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Flaws in Classical Research

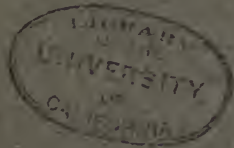
By

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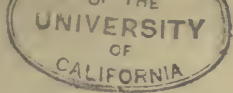
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FLAWS IN CLASSICAL RESEARCH.

By J. P. POSTGATE.

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read October 28, 1908.

WHEN our Council honoured me with an invitation which I esteemed as a command to read a paper to the Academy, I naturally gave much thought to the choice of a subject. It seemed to me that what might most fitly claim to occupy its attention would be the communication of some discovery or novel theory of importance within the regions over which its activities extend; such would be the new Indo-European language Tocharisch, the subject of a memoir lately presented to our sister of Berlin. But that is not possible to every one or in every season; and I regret, without surprise, that it has not been possible to me in this. In despair of offering a positive contribution I turned to the other side; and here I seemed to myself to have found a larger if not a fairer field. The surveillance, no less than the promotion of research, would appear to fall within the functions of an Academy, and if the mischiefs to which I shall advert exist, their recognition and their amendment may be reasonably regarded as its concern.

The due performance of my task involves the criticism of the utterances of contemporaries; but inasmuch as my business is not with individuals but with general types and tendencies of error, I shall avoid citing names wherever this is avoidable. References I must give in the interests of the argument; and if any scholar who desires to control my statements finds upon their verification *de sese fabulam narrari*, I trust that of my reticence at any rate he will not feel reason to complain. I will only add that I have not hunted for proofs of the positions, nor have I rejected illustrations that were pertinent merely because they might possibly be regarded as trite.

The main differences between classical and scientific investigations, technically so-called, are two. (1) The inquirer's self is implicated in the classical investigation as it is not implicated in the scientific. This is unavoidable. (2) The classical investigator does not correct for this disturbing influence as does the scientific. This is *not* unavoidable.

The astronomer, as a matter of course, allows for the visual peculiarities of the particular observer; the physicist isolates his

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personal magnetism from the sphere of his experimenting as a matter of course. Does the classical inquirer commonly do anything corresponding? Does he? Can we say—to touch in passing upon what may be called mere human bias—that it will make no more difference to the investigation of a classical problem than it does to the investigation of a mathematical one if the investigator has been reviewed, never mind in what terms, by the author of the solution which he is considering. Has the truth about anything in Homer and Vergil no better a chance of acceptance in England if discovered by an Englishman, in Germany if by a German? The existence of such prejudices must not be ignored. We cannot indeed hope to remove them; but we should refrain both from palliating and from inflaming them, in the hope, ere long, of establishing an enlightened public opinion which shall decree that their indulgence is what it is—an intellectual humiliation.

No poring upon modern superiorities can escape the chastening reflection how often the recognized instructors of our public are in profound and circumstantial disagreement; how often with, presumably, the same evidence before them they passionately or obstinately maintain diametrically opposite conclusions. In textual criticism this is notorious. If any ask for proof, let them compare the views of Bernardakis and Wilamowitz on the *Moralia* of Plutarch; or, to take an instance nearer home, the Oxford and the Corpus texts of Propertius. The classical, unlike the scientific inquirer, takes small trouble to see that his chief instrument, his critical faculty, is accommodated to his work. He passes from pure to corrupted texts, or from corrupted to pure, with an unadjusted mind, correcting what he should interpret and explaining where he should amend.

Shall I say more about the idols of the textual critics? I think I will. First, then, I say that it is absurd for them to put forth as the object of their activity the systematic restoration of ancient texts 'as far as possible' to their original form, when it is notorious that, as far as possible, they systematically neglect one of the means of this restoration. Let it be admitted that a transposition of verses is often troublesome to judge and inconvenient to adopt, and that it is fair matter for consideration whether on other grounds it is expedient to make the change. But let us drop the farce of pretending that this has any bearing on its truth.

But on this I will not linger to-day, but proceed to what may perhaps be called the Critic's Paradox. In the ordinary affairs of life we aim at acting on each occasion as the balance of the

evidence, that is, the preponderance of probability shall determine. We do not take account of the circumstance that we have chosen rightly on a large number of previous similar occasions and that now it is our turn to be wrong. A man of business does not refrain from taking the train to the city because an accident is overdue. But a textual critic of a certain school does allow his judgement upon a particular passage to be discomposed by the fact that he has deviated from the traditions a number of times already. I have called this habit of mind the critic's paradox. But that was honouring it too much. For it is but a special manifestation of the rage to make system out of chance which fills the salons of Monte Carlo and makes a millionaire of M. Blanc.

The dissensions of different departments are perhaps more in evidence. Archaeologists, comparative mythologists, textual critics, philologists and literary critics shake their fists at each other from opposite sides of a channel, over which as a rule they do not adventure. . . . They cross at times with disastrous results. . . . There is something wrong here. We are not entitled to assume that one set of inquirers is as a class intellectually less competent than another. The facts of linguistics are facts just as much as the facts of archaeology, and so forth; and if the interpretation of facts tends inevitably to discord, it is the mode of interpreting that must be blamed. Nor will it escape the observant that the conclusions of the newer and less settled branches of inquiry are not always expressed with a proper reserve, when regard is had to the uncertainty of many of their data and the inevitable crudeness of some of their methods. On two occasions¹ I have ventured over the strait which divides me from the mythologists, and I have received the impression that their treatment of linguistic evidence at least is not as rigorous as it might be. But I would not make this a reproach against them; for it may be conceded that, even if they do not argue strictly, they argue as best they can.

Upon two *sequelae* of mythological inquiry I can here but briefly touch—its percolations into historical research. The practice, fast becoming a fashion, of treating the statements of sober historians as though they were the figments of mythopoeic hallucination, and that of discrediting an account of an event on the sole ground of its similarity to something which has been recorded before, are two

¹ In an examination of 'The Alleged Confusion of Nymph-Names', *American Journal of Philology*, xvii. pp. 30-44, xviii. 74 sq., and in a criticism of current misconceptions of the 'Heads of Cerberus', Preface to the English translation of Bréal's *Semantics* (pp. xvi-xxiv), where also some of the linguistic problems considered in the following pages are touched upon.

procedures as likely to be as mischievous as they are illegitimate.¹ The former operates with a subtle and powerful solvent that will destroy the fabric of ancient history: the latter challenges one of the fundamental principles of all historical science.

I pass to a consideration of the difficulties which are thrown in the way of the study of antiquity by the proclivities of modern life, speech and thought.

To speak first of words. Our knowledge of the ancient languages is and must be chiefly won through translation. On the imperfections of this method it is needless to enlarge. Suffice it to cite the well-known Italian proverb *tradottori traditori*, and to remind you of the frequency with which syntactical controversy, especially among our transatlantic cousins, is made to turn, not on the meaning of a construction, but upon its imperfect modern renderings.

The modern languages into which Latin has entered so largely, as an original or an accessory component, are full of traps for the student of the ancient speech. In English, for example, corresponding words no longer correspond. The dictionary translations are in many cases obsolete, and their drastic revision is an urgent need. Thus from *subtlety*, *elegance*, and *tremendous* there has evaporated or is evaporating all the essential flavour of their originals. There remains but the vain resemblance of sound to perplex our minds with a phantom of identity. Not the least value of the recent reform in Latin pronunciation is that it cuts away so many of these misleading and tantalizing associations.² The drift in this direction since the eighteenth century has been great and still increases. This struck me with especial force when I saw how the last editor of the comedies of Terence boggled over the play of words in the epitaph of Plautus

et numeri innumeri simul omnes collacrimarunt,

translating it

And Rhythms numberless all wept in concert.

The play would have caused no trouble in the days of Pope 'who lisp'd in *numbers*; for the numbers came'. The mischief is not confined to derivatives from Latin. Hardly any so-called equivalent of a Greek or Latin word but has its pitfall for the unwary. Because 'old woman' is *slighting* in English, we read in a recent note on

¹ I have referred to them in a review in the *Classical Quarterly* for October, 1907, pp. 312-17.

² Teachers of Latin must ever bear this in mind. Only the other day I asked a pupil of more than average intelligence why he had avoided *uegetus* in a version. His answer was that he always associated it with *vegetable*.

Terence, *Adelphoe* 617 ‘*matrona*, an elderly lady, can be called *anus* only in a slighting way’. This is not the case, as we can see from Catullus ix. 4 or even from *Hecyra* 231 quoted by the annotator himself, ‘cum puella animum suscepisse inimicitias non pudet?’ which means ‘are you not ashamed at your age at quarrelling with a mere chit of a girl?’ where, if anything is slighting, it is not *anus* but *puella*.¹

The strong temptation which besets us to give to a word the sense that to us is the most familiar or impressive may be illustrated from the Latin noun *lacus*. The modern limitation of this word, in the sense of the French *lac*, the Italian *lago*, and the English *lake*, has distorted our feeling for the Latin uses, of which this was only among several. It has darkened a passage of Propertius of some literary and antiquarian interest, iv. 1. 121 sqq.:

Vmbria te notis antiqua Penatibus edit
 (mentior an patriae tangitur ora tuae?)
 qua nebulosa cauo rorat Meuania campo
 et lacus aestiuus intepet Vmber aquis.

The straits into which an error of this kind may lead the commentator will be obvious from a note which I will translate from the German, ‘We must understand the *lacus Vmber* which was probably drained under Theodoric. At least in Cassiodor. *Var.* ii. 21. 2 we hear of a plan for draining the “*loca in Spoletino territorio caenosis fluentibus*”² inutiliter occupata”. In summer it would supply a suitable swimming bath’ (‘Er wird im Sommer ein angenehmes Schwimmbad geboten haben’). So disastrous to the critical vision is the prepossession that *lacus* should denote a watery expanse that marshy pools round Spoleto in the times of Theodoric have to be at Bevagna some seven miles away in the time of Propertius. How the muddy (*caenosa*) or the steaming (*intepentia*) waters of such lagoons with their concomitants of mosquitoes and malaria would be a *suitable swimming bath in summer*, the reader is left to divine. To a Roman, however, *lacus* was a pit, tank, or basin, with no necessary connotation of extent. And here it has the sense of the basin or cup from which a stream springs at its source, as in Verg. *Aen.* viii. 74 sqq.:

quo te cumque *lacus*, miserantem incommoda nostra,
fonte tenet, quocumque *solo* pulcherrimus *exis*,
 semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis,
 corniger Hesperidum fluius regnator aquarum,

¹ Similar observations might be made with regard to *senex*, γέρων. The disparagement of age is a privilege of the junior world.

² Surely *fluentis*. Can either *caenosis* or *fluentibus* be a noun?

where Servius has 'dictus lacus quasi lacuna ex qua erumpens aqua facit "fontem" qui cum fluere coeperit "alueum" facit'. The word has the same sense in *Georg.* iv. 364 'speluncisque lacus clausos'; Lygdamus [Tib.] iii. 1. 16 'Castaliamque umbram Pieriosque lacus'; and Prop. iii. 3. 32 'tingunt Gorgoneo punica rostra lacu'.

The stream whose source is here regarded is the *Clitumnus*, the famous Umbrian river which Propertius celebrates elsewhere, as is clear from the well-known description in Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 8 'Vidistine aliquando Clitumnum fontem?—modicus collis adsurgit, antiqua cupresso nemorosus et opacus. hunc subter exit fons et exprimitur pluribus uenis sed imparibus eluctatusque quem facit gurgitem lato gremio patescit purus et uitreus'. Further on Pliny has 'rigor aquae certauerit niuibus nec color cedit', which would be enough to show that 'non tepet' (Housman) should be restored for 'intepet' above, if the latter word were not already condemned by the parallel which is adduced to support it: Stat. *Theb.* ii. 376 'qua Lernaepalus ambustaque sontibus alte | intepet hydra uadis'.

Let me take a recent thesis and a not very ancient criticism, both perhaps familiar. 'I maintain that some *shall* idea is the real key to these [subjunctives]. If so, we English-speaking nations ought to bless our stars that we have been provided by the accident of language with a verb which seems to have been designed by Providence to make Latin modal syntax intelligible to us'.¹ Mr. V.'s 'notion of the dative case is a case which he can translate by "für"'.²

The perverting effect of the modern vocabulary is trifling compared with that of the modern syntax. It is the great gap between modern and ancient modes of connected expression, and the small success of teaching in bridging it for the average mind that are at the bottom of the outcry against Classics, which has been so loud in recent years. Very few among the longer sentences of modern languages would an ancient Greek or Roman have recognized as sentences at all—hardly any in English, a few more in French, and still a few more in German. And for a very obvious reason. To them it was of the essence of a sentence that the structure and the thought should be conterminous. Towards our 'sentences' he would have much the same feelings as a self-respecting vertebrate towards a worm or other similar creature, divisible, without injury to its economy, at almost any part of its length.

One main principle which it takes some trouble to grasp, and still

¹ *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, 1908, p. 29.

² A. E. Housman, Preface to *M. Manilii Astronomicon* Lib. I, 1903, p. li.

more to apply with precision, is that, within certain wide limits, order in modern sentences is syntactically essential and in ancient sentences syntactically indifferent. The modern sentence, to put it roughly, is an arrangement in line, the ancient one within a circle. Now the lineal habit of mind, if I may call it so, is often at a loss when it has to understand the circular; it is devoid of the sense of grouping; it has not been trained to the necessary attention. If the groups are small, the trouble thus caused is small; but it is not absent altogether. In the second half of the pentameter Tibullus writes *uir mulierque* (ii. 2. 2), Ovid *femina uirque*. The difference of order is absolutely without significance. But the lineal mind is apt to imagine that some subtle distinction between the places of man and woman is intended, as though Ovid were a sort of pro- and Tibullus an anti-suffragette. Terence, *Hec.* 315, has *rursum prorsum*, which judged by 'lineal' standards is strictly indefensible; compare *to and fro*. It is only because 'we English-speaking nations' happen to have a similar neglect of sequence in *backwards and forwards* that this does not strike us as strange. In a recent note on Ter. *Hec.* 159 sq. 'sed ut fit, postquam hunc alienum ab sese uidet, | maligna multo et magis procax facta ilico est', it is said of the second line that the order is 'capricious'. The order is not capricious. It is not (that is true) the order of a Latinist of the twentieth century A.D., who would doubtless prefer 'multo magis maligna et procax'. But it is just as clear and far more effective, if the sentence is taken as a whole and due heed be paid to the binding alliteration (pp. 38 sqq. below). A good many years ago Mr. T. E. Page¹ called attention to the irrationality of current views of the figure called *hysteron proteron*, as in Eur. *Hec.* 266 *κείνη γὰρ ὄλεσέν νιν ἐς Τροίαν τ' ἄγει*. To the lineal mind these 'inversions' are nonsense; to the circular but legitimate variations. I have lately² referred to *hyperbata* or dislocations of order, and shown how in Catullus lxvi. 77 an hyperbaton has caused the greatest trouble to a long succession of scholars³ who attacked the passage upon lineal theories. The real character of such arrangements is seen in passages like Ter. *Ad.* 917 'tu illas abi et *traduce*; and Lucan, viii. 342 sq. 'quem captos ducere reges | uidit ab Hyrcanis Indoque a litore *siluis*', which almost shriek at us the warning *respice finem*.

Not only does the lineal habit hinder our sight of real connexions between the distant members of a sentence, but it causes us to find

¹ *Classical Review*, viii. 1894, p. 204.

² *Classical Philology* (July, 1908), iii. p. 259.

³ Not excepting the last editor of the poem (Teubner, 1908).

imaginary bonds between adjacent ones. In the article above referred to (p. 260) I cited two passages where words in tempting juxtaposition to the lineal mind have been taken together without regard to the sentence as a whole. One of these, Ar. *Lys.* 628 καὶ διαλλάττειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν Λακωνικοῖς, has an adverb (πρὸς) in a place where it aggrieves us by not being a preposition. Sometimes the offended lineal sense is soothed with a label on the offending order. At Ter. *Hec.* 364 'qua me propter exanimatum citius eduxi foras' you will find that *qua me propter* is a 'tmesis' for *quapropter me*,¹ and that at *Hec.* 58 'per pol quam pannos' *per pol quam* is again a 'tmesis' for *pol perquam*. The Romans had a way of putting *per* where we do not expect or approve of it, and however many times we may have met the Latin formula *per te deos oro* we settle with satisfaction on a passage like Horace, *Odes* i. 8. 1 'Lydia, dic per omnes | te deos oro', because there the poet has happened to leave the *per* in front of an accusative with which we can construe it. These 'inversions' or 'dislocations' are not confined to *per* or to Latin. Mr. Housman on Manilius i. 245 has given an ample collection for other prepositions, and within the last few weeks I have had ocular demonstration of the havoc which may be wrought among translators by Callimachus's inconsiderate arrangement of the words ἐς δὲ δάκρυ μ' ἦγαγε as ἐς δέ με δάκρυ | ἦγαγε *Anth. Gr.* vii. 80. For other examples I may refer to my remarks in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. 17, p. 260. I commented there on misunderstandings of the Greek article for which juxtaposition was responsible. The warning of twenty years ago is still by no means superfluous.

What the ancients called *hyperbaton in syllables* is from the modern point of view so singular that it demands a separate mention. Tryphon (*Boisson. Anecd.* iii. p. 274) has ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ὑπερβατὰ πεποιήκασιν ὡς καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι

'Ερμῆν τόνδ' ἀνέθη Δημήτριος ὀρθιάδου κεν²
ἐν προθύροις

Besides this ἀνέθη—κεν of Simonides we may set the lines of Ennius—
saxo cere- comminuit -brum

and

lagoenas

Massili- portabant iuuenes ad litora -tanās.

(For more examples see L. Mueller's *de re metrica*, pp. 457 sqq.)

¹ There is an exact parallel to this in Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 95 'quo, bone, circa', 'tmesis rarissima', say the annotators. It is fortunate that the students of English are exempted from learning that 'to us ward' is a tmesis for 'toward us'.

² So acutely restored by the brilliant Greek scholar whose recent death we deplore—W. G. Headlam, *Journal of Philology*, xxvi. p. 93.

These are anyhow strange licences or, if we must adopt the condemnatory tone of Headlam upon the Greek example, 'grave lapses' of language. But to modern speech they are more; they are sheer impossibilities. And so they are not imitated and cannot even be reproduced.

Hypallage, a figure which, wherever there is an opening, the modern annotator is prone to misunderstand (for example you will find the *os trilingue* ascribed by Horace to Cerberus, *Carm.* ii. 19. 31, still explained as a 'three-tongued mouth' instead of a 'triple mouth-and-tongue'), is intelligible as soon as the principle of the sentence's totality has been grasped. There is no real disorder in Homer's *Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου* or Vergil's *arma dei Volcania*, and the mobility of thought which enabled an ancient to say what to our analysis is 'the seven-walled exits' *τὰς ἑπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους* (Aesch.), though it means 'the seven exits of walls', is capable of still further extensions.

In his *Pharsalia*, book viii. 542 sqq., Lucan, to convey the thought 'Gods, who would have thought there was such daring within the bounds of Egypt?', writes:

O Superi, Nilusne et barbara Memphis
et *Pelusiaci* tam mollis turba *Canopi*
hos animos?

Now *Canopus* was on the westernmost, but *Pelusium* on the easternmost arm of the Nile; and less than eighty lines back the poet has defined its position, 'qua diuidui pars maxima Nili | in uada decurrit Pelusia septimus amnis.' But since to us the phrase 'Pelusian Canopus' is as meaningless as 'Doverian Folkestone' would be, it is the fashion to say that 'Pelusian' simply means *Egyptian*, thus imputing to the author a gross, if concealed, tautology. But a Roman reader would have understood without more ado that Lucan meant the inhabitants of Egypt wherever they were to be found, the population of the river-side to Memphis in the interior and that of the Delta seaboard *from Canopus to Pelusium*: and the censure of Oudendorp *ad loc.* 'eodem iure alicui dicere liceret *Pelusium Canopicum* cum sint duo extrema Nili ostia, Pelusium ad Orientem, Canopus ad occidentem' would have seemed to him its sole and best defence.¹

¹ The phrase 'caught on'. Not only does Statius quote it in his tribute to the memory of Lucan, *Silu.* ii. 7. 70 '*Pelusiaci scelus Canopi*'; but the wordy paraphrast of Dionysius Periegetes substitutes it for the 'Ἀμυκλαίοιο Κανώβου of his original 'et *Pelusiaci* celebrantur templa *Canopi*', Auien. iii. 24. Lastly we meet it in Sidonius, *Carm.* ix. 27. 4.

Look out *Aganippis* in a well-known dictionary and you will find ‘*Aganippis, -idis, f., that is sacred to the Muses: fontes Aganippidos, Hippocrenes, Ov. F. 5. 7*’; refer to a commentary on the passage quoted and you will see that it is to mean ‘inspiring song’ (‘begeistert’); turn to a leading Latin lexicon¹ and you are presented with both, ‘der den Musen heiligen u. begeisternden’. As Aganippe and Hippocrene were separate but adjoining springs, these efforts of interpretation would correspond to explaining a phrase ‘Buxtonian Matlock’ as either (1) ‘*anti-rheumatic Matlock*’ (viz. Matlock with the properties of Buxton), or (2) ‘*Aesculapian Matlock*’ (Matlock sacred to the Buxton god of healing), or (3) as ‘*Aesculapian and anti-rheumatic Matlock*’.² Now what are the reasons for such contortions of interpretation? There are two. The first is that the commentators are aware that Ovid knew perfectly well that Aganippe and Hippocrene were different springs, *Met. v. 312* ‘*fonte Medusaeo (i. e. Hippocrene) et Hyantea Aganippe*’, and the second is that we are by first and second nature constitutionally unfitted to conceive of a state of mind to which ‘*Aganippis Hippocrene*’ and ‘*Aganippe Hippocrenis*’ could mean exactly the same thing, viz. the couple of hippine springs, Aganippe-Hippocrene. For this was what Ovid intended by the phrase which has puzzled us.

dicite quae fontes *Aganippidos Hippocrenes*
grata Medusaei signa tenetis equi.

Attentive consideration of these passages enables us to pronounce upon a much canvassed line of Propertius, iii. 22. 15, where the MSS. have

et si qua *orige* uisenda est ora Caystri.

Here Haupt saw the sense which was required when he emended ‘*et sis quae Ortygia (= Ephesus) et uisenda est ora Caystri*’. But the true correction had already been made by J. Voss, *Ortygii—Caystri*, that is ‘the Cayster with Ephesus’. In *Ortygii, ti* fell out before *gi*,

¹ The great *Thesaurus* is silent.

² I would apologize for these crudities of representation. But for the detection of the impostures the impostors must be stripped of their ancient garb. A fourth attempt at a solution I have passed over. Of Aganippe, says another dictionary, ‘on la confonde avec l’Hippocrène.’ If ‘on’ means Ovid, the answer to the calumny is below. If ‘on’ is to have a wider reference, where, we may ask, outside of an asylum can such a confusion be engendered? Show us the place, and we shall know it for one where ‘Brighton-Hastings’ or ‘Brightonian Hastings’ may mean ‘Hastings, which the writer confounds with Brighton’, and ‘fox-dog’ denote some chimaera of a fox and a dog.

and *orgii* easily became *orige* which with the copyist stood for a real word *aurigae*.

The greater ease of what we might call the 'intertransience' of two ideas in the circular grouping is perhaps the reason of the curious employment of abstracts in Latin which strikes as particularly strange in a language with such a love for the concrete. Such as *fontium gelidæ perennitates*, Cicero, *corui deceptus stupor*, Phaedrus, in which the quality is not 'applied' to a subject, but is regarded, so to speak, as blended with it, 'The cool fountain-flows,' 'the cheated crow-fool.'

It is an axiom of classical exegesis that single Greek and Latin words must often be treated as the equivalent of a phrase, the modern mind analysing much that the ancient viewed as integrities. But this generality is apt to be neglected where its application cannot be immediately perceived. Let me first cite an example from a Latin writer in which the ancient habit has produced a variation of expression at once evident and instructive, Silius i. 627 sqq. 'sic thalami fugit omnis amor dulcesque marito | *effluxere tori* et subiere *oblivia taedæ*'.

In Lucan x. 184 sqq. Caesar is explaining to Acoreus, the priest of Isis, his desire to become acquainted with the mysteries of Egypt, and in particular with the solution of that scientific riddle, the origin of the Nile.

fama quidem generi Pharias me duxit ad urbes, sed tamen et uestri. media inter proelia semper stellarum caelique plagis superisque uacauit. . .	185
sed cum tanta meo uiuat sub pectore <i>uirtus</i> , tantus <i>amor ueri</i> , nihil est quod noscere malim, quam fluuii causas per saecula tanta latentis ignotumque caput. spes sit mihi certa uidendi Niliacos fontes; bellum ciuile relinquam.	190

uirtus does not mean 'bellica uirtus' (Sulpicius), nor 'ardour' simply (so the last translator of the *Pharsalia* into English verse); but, as the correspondence of *amor ueri* shows, 'passion for excellence'. Weise's 'tantus vigor ad maxima quaeque vel perficienda vel cognoscenda' is for a paraphrase perfectly correct.

The modern bias is responsible for some part of the difficulty presented by a well-known crux in the *Satires* of Horace. *S.* ii. 2. 9 sqq.

leporem sectatus equouae lassus ab indomito uel, si Romana fatigat militia adsuetum graecari, seu pila uelox	10
--	----

molliter austerum studio fallente laborem
 seu te *discus agit*, [pete cedentem aera disco]¹
 cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
 sperne cibum uilem.

The propriety of *agit* here with *discus* has been questioned not without reason; but the doubt disappears when, following the cue given by *studio* in the previous line, we observe that *discus* is to be understood as ‘studium disci’; cf. Propertius i. 13. 28 ‘te tuus ardor *aget*’. *discus* is, in fact, used here just as *aurum* is in Propertius iii. 5. 3

nec tamen *inuiso* pectus mihi carpitur auro,

a line which I have quoted in full in order to remove a prevalent misunderstanding as to its meaning. *in-uidere* is ‘to cast an envious eye on’ a thing or person, and *inuisus* is used of that on which such a glance is cast. An envied person comes naturally to be *hated*, ἐπιφθονος; and in Latin this sense supplanted the original one in the case of persons, and was even transferred to things, to which it was etymologically inappropriate. Of these, however, the participle could be used in the old sense which Horace expresses by means of *inuidendus*, e.g. *Carm.* ii. 10. 7 ‘caret inuidenda | sobrius aula’. This is its meaning here, and in Ovid, *Met.* xi. 127 sqq. of the plight of Midas when his greedy prayer was granted.

diuesque miserque
 effugere optat opes et quae modo uouerat odit.
 copia nulla famem releuat; sitis arida guttur
 urit et *inuiso* meritis torquetur ab auro.

Here ‘hated’ gives no sense. Midas had *not* hated gold; he had loved it only too well; and hence he was ‘*male optato*—circumlitus auro’ (*infra* 136). What, however, he *had* done, was to cast an envious eye upon it, as the avaricious man does; and for this he is rightly tormented (‘*meritis torquetur*’).

Few inquirers are proof against the charms of the siren etymology, and when a captivating derivation comes into conflict with ancient authors and evidence, the ancient and the evidence must commonly retire. A now innocuous discussion of Max Müller² is so instructive that I must put it first in my illustrations. Varro in his work on the Latin language, vii. 73–5, in treating of the origin of *septemtrio*,³

¹ The words in brackets are not from Horace; but I leave them in the text as they do not affect the present question.

² Max Müller, *Science of Language*, 2nd Series, Lecture VIII, p. 364.

³ The remarkable ‘tmesis’ of this word in Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 381) and Ovid (*Met.* i. 68) may be noted in passing.

septentriones, the Great Bear, tells us that in his time oxen were still called *triones* by the countrymen, especially when ploughing, 'triones enim boues appellantur a bubulcis etiam nunc maxime quum arant terram.' 'If,' said Max Müller, 'we could quite depend on the fact that oxen were ever called *triones*, we might accept the explanation of Varro and should have to admit that at one time the seven stars were conceived as seven oxen. But as a matter of fact *trio* is never used in this sense, except by Varro, for the purpose of an etymology, nor are the stars ever again spoken of as seven oxen, but only as "the oxen and the shaft", *boues et temo*, a much more appropriate name.' This is said to pave the way for the acceptance of Max Müller's own derivation from *septem striones*, 'the seven stars,' on which we may follow his own example just so far as to observe that *strio*, 'a star,' is never used in this sense, except by Max Müller, for the purpose of an etymology.

In the last etymological dictionary of Latin we read '*proelium*, "Kampf, Treffen," richtiger *praelium* oder *prelium*'. This 'incorrectness' of *proelium* will seem strange to those who are aware that it is vouched for by the *Fasti Capitolini*, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the capital MSS. of Vergil, and so forth: nor will the suggestion that *prae* or *pre*, either common enough as the initial syllable of Latin words, has been here corrupted into an absolutely unique beginning *proe* appear less remarkable. But the explanation is simple. The compiler of the lexicon cannot derive *proelium* and thinks that he can derive *praelium* or *prelium*. 'I do not understand measles,' said the doctor in the well-known cynical anecdote, 'I will give the child fits and cure them.'

Lexicography, and, in its train, the interpretation of literature, do not escape. The lexicon of Latin used most in this country has, under *trames*, 'akin to *trans* and Gk. *τέρμα*, goal. I. Lit. a *cross-way*, *side-way*, *by-path*, *footpath*. Transf. 1. Poet., in gen., a *way*, *path*, *road*, *course*, *flight*. 2. *Branches* of a family, Gellius. II. Trop., a *way of life*, *way*, *course*, *method*, *manner*, Lucretius.¹

The entire presentation of this word has been perverted by etymology. *trames* does not mean a 'cross-way' or 'by-path', nor again a 'way, path in general', nor again a 'branch of a family', nor a 'way of life, or method, or manner'. It means a *path on a slope*, a narrow mountain track or what may be compared thereto. In all

¹ We know where all this comes from; for if we turn to the article in Freund's lexicon we read: '*trames*, der Querweg, Seitenweg, Nebenweg . . . β) Uebertr. 1. poet., im Allgem. für Pfad, Weg, Gang, Flug u. dgl.—2. für Abzweigung der Familie. *II. Tropisch. Weg, Methode. (Lucr.)

the passages cited it may have this reference. All, except Hor. *S.* ii. 3. 49, lose both in force and pertinence if it have it not. *Appennini tramites* Cic. *Ph.* xii. 26. *transuersis tramitibus transgressus*¹ Livy ii. 39. 3 (of a hill country, as a glance at the map will show). Prop. iii. 13. 44 'et quicumque *meo tramite* quaeris auem', a translation from the Greek of Leonidas Tarentinus, τοῦθ' ὑπὸ δισσοῦν ὄρος. Of Iris's rainbow-path down the clouds, Verg. *A.* v. 610 'cito decurrit tramite uirgo'. Of the lines of a stemma or pedigree by which a man 'genus deducit', or traces his *descent*. In the passage of Lucretius, vi. 27, it is used significantly of the narrow upward way; Epicurus 'uiam monstrauit *tramite paruo* | qua possemus ad id recto contendere cursu', with which compare Pers. 3. 57 '*urgentem* dextro monstrauit limite callem'. In the simile of Hor. *S.* ii. 3. 49 the *trames* is in forests (*siluis*), but there is no reason why these forests should not be on a mountain side.²

There is small excuse for this blundering. Many years ago Quicherat in his *Gradus ad Parnassum* led the way towards a correct explanation, though he could not by any means shake off all the misleading associations of his 'chemin de traverse'.

Whether *trames* originally meant a 'cross-path', it is not within my present purpose to determine; suffice it to say that this sense is nowhere apparent in its usage. And it may be added that we are not limited to this supposition. It may be that *trames* is directly derived from *trama*, a synonym of *subtemen*. For such epithets of *trames* as *paruus* and *angustus* might be quite appropriately connected with the slender threads of the woof or weft; and the *trames*, winding backwards and forwards up or down the mountain-side, presented an obvious similarity to this thread in its crossing and recrossing of the vertical loom.

Archaeology and history suffer too. I will take *pomerium* as my example. The tendency of which I speak has seriously impaired the otherwise excellent investigation of Mommsen in his *Römische Forschungen*, II, p. 23 sqq. Mommsen, whose etymologizing was intuitive rather than scientific, was dominated by the theory that *pomerium* must have come from *post* and *muris* (or O.L. *pos* and *moerus*).

¹ What a passage this for the cross-path interpretation, 'having *crossed* by *cross cross-ways*'!

² There can be no such doubt about Prop. i. 18. 27 'pro quo'diui fontest et frigida rura | et datur inculto tramite dura quies', where the last German commentator writes, '*Trames* ist hier nicht der Waldpfad, sondern der Wald selbst'—two errors in as many lines. This is outdone by an English comment on iii. 22. 24 '*ab Umbro tramite*', 'from its Umbrian path,' i.e. 'from the vales of Umbria'.

'Nothing remains,' he says on p. 28, 'but to return to that explanation which etymologically is the sole one possible (welche etymologisch die allein mögliche ist),' and, lightly brushing aside the far from trivial objections to which as a derivation it is open,¹ he decides that the *pomerium* lay inside the walls. The procedure is illegitimate. For etymology is not evidence; it is inference, and, as experience shows, often most erroneous inference.

The same derivation dominated antiquity; and this must not be lost sight of when we would appraise the value of the ancient testimonies. There were two views held amongst the ancients as to what the Roman *pomerium* really was. Varro, *L. L.* v. 143, and Messalla, quoted by Gellius xiii. 14, are cited as witnesses that it was a strip of land running round *inside* the city walls *post muros*; Livy i. 44 as a witness that it was one *on both sides* of the city wall inside and out, *circa muros*. Now let us ask, Of two witnesses, one believing and the other disbelieving, that *pomerium* was derived from *post* and *murus*, which would be the better witness for the supposed fact, that it was actually *post murum*? Obviously the disbeliever. For on him this theory of the origin of the word could have exerted no disturbing influence. Varro, however, is a witness belonging to the former class: 'qui orbis, quod erat post murum, *postmoerium dictum*.'

Next let us turn to Livy. I will translate the Latin. He says

'*pomerium* is explained as *postmoerium* or 'behind-wall', regard being had to the etymology alone; but it is rather *circamoerium* or 'round-wall', a space which the Etruscans, when founding cities in old times, used to consecrate with augural rites along a line, marked by a series of boundary-stones on both sides of what was to be the course of their wall, that buildings might not be erected contiguously to the walls on their inner side (nowadays these are often in actual contact) and that outside them might be ground upon which human cultivation did not encroach. This space, which it was forbidden both to plough and to occupy, was called *pomerium*, 'behind-wall,' by the Romans, not more because it was 'behind wall' as because 'wall was behind it'.

The evidential value of such a passage for the actual character of the *pomerium* is intrinsically of the highest order. For Livy, or his authority, is so dominated by the view that *pomerium* comes from *post* and *murus* that he endeavours to reconcile this with the fact that the *pomerium* was *circa muros* by an etymological explanation which, as he states it, must be admitted to be absurd.

¹ p. 25, n. 9. Of his examples of 'irregular' sound-change there quoted most would now be otherwise explained.



Messalla alone remains. What he, or rather what the ‘augures populi Romani qui libros de auspiciis scripserunt’, laid down is as follows:—

pomerium est locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinatus *qui facit finem urbani auspicii*.

The last words give us the clue. When the inner ring of the *pomerium* which lay *pone muros* was crossed, the urban auspices lost their power, just as the military auspices (*bellica auspicia*) became inoperative when the general crossed its outer ring. And since the crossing of the inner ring was far more under public notice than the crossing of the outer ring, the word was used with this special application. We must therefore accept the view adopted by O. Müller, Becker, and Schwegler that the *pomerium*, in the proper sense, ran along *both* sides of the wall.¹

It might perhaps be deemed superfluous to remind the scholars of to-day that no portion of the past can be understood unless we arrive at it by the historical path and cease to view it as something out of relation to what preceded and what ensued. Unfortunately it is not.

The Homeric Article is a well-worn theme. Its half demonstrative character and the impediments which the associations of modern languages and of later Greek throw in the way of our appreciation of its more ancient usages are familiar topics. But *quod quisque uitet, numquam homini satis cautumst in horas*, and the approaches of error are here especially insidious. Of the three stages in the history of the ‘article’, ὁ ἄνθρωπος, (1) *he* [i. e.] *man*; (2) *that man, ille homo*; (3) *the man, l'homme*, it is the second and third which require most careful discrimination. For their difference is rather quantitative than qualitative, and there is no half-way house on the road between them. Unless we are prepared to see in *Iliad* x. 408 πῶς δ' αἰ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φυλακαὶ τε καὶ εὐναί; an extravagant emphasis, we must concede to Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 261. 3, that it presents ‘the defining Article of later Greek’. But in the three examples which are given at the close of the same paragraph *that* would be a less imperfect representation than *the*; *Il.* ii. 80 εἰ μὲν τίς τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐνισπε, | ψευδὸς κεν φαίμεν, vii. 412 ὧς εἰπὼν τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνέσχεθε πᾶσι θεοῖσι (the τό calls attention to the uplifted staff), xx. 147 ὄφρα τὸ κῆτος ὑπεκπροφυγὼν ἀλέαιτο, | ὀππότε μιν σεύαιτο ἀπ’

¹ I cannot go further into the matter, but I must add that Mommsen candidly admits that the leaving of a strip of ground clear on *both* sides of the wall was a very reasonable safeguard.

ἡμίονος πεδίοιενδε (that sea monster, the great sea monster). And if ever there was a passage in which solemn emphasis was expressed by article or pronoun adjective, it is surely x. 330 μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχῆσεται ἄλλος. What, again, has the article of xxiii. 75 done to be catalogued as 'quite anomalous'? The spirit of Patroclus pleads piteously to his slumbering friend, beginning εὔδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο λελασμένος ἔπλευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ, | οὐ μὲν μεν ζώοντος ἀκήδεις ἀλλὰ θανόντος . . . καὶ μοι δὸς τὴν χεῖρ' ὀλοφύρομαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὔτις | νίσσομαι ἐξ Ἀΐδαο ἐπήν με πυρὸς λελάχητε. Are we to surrender to grammatical classification the natural and pathetic touch in τὴν χεῖρα? Let a poet answer:

And hands so often clasp'd in mine
Should toss with tangle and with shells.

Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, x.

Monro's exposition of the Homeric article is, however, in the main just and sober, and contrasts strikingly with the treatment to which it is subjected in a recent volume of acute and ingenious studies on the *Odyssey*. The design of the critic is to restore the pristine Homeric usage to that poem, and he effects this by the wholesale removal of articles in which he detects the trail of the modernizer. That the language of the Homeric poems has suffered, it is difficult to say how much, from being brought up to date, is hardly a matter for dispute. But the task of restoration requires great caution and much self-control, and a suspected usage must be examined, so to say, both from before and behind. There was no sudden and tropical transformation of non-articular night into articular day. Rather between the two lay a long and uncertain twilight, and even after the illumination was general, in hollows and under heights there lingered patches of pre-articular shade. This is utterly neglected in the book to which I refer. Where ὁ, ἡ, τό can be understood as unemphatic Attic articles, so understood they are, and bidden to evacuate the text for substitutes which often possess neither literary appropriateness nor palaeographical probability. What we may perhaps call the 'intermediate article'—the *the* which has lost some of its mobility but still retains its independence—naturally suffers most. *Od.* xviii. 74 οἷν ἐκ ρακέων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει is a striking example. For it was 'probably' (note the *probably*) 'modified for the better accommodation of the article from an original: οἷν ἐν ρακέεσσι γέρων κτλ.' Is the ὁ γέρων so otiose that it must be got rid of at such a cost? 'Yet who would have thought *the old man* to have had so much blood in him?'—*Macbeth*, Act V, Sc. 1.

Nearly every one of the articles which are attacked on the ground of their coincidence with the later unemphatic ones does more than simply define, e. g. *Od.* xi. 4 τὰ μῆλα, not 'the sheep' but 'the (necessary) sheep' (x. 572), xx. 77 τὰς κούρας, 'the luckless maidens', xix. 535 τὸν ὄνειρον, 'the dream I must narrate to you', on which we are told that 'this is the only passage in the *Odyssey* in which ὄνειρος is accommodated or encumbered with the article', and the only one, we may add, in which there is purposed reference to a particular dream. A similarly crude appeal to numbers is to condemn xxi. 113 καὶ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ τόξου πειρησαίμην (Telemachus), 305 ὧς καὶ σοὶ μέγα πῆμα πιφαύσκομαι αἶ κε τὸ τόξον | ἐντανύσης (Antinous), 378 τὰ δὲ τόξα φέρων ἀνὰ δῶμα συβώτης | ἐν χεῖρσσι' Ὀδυσῆι δαίφρουι θῆκε παραστάς. 'The twenty-first book of the *Odyssey* has the doubtful distinction of possessing the only three examples of τόξον with the later article.'¹ But in 305 the minatory tone is clear, 'if you draw that bow!' At 113 we think of 'Le sabre de mon père'. In 378 the alteration ὁ δέ spoils the grouping of the picture, the centre of which is not the mere conveyer of the bow, but the bow itself, whose destination had just been the subject of an angry dispute; see 359 sqq., 366, 369 sqq. Places where the noun has an attribute fare no better: ii. 403 τὴν σὴν ποτιδέγμενοι ὀρμήν, 'illum tuum cursum expectantes', iii. 145 τὸν Ἀθηναίης δεινὸν χόλον, 'terribilem illam Mineruae iram', xi. 519 ἀλλ' οἶον τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενήρατο χαλκῷ, 'at qualem illum Telephiden interfecit!'

Other usages of the Homeric 'article' are assailed by means of the same statistical fallacy and without even the excuse of the modernizing scribe. On τὰ ἕκαστα (xii. 16; also 165, xiv. 375, and *Il.* xi. 706) it is observed that 'against these four we have to set twenty-five instances of ἕκαστα without article in the *Odyssey* alone'. This article is said to be 'quite needless'. Which means that the construction can dispense with it, an engine of argument that could be used to decimate the ranks of the demonstratives in many literatures. But the τὰ, 'needless' though it may be for the syntax, is not quite needless for the sense. ἕκαστα means 'each thing', τὰ ἕκαστα means 'those things, each one of them', and expresses at xii. 16 ἡμεῖς μὲν τὰ ἕκαστα διείπομεν the scrupulous care with which the details of the unfortunate Elpenor's funeral were carried out (*supra*, 11-15), and

¹ A similar argument is used against τήν in xviii. 380 οὐδ' ἄν μοι τήν γαστήρ' ὀνειδίζων ἀγορεύοις, the only place where γαστήρ takes the article, because the only place where it is appropriate. It points the allusion to the still rankling insults of xvii. 228 and xviii. 364.

at 165 it impresses on the reader the particularity with which Odysseus required his crew to attend to his directions when they sailed past the dangerous coast of the Sirens (*supra*, 156-64).

Another peculiarity, treated with the same severity, is, if anomalous in Homeric, not less anomalous, to say the least, in later Greek, where its survival from the ancient times of freedom has, for example, troubled much the commentators upon Sophocles. The instances are ix. 378 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ὁ μοχλὸς ἐλάινος ἐν πυρὶ μέλλεν | ἄψεσθαι (here we are told that 'ὁ μόχλος ἐλάινος condemns itself'. This means *from the Attic standpoint*, the critic forgetting for the nonce that from his point of view ὁ ἐλάινος μοχλός is equally objectionable), xi. 492 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγαθοῦ μῦθον ἐνίσπε(ς) (bidden to make way for ἀλλ' ἄγε μ' αὐτίκα παιδός), xvii. 10 τὸν ξείνου δύστηνον ἄγ' ἐς πόλιν ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκείθι | δαῖτα πτωχεύῃ (σόν is read).¹ To which we may add xxiii. 223 sq. τὴν δ' ἄτην οὐ πρόσθεν ἐφ' ἐγκάτθετο θυμῷ | λυγρῆν, ἐξ ἧς πρῶτα καὶ ἡμέας ἔκετο πένθος, and from the *Iliad* i. 338 sqq. τὰ δ' αὐτῶ μάρτυροι ἔστων | πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων | καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος, ii. 275 ὃς τὸν λωβητῆρα ἐπεσβόλον ἔσχ' ἀγοράων (though to what extent ἐπεσβόλον is adjectival is not easy to determine), xxi. 316 sq. φημὶ γὰρ οὔτε βίην χραισμήσεμεν οὔτε τι εἶδος | οὔτε τὰ τεύχεα καλὰ (*illa arma pulchra*).

From later Greek three examples or (omitting Theocritus xxvii. 59 for more than one reason) two examples of the possessive adjective ἐμός are generally cited, upon which we read in Gerth-Kühner, *Gr. Gramm.* ii. p. 614 'Die Beispiele für eine abweichende Stellung des Possessivums sind durch Konjektur beseitigt'. They are Sophocles, *Ajax* 572 sq.

καὶ τὰμὰ τεύχη μήτ' ἀγωνάρχαι τινὲς
θήσουσ' Ἀχαιοῖς μήθ' ὁ λυμεῶν ἐμός,

and Euripides, *Hippolytus* 682 sqq.

ὦ παγκακίστη καὶ φίλων διαφθορεῦ,
οἷ εἰργάσω με. Ζεὺς σ' ὁ γεννητῶρ ἐμός
πρόρριζον ἐκτρίψειεν οὐτάσας πυρὶ.

There is evident likeness between these two passages. They are both spoken under the stress of strong emotion, though it is not held in both under the same control. The curse of Hippolytus, the last solemn injunction² of the self-doomed Ajax, clothe themselves

¹ ὁ ξείνος is expelled from thirteen passages, τὸν ξείνον from eighteen, and τῷ ξείνῳ and τοὺς ξείνους from one each. This is the faith that can remove mountains.

² ἐπισκίπτω (566) and the μήτ' . . . θήσουσι, not to be attenuated into a mere dependent on ὄπως, but reminiscent of the use of μή in solemn utterances of a speaker's desire; cf. *Od.* x. 330 (above).

naturally in antique language. And the article in both is not the slip of a scribe but the choice of the author.

Let me digress for a moment to call attention once more to the superficiality of the criticism which has been dealt out to another archaizing appeal in this very tragedy, 835 sqq.

καλῶ δ' ἄρωγους τὰς αἰεὶ τε παρθένους
 αἰεὶ θ' ὀρώσας πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς πάθη
 σεμνὰς Ἐρινύς ταυπόδας μαθεῖν ἐμέ
 καί σφας κακοῦς κάκιστα καὶ πανωλέθρους
 ξυναρπάσειαν ὥσπερ εἰσορώσ' ἐμέ 840
 αὐτοσφαγῆ πίπτοντα τὼς αὐτοσφαγεῖς
 πρὸς τῶν φιλιστων ἐγκύων ὀλοίατο.

It is usual to reject the two or the four last lines as an interpolation. It may be admitted that the connexion in l. 840 would be improved by reading *χῶσπερ*, as any interpolator would most certainly have seen. But if the two lines 841-2 are forged, the forger was a criminal artist as remarkable and as unfortunate as the murderer of the little old man in the well-known story of Gaboriau. His skill has been his own undoing. 'To obtain for the curse of Ajax the utmost solemnity possible', he has made Sophocles 'clothe it in an ancient Ionic and Epic form as is shown by τῶς, φιλιστων, ὀλοίατο. This effect could hardly have been obtained in any other way. Of *φιλιστος*, to which chief exception has been taken, it may be observed that though not found elsewhere in extant literature it is sufficiently supported by the *φιλιων* of the *Odyssey* and by its use as a proper name. As regards the ending *-ατο*, we may note that it is not without significance that tragedy confines its use to the optative, and, as my friend Prof. Ridgeway pointed out to me a good many years ago, to the optative of uncontracted verbs'.¹

To make a conclusion, those who have liberated themselves from the thralldom of grammatical conventions and classifications, and who remember the freedom which other languages, such as those of the Romance and the Teutonic stocks,² use in their employment of articles,

¹ From Bréal's *Semantics*, Preface to the English edition, p. lviii, note.

² Extirpators of the 'intermediate' or transitional article in Greek and restricters of its movements should first attack the *ille* of Latin and Romance. Beginning with the Italian article, with its fluctuations of place where an adjective is appended to a noun, its insertion or omission with proper names and so forth, they may then next consider the post-classical Latin and deal with such examples as 'occidit pater tuus vitulum *illum* saginatum', '*ille* iudex *iustus* (ὁ δίκαιος κριτής)', 'reuelabit deus brachium suum *illud* sanctum', 'gigantes nominati *illi*' (Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, pp. 419 sq.), and end up with the writers of the classical literature: Juvenal, *Sat.* v. 147 sq. 'quales (sc. boletos) Claudius edit | ante *illum* uxoris (τὸν τῆς γυναικός)'; Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 37 'non usquam

also developed from demonstratives, will regard with equanimity eccentricities characteristic of a period of flux, or inherited therefrom. They will be chary of limiting the possibilities of a stage of language, in which on the one hand ἄνδρα τὸν ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθεται μακάρεσσιν, *Od.* x. 74, is found, and on the other τὸν (*eum*) τρισκαιδέκατον μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα, *Il.* x. 495, and they will take a more lenient, because a more enlightened, view of peculiarities in later Greek, such as the following¹:—

Sophocles, *O. T.* 572 :

τὰς ἐμὰς

οὐκ ἄν ποτ' εἶπε Λαίου διαφθοράς.
(non dixisset *illam* meam Laii caedem.)

Trach. 1249 :

τοίγαρ ποιήσω, κοῦκ ἀπώσομαι, τὸ σὸν
θεοῖσι δεικνὺς ἔργου.
(*illud* factum dis *pro tuo* ostendens.)

775 :

ὁ δ' οὐδὲν εἰδὼς δύσμορος τὸ σὸν μόνης
δώρημ' ἔλεξε.
(*illud* munus tuum solius dixit.)

Euripides (?) *Fragm.* (Weil, *Papyr.*) l. 32 :

μέχρι πόσου τὴν τῆς τύχης,
πάτερ, σὺ λήψει πείραν ἐν τῷμῳ βίῳ ;

(quousque *istud* fortunae in uita mea facies periculum ?)

And in Euripides, *Hippolytus* 471 :

ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ πλείω χρηστὰ τῶν κακῶν ἔχεις,

it seems more respectful to Euripides to suggest that his phrase is modelled on the earlier freer pattern, 'if thou hast more good *on this side* (τά) than bad *on that* (τῶν)', *Od.* xx. 309 sq. οἶδα ἕκαστα | ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια (for which we are offered ἄττα), than that he has flown in the face of contemporary usage by writing τὰ πλείω when he should have written πλείω τά.

prorepit et *illis* utitur ante | quaesitis sapiens', ib. 115 sq. 'instat equis auriga suos uincentibus, *illum* | praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem'; Cicero, *de nat. d.* ii. 114 'hic Geminis est *ille* sub ipsis | ante Canem, Προκύων Graio qui nomine fertur'. When they have fixed this Latin fletcher, they may return to Greek.

¹ That examples like these should be judged by the Epic and not the Attic standard will not be contested by those who recall such obviously Epic arrangements as *Philoct.* 371 ὁ δ' εἶπ' Ὀδυσσεύς, *Ajax* 311 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἦστο πλείστον ἄφθογγος χρόνον.

To metre I must make some reference; but it shall be as brief as possible. Vol. 17 of the *Classical Review*¹ saw a controversy on the Latin Sapphic which I trust nothing that I now say will revive. The point at issue was whether in his Sapphic odes Horace wrote in the measure of Canning's *Needy knife-grinder, whither art thou going?*, or in the measure of his avowed model Sappho, or, as proposed in a compromise strongly reminiscent of the would-be wary examinee in a well-known anecdote, 'Sometimes in one and sometimes in the other'. This controversy was but a by-product of the modern pronunciation, which makes havoc of quantity and plumps an overpowering stress-accent on the syllables which by the laws of the metre should be unstressed.² So potent is it that, as a schoolmaster told me but a few weeks ago, even when boys have been drilled in the proper reading of the Sapphic by instruction and example, they fall back into 'needy knife-grinders' as soon as they are left to themselves. Another metre in distress is the anapaestic which is prevailing, at least in England, read with a dactylic rhythm to the stultification of the tragic systems. Those who had the opportunity of comparing Mr. C. Platt's recitation of the parabasis of the *Birds* with the rendering of the anapaestic measures and their false musical setting in the last Greek play performed at Cambridge will not need to be told what a difference this makes. The neglect of quantity is deep-seated in our age;³ and I doubt if there is any easy remedy when people are found to believe

¹ pp. 252 ff., 339 ff., 456 ff.

² No one, that I know, has ever contended that the Greek Sapphic ought to be read, even in portions, in the 'needy knife-grinder' fashion. And yet it will be found that where it can be so read, as in the ode to Aphrodite, 6, 10 *ἄκεες στρουθοὶ περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας*, 11, 18, 19, 21, also 23 (for making *φίλει* into *fill-eye* is a trifle), 25, 27 (eight or nine lines out of twenty-one), it is so read. For in this part of the world Greek words are accented on the syllable which would bear the accent in Latin. Since now, as Mr. E. S. Thompson pointed out, *Cl. Rev.*, l. c. p. 457 a, a double scansion of Greek Sapphics cannot for a moment be entertained, the advocates, German and English, of the *needy knife-grinder* rhythm have to explain why it is needed to scan Horace and not needed to scan Sappho, except for the reason that they know the Greek accent was *not* a stress accent, and that they assume that the Latin was.

³ On this I am now able to quote two sentences from a paper by Prof. J. W. White, 'On the Origin and Form of Aeolic Verse', to appear in the next *Classical Quarterly*. 'That the quantitative rhythms and metres of Greek poetry should seem complicated to men, whose language is accentual is inevitable, whereas modern metres and rhythms are notoriously simple.' 'The attempt to conform Greek Lyrics to the elementary—and uncertain—rhythms of modern poetry that is merely read or recited implies a fundamental misconception of relations.'

that anapaests may appear in the last foot of an iambic line, dactyls at the end of an hexameter, and spondees and tribrachs in the 'pure iambics' of Catullus and others.

It is no business of the scientific inquirer after truth to sit in judgement on the tastes and morals of antiquity. Sympathy with his author is of some use to a student, but of none to a savant. Dispassionateness and insight are all that *he* requires. The admiration stirred in us by the greatness and splendour of an ancient monument of genius is prone to pass into a sentiment which dresses the figure of its worship in fictitious and anachronistic excellences, and resents as profanation any fact or hypothesis that would fasten upon the idol deeds, thoughts, or expressions of which the idolater personally disapproves. How strong and prevalent the sentiment is among us it is difficult to say, since its expression is generally confined to protests in unsigned reviews and private 'letters to the editor'. When the evidence opposed to it is overwhelming and admitted, it shuts its eyes or runs away; though it is up in arms on every fresh occasion. My own experience is that it is very strong indeed, and that there are but few who can be trusted to decide with equanimity certain questions affecting the private life, say, of a Sappho or a Tibullus. To the others my advice, if I might presume to offer it, would be this. If a scholar finds that one of two necessarily alternative conclusions is from its character repugnant to his feelings, this is a hint from his personality that he should leave the matter alone.

Irrelevant judgements of another kind may furnish a transition to the next division of my subject—the blinding effects of modern vanity. Those who have used a well-known French manual of Latin syntax (perhaps the best and certainly one of the best books on the subject) will have noticed, I trust not without offence, how frequently constructions in Latin authors are described as 'incorrect' or 'unclassical'. These expressions with their implications are perhaps excusable in the school classroom when addressed to a beginner in the language. But what business have they in a scientific work based 'on the principles of Historic Grammar'? and who are we that we should accuse Livy and Nepos of solecisms?

The contemplation of an *a priori* probability, real or imagined, that we are right, or less in error than our predecessors, should be excluded from all scientific inquiry. Our indulgence in this intellectual vice Prof. W. Ridgeway¹ in a passage with whose substance

¹ *The Relation of Archæology to Classical Studies*, p. 17 (=p. 53 of the *Proceedings of the Classical Association of Scotland*, 1907-8).

I am wholly in agreement ascribes to 'a pettifogging spirit of scepticism'. But in this matter I am unwilling to pass even an indirect censure upon scepticism. *νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν' ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.* A proper habit of honest doubt is the prime prerequisite of fruitful investigation. Let us distrust always and everything, but chiefly ourselves: *tecum habita: noris*—I need not finish the quotation.¹ But the spirit I mean is akin to the *φθόνος* of which Thucydides (a thinker whose intellect we are told to-day was obsessed by hovering phantoms) writes that an uninstructed hearer believes that a narrative is exaggerated *εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι* (ii. 35. 4). Put *γνώσω* for *φύσιν* here, and you have the vainglorious doubter exactly. It is a matter of common knowledge that seemingly irreconcilable statements may be found to be perfectly compatible when new facts have come to light. And a writer who bluntly rejects the express statement of an ancient on a matter where mistake and prejudice are unbelievable, *because* he cannot harmonize this with other statements and his own inferences therefrom, asserts, though he may not be aware of it, the universality of his own knowledge and the infallibility of his own reasoning.

It is with reluctance that I touch upon Accent once more: but the remarks of a writer in *Classical Philology* of April last year² are too precious to be lost. His object is to show that the Latin accent of the time of Cicero and Varro was a difference of force, and not of pitch. To establish this it was necessary to discredit or extenuate the evidence of contemporary Romans. This had been done before. But seemingly it had not occurred to any one that it would help if the testimony for the musical character of the Greek accent could be similarly disposed of. An ancient scholar and critic of note stood, however, in the way, to wit, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in a treatise *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*, composed not later than 7 B.C. His witness (from Chap. 11) I will now give in English, not in a translation by myself (for this might possibly be suspected of bias) but, wherever possible, in the rendering of the late A. J. Ellis, *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, p. 27 n.

The art of public speaking is a musical one too;³ for it differs from that used in songs and on instruments in quantity, not in quality. For in the latter (public speaking) words have also melody, rhythm, modulation, and propriety. In speaking then also the ear is delighted with the melody, is impelled by the rhythm, and especially longs for propriety. The difference is merely one of degree.

¹ Persius, S. iv. 52.

² pp. 202-3.

³ Μουσική γὰρ τις ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμη (Dionysius).

The melody of speech then (*διαλέκτου μέλος*) is measured by a single musical interval which is as nearly as possible that called a Fifth. It does not rise in pitch beyond three tones and a half nor is it depressed in pitch more than this amount. But every word which constitutes a single unit of speech¹ is not spoken at the same pitch, but one in an acute pitch, another in a grave pitch, and another in both pitches. Of those words [of one syllable] which have both pitches some have a low pitch imperceptibly blended with the high, and these we call 'circumflexed'. But others have both in different places and apart, and keep its proper nature for each. In dissyllables there is nothing interposed between high pitch and low pitch. But in polysyllabic words, of all kinds, there is but one syllable which has the high pitch among many which have the low pitch. On the other hand the music of song and of instruments uses a greater number of intervals and not only the Fifth but beginning with the Octave it performs the Fifth and the Fourth, the whole Tone and the Semitone, and, as some think, even the Quarter-tone audibly. But this (vocal and instrumental) music does not hesitate to subordinate words to the air instead of the air to the words. This is especially evident in the airs of Euripides which he has made Electra sing when speaking to the chorus in his *Orestes* (vv. 140-3):—

σίγα σίγα λευκόν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
τιθεíte μὴ κτυπεíte
ἀποπρόβατ' ἐνεΐσ' ἀπόπροθι κοίτας.

In these lines the words *σίγα σίγα λευκόν* are set to a single note although each of the three words has both high and low pitches, and the word *ἀρβύλης* has the third syllable of the same pitch as the second, though it is impossible that one word should have two high pitches. In the word *τιθεíte* although the first syllable is made lower, the two that follow have both the same high pitch. The circumflex has vanished from *κτυπεíte*; for the two (last?) syllables are spoken at the same pitch. And *ἀποπρόβατ'* does not receive the acute accent belonging to its middle syllable, but the pitch of the third has descended to the fourth syllable. Rhythms are treated in the same manner. For prose neither forces nor interchanges the length of any noun or verb but preserves short and long syllables, as it has received them by nature. Yet rhythmical and musical art change them, shortening and lengthening, till they are often reversed, for they do not rectify the time by the syllables but the syllables by the times.'

So far is the writer to whom I have referred from recognizing, with the accomplished English phonetician, 'the great value and

¹ οὐ μὴν ἅπασά γ' ἡ λέξις ἢ καθ' ἐν μόριον λόγου ταπτομένη ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς λέγεται τάσεως, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξείας ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς βαρείας ἢ δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τάσεις ἔχουσῶν αἱ μὲν κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεφθαρμένον ἔχουσι τῷ ὀξεῖ τὸ βαρὺ ἃς δὲ περισπωμένας καλοῦμεν, αἱ δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τε καὶ ἑτέρῳ χωρὶς ἐκάτερον, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν φυλάττον φύσιν. καὶ ταῖς μὲν δισυλλάβοις οὐδὲν τὸ διὰ μέσου χωρίον βαρύτητος τε καὶ ὀξύτητος κ.τ.εῖ.

importance of this passage, *its explicit identification of Greek accent with pitch, and its clear assertion of the strict observance of quantity in prose,*' that he comments upon it in the following strain: ¹

If Greek was in the third of these phases when Dionysius lived (and Kretschmer's and Mayser's examples [of the confusion of long and short vowels in papyri] seem to prove that stress was not sporadic, but regular), the accent would be such as a *modern phonetician* would describe as predominantly stress. But the accented syllable, being *usually* uttered at a higher pitch than its neighbors, might *conceivably* appear to a man *learned in the theory of earlier days* as distinguished from the unaccented one by the difference in pitch alone. Moreover, we must not forget that Dionysius is not here discussing accent, *qua* accent,² but the μέλος of speech, which he contrasts with the μέλος of song and instrumental music. To reconcile his words with the supposition that the accent of his day was a stress (among the educated as with the masses), we are *compelled to discredit his statement only so far* as to regard him as mistaken in thinking that pitch-elevation was invariably present in the accent. It would seem, therefore, that *there is no adequate reason for assuming* that the educated Greeks, with whom Cicero and Varro conversed, used an accent materially different from that of the people who wrote the papyri.

If this is the treatment to which ancient evidence of the authority and the precision of the one before us is to be subjected, better give up the study of antiquity altogether.

I pass to my second subdivision: the neglect of ancient testimony when it is in conflict with the results or the inferences of modern research. The motive here is the same. Suppose that by our labours in collating, comparing, or deciphering classic MSS. or papyri we have ascertained that a particular reading is supported by the line of tradition, whereas an ancient author bears witness expressly, or by implication, to something different, which testimony is likely to go to the wall?

Ask the editors of the Fourth Eclogue of Vergil, l. 62. Here *the only lection which can be shown to have existed in classical times appears in hardly a single modern text,*³ either with or without an obelus, while a corruption, the origin of which is obvious to a tiro in textual criticism, usurps its place. The poem ends thus in MSS. :

cui non risere parentes
nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est.

¹ I put in italics phrases which are characteristically modern.

² This means that Dionysius had not before him the confusion of stress and pitch inextricably and disastrously imbedded in the modern term accent.

³ One is Mr. F. A. Hirtzel's in the Oxford series of texts.

Quintilian, a better witness than fifty capital and uncial MSS., records *qui*, and records nothing else. For him the dative did not exist, and if we would give the facts as they are our critical note should run as follows :

qui Quintilianus, *cui* nescio quis post Quintilianum et codices qui nunc extant omnes.

But lest the collators and comparers of Vergilian codices should have laboured in vain, *cui* must be pushed up first into a seat contiguous to *qui*, and then to one in front of it. A quotation from a well-known modern commentary will show how this may be done :

A remarkable various reading of v. 62 is preserved by Quintilian (ix. 3) . . . We must suppose then with Voss that Quint. found 'quoi' in his copy, and read it 'qui' rather than 'cui'.

We are staggered at the outset by the description of what we should naturally have considered a gross blunder of Quintilian as the 'preservation' of a reading. But this is a trifle. According to the commentator *cui* or *quoi* was the genuine reading, was also that current in the age of Quintilian, and stood, moreover, in the grammarian's own text of Vergil. But so unfortunate was this eminent scholar and teacher ('uagae moderator summe iuuentae' is what his friend Martial calls him) that every time he read the conclusion of this most notable writing of Vergil, his eyes were closed to the *o* which stood in his copy between the *u* and the *i*, that neither the conversation of his friends nor the instruction of his pupils (*so viel gelehrt und so wenig gelernt!*), to all of whom the reading which he ignores was perfectly familiar, ever succeeded in opening them, and finally that he selected this hallucination of his own to provide from the works of the master an example of a grammatical anomaly. Let the Quintilians of our day, who thus deal with the evidence of a perhaps not less illustrious predecessor, reflect what treatment may be justly theirs at the hands of the Quintilians of posterity.

As I have discussed this passage elsewhere, *Classical Review*, xvi. (1902), 36 sq., I content myself with transcribing the words of Quintilian, 'est figura et in numero; uel cum singulari pluralis subiungitur: *gladio pugnacissima gens Romani*; uel ex diuerso: *qui* (*cui* the MSS.) *non risere parentes nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est*; ex illis enim *qui non risere*, hic quem *non dignata*,' and noting, as a further example of the *hinc* which I there proposed to restore for *hunc* in l. 63, Hor. *S. ii. 1. 79* '*nihil hinc diffingere possum*', that is *nihil*

horum or *ex his*: for *hinc* has no construction either with *diffingere* or with the variant *diffindere*.¹

Here, so far as we know, the corruption which modern texts present did not exist in the classical age. In the next instance it did, and was duly noted by a professional scholar.

Catullus, xxvii. 3-4, are thus given by Aulus Gellius, *N. A.* vi. 20. 6:

ut lex Postumiae iubet magistrae
ebria acina ebriosioris,

where editors have *ebrioso acino* or *ebriosa acina*.

A modern German comments as follows:

Demnach² wollte Gellius thörichterweise *ebriā acina* gelesen wissen.

On the *thörichterweise* something will be said anon. At present I would draw attention to the misrepresentation of the facts. Gellius did not merely 'wish to read *ebria acina*': he *found* this reading in a copy or copies which he regarded as trustworthy. *ebrioso* and *ebriosa* were extant in other copies which he stigmatized as corrupt. Here are his words, quoted also by the commentator in part:

Qui *ebriosa* autem Catullum dixisse putant aut *ebrioso* (nam id quoque temere scriptum inuenitur) in libros scilicet de corruptis exemplaribus factos inciderunt.

Of the two readings which Gellius preferred, one, *acina* to wit, is accepted from him by a number of scholars who reject the rest of his witness. But I will continue to confine myself to the commentator whose treatment of the evidence is at least consistent. His idea of *ebrius* and *ebriosus* is that they are two synonyms, and thus that we are free to choose the one which abolishes the hiatus and preserves the credit of the manuscripts. This I gather from the otherwise

¹ Mr. Warde Fowler, who has recently republished his study on the Fourth Eclogue in *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (1907), pp. 49-85, accepts, I am glad to see, Quintilian's *qui*, though he retains the *hunc* of the Vulgate. He observes that he cannot follow me in my account of Quintilian's words, 'ex illis . . . dignata.' But unless he means that '*ex illis qui* etc. *hic* quem non dignata' expresses that the word *hunc* (singular) is 'grammatically' dependent or 'follows grammatically' upon the plural *qui* etc., I can see no difference between our two accounts, and if he does, the main question, how Quintilian understood the passage, is left untouched. With regard to *hunc* v. *hinc*, I must correct his statement that I 'contend that Quintilian's copy of Vergil was a bad one', which may mislead the unwary. What I said was that 'the text of Vergil, as vouched for by this witness of the end of the first century A. D. (i. e. Quintilian), was corrupt'. This means that the corruption *hunc* was then part of the current text.

² 'Accordingly': because Gellius had shown that he was acquainted with passages of Homer where hiatus occurred between repeated vowels.

quite superfluous annotation 'ebriosus steht bei Cic. und Sen., *ebrius* in Prosa und Poesie'.

The 'foolish' Gellius knew better. He knew, as Seneca says, *Ep.* lxxxiii. 11, 'plurimum interesse inter *ebrium* et *ebriosum*', that a 'grape' which is 'mero plena'¹ may well be said by a metaphor to be 'tipsy', but hardly a 'toper', and that, although the comparative and the positive of the same adjective are often combined in Catullus,² this is not done when the combination is absurd. And, if we had him here to ask, he would answer, I fancy, that he understood the poet to mean that Postumia was 'more fond of her liquor' (*ebriosior*) than the 'ever-tipsy' grape (*ebria*). Whether the wine which intoxicates the grape is the juice within the grape-skin, or whether, as we may perhaps suppose, there is an allusion to the practice mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* xiv. 17 'conduntur et musto uuae ipsaeque uino suo inebriantur' is for the present purpose a matter of no importance.³

The conception of the grape as, so to say, a tiny skinful of wine recalls to me a much disputed passage in Theocritus, the situation in which I have never seen properly explained. In *Id.* i. 45 sqq. we have a charming scene, illustrating the *insouciance* of boyhood, as carved on a βαθὺ κισσύβιον (27).

τυτθὸν δ' ὄσον ἄπωθεν ἀλιτρυτοιο γέροντος
 πρηνάϊς σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἄλωά,
 τὰν ὀλίγος τις κῶρος ἐφ' αἵμασιαῖσι φυλάσσει
 ἤμενος· ἀμφὶ δέ νιν δὴ ἄλωπέκες ἃ μὲν ἀν' ὄρχως
 φοιτῆ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον ἃ δ' ἐπὶ πῆρα
 πάντα δόλον κεύθουσα τὸ παιδίον οὐ πρὶν ἀνησεῖν 50
 φατὶ πρὶν ἢ ἀκράτιστον ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίξῃ.
 αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἀνθερίκοισι καλὰν πλέκει ἀκριδοθήραν
 σχοίνῳ ἐφαρμόσδων· μέλεται δέ οἱ οὔτε τι πῆρας
 οὔτε φυτῶν τοσσῆνον ὄσον περὶ πλέγματι γαθεῖ.

The boy, who has been set to watch the vineyard, neglects his task for the more congenial occupation of plaiting a locust-trap, and,

¹ Cf. *Ov. A. A.* ii. 316 'plenaque purpureo subrubet uua mero'. So *uinum* of the juice in the grape; *Plaut. Trin.* 525 '*uinum* priu' quam coctumst pendet putidum.'

² 'Hat C(atullus) solche Wendungen zwar öfter, z. B. 9, 10 *beatiorum beatius*, 22, 14 *infaceto infacetior*', etc.

³ This was written before the last German commentary (G. Friederich, 1908) came into my hands. It is a relief to read there 'Man sieht sofort, welches Beiwort der Weinbeere zukommt; ihrer Natur nach kann sie nur einmal voll sein, aber das Gewohnheitsmässige ist ganz undenkbar. *ebriosa acina* ist eine *contradictio in adiecto*.'

absorbed in this, fails to notice the two foxes, the one ravaging the vines, and the other making an inroad on the grapes which are to save his ἀκρατισμός¹ from being a mere ξηροφαγία. (Athenaeus of a make of bread which could be eaten alone, ἔσται—εὐβρωτος πρὸς ξηροφαγίαν, 113 B; ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι shows a use of ἐπί c. dative of viands which we know from Aristophanes, *Ach.* 835, *Pax* 123 and elsewhere). Compare the menu of the vegetarian Valerius Cato as given by Bibaculus ap. Suet. *de grammaticis* 11:

quem tres cauliculi, selibra farris,
racemi duo tegula sub una
ad summam prope nutriant senectam.

In conclusion I give verbatim a recent critical comment on Terence, *Phormio* 330, as the spirit of much modern editing could hardly be better expressed:

tennitur is due to Donatus. MSS. *tenditur* . . . It would seem a matter of questionable propriety to set aside the testimony of the MSS. for the opinion of a single grammarian.

In this discrediting of ancient witnesses two faults of method may be detected. *First*, the intrinsic character of the rejected testimony is disregarded. Mommsen, with others in his wake, poured scorn on the saying, traditionally attributed to Appius Claudius, that in the articulation of Zeta the teeth of the living were bared like those of the dead. The five varieties of Greek accents which Varro tells us Glaucus of Samos distinguished are dismissed as the refinements of a musician or the figments of a grammarian. But the Appian pronunciation of Z is found to be otherwise attested;² and the five accents of Glaucus correspond surprisingly with accentual varieties recognized by the most recent phonetic science.³ What is most reprehensible here is not the rejection of the testimony, but the failure of its rejectors to discern the marks of genuineness which it bore upon its face.

Secondly, exaggerated stress is laid upon unessential inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Who has not noticed the conflicting numbers of killed and injured which the bills of different newspapers put out after some mining or other accident? If modern and ancient witnesses are to be treated alike, why do we not now exclaim 'look at the numerical discrepancies! was there any accident at all?'

¹ It is clear that ἀκρατιστον must contain or conceal an allusion to the custom of taking an early snack consisting of bread sopped in wine ἀκράρον, though the right reading here remains uncertain.

² *Classical Review*, xv (1901), pp. 218 sqq.

³ *Classical Review*, xix (1905), pp. 365 sqq.

The true, the fair, and the scientific course is to reject the evidence to the exact extent that it is vitiated by proved inaccuracies. The whole, if the errors are fundamental: otherwise only the part affected. The professional scholars and the grammarians of the present day are ever ready with accusations against the grammarians of Greece and Rome. The Latin grammarian in particular is a favourite mark. It is assumed, wherever convenient, either that parrot-like he has repeated a predecessor, or that he has applied to Latin what is true only of Greek. There is less truth, I think, in those reproaches than is generally assumed, and by champions of the ancients a damaging *uos quoque* might not unseldom be retorted upon the heedless modern assailants. But the charges should anyhow be limited to the specific issues, and not enlarged to foment a general prejudice.

The classical grammarians were unacquainted with the part which the vocal chords play in modifying consonantal sound, and consequently to that extent they fail to express correctly the differences which they heard in the speech around them. They did not understand why a breathed *r* sounded differently from a voiced *r*. They heard the breath in, say, ῥήτωρ, as contrasted with εἴρηται, but they could not analyse it. And Varro's discussion of the question whether one should write *r* or *hr* or *rh* is not 'grounded on grammatical theories',¹ but is a humble groping after the truth. An exact parallel is the double writing of the English breathed *w* by *hw* and *wh*. When this division of 'voiced' and 'breathed' was crossed by the further difference of strong and weak consonantal articulation, or of *fortes* and *lenes* (as Sievers, their discoverer, called the varieties), their perplexity was increased. But here, too, it is not difficult to interpret. Dionysius tells us that the only difference between κτπ, γδβ, and χθφ is that κ, etc., are pronounced ψιλῶς, χ, etc., δασέως, γ, etc., μετρίως καὶ μεταξὺ ἀμφόιν. Put into modern terms, this means that κτπ were breathed *lenes*, χθφ breathed *fortes*,² and γδβ voiced *fortes*. Now breathed *lenes* and voiced *fortes* appear to be a somewhat unusual combination, for the good reason that the approximation of the tense vocal chords which is necessary for the production of 'voice' tends naturally to moderate the force with which the air is expelled from the lungs. Yet the grammarian's account is confirmed by two circumstances which have not received a due attention. The first is the not unfrequent, and at first sight astonishing, representation of Greek

¹ As Blass, *Gk. Pron.* (p. 90, n. 1), says.

² Every one knows that, if a breathed sound is strongly articulated before a vowel, a breath or *h* creeps in.

breathed *lenes* *k*, *t*, and *p* (and especially *k*¹) by the Latin voiced *lenes* *g*, *d*, *b* respectively, instead of by the Latin breathed *fortes*. The second is the otherwise remarkable phenomenon that the mediae $\gamma\beta\delta$, like the aspirates $\chi\theta\phi$, but unlike the tenues $\kappa\tau\pi$, passed to fricatives (open consonants) in later Greek.

Of the harm done in the province of history and archaeology Professor Ridgeway, in the address already referred to, has given some noteworthy illustrations. I will add two that have come under my own notice recently. An attempt has been made to apply the fashionable method of historical probability to the names of the generals in the traditional account of the Samnite Wars. These are alleged to be fictitious on the ground of their 'suspicious agreement' with the names of commanders in the Social War. The theory is refuted by Professor Gaetano di Sanctis in the *Rivista di Filologia* for July, 1908, pp. 353 sqq. Again, it has been customary to call Plutarch's words $\Phi\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\varsigma$ καὶ Κληδόνας ἱερόν (*Camillus* 80, and *de Fortuna Rom.* 5) a blundering appellation of the shrine of Aius Locutius, to which it unquestionably refers. But it would appear from the indications furnished by a recently collated MS. of Juvenal (i. 115) that in the time of Plutarch this shrine was popularly associated with *Fama*.²

If the statements of ancient witnesses are set aside, need we wonder that they are also read with inattention? To modern ears there is doubtless a certain unpleasantness in the occurrence of the same word or of the same syllable close together. Many ears are offended by Vergil's 'Dorica castra' *Aen.* ii. 27 and 'Achaica castra' ib. 462, and the time and trouble of even competent scholars has been expended in collecting these and similar passages with a view to a supposed canon of Quintilian (ix. 4. 4) thought to enounce the same aesthetic principle.³ The carelessness of this proceeding is superb. Quintilian says that the final *syllables* of a preceding word should not be the same as the initial oneS of the following: 'uidendum est ne syllabae uerbi prioris ultimae sint primae sequentis'; and his examples are 'inuisae uisae' and the famous 'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.'⁴ Servius, it is true, reprehends *Aen.* ii. 27 for 'mala

¹ This is just what we should expect. For the earlier the consonantal check is applied to the stream of outrushing air, the more noticeable is the difference between a *lenis* and a *fortis*.

² See now *Classical Quarterly*, iii. (1909), pp. 66 sqq.

³ *American Journal of Philology*, xxiv. 451.

⁴ Professor Mayor, on Juvenal x. 122, understands Quintilian correctly, of course; but most of the examples which he produces of the objectionable repetitions are not strictly in point. The sounds of e.g. 'mōles mōlestiarum,' *De Or.* i, § 2,

compositio', but Servius may have understood the remark of Quintilian no better than some moderns, or, again like them, may have applied his own principles of euphony to the Latin of the past.

Studies in which are so many pitfalls as in ours must allow no openings to error. In the difficult task of estimating and realizing antiquity there is no aid with which we can dispense. My scientific friends have sometimes remarked to me on the classical man's inattention to details. The minute care and circumspection which they expect from work in their own department they allege, and I fear with justice, is too often absent from classical investigations. The aesthetic and literary exponents of classics are to blame for much of this. Because they want broad effects, the picture as a whole, so they say, they stigmatize as pedantic the tracing of fine distinctions and the pursuit of small details. This view is a false one. For the picture is injured if its parts are blurred, and it is no pedantry to wish to know.

Sometimes this indifference to consequences produces only practical inconvenience. Index-makers, and the writers of specialistic treatises, are entitled to use any abbreviations that will lighten their labours and save their space. But that does not justify the writer of books or works intended for the general classical reader in lettering the books of Homer or numbering the speeches of Demosthenes. What the eighteenth *Iliad* and the *De Corona* oration are about is known to everybody. But to how many are they not disguised when they are cited as Σ and *Or.* 18?

These abbreviations are not merely a nuisance to the general reader; but they may produce error of a kind which is very difficult to track. A writer's or a printer's mistake in a single sign may make an important reference entirely useless. Monro, whose avoidance of the citation by letter is what we expect from his usual good sense, has himself fallen a victim to the practice. In his *Homeric Grammar*², § 270*, he writes of clauses in Indirect Discourse, after verbs of *saying*. 'Of these, again, only three are in the *Iliad* (16. 131, 17. 654, 22. 439).' But *Iliad* 16. 131 is no example though *Odyssey* 16. 131 is. The mistake has come from some confusion of π and Π . The third example from the *Iliad* may be 1. 109.

Another practice of thoughtlessness, or (should we rather say with Mr. Housman, l. c., below, ?) of vanity, is the wanton alteration of the are not identical; and intentional jingles like Ter. *Eun.* 236 'pannis annisque' must also be excluded from the count.

signs by which classical MSS. have been denoted by their discoverers. This tampering with the record is a very common offence, and one deserving of the pillory upon each occasion.¹ I have only noticed one instance in which there was a gain in such a change of symbols for MSS. This was Brieger's substitution of O (= Oblongus) and Q (= Quadratus) for the A and B which Munro had used to denote the two chief MSS. of Lucretius. The gain was slight, and provides no excuse for altering the O which symbolizes a codex of Silius to Q because the name of our college and our manuscript also begins with a Q.²

I pass to cases where something more is involved than mere inconvenience to ourselves. Who was the first to fly into the face of all contemporary ancient testimony and misname the battle of Palaepharsalus or Pharsalia, I do not know. But from Drumann onwards the flaring torch of ignorance and unreason has been passed along the line of our historians.³ This battle had no connexion with the town of Pharsalus, with which we have been forced to associate it. It was fought in the open country in the district of Pharsalia near a ruined or insignificant hamlet, the site of which has yet to be discovered.⁴ I am glad to find that some one has at last been found to break with the modern fashion and to call the battle-field by a name which belongs to it.⁵ But I regret somewhat that Dr. Rice Holmes's choice did not fall on *Pharsalia* rather than upon *Old Pharsalus*. For with habit and sloth arrayed against it *Old Pharsalus* or *Palaepharsalus* has small chance of ousting *Pharsalus*.⁶

We have seen that it is one of the chief failings of modern research to neglect evidence, however explicit, which has not come down to us

¹ For examples see *Classical Review*, xiii. 59 a : 'X Y (of Caesar's *Bellum Civile*, here re-christened D and Z, with the disregard of convenience general among foreign scholars),' ib. xx. p. 349 b, *The Apparatus Criticus of the Culex*, by A. E. Housman, in *The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, vol. vi, p. 13.

² *Classical Review*, xiii. 127 a, note. [I am glad now to be able to quote a well considered utterance by Dr. Kenyon in 'The Numeration of New Testament Manuscripts', *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1909, p. 86. 'The symbols A B C D and many more have acquired a definite connotation which pervades the work of textual critics since textual criticism rose to importance. It is no light thing for a scholar to claim the right to abolish all of these and to make the writings of his predecessors unintelligible to coming generations.']

³ Signor Ferrero is an exception.

⁴ See *Classical Review*, xix. pp. 257 sqq. ⁵ *Classical Quarterly*, Oct., 1908.

⁶ Things have reached such a pass that Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser are rebuked for their resistance to the fashion in the following terms: 'Tastes cannot be allowed to differ about "the battle of Pharsalia" which occurs *passim*', *Classical Review*, ix. p. 44 a.

by the direct line of transmission. A striking example of this is to be found in what some may consider the unimportant province of Latin spelling.

If we were asked why we have surrendered such spellings of a former generation as *foemina*, *sylva*, *lachryma*, *bacca*, the answer would be, I suppose: to put in their places spellings which are either known to have been those of classical usage, or, at least, are not known to conflict with that usage. In other words our aim is to restore the contemporary spellings in so far as this can be done with certainty or at least a fair approach thereto. This was the only intelligible reason for the reforms in Latin orthography which we associate especially with the name of Lachmann. Our goal (whether we attain it or not) is, I repeat, the contemporary spelling, and this is the sole justification for the change. To take a parallel from English, there may be some excuse for printing Chaucer in the spelling of the twentieth century: there is none for printing it in that of the sixteenth.

Now there is no fact in the history of the Latin alphabet better established or more universally admitted than that the pre-Ciceronian orthography differed from the later, or let us say the Augustan one, in important details. *Y* and *Z* were no part of the alphabet, *V* being commonly employed for the first, and *S* or *SS* for the second; *H* was not employed after a consonant, consequently *C*, *P*, *T*, *R* appear as representatives of the Greek aspirated mutes and the breathed *P*.¹ *This was beyond all question the spelling of Plautus and Ennius.*

What then is the practice of editors of the older Latin authors as regards these clear and definite points? Little better than a tissue of inconsistencies. In Lucian Mueller's edition of the Fragments of Ennius's *Annales*, fragment IV d (a) of Book VI, l. 180 is 'numini *Pyrrus*, uti memorant, a stirpe suprema'; the next fragment V (β)* is a quotation from Cic. *Or.* 160 '*Burrum semper Ennius, numquam Pyrrhum—ipsius antiqui declarant libri*'. The editors give *r*, not *rh*, because it happens to be in the MSS. of Nonius, but there is no reason

¹ It might be thought that we ought to add to these differences the non-gemination of doubled consonants in writing. But for the present I exclude their consideration on two grounds. In the first place the exact date of the introduction into literary writing of the doubling, assigned with probability to Ennius, is uncertain. In such matters inscriptions lag behind the custom of the people, and we cannot be sure that Plautus did not adopt the improvement in his later plays. And in the second place, so far as I know, the change was purely graphical, or, in other words, the Roman syllabification in the case of doubled consonantal sounds was the same before and after the innovation in spelling. If the contrary could be shown, the matter would wear an entirely different aspect.

for believing that any one ever wrote *Pyrrus* in classical times; *Burrus* was the ancient form, *Pyrrhus* the modern; *Pyrrus* is a bastard of the copyists. So in a standard text of Plautus we find *zona* appearing at *Truc.* 954, 955, *Merc.* 925, but *sonam* at *Poen.* 1008. In another edition we find *sonarius* at *Aul.* 516 but *zonarius* at *Truc.* 862, and, to take a commoner word, we are presented with *Syri* at *Bacch.* 649, *Surus* at *Pseud.* 636 sq., *Syrum* at *Stich.* 433, *Suras* at *Truc.* 541, *Syra* at *Merc.* 415. What is the explanation of such vagaries? It is that the aim of the editors is not to edit Ennius or Plautus but to edit the tradition of Ennius and Plautus; and that consequently their eyes are not fixed upon the evidence for the text but on the evidence for part of that evidence, and Cicero, like other ancients, counts for nothing unless the mediaeval copyists agree.¹

But it may be said, correctness, incorrectness, partial correctness—after all, what difference do they make in a matter of this kind? Why are we to be troubled with this pedantic trifling? I propose then to show in some detail that they do make a difference.

I begin with an illustration which lies outside the region in dispute. In *Poen.* 728–9 Plautus is jesting on the ambiguity of *pultem*, the subjunctive of *pulto*, and *pultem*, the accusative of *puls*.

AGORASTOCLES. quid si recenti re aedis pultem? ADVOCATI.
censeo.

AG. si pultem non recludat? Adv. panem frangito.

Write *pultem* in the Augustan form *pulsem*, and the passage is meaningless.

Even with *pultem* I fear that many find it unmeaning, and this obliges me to do something for it by way of correction, interpretation, and even defence. Syntax requires the change of ‘recludet’ to ‘recludat’, which I have given in the text. Geppert proposed ‘*et non recludet?*’ But this, though making sense, abolishes the pun, which demands that there should be *asyndeton* between *pultem* (understood as verb) and *recludat*. The verse has been rejected; but there is none more genuine in the whole of Plautus. In its opposition of *puls* and *panis* we see the national dish of the ancient Romans

¹ It is not my design to set out these agreements, though I do not think them unimportant. But as I have mentioned *sona*, I will indicate in which of the passages cited it has MS. support. They are *Poen.* 1008 *sonam A*, *onam B*, erasure before the *o.* *Merc.* 925 *sonam codd.* *Truc.* 955 *sona* is indicated in the corruptions of the MSS. where Ussing restores, ‘*nunc meos nego (non ego)*’, ‘*non cum zona ego*’. *Aul.* 516 *semul sonarii (Leo)*, *semisonarii codd.*—A larger number than we should have expected to escape through the copying and correcting of so many centuries.

contrasted with the Greek staple of diet which was ultimately to supplant it. See Val. Maximus ii. 5. 5 'erant adeo continentiae adtentum ut frequentior apud eos *pultis* usus quam *panis* esset', Pliny, *N. H.* xviii. 83 'pulte autem, non pane uixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum'. Cf. Aus. *Technopaegn.* 618 and Juv. xiv. 171 with Mayor's note.¹ The native domestic porridge had no chance against the professional bakery and confectionery of Greece where *puls* was a dish unknown (Pliny, *lib. cit.* 107). Compare the complaint of Persius about 'these foreign fashions', 'et Bestius urguet | doctores *Graios*: "ita fit postquam sapere urbi | cum pipere et palmis uenit nostrum hoc maris experts, | faenisecae crasso *uitiarunt* unguine *pultes*".² This contrasted pair Plautus here twists into an implement for suggesting that if the door is not opened, it is to be broken down. I despair of reproducing his artifice; but I offer as an approximating paraphrase the following. AGORASTOCLES. 'What if he won't let me walk in-to the groats?' WITNESSES. 'Then break into the roll!'

The same word *puls* may introduce our first example of misspelt Plautine borrowings. This one happens to be the hybrid compound in *Mostellaria* 828.

TRANIO. non enim haec *pultipagus* opifex opera fecit barbarus. uiden' coagmenta in foribus? THEOPR. uideo. TRAN. specta quam arte dormiunt.

THEOPR. dormiunt? TRAN. illud quidem, ut coniuent, uolui dicere.

Here the MSS. give *pultifagus*, and the editors *pultiphagus*, neither the spelling of Plautus, any more than *pultophagonides* in *Poen.* Prol. 54. The primal sense is: 'This is not the crude work of our porridge-eating natives, but that of artists of Greece.' But there is a subsidiary jest on *pultare* and *pag-*, which is to recall *pango*, *pactum*, *compages*, *antepagmentum*, etc., and summon up the image of the 'hammer and nail it' artisans whom we all of us know so well.

May I add here that *Pagus*, as the MSS. give it, and not *Phagus*, is the true name of a lost comedy of Plautus?

On *Bacchides* 362:—

credo hercle adueniens nomen mutabit mihi
facietque extemplo Crucisalum me ex Chrysallo.

Mr. Lindsay, printing as above, says very rightly 'pronuntiandum ex

¹ Had Rome been a pauperized mob of sightseers in those days, its cry would have been for *pultem et Circenses*.

² *S. vi.* 37 sqq.

Crusalo'. The note is necessary with the vulgate, superfluous with the Plautine spelling.

One of the most characteristic features of Plautus's style is his love of alliteration. This is often lost if the Augustan spellings are adopted. In the same comedy the same name *Crusalus* is used in this alliterative play in which *c*, *r*, and *u* take part.¹

683. hunc suspicabar propter crimen, Crusale,
mi male consuluisse.

687. istoc dicto †dedisse† hodie in cruciatum Crusalum;
nam ubi me aspiciet, ad carnificem rapiet continuo senex.

691. nunc hoc tibi curandumst, Crusale.

922. numquam edepol quicquam temere credam Crusale.

and after the interval of a line

aequomst tabellis consignatis credere.

In 129 Pistoclerus trifles thus with his old tutor's name *Ludus* = *Lydus* :—

non omnis aetas, Lude, ludo conuenit;

and in 138 the same jest or jingle is repeated :—

P. tace atque sequere, Lude, me.

L. illuc sis, uide;

non paedagogum iam me, sed ludum uocat.

(With the writing *Lydum* the jest, such as it is, is incomprehensible.)

In 416 there is alliteration with *lubido*, and I have a shrewd suspicion that when Plautus wrote in 467

quid sodalem meum castigas, Lude, discipulum tuom?

he was thinking, as in 138, of *ludus* in the sense of 'school'.

Another name, *Archidemides*, is turned to account in 284 :—

cum mi ipsum nomen eius Arcidemides
clamaret dempturum esse si quid crederem.

The play upon *demo* every one sees, but that upon *arca*, which is pointed to in *si quid crederem*, is missed. For *arca* in this connexion see line 943 of the drama 'hic equos non in arcem uerum in arcam faciet impetum'.

¹ In our pronunciation, it is true, one of these alliterations is not lost. But that is because we mispronounce the Latin *ch*. The Romans of the classical period did not reform their transliteration of the Greek X simply to have the satisfaction of writing a silent *h*.

In *Captivi* 274 it is the name of Plautus's type of a philosopher that is jested on. To talk of buying *Thales* for a talent is pointless, if any verbal play was intended, but Plautus wrote

eugepae! *Talem talento non emam Milesium,*

and this the MSS. attest, though no editor gives it, and some ignore the pun.

The representation of Θ by *t* will excuse or explain the frequency of *At(h)enae Atticae*, otherwise as useless a piece of verbiage as 'London in England' would be. The difference in sound between *ad* and *at* was very slight. Hence in *Epidicus* 20 sqq., the noticeable repetition of compounds, *aduentu adportas* (atportas *A*) 21, *at-
tulistis* 23, may be mocking echoes of *atletice* in 20.

In *Men.* 294-5 *Culindrus* must be written with Heinsius, as 295 with its punning reference to *culleus* (coriaceus) shows:—

sei tu *Culindrus* seu *Coriendru's*, perieris.

In 854 of the same play,

barbatum tremulum *Titanum* qui cluet *Cucino* (Ritschl) patre,

Menaechmus's pretended madness may have disorganized his mythology, and so perhaps we should keep the MS. as Lindsay does. But the change to *Titonum*, which the editors turn into *Tithonum*, is a very slight one.

In the obscure passage *Poen.* 689 sqq. Mr. Lindsay's later suggestion (*Class. Rev.*, x. 333) seems to be the best yet proposed. He supposes a play on *μύσχος* and *musca*. *Lycus* (the pandar), addressing his supposed victim *Collybiscus*, says

ita illi dixerunt quei hinc a me abierunt modo,
te quaeritare a muscis,

who replies,

minime gentium.

And to *Lycus's* 'quid ita?' rejoins

quia a muscis si mi hospitium quaererem,
adueniens irem in carcerem recta uia.

With *muscis* (= *μύσχοις*) the pun is perfect. It is only injured by changing the MS. reading to *muschis*.

I have given the pandar's name as *Lycus*, with the editors; but that Plautus wrote and pronounced it *Lucus* is shown by several indications.

157. sed lenone istoc *Luco*
illius domino non *lutumst lutulentius*.

187. ita decipiemus fouea lenonem *Lucum*.

The play on *lupus* is manifest and occurs again in 648 :—

canes compellant in plagas lepide *lupum*,

where the Palatine MSS. have *Lycum*. Lindsay suggests *λύκον*. But it makes no difference to the jest whether the name is written as Greek or transliterated and given a Latin termination, *Lucum*, and this latter accounts for the variants better.

In *Pseud.* 99 sqq., where the vulgate text is

ut litterarum ego harum sermonem audio
nisi tu illi drachumis fleueris argenteis,
quod tu istis lacrumis te probare postulas,
non pluris refert quam si imbrim in cribrum geras,

more than one scholar has recognized that there is a play on *dracuma* (*δραχμή*) and *dacruma* (*lacruma*).¹ This play is obscured by the spelling *drachuma*.

At 228 Ballio, threatening Phoenicium, says

cras *Poenicium poeniceo corio inuises pergulam*.

Does it need argument or the citation of parallels like *Poenus* to show that Plautus meant the beginning of the two words, which he has pointedly contrasted, to be identical? The scribe of Plautus saw this, spelling them both with *ph*. The editors give *p* in one, and *ph* in the other.

It is impossible to say how much of the Plautine dialogue appears flat and tasteless because we have missed the *double entente* which he had in view.

Pseudolus 636 and following seems a case in point. Harpax the soldier's servant, is questioning Pseudolus, who pretends to be a slave of Ballio to whom Harpax has been sent, with a sum of money, by his master.

The dialogue proceeds.—

HA. sed quid tibi est nomen? Ps. (*aside*) seruos est huic lenoni Surus,

eum esse me dicam. (*to Harpax*) Surus sum. HA. Surus?

Ps. id est nomen mihi.

HA. uerba multa facimus. eru' si tuo domi est quin prouocas ut id agam quod missus huc sum? Ps. quidquid est nomen tibi, si intus esset, euocarem.

¹ The form *dacruma* is vouched for by the obvious alliteration in Ennius's well-known epitaph, 'nemo me *dacrumis* decoret neque funera fletu | faxit. cur? uolito uiuo' per ora uirum.' Professor J. S. Reid has doubted this on the ground that if Ennius had thus written the fact would certainly have been recorded. But it is a question of pronunciation rather than of writing. The sound was neither an ordinary *d* nor an ordinary *l*. And if I am not mistaken there was exactly the same fluctuation in *odos* (*odor*) *olos* (*olor*) in the time of Plautus; see *Pseud.* 841 sqq., upon which I have commented in the forthcoming Brugmann memorial volume of the *Idg. Forschungen*.

Most readers, I think, will consider this poor fun; and, if asked to analyse their impression, would probably reply that Harpax's repetition of *Surus* is pointless and that there is no special force in 'quidquid est nomen tibi', though it is of course true that Pseudolus is not at present supposed to know his interlocutor's name, which is first given in 653.¹ The clue to the mystery is, I believe, to be found in 1218, where Pseudolus's appearance is described.

mihī quoque iamdudum ille Surus² cor perfrigefacit, (1215)
 sumbolum² qui ab hoc accepit. mira sunt nī Pseudolust,
 eho tu, qua facie fuit dudum quōi dedisti sumbolum?
 H.A. rufus quidam, uentriosus, crassis *suris*, subniger, etc.

That is when Pseudolus says 'Surus sum' Harpax glances at the thick calves of Pseudolus and inquires '*Surus?*'³ Pseudolus, who cannot retort by extracting a jest out of his opponent's name, shows his petulance by calling him Mr. 'No name'. *sura* occurs in yet another passage where the commentators have missed a joke (1173sq.). Ballio and Simo are chaffing Harpax:—

BA. quotumo die
 ex Sicyone huc peruenisti? HA. altero ad meridie.
 BA. strenue mehercle iisti. SIM. quam uelis, *pernix* homost:
 ubi *suram* aspicias, scias posse eum gerere crassas compedis.

The play on *pernix*, 'swift,' and *pernae*, 'hams,' leads up to 'calves'.

The same word is utilized in *Captiui* 850 'pernulam atque *optalmiam*', as it should be written, the play being on *ob* and *talus*. Mr. H. W. Prescott, *Classical Philology*, January, 1909, pp. 4, 5, rightly defends the text: but the intrusive *h* of the convention has blinded his eyes to its purport.

A little further on in the *Pseudolus* is a verse which obviously gains in alliterative force if written and recited thus:—

ego deuortor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam
 apud anum illam doliarem⁴ claudam crassam *Crusidem* (659),

¹ I observe here in passing that if *harpax* is printed as Greek in 654 (Leo and Lindsay), it should have its accent on the last ἀρπάξ, like other adverbs in -άξ.

² So the editors, doing justice to the alliteration; but one hundred lines earlier, where exactly the same collocation occurs, they give 'si ueniret Syrus | quōi dedi sumbolum'.

³ The difference of quantity is not important in Plautus's puns. Cf. *Pseud.* 791 '*furinum est forum*'; *Truc.* 773 '*cura cor meum mouit*'; *Merc.* 643 '*malis mihī dedit magnum malum*'; *Rud.* 12, 25 '*Hercules istum infelicet cum sua licentia*'.

⁴ *doliarem* is here usually taken as 'pot-bellied', 'alter Bottich' (Georges). But it may be doubted whether this is the sense, or, at any rate, the sole sense intended. (Donatus's note on *suffarcatam*, *Ter. Andr.* 770, is clearly

where the most negligent observer can hardly miss the ringing of the changes on *d*, *r*, *t*, and *c*.

Another character in this play, C(h)arinus, has had his name played on in Greek.

712. CAL. Carinus. Ps. euge! iam χάριν τούτῳ ποιῶ.

It is submitted to the same treatment in Latin.

736. di immortales, non Carinus mihi hic quidem sed Copiast!

i. e. with our friend there is no question of the 'triste nomen carendi', Cic. *Tusc.* i. 87.

The last place I shall cite is *Rudens* 494 sqq., where the shipwrecked pair Labrax and Charmides are indulging in recriminations, each accusing the other of being the Jonah of their voyage. The burthen of the bandied complaints is 'You did it, You'.¹

494. LA. utinam te priu' quam oculis uidissem meis
malo cruciatu in Sicilia perbiteres,

quem propter hoc mihi optigit misero mali.

CH. utinam quom in aedis me ad te adduxisti (domum),
in carcere illo potius cubissem die.

deosque immortalis quaeso, dum uiuas, uti

500. omnis tui similis hospitis habeas tibi.

LA. Malam Fortunam in aedis te adduxi meas.

quid mihi scelesto tibi erat auscultatio?

quidue hinc abitio? quidue in nauem incensio?

ubi perdidisti etiam plus boni quam mihi fuit.

505. CH. pol minime miror nauis si fractast tibi,

scelu' te et sceleste parta quae uexit bona.

LA. pessum dedisti me blandimentis tuis.

CH. scelestiorem cenam cenauit tuam

quam quae Tuestae quondam aut positast Tereo.

A parallel to this 'tutoyant' passage is Ennius, *Annals*, 108 'o Tite, tute, Tati, tibi tanta, turanne, tulisti.'

The use of alliteration as an irritant which appears often to pass without observation² may be exemplified from another Plautine scene, now emasculated by the introduction of the more familiar spellings.

(negligible.) For the formation *doliaris*, like *molaris*, *ollaris*, etc., would more properly mean 'belonging to' the *dolium*, and such is its use in the only other phrase, *doliare uinum*, for which it is attested. Then it would refer to the old lady's affection for the cellar.

¹ The 'owlish' iteration *tu tu*, as the parasite of the *Menaechmi* calls it in the stormy altercation, 646-54.

² For example, I do not find it used to account for the somewhat odd expression in Hor. *S.* ii. 6. 30 sq. "tu pulses omne quod obstat | ad Maecenatam memori si mente recurras?" hoc iuuat et melli est: non mentiar' (Horace echoes the angry *m*'s of the last sentence), nor noted at Prop. iii. 12. 1 'Postume, plorantem potuisti linquere Gallam?' The *p*'s are taken up again in 3, 5, and 6).

The earliest forms of *coquo* and *coquus* which we can infer for Latin are, for the verb, *quequo*, and, for the noun, *quoquos*. In the time of Plautus *quequo* had become *quoquo*. How much longer the verb remained *quoquo*, does not concern us here. But the noun *quoquos* was current, at least in popular speech, in the time of Cicero, as we know from the jest of the orator¹ on *quoque* vocative and *quoque* conjunction, preserved by Quintilian (vi. 3. 47). The pronunciation of this *quo*, when initial, was undoubtedly (kwo), though in the second syllable it may have been weaker, as Lindsay, l. c., suggests.

This is shown by the jingle in four lines of the scene, which I will now quote as I believe Plautus wrote them; *Pseud.* 851 sqq.

Cook. an tu inuenire postulas quemquam quoquom²
nisi miluinis aut aquilinis unguis?

BA. an tu quoquinatum³ te ire quoquam postulas
quam ibi constrictis unguis cenem quoquas?⁴

At the end of the scene we have another ebullition, 889 sqq.:

BA. molestus ne sis; nimium iam tinnis: tace.
em illic ego habito; intro abi et cenam quoque.⁵
propera. Boy. quin tu is accubitus et conuiuas cedo,
corrumpitur iam cena. BA. em, subolem sis, uide.
iam hic quoque scelestus est quoqui⁶ sublingulo.

May I digress for a moment to observe that there must be many jests in Plautus which seem pointless to us, solely because their point has still to be recovered? In a paper, read before the Cambridge Philological Society on March 16, 1905, and briefly mentioned in the *Proceedings* of the same year, I made some suggestions for restoring their force to certain expressions in a scene of the *Amphitryo*, Act I, Sc. i, to one of which, as the paper has never been published, I may here refer. Mercury, the false Sosia, says that he has, ere now, sent four men to sleep without a night dress, that is, has stunned and stripped them. The true Sosia overhearing this says, l. 152 (304 of the play),

formido male

ne ego hic nomen meum commutem et QVINTVS⁷ fiam e Sosia.

¹ Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 300. Mr. Lindsay seems somewhat to disparage the value of this evidence, saying, 'Puns are unsafe evidence of pronunciation.' There are, however, perfect puns as well as imperfect ones; and it is obvious that the orator's witticism, 'ego quoque tibi fauebo', must have missed fire unless the assonance was absolutely perfect.

² *coquam the edd.*

³ Preserved by A.

⁴ Preserved in P.

⁵ Preserved in P.

⁶ Preserved by A.

⁷ The word has to be printed in the capitals of the Romans to give the requisite ambiguity. Compare Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 580 '*nomen quoque mansit in illa | urbis et ipsa suis deplangitur ARDEA pennis*', with Bréal, *Semantics*, Preface, Eng. Ed., p. xxxviii and note.

This would gain much in force if we supposed that Plautus is glancing at the pretensions of his contemporary Ennius to be a reincarnate. The mention of sleep and the curious agreement of the phrase with that of Pers. *Sat.* 6. 9 sqq. (in which also there is a scoffing reference to the lines in the first book of the *Annales* where Ennius asserted upon the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy his claim to be Homer come to life again), constitute a coincidence too striking to be wholly accidental. ‘Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite, ciues: | cor iubet hoc Enni postquam destertuit esse | Maeonides qvintvs pauone ex Pythagoreo.’ On the literary relations of the two contemporaries, Professor Vahlen has some observations in the *Præfatio* to his second edition of Ennius, p. xxi. He notes there a few coincidences in diction, to which may be added the remarkable word *dulcifer*, *Annals* 264, Plaut. *Pseud.* 1262.

In *Stichus* 342 sq.

PAN. ecquem conuenisti? PI. multos. PAN. at uirum? PI.
equidem plurimos:
uerum ex multis nequiores nullum quam hic est.

It is obvious at first sight that by *uirum* Panegyris, who is anxiously expecting her husband, intends not ‘a man’ but ‘her man’, but the insipidity of the dialogue remains till, taking a hint from *nequam* (*Bacch.* 195, *Poen.* 658), we observe that Plautus is playing on another sense of *multus* (*mollis*, effeminate) which we find in a well-known epigram of Catullus 112. 2 ‘*multus es et pathicus*’.

In the *Classical Review* for 1901, xv. 305, I have commented on the absurdity of inferring from the adjective in ‘*hirquinis follibus*,’ *Hor. S. i.* 4. 19, that the Romans made bellows from the hides of he-goats. The ambiguity of *hircus* serves the same purpose of raising a laugh in more than one passage of Plautus. I quote *Pseud.* 737 sq. ‘Ps. ecquid sapit? CHA. *hircum ab alis*’, and *Poen.* 871 sqq. ‘Sy. Sine pinnis uolare hau facilest: meae *alae* pinnas non habent. | Mi. nolito edepol deuellisse: iam his duobus mensibus | *uolucres* tibi erunt tuae *hirquinae*,’ for the purpose of suggesting that in the sham ravings of *Menaechmi*, 837 sqq.

ita illa me ab laeua rabiosa femina adseruat canes
poste autem illinc hircus *alus* qui saepe aetate in sua
perdidit ciuem innocentem falso testimonio,

the change of one letter from *alus* to *ales* is all that is required to give the passage some meaning.

The scene of the *Mostellaria*, where the impudent slave Tranio is fooling the unconscious Simo and Theopropides, is honeycombed

with *doubles ententes*, of which only one (in 816 *a, b* = 845 sq.) has been noted. I have neither the time nor the inclination to set them out at length. But I will indicate some parallels. The part of *nequam* in the *Stichus* (l. c.) is played by *improbiores* here (824).¹ There are equivoques in *postis* (818) suggesting *posticus*, *Aus. Ep.* 77 (70), 7 (a similar play on *pone*, *Aul.* 657). So *ab infimo, tarmes (tero, and gurgulio*, *Pers.* iv. 38), *secat* (*Mart.* vi. 37. 1), *intempestive excisos* (*Ov. Fasti*, iv. 361) 826, *inducti pice* (*ὑποπισσοῦν*, *Ar. Plut.* 1093) 827, and *coagmenta in foribus* 829 (cf. Baehrens on *Cat.* xv. 12, Ellis on *ib.* 18).

Lastly, may I use this opportunity to suggest that, in the amusing colloquy of *Persa*, 316 sqq.,

SAG. a! a! abi atque caue sis
 a cornu. To. quid iam? SAG. quia boues bini hic sunt in crumina.
 To. *emitte* sodes, ne enices fame; *sine ire pastum*.
 SAG. enim metuo ut possiem *in bubile reicere*, ne uagentur.
 To. ego *reiciam*. habe animum bonum. SAG. credetur, com-
 modabo.
 sequere hac sis. argentum hic inest quod mecum dudum
 orasti.
 To. quid tu ais? SAG. dominus me boues mercatum Eretriam
 misit.
 nunc mi Eretria erit² haec tua domus. To. nimi' tu facete
 loquere,
 324. atque ego omne *argentum* tibi hoc actutum incolume redigam;
 nam iam omnis sucopantias instruxi et comparauī,
 quo pacto ab lenone auferam hoc argentum— SAG. tanto melior.
 To. et mulier ut sit libera atque hoc det argentum.

armentum would do more justice to the poet's vein and to the usage of *redigam*, so common in the sense of driving animals back, than *argentum*? Compare the phrases in ll. 317 sqq. which I have put into italics. With three *argentum*'s in the neighbourhood (321, 326, 327) corruption of one *armentum* in 324 was almost inevitable.

I can hardly hope to have collected all the evidence derivable from plays upon proper names; it is quite possible that I have over-

¹ The audience were prepared to follow the comedian's meaning by the notable comparison of a man and a house in the first act, sc. 2 (cf. 133 sq. '*probus fui | in fabrorum potestate dum fui*', 145 '*ego sum in usu factus nequior*'). I may add that in *arte dormiunt* (829 quoted on p. 37) there is apparently no latent impropriety. Tranio intends it for the audience who are to observe how 'fast asleep' are the old men of whom he is making game, these two vultures that an *improba* '*cornix*' is plucking (832). About *uecturam* (823) I do not feel so sure.

² There is surely a pun in *Eretria erit*. Compare '*facete loquere*'.

looked a good deal, because, as every one can see, it is not always upon the surface. But what I have produced seems enough to show that what our present practice loses us in detail is not inconsiderable. But this is not all. The greater sensitiveness in respect of the transliteration of Greek words into Latin, which was developed not so very long before the age of Cicero, is itself a fact of some significance. It is a sign or concomitant of the tendency which was destined first to polish and to sharpen, and ultimately to destroy the artistic form of Latin poetry and prose—of the movement, the rise of which can be traced for example, in Horace's only half outspoken distaste for the *veteres*, while its culmination is seen in Martial 'Accius et quicquid Pacuiusque uomunt' (xi. 90. 6). To the apostles and devotees of the movement, the cultivated semi-Greeks of republican and, still more, of imperial Rome, *tursus* (Italian *torso*) and *crupta* (Italian *grotta*) must have seemed as strange and boorish as the *Mounseer*, which I have myself heard addressed to a Calais waiter, or the pronunciation of *Bordeaux* as *Bordoaks* which Charles James Fox is said to have recommended, both by precept and example, would appear to educated Englishmen since the time of the Second Empire. The hybrid puns, which Plautus has in such profusion, were bound to disappear as soon as the domestic pronunciation of Greek words was felt to be inadequate. And it is noticeable that the comedian of the Hellenizing circle of Scipio avoided them altogether.¹

A disregard of the Plautine spelling in this respect is therefore more than a total of petty errors. It amounts to the defacement of an ancient monument, the removal of a landmark in Roman literature, the destruction of one of the means by which we are helped to a genuine appreciation of antiquity. But the spirit of our age, in the *praefatio* of a leading editor of Plautus, has already issued its denunciation of the man who should restore his proper spelling to the dramatist whom he edits: 'qui "Bacidis" scribere animum inducat, merito rideatur'—*merito rideatur*, my masters!

It is curious that some of those who have not hitherto troubled about this matter do, at least unconsciously, admit the principle that the pre-classical literature should be differentiated from the classical by its spelling. An attentive examination of the editing of different Latin texts in the same series or by the same editor will reveal

¹ It should be added that plays upon Latin words are not numerous in Terence. All the clear ones that I have noticed are at *Haut.* 356, 372, 628; *Eun.* 236, 575; *Phorm.* 374, 500, 842 sqq.; *Hee. Prol.* 9 sq.; *Ad.* 432 (575). Most of them are put in the mouth of slaves.

a singular circumstance. Twenty-five characters are employed to print the Augustans, but twenty-four are found enough for the Early Republicans. In Propertius and Martial *uuu* must be spelt with three different letters; in Plautus it has to be satisfied with two. In the standard critical edition of Vergil *via* confronted us; in the same editor's fragments of ancient dramatic poetry it turned into *uia*. Unless such editors imagined, what I will never impute to them, that the Romans enlarged their alphabet by a distinction between the vowel and consonantal sounds of *u* between the years 200 and 100 B.C., this proceeding, if not to be explained as I have explained it, is as motiveless as it is irrational.

Whenever men take upon themselves to abandon the plain, the simple, and the practical custom of writing a language as it was written by its only accredited employers, they fall into diverse errors and inconsistencies: *ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit*. Thus in a well-known and valued *Thesaurus Poeticus* of Latin I find under the letter U the following: 'V f. n. *Lettre de l'alphabet* Subjecimus illam cui nomen U dederunt, *T. Maur. (Litt. 154)*,' and under the letter V the following: 'V, n. f. *Lettre de l'alphabet* Cecropiis ignota notis ferali sonans V, Ausonius *Id. 12, Litt. 8*. Hujus in locum videtur V latina subdita' *T. Maur. (Syll. 93)*.¹ While in another *Thesaurus*, the gigantic mausoleum now being erected for the remains of Latin literature, you will search the headlines in vain for the distinction of *u* and *v* which figures in the text below.

I can but touch upon the trouble which is caused in particular passages when the genuine spelling is in itself ambiguous. At Lucan vii. 658 the editors of the text are at issue whether the text should give *voluit* or *volvit*—a vain dispute. For what the poet wrote was *either*, or rather *neither*, but *uoluit*. In the *Revue de Philologie* for 1908, p. 54, the following is printed for an iambic senarius of Plautus, *Cas. 592*

qui me atque uxorem ludificatust larva.

The literary monuments of Plautine and pre-Plautine times are unhappily few, and to but a small section of students of Latin is the question how the Greek words contained therein should be written a matter of much concern. But it is otherwise with *u* and *v*. This late,² unnecessary and inconsistent³ distinction affects the whole of

¹ This gem of lexicography is still sparkling in the revised edition.

² It is certainly not older than the seventeenth century.

³ Its inconsistency lies on the surface. If *u* and *u* (*w*) need distinguishing, why not *i* and *i* (*y*). In Germany the paradox is greatest. The German's *j* is exactly the Latin *i*, and he does not use it: his *v* is not the Latin *u* and he does.

spoken and written Latin in every period. It confuses the presentation of the data both of palaeography and of philology, and tends directly to keep alive a corrupt and misleading pronunciation. Is it then going too far to say that it is high time that it should be condemned by the sentence and discountenanced by the example of all the official guardians of our studies, who should at last determine that what the ancients have joined no modern has the right to put asunder?

ADDENDA.

PAGE 20, NOTE 2.

Horace, *S. i. 2.* 120, affords a noteworthy parallel to the article in Greek: *illam* 'post paulo' 'sed pluris' 'si exierit uir'. What is this but the Latin equivalent of ἐς τούτους τοὺς 'οὐχὶ προδώσω τὸν Ἀθηναίων κολοσυργόν.' Aristophanes *Vesp.* 666?

PAGE 23.

I did not think it necessary to produce proof that moral condemnation of an act alleged was likely to affect our judgement upon the evidence by which the allegation was supported. But since this paper was in type I have lighted upon a passage in a well-known book upon the social life of Rome under the Caesars, published in 1888, which I will quote, since it contains an admission far weightier than any argument could be. The writer says (p. 73):

'The dictates alike of *feeling* and reason forbid us to believe the worst accounts that have reached us.'

(The italics are mine.)

PAGES 24 sqq.

To prevent all possible misconception, I would add that in these pages I am contending for the credibility of ancient witnesses in matters of fact alone. With their authority as grammatical theorists, philologers, or textual critics I am in no wise concerned. Accordingly, while I am bound to accept Quintilian's statement as to what stood in the text of Vergil in his day, I own no compulsion to hold with him that *qui—risere* could be followed after an interval of but three short words by a *hunc*, for which a *hos* would have done every bit as well. For this is a matter of grammatical theory.



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