *digna* alone. Then we have the impersonal *dignum est* once with an *ut* clause in 46, 6: *dignum esset ut . . . perficerentur*, a construction found with *dignus* used personally in Plautus, Livy, and Quintilian (Schmalz, p. 406). Once the neuter *dignum* is found personally with the passive infinitive, in 212, 14: *id enim magis erat institui dignum*. We have the neuter *dignum* used impersonally with the passive infinitive in Livy, 8, 26, 6: *quibus dignius credi est*; cf. Cic. *Quinct.* 95: *indignum est a pari vinci*. But in Vitruvius the verb *erat* has a neuter subject expressed, so that the usage resembles *dignus* or *digna* (fem.) with the passive infinitive, noted as not found in prose before the Silver Age by Schmalz (p. 281 f.) and Dräger (ii, 331 f.). It may be remarked in passing that *dignum est* with a passive infinitive is (understanding the infinitive as originally a dative) a support for the dative case with *dignus*, and here again the connection of *dignus* with *decet* is suggested by Plaut. *Poen.* 258: *nunc me decet donari cado vini veteris*?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I owe this to Professor Minton Warren, who also points out that it is even conceivable that the dative was the original case used with *dignus*, and

Again, Vitruvius has the impersonal *dignum est* with the active infinitive, 237, 7: *sed uti fuerint ea exquisita, dignum est studiosis agnoscere*; cf. Plaut. *Ps.* 1013: *salutem scriptam dignumst dignis mittere*; Verg. *A.* 6, 173: *si credere dignum*. I have no examples of this use in prose before Gellius (see Dräger, ii, 332) for *dignum*, but for *indignum*, cf. Sall. *Iug.* 79, 1: *non indignum videtur egregium facinus commemorare*. Whether in Vitruvius *studiosis* is dative or ablative, I see no way of deciding. Finally, Vitruvius has a personal use, in the masculine gender, of *digniores* with the active infinitive, 134, 1: *ipsos potius digniores esse ad suam voluntatem quam ad alienam pecuniae consumere summam*. I can cite no prose parallel for this before Plin. *Pan.* 7: *dignus alter eligi, alter eligere*; cf. Apul. *M.* 1, 8: *tu dignus es extrema sustinere*; but in poetry the usage seems to appear first in Catullus 68, 131: *concedere digna*; and that it was familiar to Horace appears from *Ep.* 1, 10, 48: *tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem*, and (with *indignus*) from *Ep.* 1, 3, 35: *indigni fraternum rumpere foedus* (i.e. *quos non decet*); cf. also *A. P.* 231. The commentators speak of this construction as modelled on the Greek idiom with *ἀξιος* and *δίκαιος*. It is not strange that Vitruvius, who drew so much from Greek authors, should have been influenced, just as poets were, by Greek syntax.

This examination of the usages with *dignus* in Vitruvius shows such a considerable variety that it becomes obviously unsafe to emend away the dative *claritati* in 31, 24.

that the ablative came in and prevailed through a misunderstanding of the doubtful forms in inflection.



2, 8, 16 (52, 7): *quibus et vectigalibus et praeda saepius licitum fuerat . . . habere.*

Here the mss. have *saepius*, while Rose<sup>2</sup> follows Nohl (*Anal. Vitr.*, p. 19 f.) with the emendation *saeptis*. Nohl says merely: 'quid sibi velit *saepius* nescio.' But it seems to be nothing except the not uncommon use of the comparative degree of an adverb instead of the positive; see Köhler, *Acta Erlang.* i, 410; Wölflin, *Comparison*, p. 63; and Praun, *Syntax des Vitruv*, p. 80. In Vitruvius himself the comparative form *saepius* occurs six times (see Nohl's *Index*), and in none of them does it have a distinctly comparative sense. As for the emendation *saeptis*, that verb is used but twice in Vitruvius (203, 3; 211, 6), both times literally. And its metaphorical use in other authors seems to convey nothing like the sense which the emendation would require here.

2, 9, 1 (54, 23): *inanibus et patentibus venis in se recipiet lambendo sucum et ita solidescit et redit in pristinam naturae firmitatem.*

Here Rose<sup>2</sup> changes to the plurals *recipient*, *solidescunt*, and *redeunt*, as referring to *corpora muliebria* in 54, 16. But in line 18 we have *in corpore*, to which *id ex quo* in line 21 refers. It seems needless, therefore, to go back to *corpora muliebria*, and I should keep *recipiet* with G (*recipient*, H S), and *solidescit* and *redit* with all three manuscripts.

5, praef. 4 (104, 7): *uti sunt etiam tesserae quas in alveo ludentes iaciunt.*

So H G and Rose in his first edition. S has *in alea*.

Rose in his second edition changes to *in alveolo*, based upon Varro ap. Gell. 1, 20: *quales sunt tesserae quibus in alveolo luditur* (here, however, one good ms. has *albeo*, the others *albeolo*). Rose's change seems unnecessary. It is true that *alveolus* is found in the sense of 'diceboard' in Paul. Fest., Lucilius, Cicero, and Juvenal (for the passages, see the *Thesaurus*); but *alveus* occurs in the same sense in Plin. *N. H.* 37, 13; Val. Max. 8, 8, 2; Suet. *Claud.* 33; and Varro himself uses the word in the sense of the game of dice in *frag. ap. Non.* 108, 26. Although the passage and context in Vitruvius, about the cube, may well be based upon Varro (see Thiel, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* clv, p. 366), yet a comparison of both in their entirety will show that there is no reason for thinking that he followed the words of Varro with slavish exactness.

5, 11, 3 (128, 4): *altera simplex ita facta uti in partibus quae fuerint circa parietes et quae erit ad columnas, margines habeat uti semitas.*

Here, for *erit*, the inferior manuscripts and the editio princeps give *erunt*, which has been adopted by Rose and the other editors. The best manuscripts have *erit*, which seems to me to be right. Vitruvius provides that the sunken running track under this colonnade should have *margines*, serving as *semitae*, 'on the sides which are' along the surrounding walls (there would of course be three of these, one at each end and one forming the inner boundary), and 'on the side which is' along the columns. Of course there would be only one such side, hence the singular number.

5, 12, 6 (130, 16): *locus qui ea saeptione finitus fuerit exinaniatur sicceturque, et ibi inter saeptiones fundamenta fodiantur. Si terrena erunt, usque ad solidum crassiora quam qui murus supra futurus erit exinaniantur siccenturque, et tunc structura ex caementis calce et arena harena compleantur. Sin autem mollis locus erit, palis ustilatis alneis aut oleaginis configantur et carbonibus compleantur.*

Here the manuscripts exhibit several errors in giving the singular of verbs instead of the plural. In lines 19-20 they have *exinaniatur sicceturque*, due to the occurrence of that phrase in the singular in line 17, and perhaps further influenced by *futurus erit*, but obviously wrong, as *crassiora* shows, and corrected by Marini. In line 21, codd. H S G<sup>e</sup> have *compleatur*, due to the impression that *structura* is a nominative, but correctly transmitted as a plural by G. So far, then, the manuscripts erred and have been rightly abandoned. But in the last line the two verbs *configantur* and *compleantur* are plural in all the manuscripts, while the editors have followed the editio princeps with its readings *configatur* and *compleatur*, doubtless due to the singular number of *locus*. The plurals, however, are correct and refer back to *fundamenta* (line 18), with which agree *erunt* (18), *exinaniantur siccenturque* (19-20), and *compleantur* (21); cf. *fundamenta impleantur*, 76, 3; *infra fundamenta aedificiorum palationibus crebre fixa*, 57, 12. Editors should therefore restore these plurals, which are indeed the *lectio difficilior*. It can scarcely be thought that they got into the archetype from assimilation to *compleantur* in line 21, for the singular *locus erit* intervenes.

7, *praef.* 12 (159, 6): *Philo* (sc. *edidit volumen*) *de aedium sacrarum symmetriis et de armamentario quod fuerat Piraei portu.*

The word *fuerat* is the reading of the manuscripts. A correction to *fecerat* was suggested by Hemsterhuis (*ad Poll.* 10, 188: 'credo legendum *fecerat*'), and this correction is adopted by Schneider and succeeding editors. It is unnecessary. To be sure, Vitruvius has been using, and uses in the next clause, the present tense *est* of the buildings described by the authors whom he is cataloguing; but these other buildings were still in existence in his day. The *armamentarium* of Philo, however, had been burnt by Sulla; see Appian, *B. M.* 41; Plut. *Sull.* 14. It is therefore to the disappearance of the building that Vitruvius wishes to refer, not to the fact that it was built by Philo. For a similar use of *fuerat*, cf. 28, 22: *reposito autem gnomone ubi antea fuerat*, and 216, 9; 221, 23. In general, for Vitruvius's employment of *fuerat* instead of *erat* or *fuit*, see Eberhard, *de Vitruvii genere dicendi*, ii, p. 10.

7, 10, 2 (180, 6): *namque aedificatur locus uti laconicum.*

Here Rose<sup>2</sup> reads *lacus* for *locus*, following a suggestion of Nohl in his *Index*, who based the change upon Faventinus 307, 16: *lacusculus curva camera struatur*. But an inspection of the context of Faventinus shows that his *lacusculus* (repeated twice below) is for Vitruvius's *laconicum*, not for his *locus*. And furthermore the emendation is unfortunate because it introduces into Vitruvius a meaning for the word *lacus* not elsewhere found in him. He does not use it of anything that is roofed over. Generally he has it in the sense of 'lake'; once it means an artificial

pool or basin for water (207, 9), and once 'mortar bed' (165, 24).

8, 3, 14 (198, 9): *sunt enim Boeotia flumina Cephisos et Melas, Lucanis Crathis, Troia Xanthus.*

Here editions have always had *Lucania* or *Lucaniae*, although the manuscripts give only *Lucanis*. The latter is the correct form for the name of this district in the early and Augustan period, as has been shown for other authors by Wölfflin, *Archiv*, xii, 332. It should be restored in Vitruvius.

9, praef. 16 (217, 23): *Itaque qui litterarum iucunditatibus instinctas habent mentes.*

Here Rose in both editions reads *intinctas* with the late manuscripts, while the best manuscripts give *instinctas*. The reading of Rose seems very improbable. It is true that nowhere else in Vitruvius do we find a form from *instinguo*, and that we do find forms from *intinguo* (or *intingo*) five times without any variants (see Nohl's *Index*). But in none of these five is the verb used metaphorically; it is always employed literally, in connection with water, in Vitruvius, and I am not aware of a metaphorical use of it in any other author. On the other hand, if we read *instinctas* here, we find it in its usual sense, of which any lexicon will afford examples.

9, 3, 1 (227, 1): *deinde e geminis cum iniit ad cancrum, qui brevissimum tenet caeli spatium.*

Here Barbari, followed by Marini, emended *brevissimum* to *longissimum*, and Reber changed *qui* to *quo*, thus

making *sol* and not *cancer* the subject of *tenet*, and giving the reading *quo longissimum tenet caeli spatium* as adopted in both of Rose's editions. These scholars were all influenced by the passage below in § 3, where of the course of the sun in Capricorn it is said: *brevissimum caeli percurrit spatium*. It does not seem necessary, however, to make the two passages correspond by insisting on *sol* as the subject of both. If we keep *qui* in the first, referring to Cancer, and retain also *brevissimum*, we find that Vitruvius is speaking not, as in § 3, of the length of the day, but of the size of Cancer, which in fact occupies the shortest parallel within the Zodiac (that is, in modern terminology, the section from it to the pole is shortest)—‘the shortest space in heaven,’ as Vitruvius says. On the small size of this sign, cf. Hipparchus, p. 126, 12 Manitius: *καθάπερ εὐθέως ὁ μὲν Κάρκινος οὐδὲ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐπέχει τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου*. And observe also what Eudoxus (*Ars Astron.* ed. Blass, p. 18, col. ix), in speaking of the courses of the planets, moon, and sun, says about Cancer: *οὐ γὰρ τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαστάσει περιφέρονται περὶ τὸν μένοντα πόλον, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ᾧσι ἐν τῷ Καρκίνῳ, ἐν τῇ ἐλαχίστῃ διαστάσει εἰσίν*.

(2) *On the Subject-Matter*

2, *praef.* I (31, 10): *is e patria a propinquis et amicis tulit ad primos ordines et purpuratos litteras ut aditus haberet faciliores*.

It does not seem to have been observed by the commentators or translators that *primos ordines* here is a military term (cf. for instance *Caes. B. G.* 6, 7, 8; *Liv.* 30, 4, 1), and that consequently such general expressions as ‘men of the first rank’ (Gwilt), ‘Männer der ersten Ranges’

(Reber) will not fit it. It means 'the principal military men.'

5, 6, 2 (117, 16): *supra autem alternis itineribus superiores cunei medii dirigantur.*

These words do not signify that above the *praecinctio* in a Roman theatre there were twice as many stairways as there were below it. If Vitruvius meant that, he would not repeat the idea in 5, 7, 2 (120, 23), where in his description of the Greek theatre he certainly prescribes such a doubling. He would say nothing there: for in that chapter he is treating only the *differences* between the Greek and the Roman theatre. In the Roman theatre, therefore, he means that above the *praecinctio* the stairs do not continue on the same lines as the stairs below it, but that they are laid out on lines alternating with the lines of the lower ones. He employs here no such words as *iterum* and *amplificantur*, found in the Greek chapter. Hence it seems that in Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, p. 162, cf. 164, the plan of the Roman theatre is erroneous in this respect.

8, 1, 1 (185, 18): *uti procumbatur in dentes antequam sol exortus fuerit.*

In this passage, where Vitruvius is describing a method of searching for water, he uses the expression *in dentes* in the sense of *pronus*, the word which is in fact employed by Pliny (*N. H.* 31, 44) and Palladius (9, 8) in their descriptions of the same method. Palladius, however, has *iacens*, not *procumbens*, while the construction of Pliny's sentence requires no verb with *pronus*. On the other hand, Faven-

tinus, in his epitome of Vitruvius (289, 20), has: *aequaliter in terra procumbatur*. Now the Vitruvian use of *indentes* is found, so far as I am aware, in no other Latin author, and consequently some editors have looked upon it with suspicion; see the notes of Schneider and of Marini. But my friend, Professor E. S. Sheldon, has drawn my attention to a gloss on *Genesis* 17, 13 (*cecidit Abraham pronus in faciem*), found in the Reichenau collection, edited by Foerster and Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*<sup>2</sup> (1902), p. 3, 43. The gloss reads thus: 'pronus: qui a dent'. iacet.' This *a dent'* seems obviously intended for the old French *adenz*, used in the sense of *sur les dents, sur la face, à plat ventre* (cf. Godefroy, *Dict. de l'Ancienne Langue Française*, s. v.). Thus we find the verse (*Rol.* 2358 Müller): 'sur l'herbe vert, s'i est culchiez adenz.' It therefore seems probable that in Vitruvius alone is preserved indication of a colloquial usage of classical times which led to the employment of *adenz* in old French. The late Latin verb *indento*, leading to French *endenter* (cf. *adenter*), has quite a different meaning.

9, 1, 15 (224, 4): *similiter astra nitentia contra mundi cursum suis itineribus perficiunt circumitum*.

Here Nohl in his *Index* takes *nitentia* from *niteo*, and Reber and other translators render the word as if it meant 'shining,' 'glittering.' But Terquem, in his very useful study of Vitruvius (*Mémoires de la Société des Sciences de Lille*, 4<sup>e</sup> Série, xiv, p. 117), rightly renders thus: 'de même les astres luttant contre le mouvement du monde, font leur circuit dans leurs orbites.' In fact, Vitruvius



uses the verb *nitor* here to suggest that there is a struggle on the part of the planets against the revolution of the heavens, like the struggle of the ants on the wheel in the experiment which he has just described. He uses *nitor* of the movement of the signs of the Zodiac in 219, 24, and of the flight of birds up into the air in 18, 8. He has only once employed a form of *niteo*. This is the homonym *nitentia*, used of the brilliant polish of stucco (169, 5). Of the brilliancy of the heavenly bodies, the verb *luceo* is used, and four or five times (see Nohl's *Index*).

### (3) *On the Date of Vitruvius*

This is of course a much debated question into which, in its entirety, I do not propose to enter here. But I think it worth while to mention the following points which seem to have escaped the attention of those who have written upon it, and which appear to me to be arguments useful to those who, like myself, believe that the work was composed certainly in the time of Augustus, if not very early in his reign.

2, 9, 16 (60, 12): *cuius materies si esset facultas adportationibus ad urbem, maximae haberentur in aedificiis utilitates*, etc. Vitruvius has been speaking at some length of larch wood, and having stated (§ 14) that it is known only to the people on the banks of the Po and the shores of the Adriatic, and having described its characteristics and related a curious anecdote about it in connection with one of the campaigns of Caesar, says in our section that it is transported by way of the Po to Ravenna and that it is to be had in Fano, Pésaro, Ancona, and the other towns in that vicinity.

Then follows the sentence which I have quoted. The idea that there should be difficulty in the transportation of larch wood from the north of Italy to Rome points distinctly to the days of small things. A vast change from such an idea had come about by the time of Pliny, when, as he says (*N. H.* 2, 118), 'all seas had been laid open for the sake of gain,' — and he might have added 'for the sake of luxury' (see Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*<sup>6</sup>, iii, pp. 87–99). And it so happens that as early as the time of Tiberius larch trees for building purposes had been brought to Rome from even farther away than the north of Italy, namely, from Rhaetia (*Plin. N. H.* 16, 190). One of these was 120 Roman feet in length (*ibid.* 200). With this remark of Vitruvius about larch may be compared what he says (46, 5 ff.) about the necessity of using inferior building stone because it was found near Rome, although so much better a quality was found in the neighborhood of Lake Bolsena in Etruria (45, 15). Yet the ransacking of the whole known world for all sorts of stone was in Pliny's time 'the principal craze of the age' (*N. H.* 36, 1).

5, 10 (124, 30 ff.): In Vitruvius's description of public baths we recognize again the day of small things. The arrangements which he describes are those which are found in the Stabian and the Forum baths of Pompei, the former of which belongs to the time of the pre-Roman period there, the latter to the time of Sulla. Every student of Pompei knows how great is the difference between these two old-fashioned establishments and more elaborate Central baths which were still building at the time of the destruction of the city in 79 A.D. It seems impossible that

Vitruvius could have written his account after the opening in Rome of the great *Thermae* of Agrippa, the first luxurious public bathing establishment to be built in Rome. This was probably opened in 19 B.C. (see Huelsen in Pauly-Wissowa, i, p. 899). Vitruvius never uses the word *thermae*. Furthermore, in 8, 6, 2 (207, 9) we find a casual remark which seems to show that he regarded baths as private enterprises. This is where he prescribes that from the reservoir (*castellum*) at the city walls three sets of pipes should run, one supplying the *lacus et salientes* (free-flowing public basins and fountains), one for private house supply, and a third running *in balineas ut vectigal quotannis populo praestent*. Of course no revenue was expected from the great baths of the empire.

7, 3-14: In the whole treatment, in these chapters, of the decoration of walls in the Roman house, the use of marble linings (*crustae*) is ignored. In the sixth chapter, marble is recognized only as a material which was powdered in order to form the *caementum marmoreum* which produced the highly polished stucco covering of walls. On the other hand, Pliny begins his account of wall painting by saying that it is almost an obsolete art, *nunc in totum a marmoribus pulsa* (35, 2), and in another place he notes that marble linings were first used in Rome in the house of Mamurra (36, 48). This man was Catullus's prodigal, and his date is therefore just before Augustus. That this emperor found marble in no general use for building purposes is shown by his well-known remark: *marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam accepisset* (Suet. *Oct.* 28). And Friedländer (*Sittengeschichte* <sup>6</sup>, iii, 91 f.) rightly observes

that the Vitruvian dwelling house of the best class is that which we find portrayed in the poetry of Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus.

10, 2, 13 (251, 3): *Nostra vero memoria cum colossici Apollinis in fano basis esset a vetustate diffracta, metuentes ne caderet ea statua et frangeretur, locaverunt ex eisdem lapidicinis basim excidendam. Conduxit quidam Paeonius.* It is truly tantalizing that this passage with its *nostra memoria*, a phrase apparently so promising, gives us really nothing definite about the date at which it was written. Mortet, who believes that Vitruvius wrote in the time of Titus, seems to think (*Revue Archéologique*, 1902, p. 59) that he is referring to something which was done under Vespasian, and compares Suet. *Vesp.* 18: *Colossi refectorem insigni congiario magnaue mercede donavit.* But the word *Colossi* here probably refers to Nero's *Colossus* (Huelsen in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., p. 589; cf. Dio Cass. 66, 15), and even if it does not, Suetonius was talking of something in Rome, whereas the word *fano* in Vitruvius seems to show that he meant a temple outside of Rome. The strict manner in which Vitruvius employs this word has not been observed by the commentators. He has *fanum* seventeen times, but never (unless here) of any definite temple in Rome or Italy. He uses it of Juno at Argos (84, 22), Mars, Venus, and Mercury at Halicarnassus (50, 3; 6; 26), Pater Liber in Athens (122, 3), Diana at Ephesus (249, 28; 251, 1 and 22), Minerva at Priene (159, 3); also of a temple in Syracuse which he does not name (215, 12), and of temples in Ionia (85, 15). This accounts for eleven occurrences. Then he has *extra*

*murum Veneris, Volcani, Martis fana conlocari*, etc., in the passage where he is quoting from the Etruscan sacred books on the position of temples (30, 15). The other four passages are still more general: in them the word is plural and no divinity is mentioned (13, 24; 15, 13; 59, 1; 172, 17). In our place, therefore, I have no doubt that he means a temple of Apollo in some Greek city,<sup>1</sup> and it seems probable that the city was Ephesus, for the words *ex eisdem lapidicinis* refer to the quarries which he has just mentioned twice in connection with the *fanum Dianae* at Ephesus (249, 27; 251, 1). The second of these reads: *non enim plus sunt ab lapidicinis ad fanum milia passuum octo, nec ullus est clivus sed perpetuus campus*. Then our passage forms the next sentence: *nostra vero memoria cum colossici Apollinis in fano*, etc. Here it seems probable to me that *in fano* means 'in the temple of Apollo,' not 'in the temple of Ephesian Diana,' as Bürchner, following others before him, holds in his recent article on Ephesus in Pauly-Wissowa (p. 2812). There is no real evidence for this latter view, since Pliny's words, (*Myron*) *fecit et Apollinem quem ab triumviro Antonio sublatum restituit Ephesiis divus Augustus* (34, 58), do not necessarily refer to the Artemision. Apollo was worshiped under seven different titles at Ephesus (Bürchner, *ibid.* p. 2804); perhaps this statue was in the temple of Apolla Pythius on the harbor (Athenaeus, 361 e). It is tempting, but of course would be erroneous, to think that Vitruvius's anecdote about the making of a new pedestal for the colossal

<sup>1</sup> Jordan, *Hermes*, xiv, 577, observes that in Cicero and his contemporaries *fanum* is used of Greek or other foreign temples, but not of temples in the city of Rome.

Apollo is to be coupled with the passage of Pliny which has just been cited, and to conclude that *nostra memoria* refers to the time of Augustus. This is still more tempting when we remember that in the *Res Gestae*, 4, 49, Augustus says: *in templis omnium civitatum provinciae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui*; cf. Strabo, 14, 1, 14, p. 637 (three colossal statues by Myron plundered from Samos by Antony, two of which, Athene and Heracles, were returned by Augustus, and the third, Zeus, placed on the Capitol); and for other acts of restitution, see Dio Cass. 51, 17; Strabo, 13, 1, 30, p. 595. But there is nothing in all this to warrant an actual conviction that Augustus or any other emperor had to do with the particular affair which Vitruvius describes.

#### (4) *Templum and Aedes*

Since I have spoken of the use of *fanum* in Vitruvius, showing how carefully he employs the word, it may be worth while to note that he is equally correct in his use of *templum*.<sup>1</sup> He has the word thirteen times (exclusive of three passages in which the plural of it denotes the architectural members, the 'purlines'). It happens that he never applies it to any definite Roman temple. In seven passages it is used in the wider sense of a consecrated place set apart for a god or gods, a perfectly correct use,<sup>2</sup> although in no one of these passages is there any distinct reference to the Roman *inauguratio*. That he

<sup>1</sup> Besides Jordan's article on *templum, fanum, and aedes* already cited (*Hermes*, xiv, 567 ff.), there is a later treatment by Bouché-Leclercq in *Daremberg et Saglio*, ii, 2, p. 973 ff. But neither of these scholars deals with Vitruvius.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Thesaurus*, s.v. *aedes*, p. 911, 58.

had in mind the original difference between such a consecrated space and the building in it is clear from 85, 13: *eam terrae regionem appellaverunt Ioniam, ibique deorum immortalium templa constituentes coeperunt fana aedificare, et primum Apollini Panionio aedem*, etc.; similarly 13, 23 and 84, 21, in both of which *templum* and *fanum* are used. For this sense of *templum*, the other four passages are 30, 25; 70, 11; 124, 27; 185, 5. Five times the word denotes a building or buildings, but in only one of them is a distinct building specified, — 161, 13, where *templum* refers to the temple at Eleusis. The others are 76, 17; 96, 9; 99, 23; 122, 21. Finally he has the word in the metaphorical phrase *ad summum templum architecturae*, 'to the heights of the holy ground of architecture' (7, 20).

The word *aedes* is naturally far commoner in Vitruvius than either *fanum* or *templum*. It is used of temple *buildings* always,<sup>1</sup> as is proper (*Thesaurus*, s.v., p. 911, 61), not of the consecrated space. In the singular we have it thus 32 times; in the plural 17 times without a modifier, and 26 times with *sacrae*. Besides these he applies it to a score of definite temples, both Greek and Roman. The Roman temples are the Marian temple of Honor and Virtus (69, 19; 161, 21), and the temples of Quirinus (70, 4), Apollo and Diana (71, 13), Luna (116, 21), Flora (179, 12), Jupiter and Faunus on the Island (69, 11); and in Colonia Iulia Fanestris the temples of Jupiter (107, 4) and of Augustus (107, 3), if *Augusti* be the correct reading. To some of these temples the technical word *templum* might

<sup>1</sup> Except once (145, 19) where the context makes it perfectly clear that *aedibus* means dwelling houses. This should have been quoted in the *Thesaurus*, p. 908, 82 ff., among the rare examples of the plural *aedes*, meaning more than one house. Vitruvius also has *cava aedium* three times.

no doubt have been correctly applied, for instance, to the first two in the list. But we must remember that *aedes* was the general term for all buildings devoted to the gods (Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*<sup>2</sup> iii, p. 154), and that while Cicero uses *templum* of the temple of Quirinus (*Legg.* 1, 3), Augustus has *aedem Quirini* in his *Res Gestae*, 4, 6. In that work it has been observed that he never uses *templum* of any definite Roman divinity except in the cases of Apollo Palatinus and Mars Ultor (see Jordan, cited above, p. 229, and Mommsen, *Res G.*, p. 78).

The words *fanum*, *templum*, and *aedes*, therefore, are used by Vitruvius in a manner perfectly in accord with that of the Augustan age.



## THE PREFACE OF VITRUVIUS<sup>1</sup>

THAT the Latin treatise on architecture, extant under the name of Vitruvius in manuscripts of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and fifteenth centuries, is a genuine work, and that it was first published in the earlier half of the Augustan age,<sup>2</sup> are two propositions which ought no longer to be doubted. The theory that it is a forgery of the third, fourth, or even of a later century — a theory propounded originally by Schultz<sup>3</sup> and supported much later by Ussing<sup>4</sup> — has never been seriously entertained by many scholars, and it has been recently refuted on the grounds both of subject-matter<sup>5</sup> and of language.<sup>6</sup> The ascription of the work to the time of the Emperor Titus is a much older idea. Suggested at first, apparently, in the seventeenth century,<sup>7</sup> it was discussed but rejected by the Span-

<sup>1</sup> From the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 1909, xlv, 149-175.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1907, xxvii, 1292 ff. After the printing of this article had begun, I received L. Sontheimer's dissertation, *Vitruvius und seine Zeit*, Tübingen, 1908. I have added a few remarks upon it in foot-notes on pages 238, 244, and 269.

<sup>3</sup> First in his letter to Goethe in 1829, published in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1836, iv, 329; reprinted by his son, together with a much longer argument, in *Untersuchung über das Zeitalter des . . . Vitruvius*, Leipzig, 1856.

<sup>4</sup> In Danish in 1896; more fully in English: *Observations on Vitruvius*, published in London by the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1898.

<sup>5</sup> See especially Degering, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1902, lvii, 8 ff.; Krohn, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1897, xvii, 773 ff.; and Schmidt, Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1901, cviii, 118 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Hey in *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.*, 1907, xv, 287 ff.; Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1907, xxvii, 1566 ff.; Nohl, *Woch. Kl. Phil.*, 1906, xxiii, 1252 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See Perrault's *Vitruve*, ed. 1673, note to Vitruv. I, pr. 1.

ish translator Ortiz;<sup>1</sup> it was supported by the English translator Newton<sup>2</sup> towards the end of the eighteenth, and it has been revived at the beginning of the twentieth century in a series of learned articles by M. Victor Mortet.<sup>3</sup> But what Degering has said<sup>4</sup> of the arguments of the last of these scholars applies equally well to the arguments of them all; many, taken by themselves, may show that our Vitruvius might possibly have been written in the Flavian period, but not one of them shows that it must have been written at that time, and none of them show that it could not have been written in the Augustan age.

On the other hand, strong evidence is not wanting that this work was produced early in the Augustan age, and that it could not have been produced later. Some of this evidence I have myself offered;<sup>5</sup> more is to be found in the writers whom I have already cited; and some new evidence I may present upon another occasion.

But in spite of it all, the preface which stands at the very opening of the work seems at first thought to contain words and ideas which belong only to a time when the Roman Empire had been established for a considerable

<sup>1</sup> Madrid, 1787, preface.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1791, Vol. i, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. Archéologique*, Ser. iii, 1902, xli, 39 ff.; Ser. iv, 1904, iii, 222 ff., 382 ff.; iv, 265 ff.; 1906, v, 268 ff.; 1907, ix, 75 ff.; x, 277 ff.; 1908, xi, 101 ff. These articles contain much useful material for the study of Vitruvius.

<sup>4</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, *ibid.* 1468.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 225 ff. But M. Mortet (*Rev. Phil.*, 1906, xxxi, 66) has rightly observed that nothing can be proved from *Vitr.* 24.3, 18, which I had formerly quoted as evidence that Vitruvius could not have written after 22 B.C. For we do not know that Vitruvius was speaking only of the city of Rome in this passage. In the municipalities, aediles continued to serve as *curatores ludorum long* after praetors superseded them in Rome.

period and when more than one emperor had already occupied the throne. In translations into modern languages, as well as in such commentaries as those of Newton, Schultz, Ussing, and Mortet, these words and ideas are so represented or expounded that the difficulty of applying them to an earlier age has seemed well-nigh insuperable to many scholars, and not merely to those who are approaching the critical study of Vitruvius for the first time. If, however, we are convinced that the earlier part of the Augustan age is a date which suits the rest of the work, it is obvious that this difficulty cannot be insuperable. To solve it we must rid ourselves of all those shades of meaning in language and all those novelties of thought which were imperial growths, and we must ask ourselves at every point whether the words and ideas in question are such as might well have been used by one who was brought up under the Republic and who wrote soon after its fall. If they are such, we must explain and translate them accordingly, and so the difficulty will disappear. In the present article, therefore, I propose to comment upon the preface line by line, and then to give an English translation of it. Having been engaged during the past six or seven years upon a translation (still unfinished) of the whole of Vitruvius, I have often had occasion to think of the points in question, and so perhaps I am not unqualified to deal with them. At the same time I am submitting a specimen of my methods to the criticism of scholars, for I do not intend to be so diffuse in my commentary when I come to publish my translation.

For the convenience of readers of this article, I begin by printing the Latin text from Rose's second edition,

setting in the margin the page and line of his first edition, to which commentaries always now refer.

### TEXT

Cum divina tua mens et numen, imperator Caesar, im-<sup>P. 1, 1</sup>  
 perio potiretur orbis terrarum invictaque virtute cunctis ho-  
 stibus stratis, triumpho victoriaque tua cives gloriarentur et  
 gentes omnes subactae tuum spectarent nutum populusque  
 Romanus et senatus liberatus timore amplissimis tuis cogi-<sup>5</sup>  
 tationibus consiliisque gubernaretur, non audebam, tantis oc-  
 cupationibus, de architectura scripta et magnis cogitationibus  
 explicata edere, metuens ne non apto tempore interpellans  
 subirem tui animi offensionem. cum vero attenderem te non  
 solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei con-<sup>10</sup>  
 stitutione habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedi-  
 ficiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta,  
 verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum  
 egregias haberet auctoritates, non putavi praetermittendum  
 quin primo quoque tempore de his rebus ea tibi ederem. ideo<sup>15</sup>  
 quod primum parenti tuo de eo fueram notus et eius virtutis  
 studiosus. cum autem concilium caelestium in sedibus in-  
 P. 2, 1 mortalitatis eum dedicavisset et imperium parentis in tuam  
 potestatem transtulisset, idem studium meum in eius memoria  
 permanens in te contulit favorem. itaque cum M. Aurelio  
 et P. Minidio et Gn. Cornelio ad apparationem ballistarum  
<sup>5</sup> et scorpionum reliquorumque tormentorum refectionem fui  
 praesto et cum eis commoda accepi. quae cum primo mihi  
 tribuisti, recognitionem per sororis commendationem servasti.  
 cum ergo eo beneficio essem obligatus ut ad exitum vitae  
 non haberem inopiae timorem, haec tibi scribere coepi quod  
<sup>10</sup> animadverti multa te aedificavisse et nunc aedificare, reliquo  
 quoque tempore et publicorum et privatorum aedificiorum pro  
 amplitudine rerum gestarum ut posteris memoriae tradantur  
 curam habiturum. conscripsi praescriptiones terminatas, ut  
 eas attendens et ante facta et futura qualia sint opera per  
<sup>15</sup> te posses nota habere. namque his voluminibus aperui omnes  
 disciplinae rationes.

## COMMENTARY

I. *divina tua mens et numen*: 'your divine intelligence and will.' It may be asked whether a writer of the earlier Augustan period would speak of or to the ruler in such language.<sup>1</sup> But the use of the adjective *divinus* and the substantive *numen* does not necessarily convey imperial ideas of deification or of the 'divinity that doth hedge a king.' In fact both words are applied to living Romans in republican Latin. Thus Cicero, speaking to Julius Caesar face to face, used the phrase *tua divina virtus* (*Marc.* 26); of Pompey he has *homo divina quadam mente* (*Mil.* 21), and *Pompei divino consilio* (*Imp. P.* 10); he speaks of the ancestors of the Romans as *homines divina mente et consilio praeditos* (*L. A.* 2. 90), and calls Marius and Africanus each a *divinum hominem* (*Sest.* 50; *Arch.* 16; *Mur.* 75). They were then dead, but to the living Octavian he was still more complimentary: cf. *Phil.* 5, 43, *hunc divinum adolescentem*; 13, 19, *Caesaris incredibilis ac divina virtus*; 5, 23, *C. Caesar divina animi magnitudine*; 3, 3, *adolescens, paene potius puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute*. And he does not withhold the adjective, with a celestial addition, from the men of certain legions when he says *caelestis divinasque legiones* (*Phil.* 5, 28). As for *numen*, that it does not necessarily imply actual deification or imperial ideas is clear from Cicero again, as where he is speaking to the Roman people: *numen vestrum aequae mihi grave et sanctum ac*

<sup>1</sup> See Wölfflin in *Archiv für Lat. Lex.*, 1896, x, 301, where in commenting on Ussing's first article he says: "Beispielsweise muss man zu bestimmen suchen ob der Vf., wenn er unter Augustus lebte, den Kaiser in der Vorrede anreden konnte mit den Worten *divina tua mens et numen*."

*deorum immortalium in omni vita futurum* (*Post Red.* 18, cf. 25, *cum vobis qui apud me deorum immortalium vim et numen tenetis*); and similarly *Phil.* 3, 32, *magna vis est, magnum numen unum et idem sentientis senatus*. In these passages *numen* implies no more than in Lucretius, 3, 144, *cetera par animae . . . ad numen mentis momenque movetur*. It means no more than 'will,' although it is a very strong word to use in that sense; cf. *Paul. Fest.* 172, *numen quasi nutus dei ac potestas*. In view of all this a writer of the earlier part of the Augustan age may well have applied *divina mens et numen* to the all-powerful ruler, and we need not here raise the question whether he was already receiving divine worship. In another passage (233, 4) Vitruvius uses the phrase *divina mens* of the intelligence of learned men who could predict changes in the weather; he has it also four times referring to "divine Providence" (138, 10; 184, 17; 218, 19; 231, 18); and the adjective *divinus* is applied to qualities of the gods in two other places (185, 7; 245, 6). He does not use the word *numen* except in our passage.

*imperator Caesar*: Here two questions come up for consideration: (1) whether Augustus, after he had received that name, was addressed by any other; (2) whether there is any English word by which *imperator* in this passage can be properly translated. As for the first question, it is generally believed that Vitruvius was aware that the name Augustus<sup>1</sup> had been bestowed, and this leads

<sup>1</sup> This belief rests on the usual interpretation of 107, 3, *pronai aedis Augusti*, where the name seems to be recognized. But Sontheimer (see above, note 1) holds that we have here merely the adjective *augusti* agreeing with *pronai*, and that consequently the phrase means something like 'a majestic

Ussing<sup>1</sup> to assert that an inferior like Vitruvius could not have avoided addressing him by that name. To this it might be rejoined that perhaps the use of the name did not at once become common, and that the absence of it here in Vitruvius points to a date soon after the name was conferred in 27 B. C. But we need not have recourse to this argument; for what are the facts about the use of this name by persons who were speaking or writing to Augustus and employing, as Vitruvius does, the vocative case? The answer is that we know very little about the matter,<sup>2</sup> for we have very little evidence upon which to base a conclusion. We know that Valerius Messala once addressed him in the

temple-pronaos.' He thinks that there was no 'temple' built at the rear of this pronaos, but that the structure consisted of a pronaos only, containing the tribunal. This theory is attractive, but I have not yet had time fully to weigh it. Some objections, which may not be insuperable, readily suggest themselves. But in this article I need only say that the disappearance of the name *Augusti* would strengthen my arguments in support of this preface as an early production. As for the reading *angusti*, found in cod. S (in general, as Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1900, xx, 9 ff., has shown, of the same independent value as H and G), I cannot accept this reading in spite of Krohn's remarks in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1897, xvii, 781. It is improbable that Vitruvius should have spoken of a temple here without naming the divinity to whom it was dedicated. Cod. H, which I have seen, and Cod. G, of which I have a photograph of this page, both have *angusti*. Cod. E does not contain the passage. The reading *angusti* is, however, found in several of the late manuscripts. In Florence I have seen it in Codd. Laur., 30, 11; 12; 13; also in Cod. XVII, 5, of the Bibl. Naz. Centrale (though here the corrector gives *angusti*); and in Venice in Cod. Marc. CCCCLXIII. Of these five manuscripts, the first three belong to the class of H (lacuna in 2, 18) and the other two to the class of G and S. On the other hand, Cod. Laur. 30, 10, which Degering (*ibid.*) says comes directly from S, has *angusti*. It does indeed belong to the class of G and S. In Rome I observed that Cod. Urb. 293 and also the Vallicellanus (both of the G and S class) have *angusti*.

<sup>1</sup> *Observations*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> It has been briefly treated by Friedländer, S.-G., II, 557 (sixth edition), but he does not include Ovid and Propertius in his examination.

Senate with the words *Caesar Auguste* (Suet. *Aug.* 58). We find *Auguste* once in Horace in a formal public ode (4, 14, 3), but *Caesar* in an ode equally formal and public, and published at the same time as the other (4, 15, 4). In view of this, what is to be thought of Ussing's contention that in one of his Epistles (2, 1, 4), Horace as an intimate friend may quite suitably use *Caesar*, his family name? If we turn to Propertius, we find *Auguste* twice (3, 10, 15; 5, 6, 38), and never *Caesar* in the vocative. This might seem to support Ussing's theory. But we must not forget Ovid. In the longest poem of the *Tristia* he has *Auguste* once (2,509), but *Caesar* in vocative five times (27; 209; 323; 551; 560). He uses *Auguste* in only one other passage in his works (*M.* 1, 204), but he has *Caesar* in the vocative seven times besides those already mentioned in the *Tristia* (*F.* 2, 637; *Tr.* 3, 1, 78; 5, 5, 61, all three in prayers, which are formal things; *Tr.* 4, 2, 47; 5, 11, 23; *P.* 2, 7, 67; 4, 9, 128). This is all the evidence that I have been able to find.<sup>1</sup> It is little enough, and it includes only one prose example, but we must remember how small is the amount of Augustan prose that has survived to us. In view of it all, we are not entitled to criticise Vitruvius for using *Caesar* instead of *Auguste*. Elsewhere he addresses his patron six times with the vocative *Caesar* (11, 1; 83, 18; 104, 22; 133, 6; 158, 8; 218, 13), and five times with the vocative *imperator* (32, 22; 64, 16; 83, 13; 103, 1; 243, 19). In our preface he combines the two in *imperator Caesar*. His patron had been an *imperator* ever

<sup>1</sup> It may be interesting to note that Martial addresses the reigning emperor of his day as *Auguste* nine times and as *Caesar* fifty-one times; cf. Friedländer's edition, ii, index, p. 371.



since 43 or 42 B.C. (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 14, 28, and 37; *CIL.* 9, 2142), and long after the name *Augustus* was given to him his inscriptions regularly begin with the words *imperator Caesar*. It seems perfectly natural that he should be addressed in this way by one who had served in the army. But can the word *imperator* as thus used be translated into English? I think not. If we employ 'emperor,' it carries with it later Roman and modern ideas. And even if it did not, 'emperor Caesar' in the vocative is not idiomatic English. Nobody would say 'Emperor William' to the Kaiser, though we use the phrase when we speak about him. The word 'general' sometimes suits an *imperator* of the republican period, but by no means always, since its scope is too narrow. And to print 'General Caesar' here would certainly be an absurdity. The word *imperator*, therefore, cannot be translated here, but must be transliterated like other Roman titles, such as 'consul' and 'praetor.'

2. *imperio orbis terrarum*: 'the right to command the world.' There is nothing necessarily 'imperial' in this expression, any more than in *Ad Herenn.* 4, 13, cited below on *imperium transtulisset* (2, 1); cf. Vitruvius, 138, 11, cited below on *potiretur*. And the word *imperium*, aside from its technical sense when applied to a high military official (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 5, 45, *demus imperium Caesari, sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest*), had also the general meaning of 'right to rule,' 'supreme power,' from Plautus down. Cf. Plaut. *Men.* 1030, *iubeo hercle, siquid imperist in te mihi*; Caes. *B. G.* 7, 64, 8, *civitati imperium totius provinciae pollicetur*; Cic. *Font.* 12, *sub populi Romani imperium ceciderunt*.

*potiretur*: 'engaged in acquiring.' This is a true imperfect in sense, as in 31, 7, *cum Alexander rerum potiretur*, though in 161, 13, *cum Demetrius Phalereus Athenis rerum potiretur*, it has no doubt a completed meaning. With *orbis terrarum imperium* it occurs also in 138, 11, *ita divina mens civitatem populi Romani egregia temperataque regionem conlocavit, uti orbis terrarum imperii potiretur*. True imperfects are also *gloriarentur* (line 3), *spectarent* (4), and *gubernaretur* (6) in our preface, like the main verb *audebam* (6). For such imperfect subjunctives combined with the imperfect indicative, where the *cum* clause, coincident in time, is circumstantial, cf. Vitruv. 156, 26; 250, 16; 251, 14 and 21; 283, 9; Cic. *D.N.* 1, 59, *Zenonem cum Athenis essem, audiebam frequenter*; *Fin.* 2, 61, *Decius cum se devoveret, . . . cogitabat?* The circumstances to which Vitruvius refers are of course the struggle with Caesar's murderers, and then with Antony, ending with Actium, the conquest of Egypt, the days of formal triumphs in Rome, and the beginning of the rule of Octavian there. This passage shows that Vitruvius's work could not have been published before August 13-15 (the days of the triple triumph) in 29 B.C.

4. *tuum spectarent nutum*: 'awaiting your nod,' 'your beck and call.' Vitruvius has *nutus* elsewhere only in its literal sense (33, 22), but this metaphorical sense is common enough in republican writers; cf. Cic. *Parad.* 5, 39, *quem nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat*; *Q. F.* 1, 1, 22, *tot urbes tot civitates unius hominis nutum intuentur*. The verb *specto*, though common in Vitruvius, is found only here in this particular sense, but it may be paralleled from Cicero; cf. *Verr.* 2, 33, *cum iudex . . . voluntatem*

*spectaret eius*, etc.; *Q. F.* 1, 1, 35, *non legem spectare censoriam*; *RA.* 22, *omnes in unum spectent*.

*populusque Romanus et senatus*: for this unusual order cf. *Cic. Fam.* 15, 2, 4; *Sall. Jug.* 41, 2; and Weissenborn on *Liv.* 7, 31, 10. Vitruvius has elsewhere the usual order (20, 17; 176, 17).

5. *cogitationibus*: 'conceptions,' so in *Vitr.* 34, 9; 103, 1; 161, 3; 216, 24. Somewhat similarly 'ideas,' 31, 7 and 23; 36, 9; 156, 1; 'notions,' 103, 20; 'devices,' 137, 12; 138, 9; other shades of meaning are 'consideration,' 215, 20; 'reflection,' 1, 7; 12, 4 and 5; 'deliberation,' 15, 2; 269, 9; 'power of thought,' 36, 4; 132, 11; and in the phrase *cogitatio scripturae*, 263, 9, like our 'thread of the discourse.' On Vitruvius's use of the plural of this and other abstracts I have written elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

6. *tantis occupationibus*: 'in view of your serious employments.' The phrase may be either an ablative absolute (so with Rose's punctuation) or a dat. incommodi. With most commentators I take *occupationibus* as referring to Augustus, though Schneider refers it to Vitruvius.

7. *de architectura scripta et magnis cogitationibus explicata*: 'my writings and long-considered ideas on architecture,' or literally 'things written and set forth with long reflection.' For *cogitatio* in this sense, cf. 12, 5, *cogitatio est cura, studii plena et industriae vigilantiaequae, effectus propositi cum voluptate*. For *magnis*, 'great' in the sense of 'much,' 'long' (not 'grand' or 'important'), cf. 214, 7, *quod magno labore fabri normam facientes perducere possunt*, 'the result which carpenters reach very laboriously with their squares.' This is like the vulgar use shown in

<sup>1</sup> *Language of Vitruvius*, see above, p. 168.

*Bell. Hisp.* 12, *magnum tempus consumpserunt*; cf. Justin, 11, 10, 14, *magno post tempore* (see Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*, s.v. *agnus*). Somewhat similar are *magno negotio* in Caes. *B. G.* 5, 11, 2 (cf. *Bell. Alex.* 8), and *magna industria*, Sall. *Hist.* 4, 2 M. The phrase *de architectura . . . explicata* does not necessarily signify that Vitruvius's book was finished before the time indicated in the next sentence, and that it was merely slightly revised before being dedicated to his patron and published.<sup>1</sup> If there is any particular force beyond the natural logic of the Latin language to be attached to the perfect tenses of *scripta* and *explicata*, Vitruvius may refer merely to his preliminary collections and studies, and perhaps especially to what he elsewhere sometimes calls *commentarii*,—the notes and abstracts made by himself and other architects in the course of their professional studies; cf. 3, 17, *litteras architectum scire oportet uti commentariis memoriam firmiorem efficere possit*; 132, 27, *philologis et philotechnis rebus commentariorumque scripturis me delectans*. With regard to *magnis cogitationibus*, Ussing and Mortet<sup>2</sup> are troubled because they take *magnis* in the sense of 'grand' or 'lofty,' and feel that Vitruvius would be presumptuous in applying much the same language to his own thoughts and to those of Augustus (cf. *amplissimis tuis cogitationibus* just above).

<sup>1</sup> This is the theory of Krohn, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1897, xvii, 773 f., and Dietrich, *Quaestionum Vitruvii Specimen*, answered by Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1907, xxvii, 1372. Sontheimer (see above, p. 233, note 2) revives it in a somewhat different form, holding that the work was ready in 32 B.C., but that publication was delayed until some time between August of the year 29 and January of the year 27, when it was published with the addition of the prefaces to the various books, but without any other additions.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, 1902, xli, 46.

Mortet therefore proposes to take *magnis cogitationibus* with *edere* in the same construction (presumably dative) as *tantis occupationibus*, and he translates as follows: 'Je n'osais pas mettre au jour pour vous mes écrits sur l'architecture à cause de vos si grandes occupations, ni vous soumettre mes commentaires sur cet art, alors que vous avez de grands soucis de gouvernement.' But strange as Vitruvius may often be in his methods of expressing himself, I know of no other passage in his whole work that is so distorted in arrangement as this one would be if we accept the explanation of Mortet, who indeed does not pretend to have found any parallel for it. His other explanation, that perhaps *et* before *magnis* means 'even,' is not happier nor is either explanation necessary.

10. *publicae rei constitutione*: 'the establishment of public order'; cf. Cic. *Marc.* 27, *hic restat actus, in hoc elaborandum est, ut rem publicam constituas.*

11. *de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum*: 'public buildings intended for purposes of utility.' Here *opportunitate* must be interpreted by Vitruvius's own definition of the word in 15, 9 ff.: *publicorum autem distributiones sunt tres, e quibus est una defensionis, altera religionis, tertia opportunitatis. . . . Opportunitatis communium locorum ad usum publicum dispositio, uti portus fora porticus balineae theatra inambulationes ceteraque quae isdem rationibus in publicis locis designantur*, that is: 'there are three classes of public buildings, the first for defensive, the second for religious purposes, and the third for purposes of utility. . . . Under utility, the provision of meeting places for public use, such as harbors, markets, colonnades, baths, theatres, promenades, and all other similar arrange-

ments in public places.' With this compare the use of the same word in 128, 22, and 134, 9.

12. *ut civitas . . . auctoritates*: 'so that not only should the State have been enriched with provinces by your means, but that the greatness of its power might likewise be attended with distinguished authority in its public buildings.' Here *civitas*, the main subject, is thrust forward, and *maiestas imperii*, 'the greatness of its power,' refers to it. This phrase does not mean 'the majestic empire,' nor does it necessarily convey any other idea inconsistent with republican times, for it is found in Cicero, *R. A.* 131, *Sullam, cum solus rem publicam gubernaret imperique maiestatem quam armis receperat, iam legibus confirmaret*. For another example of *maiestas* referring literally to size, cf. Vitruvius 52, 18, *in ea autem maiestate urbis et civium infinita frequentia*.

*provinciis esset aucta*: If strictly interpreted, the completed tense *esset aucta* seems to show that the provinces had already been added, while the following *haberet* may indicate that the buildings were not yet finished. Egypt became a province in 30 B.C., and Cyprus in 27 B.C., while Moesia was at least an administrative district as early as 29 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

14. *auctoritates*: Here Mortet<sup>2</sup> has this note: 'Vitruve revient à plusieurs reprises, à propos d'édifices, sur ce qu'il appelle des modèles d'architecture, *auctoritas, auctoritates aedificii*, c'est-à-dire conformes aux règles de l'art et aux meilleures traditions architectoniques (Voy. l'Index de

<sup>1</sup> On all these, see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*,<sup>2</sup> i, pp. 439, 391, 302. The existence of Galatia and Pamphylia as provinces cannot be certified before 25 B.C. (Marquardt, *ibid.*, 358, 375).

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, 1902, xli, 58, n. 1.

Nohl, v<sup>o</sup> *auctoritas*).' That is to say, he would render *publicorum aedificiorum egregias auctoritates* by some such phrase as 'unsurpassed models of public buildings.'<sup>1</sup> But I have carefully examined all the occurrences cited in Nohl's *Index*, and do not find one in which the word means 'a model' or 'models.' It occurs twenty times besides here. In nine, it is applied to scholars or architects or to their writings, and it signifies their 'influence' or 'authority' (2, 26; 3, 3; 11, 9; 62, 25; 63, 8; 103, 4 and 5; 173, 19; 218, 12). In one, it refers to the severe dignity of a certain kind of music (111, 18). In the other ten passages it refers to buildings, and denotes their dignity or imposing effect (*e.g.*, 72, 22, *conservavit auctoritatem totius operis*, and *cf.* 12, 25; 72, 1; 73, 1; 81, 11; 107, 26; 154, 17; 161, 15; 162, 4; 175, 5). So Turnebus, *Advers.* 1195, 45, explains our passage by '*dignitates et pulchritudines.*'

*non putavi*: On this phrase I have already written elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Schmalz, in a private letter to me, compares the Ciceronian use of *nego, nolo, veto* (*Acad.* 2, 121; *Mur.* 59; *Off.* 1, 30), where the negative idea does not really belong to the main verb.

15. *de his rebus ea*: 'my writings on this theme.' Here *ea* refers to *scripta et explicata* in line 7, though the identity should not be too closely pressed; nor should *his rebus* be thought of as referring only to *publicorum aedificiorum*, since it includes also the ideas expressed in *opportunitate* and *egregias auctoritates*. Hence it must be rendered generally, as I have suggested in the phrase 'this theme.'

<sup>1</sup> Marini in his note to the passage had already rendered the word by *exempla*, without citing any parallels.

<sup>2</sup> *Language of Vitruvius*, see above, p. 189.

*ideo quod*: For this phrase used at the beginning of a sentence like a particle of inference, cf. Vitruv. 88, 21. I do not know any other exact parallel.

16. *parenti tuo*: *i.e.* Julius Caesar, here and two lines below, called the *parens* of the person to whom Vitruvius writes, while in 203, 13, the word *pater*<sup>1</sup> is used of him. But nothing is to be argued seriously from the different words,<sup>2</sup> since fortunately Augustus himself in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* calls his adoptive father both *parens* (1, 10) and *pater* (2, 24; 3, 7; 4, 14). It may be convenient to assemble here the other passages in which Vitruvius refers to Julius Caesar. There are two of them. In one he calls him *divus Caesar* (59, 18); four lines further *imperator* (59, 22), and a little below simply *Caesar* (60, 4). In that passage he is relating an anecdote about a campaign in the Alps. In the other passage, where he is giving examples of pycnostyle temples, we find the clause *quemadmodum est divi Iulii et in Caesaris foro Veneris* (70, 18). Both these passages, therefore, like the words which follow in the preface which we are studying, show that Vitruvius wrote after the deification of Julius, which took place by decree not long after his death (Plut. *Caes.* 67; cf. *CIL.* I, 626; 9, 2628).

<sup>1</sup> Retaining, as I think we must, the reading *patre Caesare*; so Mortet, *Rev. Arch.*, 1902, xli, 69; Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1907, xxvii, 1468, instead of Rose's emendation *patre Caesari*. The word *patre* is inserted here by Vitruvius for fear that readers should think he meant the living Caesar (Augustus); so Cicero, *Phil.*, 5, 49, *utinam C. Caesari, patri dico, contigisset, etc.*; *ibid.* 39, *Pompeio enim patre*.

<sup>2</sup> Though Degering (*l.c.*), arguing against Mortet's hypothesis, suggests that *parens* is a more appropriate term for the adoptive father and uncle of Augustus than for the actual father of Titus.



*de eo*: The singular *eo* is used rather loosely here after *ea* and *his rebus*, but 'that thing' can mean nothing except architecture, so that there is no danger of confusion here any more than in Cic. *Att.* 9, 10, 10, *perlegi omnes tuas (litteras) et in eo acquievi*. As for the use of causal *de*, I have defended it against Ussing's strictures in another place.<sup>1</sup>

*fueram notus*: On this use of *fueram* with the pf. partic., see Landgraf, *Hist. Gramm.*, Heft 1, 220 ff., who says that it is found ten times in Vitruvius against seven occurrences of the regular formation with *eram*.

*eius virtutis studiosus*: This awkwardness of the dependence of one genitive (*eius*) upon another (*virtutis*) is found elsewhere in Vitruvius: cf. *a leone transiens in virginem progrediensque ad sinum vestis eius* (227, 9); *timore eorum fortitudinis effectus*, 'for fear of the effect of their courage' (three genitives! 5, 7). The expression 'devoted to his *virtus*,' though logically correct in Latin, means in idiomatic English, 'devoted to him on account of his *virtus*,' and in this way I have rendered it. In cod. S, cod. Es-tensis,<sup>2</sup> and in eight codd. of Marini, as well as in the Venetian edition of 1497, the word *erat* stands between *virtutis* and *studiosus*. If this meant anything, it would mean that Julius Caesar 'was interested in the excellence of architecture' (*eius* referring to *eo*, and cf. 64, 15, *nostrae scientiae virtutem*). But *studiosus* is resumed just below (2, 2) by *idem studium meum*, so that the reading *erat* hardly deserves further attention. The word *virtutis* in this clause is not to be confined to military valor (as in 1,

<sup>1</sup> *Language of Vitruvius*, see above, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> See Sola, *Riv. d. Biblioteche*, 1900, xi, 35 ff.

2), nor to moral worth, but is used in a much more general sense; hence I have rendered it by 'great qualities.'

17. *concilium caelestium*: cf. Cic. *Off.* 3, 25, *Herculem quem hominum fama in concilio caelestium collocavit*. But as Schneider notes: 'satis dextre adulatur Octaviano Vitruvius, dum patrem non a Romanis inter deorum numerum relatum, sed ab ipso deorum concilio allectum et dedicatum fuisse ait.' Vitruvius uses *caelestes* as a substantive again in 102, 22; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 4, 10.

Page 2, 1. *imperium parentis in tuam potestatem translisset*: 'transferred your father's power to your hands.' Here Mortet<sup>1</sup> has this observation: 'La manière dont Vitruve parle de la translation de la dignité impériale appelle aussi une remarque qui n'est pas sans intérêt. Ce n'est pas à Auguste, pensons-nous avec W. Newton, que Vitruve aurait parlé d'une translation régulière de l'empire. Le langage de l'auteur de la Préface s'applique à une époque où l'on était déjà habitué à des changements réguliers dans la première fonction de l'État: Auguste ne l'aurait point toléré pour des raisons politiques qu'il est facile de comprendre.' But it is a pure assumption that Vitruvius is speaking of 'a regular transmission of the empire,' and the very use of the word 'empire' in this connection is a part of the difficulty created, as I have suggested above, by modern commentators, and not really existing in the Latin of Vitruvius. I have already pointed out (in my note on 1, 2) the republican meaning of *imperium*. Julius Caesar had *imperium*, and we know that Octavian received it in 43 or 42 B.C. (see on 1, 1). The language of our preface is therefore no more 'imperial'

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, 1902, xli, 47.

than is the language of the unknown republican orator in *Ad Herennium*, 4, 13; *imperium orbis terrae . . . ad se transferre*; cf. *Caes. B. G.* 7, 63, 5, *ut ipsis summa imperii transdatur*. The verb *transfero* was the regular one to use of transfers of power; cf. *Cic. L. A.* 2, 54, *earum rerum omnium potestatem ad decemviros esse translata*; *Mur.* 2, *cum omnis deorum immortalium potestas aut translata sit ad vos*; and *Mon. Ancyr.* 6, 15, *republicam ex mea potestate in senatus populi que Romani arbitrium transtuli*. When we get down to Tacitus we do indeed find: *suscipere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum, et transtulerunt* (*H.* 1, 25). But there was nothing 'regular' in this transfer!

2. *idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens*: We should not separate these words as does Mortet,<sup>1</sup> who punctuates thus: *idem studium meum, in eius memoria, permanens in te, contulit favorem*, and translates, 'Le même zèle que j'avais de sons temps, subsistant envers vous, m'a apporté votre faveur.' He compares 63, 12, *aeterna memoria ad posteritatem sunt permanentes*. But I believe that the idea which Vitruvius was struggling to express was this: 'While Caesar was among us, I was devoted to his person; now that he is gone, my devotion continuing unchanged as I remembered him,' etc. He expresses it obscurely, but for a somewhat similar use of *in memoria*, cf. *Cic. Att.* 9, 11 A, 3, *pius . . . in maximi beneficii memoria*, 'loyal as I remember my extreme obligation'; and for the mere syntax of *permanens* with *in* and the ablative, cf. for instance *Cic. Fam.* 5, 2, 10, *ut in mea erga te voluntate permanerem*, and *Quint.* 3, 4, 4, *mih*

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, 1902, xli, 49.

*in illa vetere persuasione permanenti.* Ussing<sup>1</sup> renders the phrase thus: 'this ardor of mine in clinging to his memory'; but even if *in memoria* is really Latin in this sense (which may be doubted), it is surely not in accordance with the usage of Vitruvius. He has the word *memoria* sixteen times besides here. In six passages it denotes literally the faculty of memory (3, 18; 7, 23; 10, 10; 103, 22; 104, 11; 157, 12). In five, it refers to the future,—to the record which one is to leave for posterity, as in the phrase *posteris memoriae tradi* (cf. 2, 12; 4, 22; 63, 12; 155, 11 and 19). Once it means 'fame' (63, 18); twice we have the common *nostra memoria*, 'in our time' (162, 7; 251, 3), and once *post nostra memoriam* (218, 4).<sup>2</sup> Finally there is a peculiar usage of the plural, probably in the sense of 'history' (217, 20). It is obvious that the idea of 'remembering' and of 'memory' in the literal sense is the prevalent meaning in Vitruvius, and so I have taken it in our passage.

3. *in te contulit favorem*: Schneider has this note: 'displicet in sermone Vitruvii *favor*, quem is transtulit ad filium, cum potius ex nostrorum hominum sensu petere ab Octaviano deberet, ut is in memoria patris permanens ad Vitruvium favorem transferret.' And Ussing<sup>3</sup> translates: 'This ardor of mine has transferred its favor to thee,' and then he remarks upon the idea as 'coarse and out of taste.' These criticisms seem based upon a mistaken notion of the meaning of the Latin word *favor*. It is not at all a com-

<sup>1</sup> *Observations*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> These last three occurrences really afford no support to Mortet's strange interpretation of *in eius memoria*.

<sup>3</sup> *Observations*, pp. 9 f.

mon word, particularly in republican Latin. It is not found in Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Caesar, or Nepos. Cooper<sup>1</sup> speaks of it as one of the seven substantives in *-or* that are found in Cicero and not in earlier writers. In its meaning it is very restricted; indeed, it is almost technical until well on in the imperial period, and the English word 'favor' is consequently an exceedingly unfortunate one to employ in the translation of it. In republican and early imperial times it appears to be confined to the theatrical and political spheres, in which it denotes the 'applause' or 'support' which is given to an actor or to a politician by his well wishers. Cicero uses it only four times. In *Rosc. Com.* 29, speaking of the actor Panurgus, he says: *quam enim spem et expectationem, quod studium et quem favorem secum in scaenam attulit Panurgus, quod Rosci fuit discipulus. Qui diligebant hunc, illi favebant.* And in *Sest.* 115, in a passage where he is speaking of expressions of popular opinion at theatrical or other shows, we find: *qui rumore et, ut ipsi loquuntur, favore populi tenetur et ducitur.* Here the use of the technical term *favore* is excused by *ut ipsi loquuntur*. And similarly in the very significant quotation by Quintilian (8, 3, 34) from a lost letter of Cicero's we have '*favorem*' et '*urbanum*' Cicero nova credit. Nam et in epistula ad Brutum eum, inquit amorem et eum, ut hoc verbo utar, *favorem in consilium advocabo.* Obviously Cicero is here transferring the theatrical usage of the word to the political sphere.<sup>2</sup> And the same is true of the fourth passage

<sup>1</sup> *Word Formation in the Sermo Plebeius*, 25.

<sup>2</sup> See Holden in his edition of *Pro Sestio*, 115, where he gives a note by Reid. And for further illustration, cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2, 1, 9; *C.* 4, 8, 26; Verg. *A.* 5, 343.

in which he employs it, *Legg. 2, 11, quae (leges) sunt variae et ad tempus discriptae populis, favore magis quam re legum nomen tenent*. This same idea is found in the author who is the next to employ the word, Sallust: cf. *J. 13, 7, in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis; J. 73, 4, generis humilitas favorem addiderat* (said of Marius). So in Livy, who perhaps has the word only once, we find *regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis* (3, 33, 7). And finally I may cite Vell. Pat. 2, 54, 2, *ingens partium eius (Pompei) favor bellum excitaverat Africanum*; cf. also 2, 43, 3; 89, 1; 92, 4. In none of these authors is there anything like the condescending tone which is often implied by the English word 'favor' or the German 'Gunst,' and which is what gives offense to Ussing and Schneider. But we may go further and observe that the same restricted interpretation will usually hold good in republican Latin for the related words *fautor* and *faveo*. The theatrical sense of *fautor* (in the form *favitor*) comes out very clearly three times in the prologue to the *Amphitruo* of Plautus (67; 78; 79).<sup>1</sup> It denotes a political supporter in Cic. *Fam. 1, 9, 11, cuius (Pompei) dignitatis ego ab adolescentia fautor*; cf. 10, 12, 5; *Att. 1, 16, 11*. In the orations of Cicero it occurs nine times in this sense: e.g. *nobilitatis fautor* (*R. A. 16*); *fautores Antoni* (*Phil. 12, 2*). So Sallust, *H. 3, 88 (M.), Pompeius . . . sermone fautorum similem fore se credens Alexandro*; cf. *J. 15, 2, fautores legatorum*. And Livy uses it in the sense of 'partisans' in 1, 48, 2, *clamor ab utrisque fautoribus oritur*. The verb *faveo* occurs earlier than either

<sup>1</sup> In two fragments of Lucilius we have not enough of the context to assure us of the exact meaning of the word. But see Marx on frag. 269 f., and cf. 902.

*favor* or *fautor*. It is found in Naevius (ap. Non. 205, 27), but here we have not context enough to help us to its meaning. In another fragment (ap. Front. *Ep.* ii, 10, p. 33 Nab.), which begins *regum filiis linguis faveant*, the verb seems already to convey the idea of 'support.' This comes out clearly in Ennius, *Ann.* 291 (Vahlen), *Romanis Iuno coepit placata favere*; and the theatrical usage seems to me to appear in *Ann.* 419, *matronae moeros complent spectare faventes*. In Terence, *Eun.* 916, *illi faveo virgini* is said by a 'supporter' (though not political) of the maiden in question, and in *Andr.* Prol. 24, *favete, adeste aequo animo*, we have again the theatrical meaning of 'applaud.' But when we reach the classical period, the political meaning is very prominent. Caesar uses the verb five times, and always in this sense: e.g. *B. C.* 2, 18, 6, *provinciam omnem Caesaris rebus favere cognoverat* (cf. 1, 7, 1; 1, 28, 1; *B. G.* 6, 7, 7; 1, 18, 8). See also Cicero, *Fam.* 12, 7, 1, *favebam et rei publicae, cui semper favi, et dignitati tuae* (cf. 10, 1, 3, and 3, 2; *Att.* 12, 49, 1). And in his orations, Cicero employs the verb some twenty-five times in this sense:<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Sest.* 21, *omnes boni semper nobilitati favemus*; cf. *Planc.* 18. Sallust uses *faveo* in the political sense in *Cat.* 17, 6, *inventus pleraque Catilinae inceptis favebant*; cf. 48, 1; *J.* 85, 5. Finally I may cite Vell. Pat. 2, 26, 2, *faventis* (acc. pl.) *Sullae partibus*. In view of all this, I think that it should be granted that when Vitruvius uses the word in our passage,<sup>2</sup> he is thinking of this technical political sense. He had served under

<sup>1</sup> In the theatrical sense he employs it (as well as the substantive *favor*) in *R. C.*, 29, which I have already quoted (p. 253).

<sup>2</sup> He has it nowhere else, nor *faveo*, nor *fautor*.

Julius Caesar and was devoted (*studiosus*) to him. When Caesar was gone, 'my devotion, continuing unchanged as I remembered him (*idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens*), bestowed its support upon you (*in te contulit favorem*).'<sup>1</sup> This is a literal translation of the passage. Vitruvius may take a clumsy way of saying 'inclined me to support you,' but certainly no statesman to-day or in antiquity would see anything coarse or out of taste in an author's recalling the fact that, at a critical period, he had lent that statesman his support. And this interpretation of the passage involves no distortion of the plain intent of the Latin; for the construction and meaning of *in te contulit favorem* is illustrated by Cic. *Fam.* 13, 50, 2, *in me officia et studia Brundisi contulisti*; cf. *Att.* 1, 1, 4; *Fam.* 10, 1, 3; 15, 2, 8.<sup>1</sup> The usage of Vitruvius himself offers us no exact parallel,<sup>2</sup> but many examples similar to those which I have cited are given in the new *Thesaurus*, s.v. *confero* (184, 30-72) under the lemma 'beneficia sim. in aliquem conferre.'<sup>3</sup> There is, however, an entirely

<sup>1</sup>Mortet, *Rev. Arch.*, 1902, xli, 50, has this note: 'La vraie forme classique serait ici *conciliavit* et l'on attendrait même plutôt à *attulit* qu'à *contulit*.' But the difference between *contulit* and *attulit* is excellently shown by Cic. *Fam.* 10, 5, 1, *itaque commemoratio tua paternae necessitudinis benevolentiaeque eius quam erga me a pueritia contulisses, ceterarumque rerum . . . incredibilem mihi laetitiam attulerunt*. However, Mortet is supporting a different translation for our passage, of which I shall speak later (p. 257).

<sup>2</sup>The nearest is 159, 12, *quibus felicitas maximum summumque contulit munus*, where we have the dative instead of *in* and the accusative. Elsewhere Vitruvius has the verb five times in the literal sense of 'bring together' (33, 5; 43, 10; 158, 12; 168, 14; 280, 11); once meaning 'compare' (157, 13); and once each in the common phrases *se conferre* (105, 26) and *sermonem conferre* (218, 7).

<sup>3</sup>Our passage is not included here, but is wrongly, as I believe, placed under the lemma 'potestatem, honores, sim. deferre' (182, 30).



different interpretation of *in te contulit favorem* which should be mentioned here, although I consider it erroneous. It has the support of Newton, Gwilt, Reber, and Mortet. Newton translates: 'procured me thy favor'; Gwilt: 'has been the cause of your goodwill towards me'; Reber: 'mir auch Deine Gunst erworben hat'; Mortet: 'm'apporté votre faveur.' It will be observed that these versions, all practically the same, are probably due in the first instance to that misconception of the meaning of the word *favorem* to which I have already referred. But even taking *favorem* in its correct sense and extending it a little so as to apply to Augustus's 'support' of Vitruvius, I do not see how *in te contulit favorem* can mean 'acquired' or 'procured me thy support.' There are some examples of the use of *confero* gathered in the *Thesaurus* (175, 16 ff.) under the lemma 'iungendo efficere aliquid, componere, acquirere,' but, after a careful examination of them, I do not find one which confirms that meaning here, and to adopt it would oblige us to take *te* as ablative, not accusative, which in this context seems impossible. Marini evidently felt this strongly, for he emended *in te* to *in me*. At first thought, the following *itaque* might seem logically to call for this interpretation. Perhaps it would, if *itaque fui praesto* must be rendered 'hence I have been appointed' (Gwilt, cf. Terquem, p. 76); but there is nothing of this sort necessarily implied in *praesto*. Vitruvius merely says: 'I became one of your supporters, and hence I was ready,' etc.

*Aurelio . . . Minidio . . . Cornelio*: These men cannot be identified with any persons otherwise known to us. The *nomina* Aurelius and Cornelius were of course common under the republic, but the *gens Minidia* is elsewhere

known, so far as I am aware, only from a tombstone found at Ostia (*CIL.* 14, 1356), and presumably of the imperial period. There is no Ms. evidence for the reading *Numisio* substituted in our passage by Schneider, Stratico, and some earlier editors in order to identify the college of Vitruvius with the architect of the theatre of Herculaneum (*CIL.* 10, 1446).

4. *ad apparationem . . . fui praesto*: For the meaning and the syntax of *praesto* with *ad* and accusative, cf. Cic. *Fam.* 4, 8, 1, *ad omnia quae tui velint ita sim praesto*; *Deiot.* 24, *non solum ad hospitium sed ad periculum etiam atque ad aciem praesto fuit*; and for *ad* with the gerundive, Cic. *Caec.* 29. While Vitruvius does not distinctly say that he was appointed to any particular post in the army of Octavian, it is natural to think that he and the other three men whom he mentions were *praefecti fabrum*. The office of *praefectus fabrum* later became a very high one (something like that of engineer in chief to a great modern army), and among its duties was the supervision of those *qui arma, vehicula, ceteraque genera tormentorum vel nova facerent vel quassata repararent* (*Veget.* 2, 11), a passage the latter part of which recalls Vitruvius's description of the functions which he was ready to perform. But that such a functionary accompanied the smaller detached armies of the republic is clear from Cic. *Fam.* 3, 7, 4, *Q. Leptam, praefectum fabrum meum*. Sometimes there were more than one; cf. Caesar ap. Cic. *Att.* 9, 7, C, 2, *duo praefecti fabrum Pompei in meam potestatem venerunt*. Further information about such officers is given by Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsv.* ii, 516), and by Mommsen (*Röm. Staatsrecht*, i, 120; ii, 98).

5. *refectionem* : Syntactically this word seems to belong only with *scorpionum reliquorumque tormentorum*, and therefore Vitruvius, strictly taken, does not say that he was ready to repair *ballistae*, or to supply *scorpiones* and other *tormenta*. But I can hardly believe that he was really such a specialist, and I fancy that in his eagerness to produce the fine example of chiasitic order displayed in *apparationem . . . refectionem*, he overlooked the exact sense. Hence I have taken a liberty in my translation. Still it may be observed that in the tenth book (269, 10, *ipse faciundo*) Vitruvius speaks of his practical experience in constructing *ballistae* and that he does not say anywhere that he ever made other kinds of artillery. For *refectio* in the literal sense of 'repair,' cf. 140, 21, and Columella, 12, 3, 9; also in inscriptions, cf. Olcott, *Studies in Word Formation*, 28. For *apparatio*, cf. 54, 5; 124, 21; Cic. *Off.* 2, 56.

6. *commoda accipi*: To discover the meaning of the word *commoda* here is important, because upon it and the next two sentences is based the commonly accepted view that Vitruvius, when he wrote this preface, was in retirement, and some have gone so far as to translate *commoda* by 'pension.' I am not aware that its meaning has ever been thoroughly studied, and I do not find the word treated in the books on military antiquities. Let us therefore examine the different ways in which it is employed that might fit it here. Three may be distinguished. In the first place, *commoda* is used of the emoluments, allowances, or advantages which civil or military officers, or certain public slaves, received while still in service or working. It is thus applied to a quaestor by Cicero, *Red. in Sen.* 35, *Plancius qui omnibus provincialibus ornamentis commodisque*

*depositis totam suam quaesturam in me sustentando et conservando collocavit.* And again of a military tribune, *Fam.* 7, 8, 1, *sum admiratus cur tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae, contempseris* (in this case Caesar had apparently offered Trebatius a military tribuneship, with exemption from duties). Frontinus in his work on the Roman aqueducts describes (116 ff.) the two gangs of public slaves employed upon them; one was the *familia publica*, the other the *familia Caesaris*. Then he goes on (119): *commoda publicae familiae ex aerario dantur . . . Caesaris familia ex fisco accipit commoda.* Here the word *commoda* is not equivalent to our 'wages' which are paid at regular short intervals, but it seems to denote an annual lump sum given to these public slaves every year.<sup>1</sup> And in the case of the quaestor and the tribune mentioned by Cicero, the word does not mean 'pay,' for we know that officials and officers of these and the higher ranks were not, in republican times, paid what we understand by salaries. Instead, they got free quarters and transport, rations, their outfit or a lump sum covering it (*vasarium*), certain rights of requisitioning for necessaries when in the provinces, and officers on the staff or in the employ of higher magistrates expected to receive from them, or from the treasury, good service rewards in the way of 'gratifications' or free gifts (*congiaria, beneficia*) which also seem to have been paid annually in a lump sum.<sup>2</sup> It was '*chommoda*' of this or any other sort<sup>3</sup> for which Arrius was looking when he

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*,<sup>8</sup> i, 323; cf. 299, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> On all this see Mommsen, *ibid.*, 294-300, and on *commoda tribunatus*, 300, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> No doubt it covered a good deal of what we now call 'graft.'

went out on the staff of Crassus to Syria (Catullus 84). In the second place, *commoda* is used in the sense of some form of gratuity presented to soldiers on their retirement from service. So in the letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony (Cic. *Fam.* II, 2, 3): *ea re denuntiatur esse veteranis quod de commodis eorum mense Iunio laturus esses*; and probably the word has this meaning in Cicero himself, *L. A.* 2, 54, *putant si quam spem in Cn. Pompeio exercitus habeat aut agrorum aut aliorum commodorum*. Suetonius certainly thus employs it several times: cf. *Aug.* 49, *quidquid autem ubique militum esset ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam adstrinxit, definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis missionum*; *Cal.* 44, *commoda emeritae militiae*; *Nero* 32, *commoda veteranorum*; *Vit.* 15, *veteranorum iustaeque militiae commoda*. See also an African inscription (*CIL.* 8, 792): *P. Ennius T. F. Epilli N. Quir. Paccianus commodis acceptis ex leg. II Aug. ab. imp. Domitiano Caesare Aug. Ger. cos. VIII*. These gratuities, though not mentioned in the books on Roman military antiquities under the name *commoda*, do appear in such books under the name *praemia*, and this indeed is the term employed by Augustus in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* 3, 31 ff.: *militibus quos emeriteis stipendis in sua municipia remisi praemia numerato persolvi* (cf. also 3, 37). And Suetonius combines the two words in *Aug.* 25, *alias (legiones) immodeste missionem postulantibus citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum exauctoravit* (cf. also *Aug.* 49, cited just above). There is no evidence that these *commoda* or *praemia* ever took the form of a stipend paid annually or at more frequent intervals like our military pensions. A lump sum paid at the time of discharge is

what is meant by them,<sup>1</sup> and we know that Augustus gave 5000 denarii to praetorians and 3000 denarii to legionaries (Dio C. 55, 23, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 49, *certam praemiorum formulam*, more fully cited above). It is also well known that Augustus (at least in his earlier period) had distributed lands to retiring soldiers; cf. *Mon. Anc.* 1, 19, *iis omnibus agros aut pecuniam pro praediis dedi*, and Dio C. 54, 25, *διέταξε τὰ τε ἔτη ὄσα οἱ πολῖται στρατεύουσιντο, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὄσα παυσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας ἦν αἰεὶ ποτε ἦθον, λήψουσιντο*. This statement by Dio is made of the year 741 (13 B.C.), after which time Mommsen<sup>2</sup> thought that Augustus determined to recompense his discharged soldiers in money. Finally there is no evidence that *commoda* in this sense were given to retired officers of higher grades, though we may readily imagine that centurions and lower officers received them. We come now to the third usage of the word *commoda*, still somewhat technical, but approaching more closely to the very common general meaning of 'advantages' than does either of the other two. In this usage it denotes special 'privileges,' and perhaps it does not occur in republican Latin. But it comes out in Suetonius, *Aug.* 31, *sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virginum*. Such privileges might include public land or money.<sup>3</sup> In another place Suetonius himself makes clear what privileges he means; cf. *Cl.* 18 f., *naves mercaturae*

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Res Gestae Aug.*, 9 and 67; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.*,<sup>2</sup> i, 122; ii, 564.

<sup>2</sup> *Res Gestae Aug.*, 9 and 65.

<sup>3</sup> Marquardt, *Staatsv.*,<sup>2</sup> ii, 80 f.; iii, 223 ff. For *commoda* in this usage in inscriptions, cf. *CIL.*, 6, 971 (a *collegium victimariorum* in the time of Hadrian), and *CIL.*, 6, 955.

*causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit pro condicione cuiusque: civi vacationem legis Papiae Poppaeae, Latino ius Quiritium, feminis ius IIII liberorum.* Ovid seems to be aware of this sense of *commoda* when in his account of the rape of the Sabine women (*A. A.* 1, 131) he jestingly exclaims: *Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus! Haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero.* And Juvenal in his sixteenth satire speaks of the privileges of a military career (the civilian won't venture to strike the soldier whom *esprit de corps* protects; the soldier is not subject to the delays of law courts; he can make a will while his father is alive), and he calls these privileges once *commoda* (7) and twice *praemia* (1 and 35). In another satire (9, 89), Juvenal uses *commoda* of the privileges of the *ius trium liberorum*. Now out of these three distinct usages of *commoda*, which does Vitruvius employ in our preface? What he received was something substantial, for in the next sentence but one he says that it relieved him from the fear of poverty for the rest of his life. We have no evidence that *commoda* in the third sense of 'privileges' would apply to his case; but in its first and second senses it might apply. For while he was in active service he may have received *commoda* of the first kind which I have mentioned, that is emoluments or allowances, and perhaps also good service rewards; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 5, 20, 7, *quod scribis de beneficiis*,<sup>1</sup> *scito a me et tribunos militaris et praefectos et contubernalis dumtaxat meos delatos esse.* We do not know at all how much money or land was given as

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps a mere coincidence that Vitruvius uses this same word just below: *eo beneficio obligatus* (2, 8). On *beneficia*, see Mommsen, *Staatsr.*,<sup>8</sup> ii, 1126, n. 1.

a good service reward to any officer, but it seems improbable that a functionary so humble as Vitruvius would have received much. And so perhaps, when the general peace was made, Octavian bestowed upon him *commoda* of the second kind, a good service reward in the form of a retiring gratuity (although, as I have said, we have no evidence that such was given to any except common soldiers), or he may have continued him in office without any actual duties, just as Julius Caesar offered a sinecure tribuneship to Trebatius. And the word *primo* in the next sentence in Vitruvius shows that he had received *commoda* more than once. But obviously all this is pure speculation. The word *commoda* in itself does not tell us whether Vitruvius had retired or not; therefore it cannot be rendered by 'pay' or 'emoluments'; or by 'pension,' for this implies the modern practice of paying a stipend at regular intervals. The translator must select a word or phrase which will cover all the contingencies which have been considered here, and hence I have selected 'rewards for good service.'

*primo*: 'for the first time,' 'originally.' So in 209, 25, *cum primo aqua a capite inmittitur*; 36, 2, *cum ergo haec ita fuerint primo constituta*.

7. *cum tribuisti . . . servasti*: these two verbs do not denote coincidence of action, but here, as well as in three other passages in Vitruvius (50, 12; 59, 26; 157, 2), we have the perfect indicative in both parts of a sentence, the protasis of which is a survival of the old indicative narrative *cum*-clause. On such sentences, see Hale, *The cum-construction*, 204 ff., where he cites the same combination occurring, for instance, in Caes. *B. C.* 3, 87, 7; *Bell. Hisp.* 18, 2; Galba ap. Cic. *Fam.* 10, 30, 4.



*recognitionem*: This is a rare word, and it occurs first in Vitruvius. Paucker (*Meletemata Altera* 48) cites only Livy for it, and Cooper in his *Sermo Plebeius* (4 ff.) does not include it in the list of the ninety-four abstracts in *-tio* which Vitruvius added to the Latin language. It is not found in Cicero<sup>1</sup> (though he added hundreds of such abstracts) nor in Caesar. Our study of its meaning must begin with the remark that it seems never to signify a 'recognition' in the modern sense of an acknowledgment of a person's services, standing, or the like. Neither does it mean 'favor' ('Gewogenheit,' Reber). In the other sense in which we use 'recognition,' that is, to denote a 'knowing again' of somebody whom we have known before, it is found twice in Latin, — both times in that form of the well-known story of Androcles and the lion as it is related by Gellius; cf. *Index Capit.* 5, 14, *recognitionem inter se mutuam ex vetere notitia hominis et leonis*; and 5, 14, 14, *tum quasi mutua recognitione facta*. This meaning of the substantive is found also in the verb *recognosco*; cf. *Cic. Fam.* 12, 12, 1, and *T. D.* 1, 57; and particularly Livy 5, 16, 7, *receptis agrorum suorum spoliis Romam revertuntur. Biduum ad recognoscendas res datum dominis; tertio incognita sub hasta veniere*. But it is at once clear that this meaning of *recognitio* will not suit the passage in Vitruvius, where there is no question of the renewal of an acquaintance between him and Augustus. We must therefore seek another meaning, and we find at once that, except in Gellius, it conveys but one idea, — that of an investigation, inspection, or review. Thus Livy has it in 42, 19, 1, *per recognitionem Postumi consulis magna pars agri Campani recuperata*

<sup>1</sup> Unless the reading of inferior codd. be accepted in *Verr.* 4, 110.

*in publicum erat* (cf. 42, 1, 6, *senatui placuit L. Postumium consulem ad agrum publicum a privato terminandum in Campaniam ire*). Similarly of an inspection of clothing and tools in Coll. 11, 1, 21, and of the *equites* in Suet. *Claud.* 16. Seneca has it of self-examination (*recognitionem sui*, *Ira* 3, 36, 2). The elder Pliny, in his celebrated account of the habits of the ants (*N. H.* 11, 109), says that they have regular times on which they meet and inspect together the stock which they have gathered: *et quoniam ex diverso convehunt altera alterius ignara, certi dies ad recognitionem mutuam nudinis dantur*. Here the context shows that *recognitionem* does not mean a recognition of the ants by each other, and as ants live a community life it does not signify the identification or 'knowing again' of individual property, as in the Livian passage (5, 16, 7) already quoted. This same idea of an investigation or inquiry survived in low Latin; cf. Du Cange (ed. Favre), s.v., where we find that the word was used in charters to denote inquiries into cases of disputed lands (cf. Livy 42, 19, 1, quoted above). These are the only meanings of *recognitio* which I have found in ancient Latin. Although Vitruvius does not use the word elsewhere, yet he has the participle *recognoscentes* once (213, 11), where, after speaking of the useful discoveries made by great men, he adds: *quae recognoscentes necessario his tribui honores oportere homines confitebuntur*, 'on reviewing these discoveries, people will admit that honors ought to be bestowed upon them.' In this sense, *recognosco*, though a less technical word, is often a synonym of *recenseo*, as a glance at any good lexicon will show. This is well illustrated by Columella, 11, 1, 20, *tum etiam per ferias instrumentum rusticum (vilicus) recognoscat et*

*saepius inspiciat ferramenta* as compared with II, I, 21, *tam vestem servitiorum quam, ut dixi, ferramenta bis debbit singulis mensibus recensere. Nam frequens recognitio nec impunitatis spem nec peccandi locum praebet.* Now in the passage in our preface, to what does *recognitio* refer? Obviously to *commoda*, for Vitruvius says: 'after originally bestowing these upon me, you continued (*servasti*, see below) your *recognitio*'—which can only mean 'your *recognitio* of these *commoda*.' It is natural to suppose that the Roman ruler reviewed or revised at intervals the list of persons who were receiving *commoda*, and that at such times suggestions for additions to the list might be made. Persons whose names were in the list might well be described as *recogniti*, just as *recensi* was used of persons in the list of those who received corn at the public cost; cf. Suet. *Caes.* 41, *in demortuorum locum ex iis qui recensi non essent.* And the act of setting a name in the list would thus, by a slight extension of meaning, be expressed by the word *recognitio*. But as Vitruvius had at some earlier time (*primo*) received *commoda*, the act in his case was a renewal, and this to his mind may have been further indicated by the prefix *re-* in *recognitio*, especially as contrasted with *primo*. And we may perhaps also compare the common phrase found in the diplomata of discharged soldiers: *descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea*, etc. (Dessau, *Inscr. Lat.* i, 1986 ff.). Our whole sentence, then, may best be rendered: 'After your first bestowal of these upon me, you continued to renew them on recommendation of your sister.'

*sororis*: Octavia, the sister of Augustus, died in 11 B.C. (Liv. *Per.* 140; Dio C. 54, 35). We know that she had

influence with her brother; cf. her successful appeal for the proscribed husband of Tanusia (Dio C. 47, 7). A book was dedicated to her by Athenodorus, son of Sandon (cf. Plut. *Popl.* 17, 'Αθηνόδωρος ὁ Σάνδωνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ὀκταουλιαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆν). See also Gardthausen, *Aug. u. seine Zeit*, i, 217. In regard to the theory that Vitruvius wrote under Titus, it may be remarked that he also had a sister, Domitilla, but that she died before Vespasian came to the throne (Suet. *Vesp.* 3), and consequently before Titus attained to much power.

*commendationem*: cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1, 28, *hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione maiorum*. The word is used elsewhere three times by Vitruvius: 31, 9; 32, 26; 63, 11.

*servasti*: 'you continued.' For this meaning cf. Caes. *B. C.* 3, 89, 1, *superius institutum servans* (so also 3, 84, 3, and 75, 2); Cic. *Clu.* 89, *ut consuetudinem servem*. Similarly in Vitruvius 240, 21, *servat administrationem*; 'keeps the works going,' etc. This use of *servo* is not found elsewhere in Vitruvius, who happens to employ it, except in these two passages, only in connection with concrete things (*poma*, 16, 20; *fructus*, 145, 20; *frumenat*, 147, 23; *structuras*, 53, 11; *crassitudo*, 75, 19; *cavo*, 47, 11).

8. *beneficio*: It is true that this word may possibly convey here the technical sense of Cic. *Fam.* 5, 20, 7 (see above, p. 263, and note 1); but as Vitruvius elsewhere employs it only generally (85, 11; 133, 15; 151, 11), I render it by 'favor,' which fits both usages.

9. *haec tibi scribere coepi*: 'I began to write this work for you.' Here *haec* refers to the *De Architectura* as now fully completed, not to Vitruvius's preliminary collections (see

above on *scripta et explicata*, 1, 7). For this preface was written,<sup>1</sup> or at least professes to have been written, after the whole treatise was finished. The dative *tibi* is supported by Cic. *Top.* 4, *cum tu mihi meisque multo saepe scripsisses*, although *ad* and the accusative seems to be commoner in dedications; cf. Cic. *Att.* 14, 20, 3, *cum scripsissem, ad eum de optimo genere dicendi*; so *Lael.* 4 (*scriptus ad te*); *Off.* 1, 4. The work was intended, Vitruvius says here, for the personal use of his patron, to assist him in the ways indicated in lines 10–16. But another reason is given in 160, 6 ff., namely, the lack of writings on architecture in the Latin language.

10. *te aedificavisse et nunc aedificare*: among the important early buildings of Octavian which Vitruvius may have in mind are the *aedes divi Iuli* (cf. 70, 18), begun in 42 B.C. and finished at least as early as the year 37, when it appears on coins:<sup>2</sup> and the *curia Iulia*, projected by Julius Caesar and dedicated by Octavian in 29 (Dio C. 51, 22). Other buildings of course had been planned, and some of them may have been finished before Vitruvius published his work.<sup>3</sup>

*animadverti . . . te . . . curam habiturum*: Schneider found fault with the use of the fut. inf. with the verb *animadverto* and thought that some such word as *spero* or *confido* had dropped out in the latter part of this long sentence. But Vitruvius has the future also in 32, 7, *animad-*

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen's expression to the contrary (*Res Gestae Augusti*, 81) seems to me very strange. If Sontheimer's theory (see above, p. 244, note 1) be adopted, perhaps we should translate: 'I set about dedicating this work to you.'

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, *ibid.*, 80.

<sup>3</sup> See Mommsen, *ibid.*, 79–82, and Sontheimer, 120.

*verto fore ut*, etc.; and cf. Cic. *Div.* 1, 112, *animadverterat olearum ubertatem fore*.

12. *tradantur*: the emendation of Schneider; *traderentur*, codd. The error, as Rose suggests in his second edition, may be due to the preceding *gestarum*.

13. *conscripti*: 'I have composed,' 'draw up'; cf. the *Thesaurus*, s.v., 375, 36, under the lemma 'scribendo componere, litteris mandare.' It seems unlikely that this word ever means 'compile' in Vitruvius. It might possibly have this meaning in 218, 14, *his auctoribus fretus sensibus eorum adhibitis et consiliis ea volumina conscripsi*; but this is improbable in view of all the other passages in which it appears (5, 28; 134, 7; 142, 7; 151, 20; 159, 21), and of the use of *conscriptio*, 'treatise,' three times (103, 14; 104, 4; 155, 10). Cf. also Cic. *Top.* 5, *itaque haec, cum mecum libros non haberem, memoria repetita in ipsa navigatione conscripsi tibi que ex itinere misi*; *Verr.* 2, 122, *leges conscribere*; *Brut.* 46, *praecepta conscribere* (and so *Vitr.* 5, 28; 159, 21).

*praescriptiones terminatas*: 'definite rules'; cf. 'bestimmte Vorschriften' (Reber). Vitruvius always uses *praescriptio* in this sense: cf. 62, 8; 121, 23; 204, 13; 280, 10. In all these passages he promises success to those who follow the 'rules.' See also his use of the verb *praescribo* in 5, 19 and 83, 17; also Cic. *Acad.* 2, 140, *praescriptionem naturae*; *T. D.* 4, 22, *praescriptione rationis*. The verb *termino* appears in only one other place in Vitruvius, 64, 20, *terminavi finitionibus*, 'I have defined the limits'; but cf. Cic. *Fin.* 1, 46, *ipsa natura divitias . . . et parabiles et terminatas*. Further light on the meaning of the verb may be got from the use of the substantive

*terminatio*, which occurs thirteen times in Vitruvius. In five of these it means 'limits.' (36, 24, *finire terminationibus*, cf. 64, 20, *terminavi finitionibus* just quoted above; 28, 8; 67, 20; 112, 6; 113, 21); 'end' in 103, 13; 'terminating point,' 135, 21; 'boundary,' 203, 5; 232, 2; 'departments,' 12, 8; 'extremities,' 111, 2; 'rules' or 'laws,' 155, 16; 'scope,' 32, 28.

16. *disciplinae*: 'art,' used of architecture in 133, 26; 160, 9; of other arts in 6, 20; 10, 11, and 14; 36, 6; 224, 23.

#### TRANSLATION

While your divine intelligence and will, Emperor Caesar, were engaged in acquiring the right to command the world, and while your fellow-citizens, when all their enemies had been laid low by your invincible valor, were glorying in your triumph and victory, — while all foreign nations were in subjection awaiting your beck and call, and the Roman people and senate, released from their alarm, were beginning to be guided by your most noble conceptions and policies, I hardly dared, in view of your serious employments, to publish my writings and long-considered ideas on architecture, for fear of subjecting myself to your displeasure by an unseasonable interruption. But when I saw that you were giving your attention not only to the welfare of society in general and to the establishment of public order, but also to the providing of public buildings intended for purposes of utility, so that not only should the State have been enriched with provinces by your means, but that the greatness of its power might likewise be attended with distinguished authority in its public buildings, I thought that I ought to take the first opportunity to lay

before you my writings on this theme. For in the first place it was this subject which made me known to your father, to whom I was devoted on account of his great qualities. After the council of heaven gave him a place in the dwellings of immortal life and transferred your father's power to your hands, my devotion continuing unchanged as I remembered him inclined me to support you. And so with Marcus Aurelius, Publius Minidius, and Gnaeus Cornelius, I was ready to supply and repair ballistae, scorpiones, and other artillery, and I have received rewards for good service with them. After your first bestowal of these upon me, you continued to renew them on the recommendation of your sister.

Owing to this favor I need have no fear of want to the end of my life, and being thus laid under obligation I began to write this work for you, because I saw that you have built and are now building extensively, and that in future also you will take care that our public and private buildings shall be worthy to go down to posterity by the side of your other splendid achievements. I have drawn up definite rules to enable you, by observing them, to have personal knowledge of the quality both of existing buildings and of those which are yet to be constructed. For in the following books I have disclosed all the principles of the art.



GREX · SPECTATORIBVS · S<sup>1</sup>

SALVETE, o domini, graves magistri,  
Doctrina satis et super repleti.  
Salvete, o comites laboriosi,  
Et quantum est comitum otiosiorum.  
Conlegi venerabiles alumni  
Salvete, o iuvenes senesque salsi.  
Vos salvere boni hospites iubemus,  
Eruditi homines ineruditi.  
Matronae nitidae puellulaeque  
Salvete, o decus aureum theatri.  
Spectatoribus omnibus salutem!  
Vobis fabula palliata agetur.  
Adeste aequo animo, favete linguis,  
Neve parcite nos iuvare plausu.

<sup>1</sup> From the programme for the production of *Phormio* at Harvard, April 19, 1894.

D · M

FRANCISCI · IACOBI · CHILD<sup>1</sup>

MUSIS qui fuerit deditus aureis,  
 non vanis moriens planctibus indiget;  
 dulcem nam socium Pierides domo  
 dulces accipiunt sua.

Ergo qua proprius vatibus est honor  
 sedem Tu quoque habes, vatibus intimus,  
 sollers ipse lyrae prisca Britannicae  
 terris carmina pandere.

Te clarum studiis, Te sapientia  
 cantabunt alii, non ego grandia:  
 o carum caput, o sollicitam fidem,  
 vocem pauperibus bonam.

Nobis heu miseris candidus occidit —  
 at non ille miser, quem vocat inclutus  
 UNAM qui cecinit, maximus et senex  
 et vates sine compari.

O quales comites, quantaque gaudia!  
 expectatus eam pervenit ad plagam  
 qua ventus Zephyri spirat amabilis  
 et campi redolent rosis.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 1896, v, 210.

ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ <sup>1</sup>

Χαίρε, πάτερ μέγ' ἄριστε, καὶ εὐμενέως τάδε δεξαι·  
καρπὸν σοὶ φέρομεν σῶν ἀπὸ φυταλιῶν.  
ἡμεῖς γὰρ σὲ φίλην νεαρὸν χερὶ χεῖρα λαβόντες  
Ἑλλάδος εὐανθῆ γαίαν ἀφικόμεθα.

<sup>1</sup> Prefixed to Vol. xii (1901) of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, which was dedicated to Professor W. W. Goodwin.

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2

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