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THE JOURNAL
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THEOPHRASTUS perì Νόμων.

"Omnium fere civitatum non Graeciae solum, sed etiam barbariae — a Theophrasto leges etiam cognovimus." Cic. de fin. bon. et mal. v. 11; see iv. 5, et de leg. iii. 14.

1. Júra constitui oportet, ut dixit Theophrastus, in his quae ēpī tō πλείοντον accident, non quae ēc paralóγoù. Dig. i. 3. 3.

2. Tō γάρ ἀπαξ ἢ δίς, ut ait Theophrastus, παραβαίνον- σιν οἱ νομοθέται. Dig. i. 3. 6.


4. "Θεσμοθέται"— ὡς ὅτι τοὺς νόμους οὕτωι διωρύουν κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν ἐκαστὸν ἔρημην Λίσχήνης τε ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτήσιφόντος καὶ Θ. ἐν γ' Νόμων. Harp. 153, 3 (Dindorf.).

5. 'Ἀρδηττός'— ἐν τούτῳ, φασὶ, δημοσίᾳ πάντες ὁμουν 'Ἀθηναίοι τῶν ὄρκων τῶν ἡλιαστικῶν.—Θ. ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων δηλοὶ ὡς κατελέβωτο τὸ ἔθος τούτο. Harp. 57, 5 ; Suid. s. v. 'Ἀρδηττῆς'; Bekk. Anecd. 443, 26.

6. Εἴσαγγελία'—Θ. δὲ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Νόμων φησὶ ὑγενεσθαι, ἐὰν τις καταλύῃ τὸν δῆμον ἢ ρήτωρ μὴ τὰ ἀριστα συμ-

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7. Καταχειροτονία—διεξήλθε δὲ περὶ τῆς καταχειροτονίας καὶ Θ. εν δ’ Νόμων. Harp. 172, 5; Suid. s. v. καταχειροτονία.

8. Πρόστιμον ἔκειτο τῷ μῇ μεταλαβόντι τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ὡς Θ. εν πέμπτῳ περὶ Νόμων’ εν δὲ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγχῶσιν ἔχημοιντο πρῶτον πρὸς ατίμιν ὡςτε μὴ ἐξείναι μὴτε γράψασθαι παρανόμων, μήτε φαινειν, μήτε ύψηγείσαθαι ἑπεκτα δὲ πρὸς χρήματα, ὡστε χιλίας ὄφλιςκανείν (see Schol. on Dem. xxii. 3, and Harp. 102, 10), καὶ ἐὰν γραψάμενος μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ δόμιως ἦν, περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰσαγγελίας ἐὰν μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, οἱ δικασταὶ τιμῶσι. Lex. Rhet. Cantab. 677, 8 (Meier).

Καίτοι γε ὁ Θ. τοῖς μὲν ἄλλας γραφᾶς γραψάμενοις χιλίας τ’ ὄφλιςκάνειν, εἰ τοῦ πέμπτου τῶν ψήφων μὴ μεταλάβοιειν, καὶ προσατμοῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ εἰσαγγέλλοντας μὴ ἀτιμοῦσθαι μὲν, ὄφλεων δὲ τὰς χιλίας. Poll. VIII. 53.

9. Εἰ ἐκάστου ἦτοι πάντες οἱ μάρτυρες ψευδομαρτυρῶν ἢ υπερημέσεις, ἐκρίνετο ἀνώθεν ἡ δίκη. οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων δὲ τῶν υγάφων ἐγιγνωστο ἀνάδεικνα οἱ κρίσεις, ἀλλ’ ὡς φησὶ Θ. εν ζ’ Νόμων, ἐπὶ μόνης ξενιας καὶ ψευδομαρτυρῶν καὶ κλήρων. Schol. on Plat. Legg. xi. 937 δ.

10. Σκαφηφόρου—Δημήτριος γοῦν εν γ’ Νομοθεσίας φησιν

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2 ἄφικενταί MS., ἄφικεντα δὲν τοῦ πεμφῆρην παρὰ τοῦ δήμου Meier, cp. Poll. whence the addition is taken.
3 νικοίν MS. and Nauck (Lex Vindob. p. 838), oikoić Dobrée, μυθοφορὴ Meier, òνομακ Schneidewin (Hyp. orat. duae p. 42), Dareste, μετοκὴ Lugebil, whom I follow; see Isocr. xvi. 12, xix. 23; Lys. xxxi. 9; Lyureg. i. 21. 145.
4 ἡ δῶρα λαμβάνῃ MS. Meier adds ἐπὶ ἀδέσποτος τοῦ δῆμου from Dem. xxii. 113; but the law in which these words occur is spurious.
THEOPHRASTUS PÉPI NOMÔN.

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11. Εἰ μέντοι καὶ ἐν βιβλίῳ των τούνομα τὴν ἀπαρτίαν εὑρέτως—εὑρήσεις—καὶ παρὰ Θ. ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Νόμων. Poll. x. 19.

12. Συννομώτερον σκάφης—Θ. γὰρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων εὑρίσκαι ἀπὸ τοῦ τούς μετοίκους 'Αθήνησιν ἐν ταῖς δημοτελείς πομπαῖς σκάφας φέροντας πομπεῦειν καὶ ὅπωτε δὲ ἐβούλοντο μετοίκουν δηλώσαι ἢ σκάφην ἔλεγον ἢ σκαφηφόροιν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἀπαρρητάστων εἶναι συννομώτερον ποιήσεις ἄπειλεν σκάφης. Phot. lex. 558, 9; Suid. s. v.

13. "Οτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅν ἐπραττον οἱ μέτοικοι ἄφεσιν εἶχον οἱ ἰσοτελεῖς Θ. εὑρήκειν ἐν ιᾷ τῶν Νόμων. οὕτος δὲ φησίν ὡς ἐναχοὶ καὶ πόλεσιν ἔλας ἐνφημίζοντο τὴν ἰσοτελείαν 'Αθηναίοι, ὁστέρ 'Ολυμπίοις τε καὶ Θηβαίοις. Ηαρπ. 163, 5; Phot. 115, 11.

14. "Οτι οἱ ἀλώντες ἐπὶ 'κουσίῳ φῶς εὔσυνίαν εἶχον εἰς διοίκησιν τῶν ἱδίων Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' 'Αριστοκράτους' (§§ 44, 45) ὑποσημαικεί καὶ Θ. ἐν τῷ ὑ' τῶν Νόμων δήλοι. Ηαρπ. 228, 1; Phot. 354, 26.

15. 'Εφορίας ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔρων γινομένη προαγόρευσις, οὐς Δημοσθένης διδάσκει ἐν τῷ κατ' 'Αριστοκράτους (§ 38) καὶ Θ. ἐν ὑ' Νόμων. Ηαρπ. 143, 7.

16. Φαρμακώντα—ἐστὶ δὲ φαρμάκων ὁ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων βεβλαμμένος, ὦς καὶ Θ. ἐν ἑ' Νόμων ὑποσημαίνεται. Ηαρπ. 299, 4; Phot. 640, 5; Etym. M. 788, 7; Suid. s. v. φάρμακος γλ. 2.

17. Ἔθη Φρεαττότες—ὄνομάσθαι δ' ἐν Το τὸ δικαστήριον ἀπὸ τῶν Φρεαττῶν ἡρως, καθὰ φησὶ Θ. ἐν ὑ' τῶν Νόμων. Ηαρπ. 115, 19; Etym. M. 344, 25; Suid. s. v. Ἐμφρεάτων.

18. 'Ὑποφόνεια τὰ ἐπὶ φῶς διδόμενα χρήματα τοῖς σιν-κελοῖς τοῦ φονευθέντος, ὅπως μὴ ἐπεξίωσιν—Θ. Νόμων ὑ'. Ηαρπ. 297, 9; Phot. 632, 17, Suid. s. v.


20. Οὐσίας δίκη—διειλεκται δὲ περὶ τῆς δίκης καὶ Θ. ἐν ὑ' περὶ Νόμων. Ηαρπ. 229, 15.

21. Οὐ μὲν οὐν ὑπὸ κήρυκος κελεύουσι πτωλεῖν καὶ προκηρύτ-
τειν ἐκ πλεῦσιν ἡμεριῶν, οὗ δὲ παρ᾽ ἄρχη τινι, καθάπερ καὶ Πίπτακος παρὰ βασιλεύσι καὶ πρωταίνει. ἔνιοι δὲ προγράφειν παρὰ τῇ ἄρχη πρὸ ἡμερῶν μὴ ἔλαπτον ἢ ἐξήκοντα, καθάπερ Ἀθήνης, καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἔκατοστὶ τιθέναι τῆς τιμῆς, ὅπως διαμφισβητήσαι τε ἐξή καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ ὁ δικαίως ἐωνημένος φανερὸς ἦ τῷ τέλει. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς προκηρύττειν κελεύουσαν πρὸ τοῦ κατακυρηφῆναι πεῦθ' ἡμέρας συνεχώς, εἰ τὰς ἐνίσταται ἢ ἀντιποιεῖται τοῦ κτήματος ἢ τῆς οἰκίας· ῥόσαυτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποθέσεων, ἀσπέρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Κυκενην. οἶ δὲ Θουριακοὶ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα πάντα ἀφαιροῦσιν, οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἁγορᾷ προστάττουσιν, ἀσπέρ τόλλα, διδοῦνε δὲ κελεύουσα κοινῆ τῶν γειτόνων τῶν ἔγγυτάτων τρισὶ νόμισμα τῷ βραχῷ μνήμης ἤπεικα καὶ μαρτυρίας. ἀναγκαῖον δηλοῦντι, τοῖς μὲν τὰς ἄρχις ὑπευθύνους ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τοῖς γειτοναῖς, ἕάν μὴ λάβωσιν ἢ διὸ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λάβωσιν ἢ ἔχοντες μὴ λέγοσι τοῦ ἐωνημένου, οὐ χρῆ δ᾽ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι αἱ προγραφαὶ καὶ αἱ προκηρύξεις, καὶ ὅλως ὁποῖσι πρὸς τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἐστὶ παῦντ᾽ ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ ἐξέλεξεν ἐτέρου νῦνοι τίθεται· παρ᾽ οἷς γὰρ ἀναγραφὴ τῶν κτημάτων ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν συμβολαίων, ἐξ ἐκεῖνων ἐστὶ μαθεῖν εἰ δεύνθηρα καὶ ἀνέπαφα, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν πολεῖ δικαιῶς· εὐθὺς γὰρ καὶ μετεγγράφει ἢ ἄρχῃ τῶν ἐωνημένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ προστασίας τινὲς ἱσώνται καὶ πολοῦσιν, ἀπαλλοτριῶν ἐθέλοντες, ὅρθος ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα νομοθετεῖν, ἢπερ καὶ ποιοῦσιν, ἀμα ταῦτα τέ βουλόμενοι καλοῦσιν καὶ τὴν ὁμὴν ἐμφανὶ4 ποιεῖς, ἀσπέρ ἐν τοῖς Αἰνῶν. κελεύουσι γὰρ, ἐὰν μὲν τις οἰκίαν πρήγηται, θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἑπικομαίου· ἐὰν δὲ χρόνιον, ἐπὶ τῆς κόμης ἢ αὐτὸς οἰκεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦν ἐναντίων τῆς ἄρχης ἐγγραφούσης καὶ κομμητῶν τριῶν, ἢ μὴ ὁνείδιαθαι δικαιῶς, μῆθες συγκακουργοῦντα, μῆτε τέχνη μῆτε μηχανῇ μηδεμίᾳ· τόν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὸν πολοῦντα πολείων ἀδόλους· τὸν δὲ μὴ οἰκιόντων ἐν ἀτείς θείῳ τῶν ὀρκοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δίῳ τοῦ ἀγοραίου, τὴν δὲ ψυσίων τῶν ἑλλησσόνων εἶναι θυλήμασιν, ἀνεῖ δὲ τούτων μὴ εγγράφειν τὴν ἄρχην ἀλλὰ5 καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀρκῷ προσορκίζειν αὐτὴν, εἶναι μὴ ὀμνύσατι, μὴδὲ ἐγγρά-

1 Θουριακόν MS. Ο ὠρὸς Ηέυνυς ὀπ. Acad. p. 152 and M. Dareste.
2 τῶν ὦν ομηνένων MS. τῶν ὦν ομηνένων Ηέυνυς and Μεινέκη. τῷ ὦν ομηνένῳ Madvig advers. critica p. 721.
3 προστασίας MS. πρόφασιν? Μεινέκη. προστασία (= dicis causa) Madvig.
4 τὴν ἐμφανῆ π. MS. Μεινέκη inserts ἀτάτη, Dareste κτήσων, Madvig ὀνήμ.
5 ἀμ MS. ἀλλὰ Madvig.
THEOPHRASTUS ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ.

ψευ τὴν ὁμήν. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἀμφότερα, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς πάντα βουλονταὶ πεφυλάχθαι, καθάπερ ἵστος καὶ δεῖ. κυρία δὲ ἡ ὁμην καὶ ἡ πρᾶσις εἰς τὴν κτῆσιν, ὅταν ἡ τιμὴ δοθῇ καὶ τὰς τῶν νόμων ποιήσωσιν, οἶνον ἀναγραφῇ ἡ ὄρκον τοῖς γείτοσι τὸ ἱγνώμενον εἰς δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πολέμιον, ὅταν ἀράβαβα λάβῃ σχεδὸν γὰρ οὔτως οἱ πολλοὶ νομοθετοῦσιν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο προσδιοριστέον, εὖν μὴ παρὰ μεθύνοντος, μηδὲ ἐξ ὀργῆς μηδὲ φιλονεικίας μηδὲ παρανομοῦντος, ἀλλὰ φρονοῦντος, καὶ τὸ ὄλων δικαίως ὅπερ καὶ ἐπετρέποντος ὅταν ἀφορίζῃ παρὸν δὲν οὐκ ἔσται. οὐκεὶ γὰρ ἐκ καιροῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πάθος γνώνεσθαι δὲ δ᾽ ἐκ προαιρέσεως οὔτω γὰρ ἔσται τὸ δίκαιον. τάττουσι δὲ τινὲς καὶ τὸν ἀράβαβα πόσον δὲν διδότως πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τιμῆς μερίζοντες ἀτοπων γὰρ ἐὰν δακτύλιον δοῦ τῶν δεκα ταλάντων. εὰν δὲ λαβὼν ἀράβαβα μὴ δέχεται τὴν τιμὴν, ὃ δοῦν μὴ καταβάλῃ ἐν τῷ ὁρισμένῳ χρόνῳ δεὶ γὰρ ὁρίσαθαι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Θεορίοις, τῶν μὲν ἀράβαβα παραρξίματα τὴν δὲ τιμήν ἀνθημεραν, οὗ δὲ καὶ πλείον ὡς μέρας τίθενται τῆς τιμῆς, οὐ δὲ ἀπλῶς ὡς ἀν ὁμολογήσωσιν δὲ ὥς ἐπίτιμου ἐκατέρω, πότερον τὸ μὲν στέρησις τοῦ ἀράβαβαν; οὔτω γὰρ σχεδὸν οὐ νὰ' ἀλλοι κελεύονται καὶ οἱ Θουρικοὶ τῷ δὲ μὴ δεχομένῳ, ἐκτεινόντας ὡς ἄν ἀποδόται; καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς Θεορίοις, ἡ ἀνίσως ζημία; πολλαπλασία γὰρ ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ ἀράβαβαν; ἐτι δὲ καὶ βιλάπτοντα ἃν ἀποδόμοις ἀφεῖς ἐκατέρως, ἐπειδὴ τις ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν ὀρίσειν οὔτω γὰρ μᾶλλον ἑνδέχεται γὰρ ὑπὸ ἑνίοις διδυκάσθαι κελεύοντο συν ἐν τῷ δεχομένῳ τὴν τιμὴν. πότερον δὲ ἐς ἂν κομίσῃται κύριον εἶναι τὸν κτήματος; οὔτω γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ νομοθετοῦσιν ἡ ὦστερ Χαράνδας καὶ Πλάτων; οὔτοι γὰρ παραρξίματα κελεύονται διδότως καὶ λαμβάνεις, ἐὰν δὲ τὸ πιστεύσῃ μὴ εἴναι δίκην, αὐτὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῆς ἀδικίας.

Stob. floril. 44, 22 (Meineke).

22. Κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀγενεδεῖν.—Θ. γοῦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων φησὶ δυοῦ τούτων ἑπιμελεῖται δεῖ τοῖς ἀγορανόμουσι, τὴς τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ εὐκοσμίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγενεδεῖν μὴ μένου τοῖς πιπράσκοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοιμένοις. Harp. 170, 19; Phot. 143, 14; Suid. s. v.

23. 'Ἔποβάτης καὶ ἀποβαίνεις καὶ ἀποβατικὸν τροχοῦ'—

1 Thus M. Dareste alters the punctuation.
The literature concerning these fragments is very limited. The editions, which profess to contain all that is left of Theophrastus' works, give only a small number of the fragments discussed in this paper. The work _peri Nómou_ has been dealt with by Prof. H. Usener and M. Dareste. The essay of the latter (printed in Revue de Législation ancienne et moderne, française et étrangère, No. de Mai-Juin, 1870), did not reach me until this paper had been partly written; it gives with comments the text of all the fragments with one exception, but as my plan differs from his I venture to offer the reader a further contribution on the same subject, and
some matters arising incidentally. In my commentary I shall not traverse so much of the ground, as is sufficiently treated by the writers of the various articles in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, but I shall call attention to books and periodicals of a later date than that Dictionary, and give extracts from certain pamphlets which are not likely to have found their way to England. Prof. Usener in his Analecta Theophrastea (Teubner, 1858), re-edits Laert. Diog. v. 42—50, where there is a catalogue of all the works of Theophrastus, and he has collected on p. 6, 25 passages from different authors where περὶ Νόμων is quoted, but has not given the text of them. To these references may be added Etym. M. 344, 45. In the Rheinisches Museum (1861, p. 470 foll.), he explains the meaning of the words νόμων κατὰ στοιχείων κόστοις, as this work is entitled by Laertius. In his opinion the twenty-four books of the νόμων were designated respectively by the twenty-four letters of the alphabet (e.g. the sixth book being numbered ζ, and the tenth κ'), a way of numbering divisions of a work which was quite common with the Peripatetic school, as we are informed by the commentators on Aristotle; and he rejects another interpretation, viz. that the contents were arranged in alphabetical order¹. He says in effect that this latter supposition is improbable in itself, although it might seem to be supported by the following casual circumstance. There is a large fragment in Stob. floril. 44, 22 which is taken εκ τῶν Θεοφράστου περὶ συμβολαίων according to the best MSS. of Vienna². That this subject was treated in the 18th book of the Laws is made probable by the quotation of Harp. 229, 15. Now Σ is the 18th letter of the alphabet. But just from this considerable fragment περὶ συμβολαίων we may see how Theophrastus arranged his enormous material. His work was intended to be a worthy pendant to Aristotle's πολιτείαι: nay, he tried to surpass this model, at least in so far as he did not content himself with collecting and presenting one after

¹ This is the opinion of Fr. Schoell, Geschichte der Griech. Litteratur II. p. 194. Phalaris, p. 265) was the first to attribute this fragment to Theophrastus περὶ Νόμων.

² Bentley (diss. upon the Epistles of
the other the laws of the different Hellenic states under the heading of that state, but in the more important branches of law he compared the different ordinances made by those states under the heading of the subject-matter. Under the heading περὶ συμβολαίων Theophrastus has treated of a number of subordinate and kindred subjects, which, if the alphabetical arrangement had been adopted, would have been discussed under separate headings of their own. Besides, our general notions of the development of literature ought to make us suspicious of an hypothesis which would make an encyclopaedist of Theophrastus. Our suspicion is quite justified by the exact quotations from this work, mostly to be found in Harpocration: hence we are enabled several times to show a direct connection of books following each other. In the first three books the legislative power must have been spoken of, or perhaps they formed together a general introduction; the 3rd book mentions the duty of the thesmothetae of reviewing the whole body of the laws every year, and M. Dareste places next to this fragment that dealing with Ardettos (fr. 5). Books iv.—vii. relate to criminal procedure (fr. 6—9). Books x. and xi. relate to citizenship; xiii.—xvi. (no quotation from the 14th book is given) to homicide; xviii. to δίκαια; xx. to public games and races.—We find sometimes quoted Ὀἰσὶφραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων, or ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων; but as Prof. Usener remarks, there is no reason at all to think that those quotations were taken from Θ. περὶ Νόμων α' which Laertius mentions v. 47. This single book is likely to have been the first or introductory book of the large work, and from this book he thinks were taken Dig. i. 3 and 6, and Stob. floril. 37, 21. To prove this opinion he quotes Suid. s. v. συστομώτερον σκάφης Θ. ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων, and Harp. 275, 6 Θ. ἐν 'Ι Νόμων. I give instances even more striking; what Theophrastus has said about the accuser in the case of his not receiving as many as

1 C. Fr. Neumann (Aristot. Rerum publ. reliqu. p. 24) quotes from Boethius Comment. in Aristot. de Interpret. p. 292: 'in omnibus, in quibus Theophrastus disputat, post magis-
a fifth of the votes of the dicasts has been referred to in four places, but Poll. viii. 53 names Theophrastus only, Schol. on Dem. xxii. 3 has Θ. ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων, Harp. 102, 10 Θ. ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων, only Lex. Rhet. Cant. 677, 8 ἐν πέμπτῳ περὶ Νόμων. Or Poll. viii. 52 Θ. ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων, and Lex. Rhet. Cant. 667, 13 ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Νόμων; I think sometimes the numeral has dropped out.

fr. 1—3. M. Dareste quotes Plut. Sull. 26, where Sulla is said to have seized a library which contained most of the works of Theophrastus and Aristotle, and that when the whole was afterwards conveyed to Rome the greater part of the collection passed through the hands of Tyrannion the grammarians, and was published by Andronicus the Rhodian. Cp. Sir A. Grant, The Ethics of Aristotle, p. 6.—K. Fr. Hermann (Abhandl. d. K. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. Göttingen, 1849, p. 42) says, speaking of the Greek laws, that they are by no means drawn up in an orderly system, which, founded on the highest principles, professes to provide for every emergency, but they merely supply practical wants; he refers to Aesch. i. 13. See Lys. xxxi. 27, and Lyc. i. 8.

fr. 4. Aesch. ii. 38: μὴ ὡς ὑμεῖς ποτ' εἰς τοσαῦτην ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίνετε, οὗτ ἡμέλησαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τῆν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσεις, ἄλλα διαφήμην προστέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰσόδουν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, etc. Who is meant by ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσας? H. Schelling (de Solon. legg. p. 53) thinks Solon was the lawgiver, and Grote (Hist. of Greece, Vol. 8, Edition 11. p. 324 n.) connects this passage with two others taken from Dem. xx. 89 foll. and xxiv. 18 foll. to show that Aeschines and Demosthenes were wrong in ascribing to Solon the formalities enjoined for repealing an existing law and enacting a new one, because they make Solon ordain that 'the proposer had to post up his project of law before the Eponymi: now the Eponymi were (the statues of) the heroes from whom the ten Kleisthenean tribes drew their names, and the law making mention of these statues proclaims itself as of a date subsequent to Kleisthenes.' A. Westermann (Zeitschrift f. Alterthumsw. 1844, p. 772), on the other hand, is of
opinion that what is called ὁ παλαιὸς νόμος (Dem. xx. 89) originated with Solon, and that the duty of annually revising the whole code of laws was imposed on the thesmothetae at a later period. See Dem. xx. 91 and 92. K. Fr. Hermann (Staatsalterth. 131, 16) approves of this opinion.

fr. 5. Harpocratius says that all the Athenians swore the Heliastic oath at a place called Ardettus, but in after time at some other spot of which we are not informed; I need scarcely remark that the dicasts only had to swear this oath (Etym. M. 147, 10). Regarding this oath Grote (II. p. 324) remarks: 'Demosthenes and Aeschines employ the name of Solon in a very loose manner, and treat him as the author of institutions belonging evidently to a later age: for example, the striking and characteristic oath of the Heliastic jurors, which Demosthenes ascribes to Solon, proclaims itself in many ways as belonging to the age of Kleisthenes, especially by the mention of the senate of five hundred, and not of four hundred.' The date, therefore, and not the genuineness of the oath is called into question; see also III. 121, n. 1. I shall give the gist of three small pamphlets by A. Westermann (de jurisjurandi judicum Atheniensium formula quae exstat in Demosthenis oratione in Timocr., 1859), in which the latter is fully discussed. The conclusion there arrived at is: 'ea formula non solum contineri nonnulla quae ab ipsa re aliena esse videantur, verum etiam non contineri omnia in quae judices Athenienses jurasse aliunde compertum habeamus, praetereaque ipsam etiam orationem non esse talam quae recte ubique procedere ac foro Attico prorsus convenire dici queat.' The first sentence as far as πεντακοσίων is genuine, because the same words occur repeatedly in the orators, cp. Dem. xix. 179, to refer to one out of many passages, and from Aesch. III. 6 we see that the oath began in that way. Yet this introductory sentence is not complete. See Dem. xx. 118:—ὅτι νῦν ὁμομοίωτες κατὰ τῶν νόμων δικάσεων ἥκετε—καὶ περὶ ὅν ἂν νόμοι μὴ ἔδος, γνώμη τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ κρίνειν, and other passages. From this difference in the introductory sentence of the oath the conclusion has been drawn that there were two somewhat different oaths to be taken by the dicasts, the one which we are discussing at
the beginning of their year of office, and the other alluded to by Dem. xx. 118 before every exercise of their functions. Westermann rejects this opinion as not based on any good authority; for the words of Pollux do not justify such a conclusion: he found in the books which were the sources of his information the mention of an oath to be taken at Ardettus by those who were appointed judges for the year, but mistaking Ardettus for a court of justice, and remembering that the plaintiff and defendant had to take an oath likewise, he mixes up all these things in the following manner: ἐμοσάντων δὲ καὶ δικαζομένων τὸ πάν ἐκαλεῖτο ἀμφιορκία (VIII. 122). Yet ἀμφιορκία has quite a different meaning: it means the oath taken by the plaintiff and defendant at the preliminary investigation of the case, and therefore before the case was brought before a court of justice. Besides other reasons, the words of Isocr. xv. 21, and xviii. 34 show clearly that the dicasts took one oath only, and that at the beginning of their year of office. Then follows to l. 10, οὐ’ ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐστιν, an enumeration of certain specified cases, which is superfluous after the solemn engagement contained in the first sentence, and cannot by any means have had its place in a Heliastic oath, as the courts of justice had nothing to do with most of them. The next lines (11—18) are objected to especially on account of their style: ‘tam misere composita sunt, ut vix discipulo semidocto, nedum legislatori Attico imputari queant;’ besides, the magistrates were under the control of the dicasts in many more points which the compiler passes by in silence, e.g. at the expiration of their term of office, etc. This objection, however, must not be understood, as though Westermann expected that all these cases were specified in the oath; he finds in their absence merely a proof that the oath as it is inserted is carelessly compiled. The compiler strung together every bit of information he could get, without showing any skill in putting each in its proper place. He is right in saying that a dicast should be not less than thirty years of age (l. 19), but he might quite as well have spoken of the other conditions of his eligibility, e.g.

1 The lines I quote are those of Dindorf’s edition (Teubner).
that he should be in the enjoyment of his full franchise. His conditions were in all probability tested before he had been selected by lot. The next sentence is copied from a good source, exception is taken to dsayrndioduas only. Lastly, the compiler is mistaken in naming Zeus, Poseidon, and Demeter as the gods by whom the oath was sworn, see Dem. LIII. 9, Schol on Aesch. i. 114 etc.—Andoc. i. 90: τι ὄρμοσάντες δικαί-ζετε: 'καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω, οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ πείσομαι, ψηφιούμαι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους,' Westermann remarks regarding the first part of this passage: 'apparet post renatam Ol. xciiv. 2, rempublicam Atheniensium verba ista ad judicum jusjurandum accessisse. Nihilo minus, quod ea non recepit, recte, opinor, fecit auctor formulae. Nam sine dubio per breve tantum tempus duraveret.'

fr. 6. I shall be very brief on the εἰςαγγελία here, as I dealt with this form of procedure in a former paper printed in this journal (No. 7, p. 72—112). Theophrastus' statement is corroborated by Hyp. iii. 22. 23, yet neither quotes the law at full length, Hyperides citing it only to the passage which applies to the case in hand. A passage from an inscription (Boeckh, Staatshaualtung d. Ath. iii. p. 540) supplies us with a further clause: εἰναι δὲ καὶ εἰςαγγελίαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν, καθάπερ εῖν τις ἀδική περὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νεορίωσι; and from the title of a lost speech of Dinarchus κατὰ Πυθέων περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐμπό-ριον εἰςαγγελία and other passages I think we may conclude that a clause of the νόμος εἰςαγγελτικός was directed against offences committed against the commercial laws. Yet the εἰςαγγελία was not confined to the crimes specially mentioned in the law; any crime might be proceeded against under this form of procedure, but then the crime must be construed in its general results as one of the crimes enumerated in the law and proceeded against under that head; e.g. the adulterer Lyco- phron was proceeded against by an εἰςαγγελία καταλύσεως τοῦ δήμου, see also the above quotation from Boeckh. That an eis-

1 Soocrates says (Plat. Apol. Socr. 35 c): καὶ ὁμοίως ἐκεῖτε (ἀ δικαιτή) οὗ χαρι- εἰσθαι ὡς εἰ δοκῇ αὐτῷ, ἄλλα δικάσεων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους; but μὴ χαριεἰσθαι would have been required, if the word had occurred in the oath. Besides, see Lys. xiv. 22. 40, etc.
THEOPHRASTUS ΠΕΠΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ.

angelia was resorted to in many instances, where it ought not to have been, we see from Hyp. iii. 19, and Lex. Rhet. Cant. s.v.: ἔνω δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων εἰλιθέσαν καλεῖν καὶ τὰ μὴ μεγάλα ἀδικήματα εἰσαγγελίαν; whence may have arisen the notion that the εἰσαγγελία was κατὰ καυνῶν καὶ ἀγράφου ἀδικημάτων. Nor do I think that Hyperides, in the part of the law he quotes, gives us the exact wording of the law; he particularises ἐὰν τις τῶν δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καταλύῃ by adding ἡ συνή ποι ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου (cp. Din.1.94) ἡ ἐταιρικὸν συναγάγῃ (cp. Isocr. XVI. 6), whilst Pollux and the Lex. Rhet. Cant. merely mention κατὰ τῶν καταλυόντων τοῦ δήμου and ἐὰν τις καταλύῃ τῶν δήμου; the latter, on the other hand, specify προδοσία: ἐὰν τις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφικνήται ἀνευ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου etc. Hyperides himself adds to the clause of the law referring to the orators in a later passage of the same speech (c. 39) καὶ δωρεάς παρὰ τῶν τάναντια πραττόντων τῷ δήμῳ. fr. 7. Among the cases to which the προβολή was applied are generally mentioned complaints against those who worked the public mines clandestinely and those who were guilty of peculation or embezzlement of the public money; and as an instance of a προβολή brought against a person charged with embezzlement, the case of Aristophon is quoted, Dem. xx1. 218, οὗτος ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφῶν ἀποδοῦ τῶν στεφάνων ἔλυε τὴν προβολήν. According to the Scholiast Eubulus brought a προβολή against Aristophen for having kept in his hands certain tithes out of which some crowns had to be bought, and Aristophon in order to stop the prosecution gave up the crowns without delay.

1] I might as well mention here a curious passage from the Schol. on Aesch. iii. 159 (F. Schulz, p. 342). After the capture of Thebes Alexander sent a letter to the people of Athens demanding some of the leading anti-Macedonian orators and generals; different opinions have come down to us as to whom he demanded. (Cp. my Quaest. Hyperid. p. 30.) Demades was appointed by the people to appease Alexander; οὗ τοῦτο εἰσῄεν ἐπειδής διε ἐλάεσν αὐτῶς Ἀθηναῖος ῥητορικῷ πανάτωρ ἀπολανέων. From this saying we may learn that the life of an orator was in great danger at Athens in case his proposals turned out a failure, the Athenians holding their counsellors answerable for the result. Thus when the news of the failure of the Athenian arms in Sicily was conveyed to Athens, the people threw the blame on the orators who had counselled the expedition, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτῶ ὀφθαλμῶν, Thucydides adding appropriately (vii. 1).
That is all we know of the case. K. Fr. Hermann (de probole p. 15) thinks the case of Chaerephilus (Hyp. fr. 183—193) to have been a προβολή π’ quam orationem quum Harp. s.v. kata-
χειροτονία cum Midiana conjungat, quamvis in causa mercatoria tamen et ipsam ad προβολή spectasse credibile est.’ The opinion that a προβολή could be resorted to in case a person was charged with clandestine working of the public mines, rests on a single passage taken from the Lex. Rhet. Cant. 676, 24; MS. προβολή φανεροῦ μὲν τινος, λανθάνοντος δὲ μήνυσις: Κακίλιος δὲ φησιν εἴναι ἣν κατὰ τῶν δημόσια μέταλλα ὑπομεττών-
tων ἀποφέρουσι etc.; Meier writes: προβολή μὲν φανεροῦ τινος ἀδικήματος, φάσις δὲ λανθάνοντος μήνυσις: Κακίλιος δὲ φάσιν φησιν εἴναι etc. This correction—for φάσις may have easily been overlooked before φησιν—is confirmed by passages like Bekk. Anecd. 314, 16: φάσις: μήνυσις πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας κατὰ τῶν ὑπομεττῶντων τὸ μέταλλον etc. Poll. viii. 47 etc. Hyp. iii. 44 mentions a φάσις laid by Lysander against the mine of Epicrates ‘that the cuttings had been worked beyond the boundaries,’ see Prof. Babington’s note to the passage.

fr. 8. As to the penalty of the prosecutor consequent upon a failure to get a fifth part of the votes ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἰγνώσων in general our authorities for the most part agree; not so as regards the prosecutor who had resorted to an εἰσαγγελία: Lex. Rhet. Cant. οἱ δικάσται τιμῶσι, Poll. μὴ ἀτιμοῦσθαι μὲν, ὀφλεῖν δὲ τὰς χιλίας; and Harp. 104, 15 distinguishes two periods: χιλίας εκτίνει τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ οὕτωι μειώσων ἐκολάζωντο. Of this heavier punishment, which according to Harpocration awaited the accuser at a time before the penalty was fixed at 1000 drachmae, no mention is made by the orators; nay from two passages in Hyp. ii. (c. 7 and 10) we learn that the accuser in an εἰσαγγελία at one time was subjected to no penalty whatever. The fact is that at the time this speech was delivered the accuser was ἄκυδων; and that afterwards the impunity was dis-
continued διὰ τοῦ ῥαδίου εἰσαγγέλουντας Poll. l. c.; and I think that from Dem. xviii. 250, we can draw the conclusion that at that time, when he was assailed by prosecutions of the most various form and colour, viz. in the period following the disaster of Chaeroneia, the impunity had been discontinued. Prof. A.
Schaefer (Jahn's Jahrb. 1853, p. 28) supposes that the case of Lycophron came on shortly before Ol. 107, 4; I was inclined to put it some years later (Quaest. Hyp. 74. 73), but I agree now with Dr Blass (in a critique of my pamphlet, Philolog. Blätter, 1870) that with our scanty information the exact date of the speech can scarcely be fixed. So much is certain that after the peace of Demades the informer was subject to a penalty in the event of his not obtaining the fifth part of the votes, and that he continued to be so, we may gather from Lyc. i. 3 (Leocrates was impeached by Lycurgus in 330) and from the absence of any allusions in Hyp. iii. (delivered about the same time) similar to those made in his speech written for Lycophron. According to Meier and Schoemann (Att. Proc. p. 260) he who prosecuted an individual by means of an ἀπογραφή, if he failed to obtain the votes of one-fifth of the dicas, would probably incur a modified ἀτύμια, i.e. a restriction from bringing such actions for the future. That this was certainly the case we learn from Hyp. iii. 43, 44.

fr. 9. If the witness in a cause gave false evidence, the injured party was at liberty to bring an action against him (δίκη ψευδομαρτυρίων), and after the conviction of the witness an action might be maintained against the party who suborned him to give false evidence (δίκη κακοτεχνίων), to recover compensation. In some cases only the Athenian law allowed the party upon the conviction of the witnesses to obtain a new trial, as we are informed: in cases of inheritance, δίκη ψευδομαρτυρίων, and γραφή ξενίας—but in no other instances. The correctness of this statement has been doubted and with good reason; for many similar instances may be conceived, in which the recovery of damages cannot be considered an equivalent compensation for the injury suffered. The Scholiast says that it was necessary to convict more than half the number of the witnesses; but these words are not taken from Theophrastus; they refer to Plato: ἐὰν τῶν των οἰκύτων ύπερ ἣμεσον μαρτυρίων καταδικασθῶσι τινες etc. Prof. A. Schaefer (Demosthenes und s. Zeit. iii. B 83. 196) distinguishes two kinds of δικαία ψευδομαρτυρίων, as it were: the injured party rebuts the evidence of all the witnesses or at least of most of them, and thus gets
the former award annulled; or he brings an action against one or more witnesses and recovers compensation for the injury he or they have done. But I do not think that in all cases, even upon the conviction of all the witnesses or of most of them, a new trial could be obtained; although, as I said before, I do not believe that this remedy was confined to the cases mentioned by the Scholiast, yet I think that it was confined to those cases in which the recovery of damages from the witnesses cannot be considered as compensation for the injury they have done. Prof. A. Schaefer remarks, when we survey the course of the speech of Demosthenes against Aphobus, it seems as though Demosthenes feared lest the verdict in the previous case given in his favour might be reversed, which, Prof. Schaefer says, was not possible upon the conviction of one single witness. I look at this case in the same light as Mr G. A. Simcox does (the Orations of Dem. and Aesch. on the Crown xxx.): 'if Aphobus had gained his verdict'—and I beg leave to add, if he had convicted Philippus also'—'he would not have been legally entitled to a new trial. Perhaps he could have recovered from Phanus; certainly the conviction of Phanus would have discredited the former verdict enough to create a serious prejudice against Demosthenes in any future attempts to enforce it.' I need scarcely mention that in such an action it was not only to be shown that the evidence of a witness was false, but also that this false evidence had procured the verdict. The conviction of one witness only may have been sufficient in some cases. Thus in Isaeus Or. v., as Dicaeogenes was slain in a sea-fight without leaving any children, Proxenus, the father of the defendant who was also called Dicaeogenes, produced a will in which his son was adopted by the deceased and appointed heir to a third part; the rest went to the four sisters of the deceased. Twelve years later Dicaeogenes asserted that he was appointed heir to the whole and gained a verdict. One of the nephews of the deceased began a prosecution against those who had sworn that the deceased had appointed Dicaeogenes heir to his whole

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1 Demosthenes had produced three witnesses: Aesius, Aphobus' brother (δὲ νῦν μὲν ἔχαρυς ἐστὶ—τῷ ὃς ἐμπρότητα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων xxix. 15), Phanus, and Philippus; Aphobus prosecuted Phanus first.
estate, and convicted Lycon, whom he first brought to justice, of perjury. Frightened by the conviction of Lycon, Dicaeogenes made a compromise with the plaintiff. § 14 we read ἐπειδὴ οἱ μάρτυρες ἐάλωσαν, although one only had been convicted; this conviction discredited the evidence of the other witnesses called for the same purpose. See [Dem.] XLVII. 1; Suid. s.v. δίκην ἡ τῶν μαρτύρων ἀλόντων ψευδομαρτυρίων (cp. Hesychius s.v. ἀνάδικοι). Isaeus xi. 46 κελεύει δ’ ὁ νόμος ἀλφ ἀλφ τις τῶν ψευδομαρτυρίων, πάλιν εξ ἀρχής εἶναι περὶ αὐτῶν ταῖς λήξεις, cp. v. 17; this refers to the λήξεις only. I avail myself of this opportunity to call attention to a discussion of the γραφὴ χειναῖα especially in its relation to the διαψήφισις by Dr A. Philippi in his Beiträge z. einer Gesch. d. Att. Bürgerrechts, p. 38 foll. He rejects the opinion of Platner (Beiträge, p. 195) that the latter has developed itself out of the former, by showing that they existed one by the side of the other for a period of at least 50 years, dating the διαψήφισις mentioned by Dem. LVII. 60, 62, in 370, and the last instance of a γραφὴ χειναῖα being that of Dinarchus against Pythes. Meier (de bon. damnat. p. 94, etc.) says a γραφὴ χειναῖα could be brought against those only whose father and mother both were aliens, quoting Harp. 211, 10: Κρατερὸς γοῦν ἐν τῷ δ’ τῶν ψευδομάτων φησίν· ἐάν δὲ τις εξ ἀμφῶν χεινῶν γεγονὸς φρατρίζη, διώκειν εἶναι τῷ Βουλομένῳ Ἀθηναίων. Dr Philippi connects this passage with the legislation of the year 404/3, in which Aristophon proposed the law: δὲ ἀν μὴ εξ ἀστῆς γένηται νέθον εἶναι (C. Müller, fragm. Hist. Gr. iv. p. 358). Nicomenes, to deprive it of its ex post facto application, inserted the amendment: μηδένα τῶν μετ’ Ἑυκλείδην ἀρχοντα μετέχεις τῆς πόλεως, ἀν μὴ ὀμφό τοὺς γονέας ἀστοὺς ἐπιδειξηται, τοὺς δὲ πρὸ Ἑυκλείδου ὁμεξετάστως ἀφείσθαι (Schol. on Aesch. 1. 39). Dr Philippi points out that in the law of Aristophon the father must have been supposed to be an Athenian, that therefore the amendment of Nicomenes could only direct that the children of Athenian citizens by foreign mothers, born before the archonsip of Euclides, should be admitted to the franchise. To this he adds the passage taken from Craterus, which ordained that, with regard to those whose father and mother both were aliens, proceedings might be taken against
them as usual by a \(\gamma\rho α\phi\eta \xi\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma\). It does therefore not say that in general a \(\gamma\rho α\phi\eta \xi\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma\) could be resorted to against those only, whose father and mother both were aliens; a \(\gamma\rho α\phi\eta \xi\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma\) was confined to that class under these particular circumstances only, since by the amendment of Nicomenes those who were born before the archonship of Euclides by an alien mother were exempted from all inquiry. The first instance of a \(\gamma\rho α\phi\eta \xi\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma\), which is mentioned by Arist. Vesp. 717, belongs to the year 422, but the institution must be supposed to be of older date. That of those born after the archonship of Euclides only those possessed the franchise who had sprung from the marriage of citizens with the daughters of citizens we learn from Isaeus viii. 34. Then Dr Philippi discusses the \(\delta\iota\alpha\phi\psi\theta\phi\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma\); it was not a judicial act directed against a definite person, but an exercise of corporate self-government borrowing the form of an action at law. If the Lexiarchic register of a demus was lost, or destroyed, or tampered with, care was taken in composing the new one that the names of none should be recorded but those whose claims were approved of by the demus. This might cause the names of some to be struck off the list; if they acquiesced in the sentence which had been passed, the only punishment which was imposed upon them was the degradation to the rank of aliens. On the other hand, any citizen might at any time institute a \(\gamma\rho α\phi\eta \xi\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma\) against a person who unlawfully usurped the rights of citizenship. When a person tried on this charge was acquitted by any species of bribery, he was liable to be indicted afresh by a \(\gamma\rho α\phi\eta \delta\alpha\rhoο\xi\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma\); if condemned he was to be sold for a slave. The judgment however was arrested if he brought a \(\delta\iota\kappa\eta \psi\epsilon\nu\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\tau\nu\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\) against the witnesses who had procured his conviction, and during such proceedings he was kept in safe custody to abide the event. The proceedings were the same when a person whose name had been expunged from the register appealed from this decision to a court of justice.

fr. 10. Theophrastus dealt with the metoecs in the 10th book; they had to perform certain services to the Athenians at the Panathenaea. The men had to perform the \(\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\eta\phi\omicron\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma\); according to Demetrius their unmarried daughters had to carry parasols (\(\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha\delta\eta\phi\omicron\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma\)), and vessels with water (\(\iota\delta\rho\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma\),
whilst we learn from Poll. III. 55, that their wives were called 

υδριαφόροι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου. Aelianus (Var. Hist. vi. 1) has 

another distribution: τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν μετοίκων σκιαδη-

φορεῖν ήράγκαζον ταῖς ἐαυτῶν κόραις, τὰς δὲ γυναίκας ταῖς γυναιξὶ. 

Prof. A. Mommsen (Heortologie, p. 180 foll.) remarks in regard to 

those services that they were based upon the attachment of a 

metoec family to the family of an Athenian citizen, and that 

the services required and given depended entirely upon the 

numbers and status of the two families respectively.

fr. 11. Cp. ἀπαρτίου προγράφειν to put up goods to public 

sale Plut. Cic. 27.

fr. 13. ἀτέλειαιν MS., ἰσοτέλειαν Bekker. Meier (de proxi-

menia, p. 20) approving of Bekker’s conjecture remarks: ‘nonnun-

quam non singularibus peregrinis, sed universis civitatibus id 

datum muneris esse, sic accipiendum est, ut civitatum, quae eo 
essent donatae munere, omnibus civibus, qui Athenas sedem 
domiciliumque transferre vellent, id esset privilegium, ut non 

alia vectigalia penderent quam cives.’ Boeckh (Staatsh. I. p. 

121) retains the reading of the MS., and expresses some doubt 
as to whether it signifies a general immunity or an exemption 

from protection-money and liturgies, in case Thebans and Olyn-

thians should come as denizens to Athens. M. Dareste follow-

ing Bekker refers to Egger, Etudes historiques sur les traités 

chez les Grecs et chez les Romains, a book which I have not 

been able to consult.

fr. 14—18. I refer the reader to a paper by Dr Philippi, 

der Athenische Volksbeschluss von 409/8 (Neue Jahrb. f. 

Phil. und Pädag. 1872, 577—607), in which this important 

inscription is fully discussed in its bearing on the laws referring 
to homicide inserted in Dem. xxiii., and the speech against 

Macartatus [Dem.] xlvi., and which affords other valuable infor-

mation. As far as [Dem.] xlvi. 57 is concerned, we learn that 

the subject-matter is genuine, although it is put forth in a 
different order from that of the inscription. The text of the 
latter runs as follows: αἰδεσασθαι δ’ ἔλαν μὲν παθὴρ ἥ 

ἡ ἀδελφὸς η νιέις, ἀπαντας ἥ τὸν κοιλοῦντα κρατεῖν...other relatives and the 
oath ([Dem.] xlvii. 72) were probably mentioned here...ἔλαν δὲ 

τοῦτων μηδεῖς ἥ, κτείνῃ δὲ ἄκων, γυναῖ δὲ οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ 

εἰς οἱ ἐφέται ἄκοντα κτείναι, εσέσθων δὲ οἱ φράτερες ἔλαν ἔθελσι 

2—2
With regard to the first eight documents inserted in the speech against Aristocrates, Fr. Franke (de legum formulis quae in Dem. Arist. reperiuntur) has shown that they are compiled from the quotations from the documents read, which the speaker recited after the clerk, supplemented occasionally by more or less infelicitous conjectures. Dr Philippi endorses this opinion on the whole, and defends it against Dr Ulrich Köhler (Hermes II., p. 27 foll.), who thinks that where the documents differ from the words of the speaker, the inscription agrees with them. Dr Philippi reads that part of the inscription in the following way: εὰν δὲ τις τῶν ἀνδροφόνων κτείνῃ ἡ αἰτίας ἡ φόνου, ἀπεκθῆμενον ἁγορᾶς ἐφορίας καὶ ἄθλων καὶ ἱερῶν ἀμφικτυονίων, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηναίων κτείναντα ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶι ἐνέχεσθαι, διαγινώσκειν δὲ τοὺς ἐφήτας (3rd document, cp. § 38, 39). τοὺς δὲ ἀνδροφόνους ἐξείων ἀποκτείνει καὶ ἀπώγευν ἐν τῇ ἧμερα, λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ μηδὲ ἀποινῶν (part of the 2nd document, cp. §§ 29—35). καὶ τῶν ἐνδεικνύστων τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, εὰν τις κατή ὑπὸ μὴ ἐξεστὶ, δίκαια φόνου μὴ εἶναι (5th docum. cp. § 51, 52) 1...ἀρχοντα χειρῶν ἀδίκων (cp. § 50)...there is not room enough to insert here a third-law about δίκαιοις φόνοις (the 6th docum.) even with the omission of those words of it which are not recited by Demosthenes in §§ 53—55; therefore Demosthenes must be supposed to have had before him a law different from that of the inscription 2...καὶ εὰν φέροντα ἡ ἀγοντα βία ἀδίκως εἰθώς ἀμφικτυονίων κτείνῃ, νηποινεῖ τεθνᾶναι (7th docum. cp. § 60)...δὲ ἢ ἄρχον ἢ ἐδώτης αἰτίας ἢ τῶν θεσμῶν συγχυθήμει τόνδε ἢ μεταποιοῦσα αὐτῶν, ἄτιμοι ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνω (8th docum. cp. § 62). The 4th document (cp. § 45 foll.) is supposed to have been written on another stone pillar.—

1 The only letters visible on that part of the stone are ΟΙΛ; Dr Köhler reads ἡ δικίων ὀφθείμων ἄνω ἄν καταβάλψ; yet these words are not likely to have been in a law about homicide.

2 Thus Grote says 'the enumeration of the different admitted justifications for homicide, which we find in Dem. c. Arist. p. 637, seems rather too copious and systematic for the age of Draco; it may have been amended by Solon, or perhaps in an age subsequent to Solon' (tr. p. 333, n.).
As to the situation of the courts of justice for the trial of homicide, see Prof. E. Curtius' Erläuternder Text d. 7 Karten z. Topographie v. Athen, p. 55.—Dr Philippi is inclined to believe the ephetae to be older than Draco, and the Areopagitic senate to have been created by Solon (Rhein. Mus. 1873, p. 12).

fr. 19. Theophrastus speaks of the two stones or stone platforms on which at a trial of murder before the Areopagites the plaintiff and the defendant respectively stood, that of the plaintiff being called ἀλίθος ἀναιδείας, and that of the defendant ἀλίθος ὑβρεως, cp. Pausan. i. 28, 5. Theophrastus did not use the term λίθος, but βωμός, and this gave rise to the mistake of Cicero de leg. ii. 11, 'nam illud vitiosum Athenis, quod expiato Cylonio scelere Epimenide suadente fecerunt Contumeliae fanum et Impudentiae.' Favorinus explains βωμός: οὐ μόνον ἐφ' ὅν ἔθνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίσμα τι ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀνάστημα, ἐφ' οὐ ἑστι βίαισι τι καὶ τεβηναι—βωμοῖς: βαθμοῖς. Prof. Forchhammer (Ind. Schol. Kiel 1843/4), who illustrates this passage in this way, adds 'λίθος ἀναιδείας non est impudentiae lapis, sed implacabilitatis sive negatae veniae.—qui vero accuset, is jam se nolle ostendit veniam dare, atque vel eam ob causam debet ex ἀναιδείας lapide perorare.'

fr. 20. On οὐσίας δίκη see Smith's Dictionary s. vν. ἐμβατεία and ἐνοικίου δίκη, and Boeckh, Staatsh. i. 496 n. h. I will give here the outlines of a small pamphlet by Dr Philippi (Symbolae ad doctrinam juris Attici de syngraphis et de οὐσίας notione) in which the meanings of οὐσία φανερά and οὐσία ἀφανής are investigated. Property is called φανερός when it cannot be secreted or denied (Isaeus xvi. 43); out of this another meaning arose: φανερός was said of ready money as opposed to money lent on interest, which could not easily be valued (Isocr. xvii. 7); and as those Athenians who did not wish to pay taxes and perform public duties in proportion to their means used to turn their property into money for the purpose of secreting it (which was called ἀφανιζειν), φανερά τὰ ἐντα καταστήναι (Isaeus vii. 39) was said of those who returned all their property. The author sums up: 'οὐσία φανερά apud Atticos dicitur primo loco quidquid ita quis possidet, ut se possidere negare nequeat, deinde pecunia quatenus τῷ δανείσματι opposita est, denique ca bono-
rum pars, de qua tributum conferendum est.’ Since the introduction of the general register of property, the census not only comprehended lands and houses, but all unemployed or employed capital, slaves, raw and manufactured materials, cattle, household-furniture, in short all money or money’s worth: see Dem. xxvii. 9 foll. The usual division of property into res immobiles and res mobiles (according to Roman law) can therefore no longer be maintained for Athens.

fr. 21. On the tax of a hundredth upon sales cp. Boeckh, Staatsh. ii. p. 348. The same writer remarks (i. p. 663) that it cannot be proved that at Athens the debts upon landed property were entered in a public book; we hear of registers of debts in Chios (Arist. Oecon. ii. 2, 12) and at a later period in Aphrodisias (C. i. Gr. ii. 537 foll.). M. Daresto says the passage from Plato alluded to is Leges xi. 915; see also viii. 849 E: ἐν τούτοις ἀλλάττεσθαι νόμιςμα τέχνημάτων καὶ χρήματα νομίσματος, μή προέμενον ἄλλον ἐτέρω τὴν ἀλλαγήν· ο̣̄ δὲ προέμενος ὡς πιστεύων, ἦν τε κομίσηται καὶ ἂν μὴ, στεργέτω ὡς οὐκέτι δίκης οὔσης τῶν τοιούτων πέρι συναλλάξεως. That this law was not in force at Athens we may see from Lysias fr. 1: ο̣̄i μὲν κάπηλοι ο̣̄i ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντες, παρ’ ὃν προδόσεις λαμβάνων οὐκ ἀποδίδοσι, δικαίωται αὐτῷ συγκλείσαντες τὰ κατηέλα.

fr. 22. See Dem. xx. 9, and Plat. Leg. vii. 849 A.

fr. 23. Dion. Halic. vii. 73 remarks that the Romans had preserved two very old races; ἐτερον δὲ (ἐπινήθειμα) ὁ τῶν παρεμβεβληκέτων τοῖς ἀρμασι δρόμοις. ὥσαν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἦπτων ἀμίλλαι λάβονται, ἀποψηδώντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων οἱ παροχούμενοι τοῖς ἠμόχοις, οὐς ὁ ποιητὰ μὲν παραβάτας καλοῦσιν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀποβάτας, τὸ σταδιαῖον ἀμίλλωντα ὕπομον αὐτοῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. From this account it might seem as though the race of the apobates began after that of the chariots was over; yet we know from Bekk, anec. 426, 30 (part of the passage is corrupt) that they jumped from the chariots and mounted them again θεόντων τῶν ἦπτων. A similar race, called καλπη, is described by Pausanias v. 9: ἢν δὲ ἢ μὲν θήλεια ἦπτος, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποπηδώντες ἔτι τῷ ἐσχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνέθεον οἱ ἀναβάται τοῖς ἦπτοις εἰλημμένοι τῶν χαλίνων. Pausan. calls them ἀναβάται; Hesych. ἀποβαίνοντες· ἀναβαίνοντες. See
fr. 24. The exact meaning of \(\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\kappa\iota\mu\alpha\) has not yet been settled: it first occurs Dem. xxi. 17 \(\tau\alpha\ \pi\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\kappa\iota\mu\alpha\ \phi\rho\alpha\tau\tau\tau\nu\ \pi\rho\osigma\eta\lambda\iota\iota\,\), etc., and the Scholiast interprets it \(\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\iota\iota\ \sigma\kappa\eta\nu\iota\iota\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\omega\sigma\iota\iota\iota\) (cp. Didymus), whilst Theophrastus explains it \(\delta\ \pi\rho\alpha\ \tau\iota\iota\ \sigma\kappa\eta\nu\iota\iota\ \alpha\pi\o\delta\delta\epsilon\nu\iota\mu\epsilon\mu\iota\iota\ \tau\iota\iota\ \epsilon\iota\ \tau\iota\iota\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omega\iota\ \pi\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\kappa\iota\mu\alpha\iota\iota\iota\). The latter explanation seems to be the correct one; it suits the words of Demosthenes and one may easily see how the other explanation arose out of them. It is not necessary to suppose that the Scholiast differed from Theophrastus on this point; he did not so much intend to bring forward an explanation of his own, as to explain how the blocking-up could have been effected: one may conceivably say \(\phi\rho\alpha\tau\tau\tau\epsilon\nu\) of rooms which had doors leading to the stage, and \(\pi\rho\osigma\eta\lambda\iota\iota\) is added by way of explanation. See Fr. Wieseler, Griechenland iv. p. 222 (Separa-tausgabe aus Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopädie).

fr. 25. \(\iota\beta\gamma\iota\) means offering, vow. It is not the formula for a judicial oath but that customary in sanctioning a vow, as I have been kindly informed by Prof. T. Theodores.

fr. 26. Meier (Ind. Lect. Halle 1835/6) is of opinion that the statement of Theophrastus that Phaeax and not Nicias was the rival of Alcibiades, when Hyperbolus was ostracised (Plut. Nic. 11), was contained in \(\pi\epsilon\iota\ \iota\mu\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\) In another work of his, Theophrastus is said to have stated that Theseus was the first who suffered ostracism, Suid. s. v. \(\alpha\rho\chi\iota\iota\ \Sigma\kappa\nu\iota\iota\) !—Dr Lugebil (4. Supplementband d. Jahrb. f. Philol. 1861, p. 119—175) discusses all the questions connected with ostracism, referring occasionally to the parliamentary customs of England. Grote (v. p. 135 n.) says: 'the practical working of the ostracism presents it as a struggle between two contending leaders, accompanied with chance of banishment to both.' Dr Lugebil, who professes to differ from Grote, and quotes III. 132, where the aim of the ostracism is explained, arrives at about the same conclusion, but maintains that ostracism never was anything else but what the practical working of it presented it to be. He holds the opinion that the minimum of 6000 applies to
the votes given in all and not to votes given against any one name, and maintains that ostracism was introduced after the year 496.

fr. 27. Some say that Draco enacted this law and that Solon retained it; others that Solon borrowed it from the Egyptians, and according to Theophrastus it was Pisistratus who first introduced it. Draco is said to have ordained death (see Lys. fr. 35; Plut. Sol. 17), or according to Poll. viii. 42, disfranchisement as the penalty; Solon modified the penalty and inflicted a fine of 100 drachmae for the first conviction, and disfranchisement only when a person was convicted a third time (Lex. Rhet. Cant. 665, 221). From the scarcity of our material it is impossible to determine who was the first to give the law; it may be a very old one and enacted by Draco; Solon may have modified it in the way mentioned above, and Pisistratus may have subjected it to a further modification, as to the nature of which we are not informed; that his legislation tended in that direction we may assume from Plut. Sol. 81.

fr. 28—30. M. Dareste is of opinion that these fragments as well as fr. 27 belong to peri Nômouν. Fr. 27 might as well have been contained in peri Nomophetōv; as to fr. 30 I am more doubtful. The Scholiast on Arist. Av. 1354 has: kúrbēis —apò tōn Korubântov. ékeínav γαρ εὐρήμα, ὡς φησί Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ peri eisēbeias (cp. Tzetz. Chil. xii. 406), where Ruhnken (Hist. Critica Orat. Graec. p. 88 ed. Lugd.) writes Θεόφραστος, who, as we know from Laertius, had written a book peri eisēbeias. As to the etymology of kúrbēis see Prof. G. Curtius, Principles of Greek Etymology. Grote (Π. 322) and Prof. E. Curtius (Greek Hist. i. 342) distinguish between kúrbēis and αἴξονες, so that on the former the laws respecting sacred rites and sacrifices, on the latter the regulations respecting matters profane were placed; this distinction does not rest on good authority; see Dr Philippi (Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. 1872 p. 583 n.). With fr. 28 cp. Athen. x. p. 429 A.

I will add a few words regarding the legislation of Solon.

Prof. Schoemann maintains that the nomothetae were insti-

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1 θάνατον αὐτή ὄρθρας (Σέλλων) ὁσπερ ἑκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἄτμιμον, ἔδω τις ἄλφ προτ, ἀν δ' ἀπαξ, ἕμισχώθαι δραχμᾶς ἑκατόν. Meier reads ἔδω τρίς ἄλφ τις, but ἔδω τις is distinctly written in the MS.; after ἄλφ, τισαί or something like it.
tuted by Solon, and defends his opinion against Grote in his ‘Die Verfassungsgeschichte Athen's nach Grote's History of Greece,' 1854, and against Bake (Scholiea hypomn. v. 239) in his Opuscula Acad. i. pp. 247—59. Prof. Ad. Schmidt in an essay on Pericles (Epochen und Katastrophen p. 43) considers the appointment of such a body as one of the reforms of Pericles.

From what Grote (ii. 342) says about Solon's law, which enacted that at the time of internal troubles every citizen should choose his side, we may conclude that it was repealed or fell into disuse after the revolution of Cleisthenes. That at a later time it was no longer in force we can see from Lys. xxxi. 27: ἀκούω δ’ αὐτῶν λέγειν ὡς, εἰ τι ἦν ἀδίκημα τὸ μὴ παραγενέσθαι ἐν ἑκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, νόμος ἀν ἑκεῖνῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαρημήθη, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων.

Grote (ii. 339) and the writer of the article κακηγορίας δίκη in Smith's Dictionary, seem to have followed Platner (Process ii. p. 192), who thinks it probable that the law of Solon forbidding evil-speaking in a temple, or before judges, &c. on pain of a forfeit of three drachmae to the person aggrieved, and two more to the public treasury, was altered, and the heavier fine of 500 dr. substituted in the place of the smaller sum. Yet the law mentioned first and that which inflicted a fine of 500 dr. had different aims and neither could supersede the other: in the one case the sanctity of the place or occasion was impugned, in the other the personal honour of the party was concerned. Meier and Schoemann (Attischer Process, 481 foll.) make the following remarks: in the first place it was forbidden to use certain contumelious epithets (ἀπόρρήτα), specified in the law, at any time or in any place; the defendant if convicted had to pay 500 dr. probably to the plaintiff (Isocr. xx. 3; Lys. x. 12), and when Midias was fined 1000 dr., this is to be explained by supposing that Demosthenes brought two actions κακηγορίας. We do not know all the ἀπόρρήτα; from

1 i.e. as Hudtwalcker (Dialecten, p. 150) supposes, one on his sister's and his own account, and one on account of his mother. Westermann (Quaest. Demosth. iii. 19) thinks that one action was brought against Midias and another against his brother. Prof. Schaefer (Dem. und s. Zeit ii. 86 n.) suggests that the fine was doubled, because ladies had been slandered!
Lysias it follows that ἀνδροφόνος, ἰδιασπίς, πατραλοίας, μητραλοίας belonged to this class, but it is evident that they were not the only ones; see Dem. LVII. 30, 31: ὸς (νόμοι) κελεύουσιν ἐνοχον εἶναι τῇ κακηγορίᾳ τῶν τὴν ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τῶν πολιτικῶν ὑνειδίζοντα τῖνα.

Secondly, the law forbade absolutely evil speaking with respect to the dead, and allowed the nearest relations, i.e. the heirs of the deceased, to bring an action against him who did so (Dem. xx. 104; xl. 49; Plut. Sol. 21); what penalty was inflicted on the defendant when convicted we do not know.

In the third place the law forbade to speak evil and use bad language to a person either in a temple, or before judges or archons, or at any public festival. The offender had to pay three dr. to the person aggrieved and two more to the public treasury (Plut. Sol. 21; cp. Plat. Leg. xi. p. 935).

Lastly, if an individual abused a magistrate, no matter where, when, or by what words, he incurred ἀτιμία (Dem. xxi. 32, ἄν μὲν τοίνυν ἰδιώτην ὄντα τών αὐτῶν ὑβρίσθη τις ἡ κακῶς εἶπη, γραφὴν ὑβρεως καὶ δίκην κακηγορίας ἰδίων φεύξεται, ἐάν δὲ θεσμοθέτην, ἀτιμὸς ἑσται καθάπαξ), unless the magistrate was pleased to inflict a fine only. When we read, Lys. ix. 7, τοῦ νόμου ἀπαγορεύοντος, ἐάν τις ἀρχήν ἐν συνεδρίῳ λοιπῇ, and § 9, τοῦ νόμου διαρρήθην ἀγορεύοντος τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λοιπὸν ὄρθοντας ζημιοῦν, the speaker by an advocate's trick confounds the 3rd and 4th clauses. K. Fr. Hermann (Symbolae ad doctrinam juris Attici de injuriarum actionibus) puts a different construction on these passages; in his opinion if a person used one of the αὐτοχομένως to a private person, he was fined 500 dr.; but if he did so to a magistrate, he became ἀτιμὸς—on the other hand if he used foul language in general (not one of the αὐτοχομένως) to a magistrate in his place of office, the magistrate was empowered to inflict a fine; a person might use foul language to a private person.

1 See Hyp. fr. 108 (Lex. Rhet. Cant. 671. 8): ἐὰν τις κακῶς εἶπῃ τῶν κατοχομένων, κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ταῦτα ἀκόσιν κακῶς, πεντακοσίως καταδίκασθεις ὄφλη τῷ δημοσίῳ, τρακτοῦτα δὲ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ. Ἡπερεῖδης δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δωρόθου χελλαῖς μὲν ζημιοῦθαι εἰ τοῖς κατοχομένοις κα- 2 By English law spoken words are
language to anyone not holding a public office anywhere, except in a temple, court, or at a public festival; if he did so in these localities, he was fined five dr., which were disposed of in the way mentioned before; τὸ γὰρ μηδαμοῦ κρατεῖν ὄργῆς ὑπαι- δευτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον, τὸ δὲ πανταχοῦ χαλεπὲν, ἐνίοις δὲ ἀδύ- νατον, Plut. Sol. 21; see Arist. Eth. Nic. iv. 8, 9: οἱ δὲ νομοθέται ἕνα λοιδορεῖν κωλύωσι. According to English law a man cannot with impunity slander another, even though the slander be true, but at Athens it appears to have been otherwise; see Lys. x. 30; Dem. xxiii. 50, and Dio Chrys. xv. 8. The name of the author of the first clause is not mentioned, Isocrates speaking of ὁ θεότερον ἡμῶν τοὺς νόμους; as regards the law against abusive language about trade-matters, this we may believe was ordained by Solon, who encouraged artisans and industry. The second and third clauses are ascribed to Solon by Demosthenes and Plutarch.

The bulk of this paper was written in Manchester, where there is no large library. I have to thank Professor John E. B. Mayor who allowed me the use of his private library for some days, and was also kind enough to procure me the permission of Mr Bradshaw to look at the MS. of the Lexicon Rhetoricon Cantabr.

HERMAN HAGER.

August, 1874.

not in general punishable as a crime, but there are a few exceptions, e.g. if uttered to a magistrate in the execu- tion of his office. See Arist. Problem.
THE LAST ELEGY OF THE THIRD OR SECOND BOOK OF PROPERTIUS.

If any one will turn to the various editions of Propertius, he will see that our elegy and others in this book are numbered in so many different ways that, to make sure of a reference being found, he would have to give at least six or seven distinct notations: for many single verses even this number would not suffice. The inconvenience has arisen in part from the second book being usually divided into two since the time of Lachmann's first edition; but still more from the strange confusion which prevails in the manuscripts with regard to the beginnings and endings and the arrangement generally of the separate elegies; so that in many places it seems impossible to make out what the drift of the poet's purpose is. This confusion and obscurity I attribute in a small degree only to his manuscripts which, as in the case of so many other Latin authors, are all of them derived from a single archetype that survived the wreck of the ancient world and seems to have lurked unknown till the age of Petrarch. Far be it from me to praise our extant authorities for the text of Propertius; but one or two of them appear to be honest attempts to reproduce what was in the original, being of course unintelligible where it was illegible or corrupt; and I believe that few, if any, plausible emendations have been made which depart very far from the traditional reading.

The more I study Propertius, the more convinced I am that the huge disorder we find in this book generally, as well as in our particular elegy, is due for the most part to the state in which the poet left his works at the time of his early death, and in which they were subsequently given to the world,
whoever their editor may have been. Propertius could scarcely have been more than thirty-four when he died about B.C. 15. Ten years at least before this time he must have published his first book, his Cynthia Monobiblos, by which he became known to Rome as one of its great elegiac poets. This book we now have in a quite intelligible and satisfactory shape; the style is peculiar and all his own, distinct from that of Tibullus on the one side and of Ovid on the other; and on the whole I prefer it decidedly to any of the later books. This early composition he often refers to; but I know of no passage in his or others' works to shew that any of the later books were published by him, at all events in the form in which we now have them. Separate elegies no doubt, perhaps whole books in some shape or other, were known to his friends, Ovid among others, and it may be to the general public; but our present elegy for example I feel convinced he kept altering and adding to, especially in its most interesting parts, until his premature death prevented him from ever finishing it.

Many causes may have fostered this backwardness. Clearly he was no ready writer as his friend Ovid was. Ovid, who was a few years younger than Propertius, had already at a very early age mastered that marvellously facile style, so unrivalled in its own peculiar way, which exercised so great an influence on all subsequent Roman poetry. He tells us himself that he was intimate with Propertius who used to read to him his love-poems. The latter would feel keenly the points in which he was inferior to his friend, not so strongly perhaps the many in which he surpassed him; and no one will dispute the great influence which Ovid's manner has had on all the later developments of Propertius' style, who ill-satisfied with himself may have gone on altering and correcting, until death stayed his hand.

Thus to come to our present elegy, the first thirty lines or so and the last ten are consecutive and have probably assumed the final shape intended by the poet, while the middle and most interesting portions are in such a state of disorder, as in their present form to defy all rational interpretation. These portions it seems to me Propertius went on altering and adding
to, and the copy which he left behind him was not fully understood by those who undertook to publish it. Much of the poem may I think be so rearranged as to assume a satisfactory and intelligible shape, though the poet may not have completed his final revision: some of the lines in the part about Virgil are manifestly incomplete and fragmentary. How Hertzberg can find in the elegy as we now have it a perfect and well-digested whole, is to me a marvel; but, much as I admire his industry and research, I will not conceal my opinion that in every critical and exegetical difficulty his editorial skill almost invariably breaks down. Once however, \( \text{IV (III) 7 (6), 22} \), he has made a brilliant and in my judgment certain emendation: ‘Argynni poena Athamantiadæ.’ Lachmann in that very early work, his larger edition of Propertius, has made several transpositions of verses, one of them true so far as it goes and properly adopted by Mueller, the others all unsatisfactory. In his mature critical edition of 1829 he has designedly abstained from all such attempts.

I will now print the greater part of our elegy as it is found in the manuscripts, tacitly adopting such corrections by former editors as appear to be certain, and marking with an obelus those about which I have something to say. I will then shew what I think may be done for the right understanding of the poem by transposition and other methods, whether of emendation or of interpretation. The first 22 verses, in which the poet reproaches his friend Lynceus for attempting, when heated with wine, to abuse his confidence and gain favour with Cynthia, I need not print: I will only say that in v. 1 *amico* for *amori* seems a necessary correction: that I do not see why in v. 14 Mueller and Paley should demur to *tantum te modo tolle* for *tantummodo te tolle*, such separations being found even in prose: Quintilian in 1 12 5 has *quodam tamen modo*, though he elsewhere writes *quodammodo* as others do: Cicero says *magnoque opere*; Lucretius *saepe est numero factum*; Virgil *hac Troiana tenus*, and the like: in 19 *meae...umbrae* would not be a harsh correction for the strange accusative, as the s of *solus* might have attached itself to *meae*; and the singular is the common usage for a man’s own shadow.
PROPERTIUS.

sed numquam vitae fallet me ruga severae:

24 omnes iam norunt quam sit amare bonum.

Lynceus ipse meus seros insanit amores:

26 solum te nostros laetor adire deos.

quid tua Socraticis tibi nunc sapientia libris

28 proderit, aut rerum dicere posse vias?

aut quid Erechthei tibi prosunt carmina lecta?

30 nil iuvat in magno vester amore senex.

tu satius memorem musis imitare Philetan

32 et non inflati somnia Callimachi.

nam cursus licet Aetoli referas Acheloi,

34 fluxerit ut magno factus amore liquor;

atque etiam ut Phrygio fallax Maeandria campo

36 errat et ipsa suas decipit unda vias;

qualis et Adrasti fuerit vocalis Arion

38 tristis ad Archemori funera victor equos.

tnon Amphiaraeae prosint tibi fata quadrigae

40 aut Capanei magno grata ruina Iovi.

desine et Aeschyleo componere verba cothurno,

42 desine, et ad molles membra resolve choros.

incipe iam angusto versus includere torno,

44 inqu tuos ignes, dure poeta, veni.

tu non Antimacho, non tutior ibis Homero:

46 despicet et magnos recta puella deos.

sed non ante gravi taurus succumbit aratro,

48 cornua quam validis haeserit in laqueis,

nectu tam duros per te patieris amores;

50 trux tamen a nobis ante domandus eris.

harum nulla solet rationem quaerere mundi,

52 nec cur fraternis luna laboret equis,

necti post Stygias aliqvid +restabit erumnas (restaverit undas)

54 nec si consulto fulmina missa tonent.

aspice me, cui parva domi fortuna relicta est,

56 nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus avj,

ut regnem mixtas inter conviva puellas

58 hocc ego, quo tibi nunc elevor, ingenio.

me iuvet hesternis positum languere corollis,

59 quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus,

Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi,

62 Caesaris et fortes dicere posses rates,

qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma

64 iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus.

cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:

66 nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.

tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi

68 Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin harundinisbus,

utque decem possint corrumpere mala puellas,

70 missus et impressis haedus ab uberibus.
felix, qui viles pomis mercaris amores!
72  — huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.
74  felix intactum Corydon qui temptat Alexin
agricolae domini carpere delicias!
quamvis ille sua lassus requiescat avena,
76  laudatur facile inter Hamadryadas.
tu canis Ascraci veteris praecipita poetae,
78  quo seges in campo, quo viret uva iugo.
tale facis carmen, docta testudine quale
80  Cynthius impositis temperat articulis.
non tamen haec ulli venient ingrata legenti,
82  sive in amore rudis sive peritus erit;
† nec minor his animis aut si minor ore canorus
aniseris indocto carmine cessit olor.
84  haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,
86  Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae.
haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli,
88  Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.
haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,
90  cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae.
et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus
92  mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua!
Cynthia quin etiam versus laudata Properti,
94  hos inter si me ponere fama volet.

The first few of the above verses are plain enough: he has
his revenge on his elderly friend Lynceus, a philosopher and
poet, for the wrong he had done him; as Lynceus has now
fallen hopelessly in love. Of what avail now his philosophy
or his study of Aeschylus. In the next verses, 31—38, he
advises him to imitate the Aira of Callimachus, and these
might seem to be in their proper place; but I think a still
better place may be found for them. 39 is corrupt and no
correction or explanation that I have seen connects 39 and 40
in a satisfactory way with what precedes and follows. For in
41 he bids him cease to write in the style of Aeschylus too;
but in 29 he had asked him of what use to him now was the
reading of the plays of the Athenian old man, that is Aeschylus
as I maintain. Paley on 29 says the objection to his being
Aeschylus is this v. 41. And with the present order this is a
fatal objection, and Lynceus has accordingly been made into an
epic as well as a tragic poet, and many strange conjectures
have been devised: Cretaei, Crethei, Lucreti, epe Chii, etc.
But I believe that a better arrangement will prove that Aeschylus is the Athenian old man. Next in 43 and 44 he urges him to write love-poems and approach at length his flame; and then in 45, 46, he tells him he will be no safer than Homer and Antimachus, both of whom according to the story he follows suffered from hopeless or unfortunate love: surely not the way to encourage Lynceus at this point. Then 47—50 connect themselves at once with 44; but not with 45, 46. Then in 51 what does harum refer to? Lachmann in his first edition saw that this has reference to the puella of 46 and that 51—54 should join on to 46; and in this he is rightly followed by Mueller. But neither his nor Mueller's arrangement does more than set right this single point. 55 and what follows ought to come immediately after 50. I will now print the whole of these verses, 23—58, arranged in the order which I think they ought to have and with the corrupt passages corrected. I will next attempt to give a coherent explanation of them; and then go on to the remainder of the elegy.

sed numquam vitae fallet me ruga severae:
24 omnes iam norunt quam sit amare bonum.
Lynceus ipse meus seros insanit amores:
26 solum te nostros laetor adire deos.
quid tua Socraticis tibi nunc sapientia libris
28 proderit, aut rerum dicere posse vias?
aut quid Erechthei tibi prosunt carmina lecta?
30 nil iuvat in magno vester amore senex.
45 [tu non Antimacho, non tutior ibis Homero:
46 despicit et magnos recta puella deos.]
51 [harum nulla solet rationem quaerere mundi,
52 nec cur fraternis luna laboret equis,
54 nec si post Stygias aliquid rest arbiter undas,
41 [desine et Aeschylo componere verba cothurno,
42 desine, et ad molles membra resolve choros:]}
39 [Amphiaraæae prosint tibi fata quadrigae?
40 aut Capanei magnó grata ruina Jovi?]}
31 [tu satius Meropem musis imitare Philetan
32 et non inflati somnia Callimachi.
nam cursus licet Aetoli referas Acheloi,
34 fluxerit ut magno fractus amore liquor;
atque etiam ut Phrygio fallax Maeandria campo
36 errat et ipsa suas decipit unda vias;

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qualis et Adrasti fuerit vocalis Arion
38 tristis ad Archemori funera victor equos.
43 [incipi iam angusto versus includere torno,
44 inque tus ignes, dure poeta, veni.]
47 [sed non ante gravi taurus succumbit aratro,
48 cornua quam validis haeserit in laqueis,
 nec tu tam duros per te patieris amores:
50 trux tamen a nobis ante domandus eris.]
55 aspice me, cui parva domi fortuna relicta est,
56 nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus avi,
 ut regnem mixtas inter conviva puellas
58 hoc ego, quo tibi nunc elevor, ingenio.

23 foll.: 'I will never be cheated by an affected austerity
of life, like that of Lynceus, for all now, he included, know
the blessings of love. My Lynceus late in life plunges madly
into love: I rejoice that you, sole recusant, are becoming a
votary of our gods'.—For that seems to me to be the force of
solum te, with a reference to omnes iam: Paley's explanation
I cannot quite catch the meaning of: insanit amores is a cognate
accusative, like Horace's insanire errorem, and sollemnia.
27 foll.: 'Of what avail now your wisdom learnt from the
writings of the Socratic school, or your power to describe the
course of nature? Or of what avail your study of the Athe-
nian's poems? your aged favourite helps not in violent love'.
The ablative Socraticis libris I will speak of afterwards: as the
two best Mss. have, one of them Erethei, the other Erechti,
Erechthei may be looked on as the real Ms. reading, and it
suits, as we shall see, the context admirably, when the verses
are arranged in their proper order. It is enough that Lynceus
should be a natural and moral philosopher and a tragic poet,
without making him an epic poet as well. Mueller's epe Chii
will satisfy I fancy few but himself: epe indeed might well
have been used by Propertius, as Lucretius twice has mele, a
nearer parallel than cete, pelage or tempe which he cites; but
epe Chii, carmina, form a meaningless apposition: vester, the
favourite of you and your circle. Then 45, 46 follow most
appropriately: 'why should you, philosopher and poet though
you be, hope to be safer in love than the very greatest of
poets, Homer and Antimachus, who both suffered grievously
PROPERTIUS.

from love: a straight-limbed girl scorns the gods themselves’. Hermesianax of Colophon, the favourite pupil of Philetas of Cos, would naturally be an authority with Propertius: there is a long fragment of his quoted by Athenaeus, p. 597, in which he depicts the woes which the greatest poets and philosophers had suffered from love, among them Homer and Antimachus. 46 recta: so Catullus 86 ‘Quintia formosa est multis, mihi candida, longa, Recta est’: Horace sat. 1 2 123 ‘Candida rectaque sit’: Hertzberg’s explanation of recta, though adopted by Paley, strikes me as very odd. 51 foll.: ‘Much less then will any of these care for you and your philosophy: why the moon is in travail by the default of her brother’s horses; whether beyond the waters of Styx an awarer of doom is in truth a real thing; whether providence sends the thunder’. Of the ablative fraternis equis I will speak by and bye: of 53 I must say something now: five years ago I gave in this journal, vol. 2 p. 143, the same reading that I now offer; yet Mr Paley attributes to me aliquis re est: Wassenbergh’s restabimus undas, followed by so many, gives an excellent sense; but does not represent the Ms. reading as mine does: the best Ms. N has restabit, the end of the line being lost, as in 83: the next best have restabit erumnas and restaverit undas, readings easily explained by rest arbiter undas: rest (i.e. re est) was not familiar to the copyists who nearly always corrupt this enclitic st; they therefore first wrote restabit and the other corruptions followed at once: arbiter was read by Jacob, but his aliquis sedet has no probability: with the sentiment compare IV (III) 5 39 ‘Sub terris sint iura deum et tormenta nocentum’; and with the expression aliquid re est compare Propertius’ own ‘Sunt alicuid Manes: letum non omnia finit’; Ovid’s ‘Omina sunt alicuid’; ‘Aut sine re nomen deus est’; Cic. nat. deor. III 53 ‘qui hos deos ex hominum genere in caelum translatos non re, sed opinione esse dicunt’. Mark the indicative est in a dependent clause between the subjunctives of the preceding and the following verse: exactly the same occurs in vv. 34, 36, 37; fluxerit, errat, decipit, fuerit. It is a curious feature of Propertius’ style that he deliberately prefers in such cases to mix indicatives and subjunctives and clauses without a verb: 3—2
compare especially IV (iii) 5 (4), 25—46, where, as here, he is speaking of natural phenomena: there we find eleven dependent clauses with indicatives, seven with subjunctives and as many without any verb, all mixed together without any apparent reason for such diversity: thus in 33 ‘Aut cur Perrhaebi tremuere cacumina Pindi, Solis et atratis lusserit orbis equis’: 40 ‘Tisiphones atro si furit angue caput’ much resembles our present verse.

To proceed, 41, 42, 39 and 40 now come in admirably to the purpose: your ethics and physics go for nothing with women, your tragedies will serve you just as little: ‘cease likewise to match words to the Aeschylean buskin, and unbend rather your limbs in the soft dance’: this will help you more than your strutting and fretting in the stiff buskin: would the writing an Aeschylean tragedy on the fate of Amphiaraus and Capaneus help you to win your lady’s love?—Now that the verse has its proper sequence, my correction of 39 seems very simple; the expulsion merely of the unmetrical non and making the sentence interrogative: when the line lost its proper connexion and a question seemed out of place, this non would naturally be appended to give an appearance of sense.

Though 31—38 might, independently of other considerations, seem in place where the Mss. put them, they are, if I am not mistaken, still more appropriate here: if you must write verse, abandon your pompous tragedies and take to elegy: ‘far better for you to imitate with your muses the Coan Philetas and the dream of Callimachus, so free from Aeschylean bombast’. If you must have mythical themes, leave Aeschylus and go to the Aetia or ‘Causes’ of Callimachus, revealed to him in that famous dream: there you may select for imitation any subject you like, heroic or divine: choose, if you please, the loves of Acheclus, or the windings of Maeander, or the famous victory won by Adrastus’ speech-endowed horse Arion at the funeral of Archemorus, when the chiefs founded the Nemean games: "A μέγα Βαττιάδαο σοφοῦ περίπτυτον ὤνειαρ, Ἦ ῥ’ ἐτελὶ κεράων, οὔδ’ ἐλέφαντος ἑης. Τούτα γὰρ ἀμμιν ἐφήνας, ἂν οὐ πάρος ἀνέρες ἱθειν, Ἀμφὶ τε ὑθανά- τους ἀμφὶ τε ἱμηθέους κ.τ.λ. (Anthol. Pal. vii 42). Of these
Actia or Causes of Callimachus, once so famous, of which hardly a trace now remains, a very copious discussion is given by Schneider in his edition of Callimachus, vol. 2 p. 35—140. They must have been a long and tiresome poem, though to the taste of Propertius, as we may infer from his style generally, as well as from his professed imitations of them in his last book. Martial, who in his likings had so little in common with Propertius, speaks of them, in x 4, as the model of a frigid unreal poem. It is not easy to guess why Propertius should have selected these topics out of the great mass, as only the first of them seems to have much connexion with love: perhaps he pitches on Archemorus, Arion and the Nemean games, as a fitting subject for Lynceus' elegiacs on account of their close mythical connexion with Amphiaraus and Capaneus, whose story he took for a tragedy: if he will choose such subjects, he may treat of them in elegy as well as tragedy. Paley I think gives the right construction of 37 and 38, though perhaps Tristia should be read with Broukhisius. Hercules would perhaps be the hero of the first two narratives, in his relations to Deianira and Iole: in 34 Heinsius' tactus may be the true reading, but I prefer fractus. With the position I have assigned to 31, Bergk's brilliant emendation Meropem for the unmeaning memorem is all that is needed to restore this verse: Philetas is preeminently the Coan poet: at the beginning of the next elegy we find Coi sacra Philetae and Ovid calls him Cous poeta: the learned Meropem is just in Propertius' manner; and thus Meleager calls himself ἀστων Μερόπων: musis too now assumes its proper force: compare Statius silv. IV 4 87 'Nunc si forte meis quae sint exordia musis Scire petis', and Horace's 'Pindaricae Ceaeque et Alcaeis minaces Stesichorique graves camenae': the poet is supposed to create his own muses: IV (III) 1 9 'a me Nata coronatis musa triumphat equis'; and Virgil ecl. 8, 1 and 5 'Pastorum musam Damonis et Alphesiboei... Damonis musam dicemus et Alphesiboei': Mueller has shewn that satius imitere can be said for satius est imitari or ut imitere.

43, 44: Delay no longer, 'begin even now your elegiac distichs, and approach your flame, harsh tragic poet': on includere torno see Hertzberg and Paley: I do not think that
Horace's male tornatos incudi reddere versus should be made to recommend incudere here: on the dure poeta too in opposition to the mollis poeta of elegy see Hertzberg; but the durus here is said of the tragic not the epic poet.—But (47—50) as the bull must first be broken in before he will submit to the yoke, so you will not of yourself submit to a love so cruel: 'however restive, you will first have to be tamed by me'. The tam duros amores of 49, the tuos ignes of 44, and the seros insanit amores of 25 are all in close connexion.—'Well then (55—58) look on me, who after the confiscations of the civil wars have but a small property left and who can boast of no ancestral triumphs, and see how at the feast I am king among the ladies through this very genius, for which you make so light of me now, before you have been broken in'.—Of the ablative antiquo Marte I will speak by and bye: with mixtus inter puellas compare Virgil ecl. 10 55 mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis.

I have thus endeavoured to explain one portion of our poem which had always presented insuperable difficulties to my mind, until I thought of the method of transposition, for which I have given above what strikes me as a natural explanation. With these transpositions all in a moment became clear to my mind. It is probable, nay from the nature of the case almost certain, that some of the lines were added by the poet at very different times, and 39, 40, 31—38, and perhaps 47—50, might all for instance be struck out without much damage to the general argument of the elegy: the poet too may have meditated further changes; but with no other disposition can I make a consistent whole out of the verses we have; and this result I think I have attained by my present arrangement. The changes too made in the actual words of the Mss. are of the very slightest, but four I think in all, two corrections of my own, two after others, of most manifest corruptions. I now go on to examine the remainder of the elegy, a large portion of which, the lines I mean in which Virgil is eulogised, has evidently been left unfinished. For observe how in v. 67, without the slightest connexion or gradation of language or thought, the poet passes from the Aeneid to the
eclogues, from the third person to the second; then back again to the third; and once more in 77, with the same entire absence of connexion and gradation, to the second person and to the georgics, while v. 81 has no reference to what immediately precedes. This part also of the elegy I will first print in the shape in which, as it appears to me, it may have been left by the poet; and will then offer such explanations as may seem advisable.

me iuvet hesternis positum languere corollis,
60 quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus,
   Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi,
62 Caesaris et fortes dicere posse rates,
   qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma
64 iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus,
   cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:
66 nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.
   [tu canis umbrosi subter 77 [tu canis Ascræi veteris praepineta Galaesi
68 Thyrsin et attritis Daphnini
   harundinibus,
   utque decem possint corrum-
   pere mala puellas,
70 missus et impressis haedus 80 Cynthia impositis tempe-
   ab uberibus.
   felix, qui viles pomis mercaris amores!
72 huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.]
   [felix intactum Corydon qui temptat Alexin
74 agricolae domini carpere delicias!]
   quamvis ille sua lassus requiescat avena,
76 laudatur faciles inter Hamadryadas.
78 non tamen haec ulti venient ingrata legenti,
   sive in amore rudis sive fidelis erit;
   nec minor his—(animis haut, si minor ore)—canorus
80 anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.
   haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,
82 Varro Leucadiee maxima flamma suae.
   haec quoque lascivì cantarunt scripta Catullii,
84 Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.
   haec etiam docti confessà est pagina Calvi,
86 cum caneret miseræ funera Quintiliae,
   et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus
88 mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua!
   Cynthia quin etiam versus laudata Properti,
90 hos inter si me ponere fama volet.
59 foll.: He now quits Lynceus and turns to Virgil and others who have sung of their loves: the transition itself though sudden and abrupt has nothing incoherent in it. Be it for me, he says, to lie exhausted, crowned with the chaplets of yesterday, for Virgil to tell of the victory of Actium, Virgil who is now singing the fortunes of Aeneas: 'ay, something greater than the Iliad is at its birth', above all Greek, above all Roman fame.—So far good; but in what follows Hertzberg alone I fancy, who can see his way through any words, could find symmetry and coherency. Paley may well say 'there is some truth in Lachmann's complaint that the sense is incoherent'; though Lachmann's transpositions only make matters worse. For the poet to pass suddenly from the third to the second person is quite in his usual manner; and he intended no doubt that 67—80 should in some shape or other follow 66; but surely not in the shape and condition in which they now are: he must have meant to connect in some way the thought and the expression with what goes before. 67—80 then I believe to be in a fragmentary state, never properly welded by the poet into one mass with what precedes and follows. Many of these lines may have been composed before the preceding verses on the Aeneid, perhaps when the eclogues and georgics had not been long published. For I feel most strongly that these verses are in Propertius' first manner, in the style of his first book. 'You sing', he says, 'beneath the pinewoods of Galaesus of Thyrsis and Daphnis on your well-worn pipes, and how ten apples can seduce the girls, and a kid sent from its dam's unmilked udder'. We have no cause to question what Propertius says of Virgil's writing some of his eclogues near Tarentum, as he had better means of knowing than we can have, and Virgil himself (georg. iv 125) speaks of having been at Tarentum, and the memini vidisse would seem to imply a time somewhat distant. I should like to know where the villula Sironis was, where Virgil (catal. 10) speaks of himself and his father taking refuge: they must have been away from Andes during at least a part of those terrible years when they and other Mantuans lost and regained and lost again their lands. When I was at Tarentum some months ago, it struck me how much better the
scenery, flora and silva of those parts suited many of the eclogues than did the neighbourhood of Mantua. As we however as well as Propertius possess the eclogues, the allusions to them need not be taken on trust.

In the eclogues nothing whatever is said of 'the sending a kid taken from its dam's unmilked udder', which 70 records. As to 69 again, apples are sent by Virgil to a boy, not to a woman: this might seem a natural oversight, if the poet did not himself in the next lines emphasise his mistake: 'happy you who can so cheaply buy your love with some apples! to such a cruel one Tityrus himself well may deign to sing': to one at heart so simple and disinterested that a few apples can win her, in contrast with the rapacious Cynthia and the Roman ladies generally. For this looks like a pointed reference to his own words in III (ii) 7 (16), 15 'Ergo muneribus quivis mercatur amorem? Iuppiter, indigna merce puella perit...Atque utinam Romae nemo esset dives...Numquam venales essent ad munus amicæ'. Tityrus at the worst will lose nothing. The poet's general drift seems plain enough here: Tityrus is at the same time Virgil's representative shepherd and Virgil himself as bucolic poet; though I believe that Propertius had dimly before his mind, together with this, some vague recollections of Galatea in the first eclogue, but so vague as not to influence much the general turn of his thought: nay even the 'ingratae' of 72 may be a wrong impression and false reminiscence of Virgil's 'ingratae premeretur caseus urbi'. The next two lines are much more distinct in their reference, though the motive of Félix is not so clear: Corydon's passion was both violent and utterly unsuccessful. Propertius however may have been thinking of the poet rather who sang, and also of the same or another Corydon of a later eclogue, victorious and triumphant, who sings of the same or another 'formosus Alexis'. At the same time the two verses do seem to interrupt the connexion of the poem; for the ille of 75 is very harsh, if it do not refer to Tityrus of 72, who represents as I have said Virgil himself. 'Though he rest weary from his oaten pipe, he has fame among the kindly Hamadryads', the woodland goddesses, patronesses of bucolic song, for there is no 'allusion to the georgics' here:
the Hamadryads inhabit the wild mountain-forests, the great pasture-grounds of Greece and Italy. In the two other passages where they are mentioned by Propertius, they are roaming in the hill-pastures of Bithynia and Ida: see too the 10th eclogue itself, where in v. 55 we find 'mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis', and then in 62 'Iam neque Hamadryades rursus nec carmina nobis Ipsa placent: ipsae rursus concedite, silvae', referring, as Conington says, to the nymphs of 55, and this is the only place in Virgil where the name occurs; and when the 'cessit' of 84 is taken into consideration, there is little doubt that Propertius had this passage in his thoughts; for this v. 76 is in immediate connexion, as we shall see presently, with 81—84: *faciles* is perhaps a reminiscence of the 'faciles nymphae risere' of ecl. 3.

But this connexion is broken by the strangely abrupt introduction of 77—80: in this Journal, vol. 2 p. 142, I wrote five years ago 'the way in which the poet passes to and fro from the third to the second person, and then from the second to the third, then back again to the second, and still once more to the third in addressing Virgil, is intolerably harsh even for him. And after asserting in vv. 77—80 that the georgics are as perfect a poem as Apollo himself could compose, it is quite ludicrous to go on to say that yet this poem will not be unwelcome to any reader, whether new to love or not. Why, what more in the world would a reader have, and what have the georgics to do with teaching love?' I added that much of the absurdity would disappear, if with Professor Ribbeck we put 77—80 between 66 and 67. This I still think true as far as it goes; but it would cure but a small part of the mischief; and I now look upon the lines on the eclogues and these on the georgics as two unfinished fragments which Propertius at his death had not yet welded together with what precedes and follows. As 77—80 however so manifestly interrupt the sequence and sense of the poem, I have printed it as a separate fragment side by side with the lines on the eclogues; though I believe that in a final revision Propertius would certainly have put them before these. It may be remarked that Propertius touches only on the themes of the first georgic and of
a portion of the second: had he read the last two when he first wrote down these verses?

81—84 then are in close connexion with 76, and *ulli legenti* is emphatic and in contrast to *faciles*: the kindly Hamadryads do I say; 'nay, to no reader will these poems of love, the eclogues, come unwelcome, whether he be a tiro, or a veteran in love'. The force of *tamen* here is the same as that which I have abundantly illustrated in my note on Lucretius v 1177 *Et tamen omnino*: some of the passages there given have been tampered with by eminent critics from their not perceiving that when *tamen* is thus used, something must always be supplied in thought. Then of 83, 84 Mueller says 'haec nondum cuquam expedire contigit'. Hertzberg, who will construe through any given combination of words, finds all plain, and says that *his animis=horum carminum animis* 'trita nostro pronominis demonstrativi enallage': as if, because *illa fides* can be said for *illius rei fides, hic dolor for huius rei dolor*, and the like, therefore *his animis* can mean *horum carminum animis*: put the singular *hoc animo* for *horum carminum animo* and the absurdity will be patent: next he makes *cessit carmine* the same as *cessit carmini*! indeed his whole explanation conveys to me no meaning. With *haut* for *aut*, (scarceiy to be called a change, as I have observed that in four out of six other instances one or other or both of the chief Mss. give the more familiar *aut* for the rarer *haut,* all seems to me clear: *his* in its very emphatic position, preceded by one *haec* with the same meaning, and with three other *haec's*, with precisely the same force, at the beginning of the three following distichs, can surely stand alone: 'and not inferior in these poems to what he is in the Aeneid and georgics—(in their high spirit not, if may-be less lofty in tone and language)—the melodious swan has not taken himself off with the unskilled song of a goose': has not in his eclogues, now complete, turned out a goose instead of a swan, as he himself playfully intimates: of course, as all have seen, a manifest reference to the 'Nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna Digna, sed argutos inter strenere anser olores'; and the *carmine* makes it probable that he too saw in Virgil's words a sarcasm on the poet Anser.
Here the plural *animis* has its usual force when said of a single person or thing: thus Propertius has elsewhere 'animi venere Deci', 'I nunc tolle animos et tecum finge triumphos', and 'animos Carthaginis altae': Virgil is very fond of thus using it; and Ovid says 'Non obulta animorum, annorum obulta suorum'. There is probably an allusion in this 'animis haut, si minor ore' to ecl. 6 3 'Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthis aurem Vellit et admonuit: Pastorem, Tityre, pinguis Paseere oportet ovis, *deductum dicere carmen*'; and perhaps to 4 1—3: *cessit* has its primitive sense, *concessit, discissit, abscessit*, as in Cic. pro Mil. 93 'ego cedam atque abibo', and in Propertius himself more than once: i 20 31 'Iam Pandioniae cessit genus Orithyiae'; i 3 1 'Qualis Thesea iacuit cedente carina cet.' after Catullus 64 249; and v 9 53 'lucoque abscede verendo; Cede agedum'. In this verse therefore he repeats in another form the 'ille sua lassus requiescat avena'.

I have now to say something of the ablative 'indocto carmine cessit' and of six other ablatives in our elegy: Propertius on this head goes perhaps farther than most writers: thus the simple ablative here has the force of *cum carmine*, or *comitatus carmine*: so in v. 59 'hesternis positum languere corollis' has the force of *cum* or *coronatus hesternis corollis*: so i 7 26 'Saepe venit magno fenore tardus amor' i.e. *auctus* or *cum magno fenore*, and probably iv (iii) 22 13 'Qua rudis Argoa natat inter saxa columba...pinus' has the sense of *comitata* or *cum Argoa columba*: Virg. ecl. 10 24 'Venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore' closely resembles our 'hesternis languere corollis' and Juvenal 11 106 'clipeo venientis et hasta' is like our other passage.

Propertius greatly extends too the use of the instrumental or modal ablative in five passages of our present elegy: 27 'Socraticis tua nunc sapientia libris' i.e. quae S. l. parta est; 52 'Nec cur fraternalis luna laboret equis' i.e. fraternalis equis terra interceptis: perhaps like Virgil's 'Cum placidum ventis staret mare' and similar passages: 56 'Nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus avi' i.e. Marte partus, resembling the ablative of 27; 75 'sua lassus requiescat avena' i.e. posita sua avena is like the ablative of 52. Harsher perhaps than any of these is
the instrumental ablative of 91 where 'formosa Lycoride' depends on 'vulnera' i.e. quam multa vulnera per (or propter) formosam Lycorida accepta: 'and how many wounds from the beauty of Lycoris has Gallus now dead just bathed in the waters of the nether world': it is absurd to join the ablative with 'Mortuus' and make Gallus die for Lycoris, when at the moment this was written the world must have been ringing with the cause and manner of his death; nor must 'Gallus' be tampered with: the last ten lines of the poem gain much of their point by each of the five hexameters closing with the name of the poet celebrated: Varro—Catulli—Calvi—Gallus—Properti; and this effect is enhanced by the female names, Lesbia—Helena—Quintiliae—Cynthia, each beginning or terminating a line, and by the junction of 'Varro Leucadiae'—'Lycoride Gallus'. In the part of the Tristia, from which we shall cite presently other imitations, Ovid concludes similar verses with Catullo—Calvi—Lycorida Gallo.

I have already remarked how much emphasis is given to the haec of 81 and the his of 83 by the 'Haec quoque—Haec quoque—Haec etiam' which commence the three following distichs. He mentions here Varro Atacinus before his more renowned contemporaries Catullus and Calvus, who also became famous some years earlier, because there was a more exact parallel between him and Virgil: Virgil has completed his love-poems, the eclogues, and is now engaged on the Aeneid; while Varro first finished his epic, or Argonautics, and then wrote love-poems about Leucadia. The only other passage where these love-poems are spoken of seems to be Ovid trist. 11 439 'Is quoque, Phasiacas Argo qui duxit in undas, Non potuit veneris furta tacere suae', a reminiscence of Propertius, as a few lines before, 'Sic sua lascivo cantata est saepè Catullo Femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat', he is clearly imitating the two next verses of Propertius. We may perhaps infer that Varro's love-poems, like Virgil's, were written in hexameters. He then mentions in order his three celebrated predecessors in the elegiac love-poetry, Catullus who has made his Lesbia more famous than Helen, Calvus who mourned the death of his wife Quintilia, and Gallus just dead. Tibullus, a few years older than himself,
he does not mention, as he was still living, and except in the
case of one so preeminent as Virgil, 'praestantia candor Nomina
vivorum dissimulare iubet': perhaps too he scarcely then knew
Tibullus or his writings, as Tibullus belonged to the circle of
Messalla, Propertius to that of Maecenas. He modestly con-
cludes by saying that Cynthia too has won praise by the verse
of Propertius, if fame shall see good to place him among his
forerunners. These words are of themselves sufficient to refute
many old and recent commentators who refer the haec of 81 to
Propertius' own verses: in that case he would say there that
his poems will be welcome to every reader whatever, while here
he doubts whether he will attain to fame. The symmetry too of
all this part of the elegy would be destroyed by such an inter-
pretation which for many other reasons it appears to me im-
possible to accept.

I may seem to have dissected our elegy with unnecessary
prolixity; but I could not explain my views in a way to satisfy
either myself or others without going into very considerable
detail. If the line of criticism which I have followed up should
turn out to have any value, it will apply I feel sure to many of
the other poems as well. Propertius is one of the obscurest
and most difficult of Latin writers; but much of the blame
which he has had to bear for incoherent and unintelligible
language, may thus be removed from the poet's account and
put to the score of unpropitious circumstances. It will be seen
that the corrections which I have made, either of myself or
after others, in the text as transmitted by the manuscripts are
of the slightest and simplest kind. The perplexities therefore
which we encounter on all hands I attribute for the most part
not to them nor to the single archetype from which they all
come nor to any predecessor of that archetype, but mainly to
the unfinished and fragmentary state in which the poet left
his writings, when overtaken by a premature death, and to the
unskilful and careless way in which these writings were first
given to the world. The logical and grammatical want of con-
nexion which we meet with in the transmitted text has too
much of method in it to have arisen from an accidental dislo-
cation of verses in a manuscript.
I will take this opportunity of discussing some other passages of Propertius:

1.  
I 6  31—34

At tu, seu mollis qua tendit Ionia seu qua
Lydia Pactoli tingit arata liquor,
seu pedibus terras seu pontum carpere remis
ibis, et accepti pars eris imperii.

In the elegy from which these lines are quoted Propertius refuses to leave Cynthia and follow in the suite of a friend Tullus who had received some imperium, to enable him it would appear to settle the disorders of the province of Asia, then in a disturbed and disorganised state. Most of the editors old and recent whom I have consulted with the exception of Hertzberg and Paley look upon the last of the lines quoted above as certainly or probably corrupt. Lachmann and Mueller condemn it unreservedly: the older editors who deem it a duty to explain such words as they have before them doubtingly suggest that pars may be for particeps, or imperii may be for imperantium, and accepti may be grati or a te accepti. Hertzberg, free from all misgivings, says 'corruptum locum omnes existimaverunt: frustra; nam pars eris imperii idem est quod unus imperantium...accepti autem est grati.' And this explanation is adopted by Paley; who at the same time is ready to admit the other interpretation, 'accepti a te.' Such explanations convey to my mind hardly any meaning: I have met with 'imperia, potestates, legationes', the abstract for the concrete; but 'pars imperii' for 'unus imperantium' is to me inexplicable. Mr Palmer in the Hermathena, vol. I p. 157, while taking 'pars imperii' in this sense, says of accepti 'Mr Paley's explanation is inconsistent with pars: at least he should have explained how a man can be said to form a part of an office received by himself. The same objection applies to Hertzberg's interpretation'. He thinks that accepti means 'accepti a sociis': 'you will form one unit in the governing class received
(or welcomed) by our allies'; and cites Juvenal 8 87 'Expectata
diu tandem provincia cum te Rectorem accipiet'. But as
Tullus had not yet left Italy, (the first line of the elegy is 'Non
go nunc Hadriae vereor mare noscere tecum, Tulle'), the poet
ought then to say something to this purpose 'pars eris imperii,
quod, cum venerit, socii accipient.' Now to say nothing of the
omission of all reference to the socii, surely if tenses have any
distinctions whatever, accepti imperii should mean 'a govern-
ing staff which has been received or welcomed' not 'which will
be received or welcomed': any attempt to get over this difficulty
will only bring us back to the discarded grati.

In truth the whole expression is to my mind almost mean-
ingless; and I feel sure that but for this verse no one would
have maintained that Tullus, whoever he was, was only some
subordinate of his uncle or of some other imperator; for 19
'Tu patrui meritias conare antire secures Et vetera oblitis iura
refer sociis' seems to imply that he was to endeavour, as
supreme governor, to surpass the glory won by his uncle
formerly in some similar office and to restore law and order
among the provincials. I entirely agree therefore with Lach-
mann that the verse is corrupt: he reads 'et accepti sors erit
imperi': Mueller not without reason says that something is
still wanting and reads 'ut accepti sors erit'. This is so wide a
departure from the Ms. reading as to make the chances against
it very great; nor does this correction in itself much commend
itself to me.

When consulting the Mss. of any Latin author, I nearly
always find that they have a great tendency to substitute
for par the somewhat more familiar pars; and many years ago
it struck me that we should read 'et accepto par eris imperio':
when par became pars, the dative might easily become a geni-
tive. But afterwards it occurred to me that a much better
and more probable correction would be 'et acceptis par eris
imperii', transferring the s of pars to accepti: 'and will prove
(as I am sure you will) equal to the debts, the obligations,
which your imperium lays upon you': in receiving such a
dignity, you have incurred a deep obligation which I am sure
you will discharge like an honourable man. This metaphor
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seems a very natural one: Cic. Laelius 58 'hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum': in the case of friendship, yes; but in discharging a high duty the data must at least equal the accepta: phil. II 55 'omnia denique quae postea vidimus (quid autem mali non vidimus?)...uni accepta referemus Antonio': for par compare Pliny epist. III 17 2 'exime hunc mihi scrupulum cui par esse non possum.'

The very day after writing the above I turned to Passeratius' copious commentary and met with these words: 'an legendum acceptis par eris imperiis, id est, non impar tantis imperiis invenieris, ut Tacit. ann. xvi [18] 'vigentem se ac parem negotiis'. But I much prefer my own reading and metaphor.

2. I 8 17—20.

Sed quocumque modo de me, periuera, mereris,
sit Galatea tuae non aliena viae,
ut te felici praevecta Ceraunia remo
accipiat placidis Oricos aequoribus.

The purport of these verses is plain enough: the poet, though angry at her intention of deserting him and going to Illyria, relents at the prospect of her danger, and wishes her a safe voyage past the Acroceraunian cliffs into the calm waters of the port of Oricos. But the third line is corrupt as praevecta should be praevectam; this the commentators generally admit, the older ones proposing violent and improbable conjectures, though they timidly suggest that it is a vocative for an accusative. Lachmann in his first edition sees the absurdity of this and reads

vites felici praevecta Ceraunia remo;
accipiat placidis Oricos aequoribus.

This introduces a clumsy asyndeton and ellipse of te; but there is a still more fatal objection to the reading: praevectus of course has the meaning of praetervectus: compare praefluo, praenavigo, and the like: Mueller says with reason 'vehementer dispiicit participium praeteriti adhibitum pro praesen-
tis'. This objection is indeed confirmed by the very passages which Lachmann cites for this sense of *praevehor*, from Lucan and Tacitus: 'plagas Bacchi...Praeveheris' and 'qua Germaniam praevchitur': comp. Livy's 'praetervehens equo' 'riding past on horseback' (the participle of the active having to serve in default of a present participle passive or deponent) with Cicero pro Cael. 51 'quoniam emersisse iam e vadis et scopulos praetervecta videtur oratio mea': the words would therefore signify 'may you clear the Ceraunians after you have already rowed past them'. Heinsius proposed 'post victa', Mueller reads 'post lecta Ceraunia'; neither of which corrections strikes me as very plausible. Hertzberg as usual finds the course all smooth and the edge of the Acroceraunians as plain sailing as the bay of Oricos: 'quantas tamen lites insolentior vocativi usus interpretibus moverit ut perspiciatur, coniecturas hic ponimus. Itali enim *per saeva*' etc. etc... 'At proximum nostro et paene par examplum Ovidius habet metam. v 269 nisi te virtus opera ad maiora tulisset, In partem ventura chori Tritonia nostri': that is to say, a future participle is almost the same as a past participle, and the poet, when he addresses Cynthia, who has not yet quitted Rome, as 'O thou who hast already been rowed prosperously past the Ceraunians', means to say 'O thou who by and bye wilt be rowed prosperously past the Ceraunians!' and yet Paley follows him in all this and quotes as parallel such vocatives as 'unde datum hoc sumis, tot subdite rebus?'.

In my notes on Lucretius I have suggested 'Ut te praevectam felice Ceraunia remo': the ce of *felice* was probably swallowed up in *Ceraunia* and the more usual *felici* first substituted for it, and then to make a verse 'felici praevecta' was read for 'praevectâ felici': even Cicero has *felice*, and Catullus *infelice*.


*Sic me nec solae poterunt avertere silvae nec vaga muscosis flumina fusa iugis, quin ego in adsidua mutem tua nomina lingua, absenti nemo non nocuisse velit.*
I have given the different numberings of this elegy, which are found in the principal editions: there may possibly be further variations. The verses I have quoted exactly as they appear in the best manuscript: most of the later editors, among them Lachmann, Haupt and Mueller, give ne for non in the last verse, after some Mss.: then mutem in 31 is by many called in question. Haupt reads motem: Hertzberg before him suggested the same, unless mutem be, as he thinks it is, the same thing, coming equally from movito: Jacob proposes metuam: Paley marks the verse as corrupt, but suggests mussem: Mr Palmer in the Hermathena vol. 1 p. 177 says that this 'was suggested by Palmer more than a hundred years ago': I do not know who this Palmer was; but I do know that three hundred years ago one who was almost a namesake, Janus Mellerus Palmerius, or Palmier, of Bruges did make the same suggestion.

The editors who read nemo ne appear to take it in the sense of ne quis, 'lest some one'. That may be Latin, but it is an idiom utterly unknown to me; nor do those who with this reading also keep mutem, explain what sense this word then has.

Metuam, I think, is at once to be rejected; for on every account I am quite clear that 'in assidua lingua' means 'constantly on the poet's tongue', not 'on the tongues of others'. The general sense of the elegy seems to require this; for when Cynthia was 'ower the hills and far awa' among the solitary forests, Propertius would fear less the general talk than when she was in Rome. Then the expression itself proclaims that this is the meaning: the verb being in the first person, 'in assidua lingua' can stand of course for 'assidue in lingua mea'; but if the words did not refer to the subject of the sentence, you would require hominum or vulgi or something to be supplied; or at least we ought to have linguis: this I may exemplify by a passage which will illustrate in other ways the force of our verse: Martial III 5 4 'Iulius, assiduum nomen in ore meo': Iulius being the subject, meo is required to define the ore: had Martial been the subject, meo would more naturally have been omitted. Then the tone of this elegy and of elegiac poetry generally points to such an interpretation in an address.
to a mistress or familiar friend: compare Martial whom I have just cited, and Ovid and Tibullus quoted by different editors: ‘Nil nisi Leandri nomen in ore meost’, ‘Te loquor absentem, vox te mea nominat unum’, ‘Nomen et absentis singula verba sonent’: above all a passage of Propertius himself, I 18 31, which I hold to be in other respects a valuable support of the interpretation I am about to give: ‘Sed qualiscumque es, resonent mihi ‘Cynthia’ silvae, Nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent’.

The lines then I take exactly as they are found in the best Ms.: *muto*, like *μεταβαίνω*, has many senses; sometimes it means to pass from one place to another, as in Lucr. iv 458 ‘Conclusoque loco caelum mare flumina montis Mutare et campos pedibus transire videmur’; and I have quoted in my note there from Seneca *urbes mutare*, ‘to pass from town to town’, and from Pliny ‘locum ex loco mutans’. But there is a passage in Sallust still more to my present purpose: Iugurtha 88 6 ‘mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus’, ‘to pass time about from peace to war, from war to peace’. In our passage I take *tua nomina* to be put for the ‘Cynthia’ of the passage quoted above; and what the poet means is that he *mutat*, ‘passes time about’ from the name ‘Cynthia’ to the words ‘Absenti—velit’, repeating again and again first one and then the other. I must however frankly confess that I do not understand the *Sic* of 29, and I am glad to find that the worthy old commentator Passeratius is in the same case with me: *Set* for *Sic* I could understand, and *set* is often corrupted in Ms. as copyists knew only the form *sed*. ‘I will join in field-sports, and will be with you in a few days’: (as I cannot explain *Sic*, I will translate as if we had *Set*): ‘but neither the lonely forests nor the vagrant streams shed from the mossy hill-sides will have power to divert me from having ever on my tongue time about “Cynthia”, “none but would choose to harm the absent”—“Cynthia”, “none but would choose to harm the absent”’. Certainly therefore *mutem* should not be tampered with; and just as little would I tamper with *velit*, as a past infinitive with this word instead of a present is so striking a feature in the Latin of all periods: see Draeger’s historische Syntax p. 230—232.
I have but one slight suggestion to make here. The *nota* of the second verse, it is generally allowed, has no meaning: various conjectures have been made, *nuda, nauta, Eoa*: I propose *litora rauca*: *litora* absorbed the *ra* of *rauca*, and then the unmeaning *uca* was changed into the nearest existing word that occurred to the scribe. With *litora rauca* comp. Stat. Theb. v 291 *'litore rauco’*; VII 16 *‘raucae circumtonat ira Maleae’*; iv 800 *‘amne propinquo Rauca sonat valles’*; Hor. od. ii 14 14 *‘Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae’*; Lucan v 217 *‘pontus Rauca genit’*: the poet probably had in his mind Catullus *‘Litus ut longe resonante eoa tunditur unda, Sive in Hyrcanos’*.

The best Ms. fails us in these verses, which I have set down as they are given in the next best: they are from the last elegy, one of the longest and most important of the poems of Propertius, held by many to be not only his noblest elegy, but the ‘queen’ of all elegies: its merit I freely grant, but I do not admit that it represents by any means his very highest inspiration: to my ear and taste it has not a little of the forced and formal manner which generally belongs to a poem done to order, as is seen for instance in the Alcaic odes of Horace’s fourth book.

The second distich in the passage here given is the most difficult and disputed in the whole elegy: corrupt it unquestionably is in my opinion and in that of most of the recent editors: the older commentators are all quite helpless here, at least those of them whom I have consulted. Wratislaw
and Paley defend the manuscript reading; but let me explain at once why I must reject their defence. The former says 'there is no difficulty here if we bear in mind that Achille is voc. like Pericle, Sophocle:;' yes, there is this very grave difficulty that the e is inflexibly long as we are told by Priscian and can confirm by the few instances from the poets in which this can be tested: Ovid met. x 632 'A! miser Hippomenē,' and Sen. Troad. 707 'error, Ulixē' in an anapaest:—es in most of these Greek names is the ordinary vocative. The negative argument is no less strong: if they could have employed an e, we should have found in the elegiac poets the voc. Ulixē and Achilles in the latter half of the pentameter: Ovid would not eight or nine times have thrown away such useful words on the end of an hexameter. To strengthen my argument, we find in a wretched forgery, attributed to Nemesianus, 'de aucupio,' l. 15, the vocative Palamedē. Paley's remark is still more striking: 'Achille is the vocative on the principle that Greek names in es (Pericles etc.) were inflected in Latin mostly after the o declension:' indeed! I know that the older Latin genitive was Achillei or Achilli, Ulixei or Ulixi, even Perici, etc.; but I should greatly like to see an Achillo, Achillum, Achille, Achillo, or Periculo, Sophoclo, Periclum, etc. etc. The vocative therefore being Achille, the reading cannot stand. Then look at Paley's interpretation: 'the construction may be either et (testor) Persen et eum qui fregit etc. or et (testor) proavum qui fregit Persen et tuas domos, Achille.' But what a gulf between two such explanations, and then how strange they both of them are! according to the first Cornelia says, 'I appeal to our ancestors who vanquished Africa, and to Perses, who is affecting the spirit of his ancestor Achilles, and to him who crushed thy house, Achilles.' How singular to appeal to Perses, and then not to appeal to him because he was conquered by an ancestor of Paulus, but because he is now affecting Achilles' spirit—and where? for simulans must refer to the same time as the verb testor: the Latin language peremptorily forbids its meaning 'who formerly affected':—and then to turn from Perses to the ancestor 'who crushed thy house, Achilles': this being the Paulus who crushed Perses, now
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affecting etc. The other interpretation shews Propertius as a strange master of style: see how it deals with the two *proavi* which one would suppose had some relation to one another. But no: now we have ‘testor tuum proavum, Paulle, qui fregit Persen, simulantium pectus proavi sui Achillis, et tuas domos, Achille:’ and what a jumble of words, more suited to the age of Charlemagne than to that of Augustus!

Conjecture therefore must be had recourse to, on behalf of sense and grammar and metre alike: Hertzberg reads after inferior Mss. in 40 ‘proavo fregit Achille domos’ which avoids the false quantity, but leaves a most harsh construction, if a construction at all: ‘et eum testor qui fregit Persen s. p. p. A. tuasque (o Persa) domos Achille proavo:’ it is intolerably harsh to go from *Persen* to *tuas* without even adding the vocative ‘o Persa;’ and then the ablative is to say the least very singular, as the context would surely require its depending on *fregit*, not *domos*; though Lachmann adopts it in his first edition, but in 39 he reads after Santen ‘Te, Perseu, proavi cet.:’ thus the alterations are many, and the construction still remains almost insufferably harsh. Mueller marks the verses as corrupt past cure: Haupt adopts Lachmann’s first text.

I will now develop my own views on the passage. Cornelia, daughter of P. Scipio, is addressing from the tomb her living husband, Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, the highly distinguished censor and nephew of the triumvir Marcus. In our verses she appeals, in proof of her never having disgraced him in his high office of censor, to their ancestors the Scipios and Aemilii Paulli. ‘I appeal’ she says ‘to the ashes of our ancestors so revered by you, O Rome, beneath whose titles of honour, O Africa, you crouch with shorn locks’—and then follow those two perplexing lines, void of all sense, the second of metre as well. When I look into them, it forces itself irresistibly upon me that here too we have an example of that which is ever recurring in an ancient text resting on a single manuscript: a distich has dropped out, probably beginning with the same word *et* with which the following one commences: the Scipios, including Scipio Aemilianus who was the son of Paullus Aemilius, had many triumphs to boast of in Africa,
Spain and Asia, conquerors alike of Hannibal, Antiochus and Numantia. It appears to me then almost certain that a distich has fallen out beginning with Et, probably with Et qui, celebrating some further triumphs of the Scipios: 'and who' we will suggest 'conquered Numantia and Hannibal and Antiochus': and then to come to our present distich—'and Perses.' And here I may observe that there seems a special reason for laying so much stress on the victory over Perses. The Scipios were renowned alike for high birth and great deeds. The Paulli Aemilii Lepidi were their equals in illustrious descent, they and the Scipios being the very cream of Roman nobility before the supremacy of the Caesars; 'that Lepidus of the triumvirate, 'a slight unmeritable man', gaining his position solely by his birth. But their achievements, if we give Aemilianus to the Scipios, were far less brilliant. Now the dead Cornelia, or rather the living Propertius, addressing in her name the living Paullus Lepidus and his sons, would try to throw as much splendour as possible on the Aemilii Paulli; and the most transcendent feat of the family was the conquest of Perses and Macedonia by L. Aemilius Paullus through firmness and good sense rather than genius; for it was his one great achievement: his campaigns in Spain had been anything but successful or glorious. The triumph over Perses was really an epoch in the history of the world, but the poet strives to exaggerate it by extolling the greatness and illustrious descent of Perses. After then saying, we will assume, in the lost distich: 'and who conquered Numantia and Hannibal and Antiochus,' he goes on 'and Perses affecting the great heart of his ancestor Achilles': —and then surely by all the laws of style and poetry, the proavus of the next line should be coordinate with the proavi of 39, their very positions in the verse being the same; and some other ancestor of Perses should be glorified. Then as every word of 39 seems sound and intelligible, and also every word in 40, except Achille which violates at least grammar, if not sense and metre as well, we should look for the corruption in it: and the corruption is readily accounted for, if we assume that the Achillis, or rather Achilli as Propertius probably wrote it, of 39 caught the copyist's eye and he put it in
the place of the genuine name which would probably begin with an A: the natural construction of the words would therefore be 'and Perses, affecting the great heart of his ancestor Achilles and of that other ancestor who (eius proavi qui) crushed thy house and kingdom, O—': who then are we to substitute for the unmeaning and unmetrical Achille? The poet, I repeat, addressing Paullus in the name of Cornelia, strove to invest with as much glory as he could the one surpassing achievement of the Aemilii Paulli by exalting Perses and his illustrious ancestry. Who then was this other proavus who in the Macedonian Walhalla was worthy to take his place by the side of Achilles? Though we may have demonstrated that some other proavus was named here, it does not follow that we should be expected to tell who he was. However we will try: shall we say then,

παρὰ δ' αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος φίλα εἰδὼς ἔδρανει Πέρσαις βαρὸς θεὸς αἰῶνομίτραις:

such a god of wrath to the mitred Persians as Achilles had been to the mitred Phrygians? If we assume this other proavus to be Alexander, two names suggest themselves to me, both names of women, as worthy to take the place of the meaningless Achille, though I decidedly prefer one to the other: I would read 'Quique tuas proavus fregit, Atossa, domos': women appear always to have had great influence in Persia over the reigning king, and we learn from Aeschylus and Herodotus alike the power and eminence of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius and mother of Xerxes. The other name that occurs to me is 'Amastri': two at least of the name Amastris were renowned in Persian history, one the wife of Xerxes and mother of Artaxerxes, she too celebrated by Herodotus: the other, niece of the Darius whom Alexander conquered, and wife successively of Craterus, Dionysius and Lysimachus. No fault whatever can be found with the expression: domos in the poets can well mean the 'house, family and whole dominions of Atossa', 'homes' in the widest sense of the word: in fact if spoken of Perses or Achilles it has just the same force: compare Virgil's 'Graugenumque domos susceptaque linquimus arva':
'Aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos'; and Propertius himself III (ii) 10 (1), 16 'Et domus intactae te tremit Arabiae': Silius III 282 ventures to say 'Massyli,...domus (i.e. populus) ultima terrae': Stat. Theb. iv 387 foll. and viii 237 foll. might be taken to point to Alexander: 'aut claustra novissima rubrae Tethyos eaque domos flagrante triumpho Perfuris'; 'Ceu modo gem- miferum thyrso populatus Hydaspen Eoasque domos, nigri vexilla triumphi Liber et ignotos populis ostenderet Indos'. And if it be argued that Perses and his father Philip were de- scendants of Antigonus and not connected in any way with Alexander and the old Macedonian dynasty, the objection is true in fact, and yet perhaps in nowise refutes our suggestion. For Polybius, our highest authority, a contemporary of Perses and his father Philip, says of the latter, v 10 10, that during the whole of his life he strove most zealously to prove himself a kinsman of Alexander and Philip, though he took no pains to emulate their actions. And yet so far from being satisfied with this conjecture, I am about to propose a totally different one, in which I do not hesitate to say, though a nemesis should follow, that I feel a very great degree of confidence. Propertius no doubt had his- torical grounds for his picture of Perses; and Perses would hardly perhaps have united in any manifesto so remote an ancestor as the Aeacid Achilles with a historical personage, comparatively so near his own times as Alexander. The old Macedonian kings, it is well known, were recognised in Greece as Greeks and not barbarians, because they were believed to have proved their descent from the Argive Heracleids or Temen- ids; and Plutarch at the beginning of his life of Alexander emphatically observes that it is an unquestioned fact (τῶν τάων πεπιστευμένων ἐστὶ) that on his father's side he was a Heracleid through Caranus, and on his mother's an Aeacid through Neoptolemus. It is quite manifest that Perses and his father Philip were ambitious on personal and political grounds to maintain the same claims. The father of Philip, Demetrius II, had married the daughter of Pyrrhus, so that, independently of Alexander, they were Aeacids on the mother's
side, descended from Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus the son of Achilles. And just as Propertius here speaks of Perses ‘affecting the great heart of his ancestor Achilles’, Silius xv 291 says of his father Philip ‘Hic gente egregius veterisque ab origine regni Aeacidum sceptris proavoque tumebat Achille’: it can hardly too admit of question that it is Perses whom Virgil refers to by his ‘Ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli’.

Just as certain is it that Philip and Perses from policy and pride asserted their Heracleid and Argive descent on the father’s side: thus Livy, xxvii 30, tells us that the Argives conferred on Philip the presidency of the Heraean and Nemean games, ‘quia se Macedonum reges ex ea civitate oriundos ferunt’; and that at Argos ‘mos erat comitiorum die primo velut ominis causa praetores pronuntiare Iovem Apollinemque et Herculem: additum lege erat ut his Philippus adiceretur’. Philip indeed in his vainglorious aspirations was resolved to have at least two strings to his bow: in the great majority of his extant coins we see on the obverse the head either of Hercules or of the famous Argive hero Perseus, and the name of the latter he gave to his eldest son and successor, our Perseus or Perses. We can scarcely doubt then that he wished to maintain that his ancestor Antigonus, an Argive like the old dynasty, was descended from Perseus, and thus to clinch his Argive and Heracleid connexion; for Hercules himself was son of Alemena, the daughter of Electryon, son of Perseus. And thus we get for another proavus, and a paternal as Achilles was a maternal one, an ancestor who was a stronger warrior than Achilles and a greater conqueror than Alexander, the mightiest of heroes Hercules.

We have then the other proavus; but what is the achievement which the poet has singled out by which to denote him? what but his last and greatest labour, the only one which Homer has seen fit to specify, his breaking by main force into Hades, dragging away Cerberus ‘Ipsi a solio regis’, and bringing Theseus back to the light of day. The eloquent rant of Seneca’s Hercules furens is a good comment upon this: now that he has stormed Hades, Juno is roused to make one more
effort to prevent him from storming Heaven as well: 'nec satis terrae patent: Effregit ecce limen inferni Iovis Et opima victi regis ad superos refert...At ipse rupto carcere umbrarum ferox De me triumphat...quaeris Alcidae parem? Nemo est nisi ipse: ('None but himself can be his parallel') bella iam secum gerat'. Later in the play Hercules says himself 'noctis aeternae chaos Et nocte quiddam gravius et tristes deos Et fata vidi...Quid restat aliud? vidi et ostendi inferos. Da si quid ultra est'. And farther on the chorus says 'Derat hoc unum numero laborum Tertiae regnum spoliare sortis'. With no small confidence then I would read

Quique tuas proavus fregit, Averne, domos.

Every word in the verse thus constituted has its force and meaning: Hercules did not slink into Hades like the crafty Ulysses or the pious Aeneas; he broke into its mansions with his strong right arm: 'Effregit ecce limen inferni Iovis' in the words of Seneca just quoted. Then the poets have a singular fancy for applying the word domos to the mansions and realms of the dead: in the Hercules furens of Euripides 610 Amphi- tryon says to his son "Hades γὰρ δυτως δόματ' εἰς'Διδου, τέκνων: Iliad O 251 δῶμ᾽ 'Αἴδαο: Odys. κ 512 'Άιδεω δόμων εὐρύεντα: then we find in Virgil 'Ditis Infernas accede domos'; 'Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna'; 'Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem'; 'Quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima leti Tartara': Lucan vi 514 'Nosse domos Stygiis'; Val. Flaccus i 781 'Stygiasque domos'; Silius vi 488 'Stygios ante intravisse penates'; Stat. Theb. viii 48 'quid enim mihi nuntius ambas Iteque reeditque domos' i.e. Hades and Heaven. And lastly Propertius himself, iv (iii) 12 (11), 33 'Nigrantesque domos animarum intrasse silentum'. Avernus gradually in the Latin poets took more and more the place of the Greek Tartarus, or Styx, or Acheron with which according to some it is etymologically connected. In the latest passage in which Virgil uses the word, Aen. vii 91 'imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis', it has already completely assumed its new meaning: the Italian Averna or Avernus is now synonymous with the Greek Tartara or Tartarus. Seneca in his Hippol. 1201 (Phaedra 1210) para-
phrases by ‘Pallidi fauces Averni vosque Taenarei specus, Unda miseris grata Lethes vosque torpentes lacus’ Virgil’s ‘Tartareae (Taenariae, in the georgics) etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis, Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem’; Hipp. 1147, of Theseus, ‘Ipsoque magis flebile Averno Sedis patriae videt hospitium’; Lucan vi 636 ‘Stygio populus pugnasset Averno’; Val. Flaccus ii 601 ‘Non ego per Stygiae, quod rere, silentia ripae, Frater, agr: frustra vacui scrutaris Averni, Care, vias’; iv 700 of Hercules himself ‘discussa quales formidin Averni Alcides Theseusque comes pallentia iungunt Oscula, vix primas amplexi luminis oras’; Stat. Theb. iii 146 ‘nigri pater Averni’; iv 457 and viii 193 ‘rector Averni’; xi 588 Charon is named ‘pigri sulcator Averni’ i.e. Stygis: a legend indeed, as we see in Silius, had formed itself that the earthly Avernus was once named Styx: xii 645 ‘coetusque silentis Averni’; silvae v i 27 ‘deis pallentis Averni’; 259 ‘reges tristis Averni’; Silius xvii 466 ‘abigat me frater Averno’; xv 76 ‘tenebris Avernis’; xiii 601 ‘coniunx Iunonis Avernae’ which Stat. Theb. iv 526 expresses by ‘Stygiae Iunonis’ at the opening of Theb. viii Amphiaraus comes tumbling in, horses and all, with as loud a clatter as Hercules, ‘Letricasque domos orbisque arcana sepulti Rupit cet.’ and then 34 Pluto asks ‘Quae superum labes imicum impedit Averno Aethera? quis rumpit tenebras?’ and so on.

What follows will serve to give a notion of how I would reconstruct our passage:

Testor maiorum cineres tibi, Roma, verendos, 
sub quorum titulis, Africa, tonsa iaces,
[et qui contuderunt animos pugnacis Hiberi
Hannibalemque armis Antiochumque suis,]
et Persen proavi simulantem pectus Achilli,
quiue tuas proavus fregit, Averne, domos, 
me neque censurae legem mollisse cet.

We find associated in Horace ‘Infecit aequor sanguine Punico...
et ingentem cecidit Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum’.

To illustrate what precedes compare the precise statement of Velleius ii 6 ‘Caranus, vir generis regii, sextus decimus ab
Hercule, profectus Argis regnum Macedoniae occupavit: a quo magnus Alexander cum fuerit septime dicimus decimus, iure materni generis Achille auctore, paterni Hercule, gloriatus est': the antithesis here closely resembles the one we have found in Propertius; the mighty maternal ancestor Achilles is followed by the still mightier paternal one Hercules. It may be observed too that Horace's 'Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor' is the precise equivalent of Propertius' verse, Horace keeping to the Greek synonome of Avernum which perhaps he would not have employed in its transferred sense before the Aeneid was known; while Ovid, so well acquainted with it, says in his met. v 539 'quem quondam dicitur Orphne, Inter Avernales haud ignotissima nymphas, Ex Acheronte suo silvis peperisse sub atris', Acheron and Avernus being here synonymous: he had already in his elegy on Tibullus used the words 'nigro submersit Averno': there too Avernus is synonymous with Acheron or Styx.

Thus I seem to myself to have struck out something not wholly unworthy of Propertius, while the traditional text, twist and turn it as we may, and the corrections of previous editors produce results, as regards both the language and the thought, more worthy a poetaster of the sixth century than a poet of the Augustan age. And this is not the only passage of our poem which Ms. corruptions and editorial comments have obscured or degraded: vv. 65 66 appear in our Mss. in the following shape

6. Vidimus et fratrem sellam geminasse curulem:
   consule quo facto tempore raptā soror.

Paley, 'quem honoris causa nominō', thus comments on the 2nd verse: 'if it be not a brief or rather a confused way of expressing qui cum consul factus esset, eo tempore rapta est soror eius, (i.e. ego rapta sum), or, cuius consulatus tempore rapta est soror, we must understand tempore with Hertzberg as the ablative of the instrument, rather than with others for opportune'. Such a way of expressing oneself I should term meaningless rather than confused; nor has an instrumental tempore any 'locus standi' here, and when a lady says of herself that she died 'immatura' amid the tears of husband and children, she
cannot mean that she died opportune, which contradicts at the same time 'rapta'. And yet this elegy is called by Paley 'the masterpiece of the poet's genius' and 'a splendid composition'. Again Lachmann's conjecture, 'Consul quo factus tempore, rapta soror', though accepted by many, has never commended itself to my judgment: the asyndeton between the two lines is most abrupt, the expression most clumsy and prosaic. It is more natural too that Cornelia should signify she died during the year of her brother's consulship; than that she should say, especially in such a helpless way, that she died at the time he was appointed consul.

The whole corruption appears to me to lie in the word facto; and when I remember how Ovid, ex Ponto iv 9 56, addresses his friend Graecinus when he was consul and tells him that even in Pontus, 'Hic quoque te festum constile tempus agam', it strikes me that this would not be unworthy of Propertius,

Consule quo, festo tempore rapta soror.

As Hertzberg justly observes that the Mss. of Propertius so often confound factum and fatum, it is possible Propertius may have written 'consule quo, fati tempore rapta soror' (or rather 'fatist tempore', since the enclitic st is such a fertile occasion of corruption): comp. Ovid tristia iv 1 86: 'Heu nimium fati tempora lenta mei'; but I prefer the other correction.

7. v (iv) 3 7—10.

Te modo viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,  
te modo munito Neuricus hostis equo,  
hibernique Getae pictoque Britannia curru,  
ustus et eoa discolor Indus aqua.

This passage I have selected on account of the ablative in the last line: can it be a locative abl. as Hertzberg asserts? or can it stand for 'ad eoam undam', as Lachmann maintains in his first edition? what his mature judgment may have been, I do not know. I have discussed above, p. 44, some of Propertius' ablatives; but I know of none like the one before us either in
him or in any other Latin writer. In Draeger's historische Syntax p. 458 many instances are given from Plautus, Cicero and other authors of the simple ablative in respect of towns, such as 'N. Magius Cremona' from Caesar, even 'serve Athenis pessime' from Plautus; but none that at all supports the use of 'eoa aqua' for 'ad eoam aquam'. The case therefore must be changed, and it is easy to see how Ustus might cause a copyist to introduce an ablative. But the noble verse is quite ruined to my mind by the expulsion of 'eoa aqua', whether we read Eoo equo, or eois equis, with so many of the editors old and recent: it is too bad to intrude Eoo equo into the most emphatic part of the pentameter, when munito equo had exactly the same position in the pentameter preceding. For discolor however decolor must be read, and this is scarcely to be called an alteration, as medieval Mss. seem to interchange the two words indiscriminately: thus in each of the six places where Ovid uses decolor his Mss. appear to be divided between it and discolor. If we look into the two chief extant Latin geographers Mela and Pliny, we find what an important place in their dreamy conceptions of India was occupied by what they term the eous oceanus, eoum mare or pelagus, and eoa litora: compare especially Mela 3 61 (III 7) and Pliny vi 56: from these two passages, which evidently come from the same source, we learn that India was bounded on the east by this eoum mare, on the south by the Indicum mare and on the west by the river Indus. On the principle of the 'omne ignotum pro magnifico' and of distance lending enchantment to the view, the shores of this eastern ocean, where the uttermost Indians dwelt, were looked on as a land of promise, of gold and of pearls. Catullus thus commences his stately, though half-ironical, eleventh poem

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,
sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,
litus ut longe resonante eoa tunditur unda.
'The league-long roller thundering on the reef'.

They had already heard the echoes of the tremendous surf off Madras. Seneca in his Oedipus, 113, partly imitates Catullus: 'tuus ille, Bacche, Miles extremos comes usque ad Indos, Ausus
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eois équitare campis, Figere et mundo tua signa primo...Promit
hinc ortus aperitque lucem Phoebus et flamma propiore nudos
Inficit Indos'. Arethusa therefore, exaggerating to the utmost
the travels of Lycotas, carries him to this eastern sea in these
words, as I would correct them,

ustus et eoae decolor Indus aquae:

'and the Indian of the eastern wave burnt to a black dis-
coloured hue'. The decolor ustus much resembles the phrase
which Lucretius twice repeats in his sixth book, 'nigra virum
percocto saecla colore': Seneca too in his Hippolytus (Phaedra)
345 (353) and Medea 484 (487) has 'India decolor' and 'per-
ustis Indiae populis'. With the phrase 'eoae Indus aquae' I
would compare for more reasons than one Seneca Herc. Fur.
916 (920): there the best Ms. gives 'nobilis Dirceaq'; i.e. 'no-
bilis Dircen aquae': this the next best Ms. not understanding
corrupts into 'nobiles Dirces aquas', just as the Mss. of Proper-
tius corrupt 'eoae aquae' into 'eoa aqua', thinking that ustus
required an ablative. The latest editors of Seneca strangely
corrupt their author by reading 'nobilis Dirces nemus'. Still
more like our verse in construction is Seneca Thyestes 602
'Phoebi propioris Indus'.

Every careful student of the three elegiac poets will have
observed how in the formation of the peculiar elegiac style one
will catch up sometimes the thought of his predecessor while
the language is different, sometimes his language while the
thought is varied; sometimes both thought and language will
be the same. Now the reading 'eoae decolor Indus aquae' will
I think gain much support, if we observe this mutual inter-
change of language and thought. First we find in Tibullus iv
2 19 'Et quascumque niger rubro de litore gemmas Proximus
eois colligit Indus aquis': few will doubt that Propertius con-
sciously or unconsciously had this passage in his mind when he
wrote the verse we are examining. As certain is it that Ovid
had Propertius' language more or less consciously before him,
when he penned the following lines: ars iii 130 'Quos legit in
viridi decolor Indus aqua'; met. iv 20 'oriens tibi victus adus-
que Decolor extremo qua tinguitur India Gange'; trist. v 3 24
'Et quascumque bibit decolor Indus aquas': for compare what precedes 'sed adusque nivosum Strymona venisti Marticolamque Geten', with what precedes in Propertius 'Hibernique Getae'.

After what has been said I need hardly add that I cannot take Indus here for the river: Mela and Pliny after Eratosthenes and others emphatically assert that the Indus was the western boundary of India: it can have nothing to do then with the 'eoa aqua'. If too you read with Mr Palmer in the Hermathena i p. 169 Vastus for Ustus, you must at the same time read eoae aquae, which makes the alteration, diplomatically considered, by no means so simple; and then how singularly vague the expression 'the Indus of a different colour from the eastern water', without one word to signify this meant that the Indus where it flowed into the eastern sea was of a different colour. If the Indus could signify the river, for more reasons than one I should prefer 'Mistus et eoa discolor Indus aqua'. But after what has been said, I need not add that this too in my opinion is quite out of the question.

8. III (II) 17 (18) (20) (25), 9—18.

At me ab amore tuo diducet nulla senectus,
sive ego Tithonus sive ego Nestor ero.
nonne fuit satius duro servire tyranno
et gemere in tauro, saeve Perille, tuo?
Gorgonis et satius fuit obdurescere vultu?
Caucasias etiam si pateremur aves?
sed tamen obsistam. teritur rubigine mucro
ferreus et parvo saepe liquore silex:
at nullo dominae teritur sublimine (sublumine) amor qui
restitet et immerita sustinet aure minas.

I have printed these ten verses that I may be able to explain better what my opinion is of the last line but one, which is generally looked upon as corrupt past cure, and of which as it stands in the Mss. no tolerable interpretation so far as I know has ever been offered. A just conception of this verse I
hold to be of the greatest moment for the right understanding of this most interesting elegy which exhibits to us Propertius in his most peculiar mood, the mood indeed which made him the poet he is. Bacon observes that 'amongst all the great and worthy persons whereof the memory remaineth, there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love'. True it is that its usual victim is a 'curled Anthony', not a baldpated Julius; but for the lyric poet, the poet I mean of the impassioned lyric of love and hate, 'the mad degree of love' occupies the first, the second and the third place in the roll of his virtues. Of this lyric Catullus is the greatest master among the Roman poets, and Propertius treads closely on his heels; for his love-elegies are as genuine lyrics as the stanzas of Sappho or the songs of Burns. Look at the verse which follows what we have cited: 'Ultro contemptus rogat, et peccasse fatetur Laesus', 'scorn it meets with entreaty, and outrage by owning itself in fault': have we not here in one verse the quintessence of love's ethics, of all the legislation for the amour-passion, from the Provence of the twelfth down to the Italy of the eighteenth century? But to our text.

To comprehend rightly then our 17th verse it must be clearly seen that dominae amor go together; that is to say 'my love for my lady', repeating in another shape what he had said above in 9 amore tuo, 'my love for you': the overlooking this point has occasioned many futile conjectures or explanations: amor, or still more the frigid amator of some editors, gives a most insipid and pointless sense. No length of days, he says, will divorce me from my love for you, though I suffer more cruelly than if I were in Phalaris' bull, or had my liver devoured by the vultures of Prometheus. But for all that I will hold out: steel wears away with rust, hard basalt often by a little water; but love for my lady wears not away—: can the Ms. words stand? The interpretation of them given by Hertzberg, which I am sorry to see defended by Paley, and the explanations offered by many others seem to me preposterous. If sense is to be put into the words, they must be explained differently. The Latins could employ nihil in the nom. and acc. for nulla res, but not in the other cases: the older prose writers therefore, in order
perhaps to avoid ambiguity, did not use the neuter of *nullus* by itself, but said *nullius rei, nulla re*, etc. We find however this neuter occurring already in Celsus more than once, in both the Senecas, and Tac. ann. III 15: nay even in Livy II 59 8 ‘nemo ullius nisi fugae memor’: Bonnell in his Lexicon gives three examples of *nullo* from Quintilian; and it is not unknown to the older poets: Lucr. i 242 ‘ubi nulla forent aeterno corpore’; Hor. ars 324 ‘praeter laudem nullius avaris’; Ovid met. i 17 ‘nulli sua forma manebat’; xv 242 ‘nulloque premente Alta petunt’. Can we then read ‘At nullo (=nulla re) dominae teritur, sub limine amor qui Restat’, ‘but by nothing whatever does love for my lady wear away: (though the door is shut against it), it stays close to her entry, etc.’? this would recall Lucretius ‘At lacrimans exclusus amator limina saepe Floribus et sertis operit...et foribus miser oscula figit’. In Latin such expressions as *sub muro* are common enough, and it is true that *limen* means the lintel as well as the sill; and yet as we find *in limine* 500 times in Latin and no other example I fancy of *sub imine*, the latter must surely be looked on as more than doubtful: can hardly indeed be genuine.

Would not the following conjecture well explain the *sublime* and *sublumine* of the best Mss.? At nullo dominae teritur sub alumine amor qui Restat cet. Beckmann in his History of inventions proves conclusively that ‘our alum was certainly not known to the Greeks or the Romans, and what the latter called *alumen* was vitriol; not however pure vitriol, but such as forms itself in mines’. To see what an important part this *alumen*, the Greek *στυπτηρία*, played in the Greek and Roman Materia medica, one need only consult the indexes of Galen, Celsus and Pliny: see especially Pliny xxxv, ch. 15, § 183—190: the various kinds of *alumen* seem to have been particularly efficacious in wounds, ulcers, inflammations, such distempers in short as might claim a metaphorical affinity with love: we find in Pliny ‘vis liquidi aluminis adstringere, indurare, rodere. melle admixto sanat oris ulcerata, papulas pruritisque...combustum utilius epiphoris inhibendis, sic et ad pruritus corporis...summa omnium generum vis in adstringendo, unde nomen Graecis (i.e. *στυπτηρία*)...putrescentia ulcerum
compescit’; in Celsus too it is among the medicines which *rodunt*, and *exedunt*. We get then this excellent sense: iron wears away with rust, basalt by the dripping of water; but by the power of no astringent, styptic, caustic, does love for my lady wear away: it abides, etc. The language too is precise in every point: as Propertius here says ‘*teritur rubigine mucro Ferreus*’, while Ovid, ex Ponto 1 17, has ‘*Roditur ut scabra positum rubigine ferrum*’, Virgil ‘*Exesa scabra rubigine pila*’; so Propertius here gives us ‘*nullo teritur sub alumine*’, while Pliny tells us that ‘*vis liquidi aluminis rodere*’, and Celsus, that ‘*alumen*’ is one of the things which ‘*exedunt*’, and that among the medicines which *rodunt* is ‘*alumen liquidum, sed magis rotundum*’. Then an index of Celsus will prove that *sub* is a technical expression to denote the effect produced by a medicine, as in phrases like ‘*si sub his inflammatio non conquerit*’, ‘*sub quibus perveniri ad sanitatem potest*’. And that though technical it is not unpoetical, may be shewn by a similar use of *sub* in Ovid met. v 62 ‘*exhalantem sub acerbo vulnere vitam Deploravit Athin*’. The general antithetical turn of these four verses always brings into my mind Ovid trist. IV 6 13 foll.; but Propertius himself precisely illustrates our metaphor in 1 57 ‘*Omnes humanos sanat medicina dolores: Solus amor morbi non amat artificem*’.

9. V (IV) 1 73, 74.

*Accersis lacrimis cantas: aversus Apollo; poscis ab invita verba pigenda lyra.*

The corrections given by editors of the first verse, ‘*Aversis musis*, ‘*charisin*, ‘*rythmis*’, seem all of them unnecessarily violent: *lacrimis* strikes me as genuine, and I would read ‘*At certis lacrimis cantas*: ‘*why, you sing at the cost of certain tears: Apollo turns away his face; you demand of your reluctant lyre words that you will sorely rue*’: with *lacrimis* comp. 7 69 ‘*mortis lacrimis vitae sanamus amores*’.  

**H. A. J. MUNRO.**
THOUGH the Tragedies which go under the name of Seneca appear to be now almost entirely neglected, in this country at least, they must during the seventeenth century have been next to the works of Virgil and Horace among the most popular of Latin and therefore of all poems. This we must infer from the circumstance that during a portion only of that century at least twenty editions were published of Farnaby's recension and brief notes; as well as from the fact that the literature of that period teems with imitations of his audacious hyperboles and telling commonplaces, which much resemble those which we find in the author's prose writings: for that most, at all events some, of the tragedies are rightly assigned to Seneca I feel no manner of doubt. We have referred above to the 'None but himself can be his parallel' which appears to come from the Hercules Furens 84

quaeris Alcidae parem?  
nemo est nisi ipse: bella iam secum gerat.

Again and again my ear seems to catch in Shakespeare some echo of a saying in Seneca. 'Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased' recalls 1261 (1268) of the same play 'nemo polluto queat Animo mederi', especially if we compare what precedes,

cur animam in ista luce detineam amplius  
morerque nihil est. cuncta iam amisi bona,  
mentem, arma, famam, coniugem, gnatos, manus,  
etiam furorem,

with what comes a few lines before in Macbeth 'I have lived
long enough:...And that which should accompany old age, As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends, I must not look to have'. Again 'the dread of something after death, The undiscovered country from whose bourn No traveller returns, puzzles the will', and 'Ay, but to die and go we know not where', have not a little in common with Herc. Furens 858 (862), Herc. Octaeus 48 and 1525 (1529):

qualis est nobis animus, remot
luce cum maestus sibi quisque sens
obrutum tota caput esse terra...
sera nos illo referat senectus.
nemo ad id sero venit unde numquam,
cum semel venit, poterit reverti.
quid iuvat dirum properare fatum ?—
    inde ad hunc orbem redi,
nemo unde retro.—
dic ad aeternos properare manes
Herculem et regnum canis inquieti,
unde non umquam remeavit ullus.

The words of Cassius 'how many ages hence Shall this our lofty scene be acted over In states unborn and accents yet unknown!' are in sympathy with those of Pyrrhus and Agamemnon in the Troades 292 (301)

nullumne Achillis praemium manes ferent ?
    Ferent, et illum laudibus cuncti canent
    magnumque terrae nomen ignotae audient.

And the words of Atreus in the Thyestes 289

regna nunc sperat mea.
hac spe minanti fulmen occurret Iovi,
hac spe subbit gurgitis tumidi minas
dubiumque Libycae Syrtis intrabit fretum

remind me of Hotspur: 'methinks it were an easy leap, To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon, Or dive into the bosom of the deep, etc.' Compare too Romeo and Juliet II 2 26 with Manilius I 713, a contemporary of Seneca and like him once more read than he is now:
thou art
as glorious to this night, being o'er my head,
as is a winged messenger of heaven
unto the white-upturned wondering eyes
of mortals that fall back to gaze on him,
when he bestrides the lazy pacing clouds
and sails upon the bosom of the air.

utque suos arcus per nubila circinat Iris,
sic superincumbit signato culmine limes candidus, et resupina facit mortalibus ora,
dum nova per caecam vibrantur (mirantur Bentl.) lumina noctem.

Whether the contempt into which the tragedies of Seneca
have now fallen be not as much beyond their deserts as the
admiration was which they once enjoyed, I will not attempt to
decide. There is much powerful rhetoric in them: the latest
editors take for their motto the following words of Muretus,
one of the best writers and judges of Latin that ever existed:
'est profecto poeta ille praeclarior et vetusti sermonis diligen-
tior quam quidam inepte fastidiosi suspicantur.'

If the tragedies of Seneca are ever again to be studied with
more diligence, the latest edition, published by Teubner in 1867
and edited by Peiper and Richter, ought to afford us some
satisfaction mixed with a good deal of regret. It gives us to
all appearance a most accurate collation of the best Mss., a
matter of prime importance in the case of our author; but its
utility is marred throughout by the singular method they pur-
sue of cutting up the choruses and in many of the plays the
dialogue as well into sections of various lengths, corresponding
in ways the most fantastical and marked by a a' a'' b b' b'' c c'
etc. etc. Now this, though at the best somewhat annoying as
it spoils the appearance of the printed page, might perhaps be
borne with as a harmless fancy, if it did not lead them, not
once or twice, but many hundreds of times to carve and dissect
passages of which the sense and grammar and metre appear to
be unassailable, by transposing verses or parts of verses in the
most gratuitous manner, pronouncing this line or sentence to
be spurious, or marking a hiatus, where everything follows in
the most logical order: then indeed ‘hae nugae seria ducunt in mala’. Their way of proceeding looks often like a reductio ad absurdum of this fashion at present so much in vogue with German scholars. In the chorus of the Hercules Oetaeus, beginning with v. 104, though it does not receive such hard treatment as many other portions of the plays, nevertheless within about 30 lines four quite unexceptionable verses are declared spurious solely in order to carry out this recondite system of a a' b b' c' d' etc. I cite this chorus in order to give what appears to me the right emendation of a passage which not only these editors, but I think Madvig too in his adversaria II p. 125 has not well corrected: 121 following are thus given in the best Mss.

nos non flamma rapax, non fragor obruit:
felices sequeris, mors, miseros fugis:
stamus nec patriis messibus heu locus
et silvis dabitur lapsaque sordidae
fient templ a casae.

The corrupt third verse may be thus simply corrected: Stamus; nec patriast: messibus heu locus Et silvis dabitur: ‘O death, you pursue the happy, fly the wretched: we therefore still stand erect, while our native city is no more: its place will be given up to crops and woodland, etc.’: a few lines further on they say ‘Quaeretur patriae quis fuerit locus’. All the change I have made is to read patriast for patriis, and this enclitic st is a perpetual source of corruption, and is often changed as here into is: see my note on Aetna 5.

How do our editors proceed: this is what they say: ‘v. 122 delete lacunam aliquot versuum statui. proodum aut stropharum bb' aut ce' vv. 119 sqq. contineri sententia docet’. They accordingly expel one of the most characteristic lines in the chorus, utterly destroy the connexion; and read ‘Stamus. nunc patrius messibus heu locus, etc.’, stamus having now lost all meaning. The reading of Gronovius is very unsatisfactory: Madvig l.l. writes ‘nihil est stamus, nec malum est messibus et silvis locum dari, nisi indignus tam humili usu datur. scriptum
olim erat: *Fanis nunc patriis messibus heu datur cet.*: to me a most improbable conjecture.

These editors are so occupied with their transpositions and omissions and commissions that they seem seldom to find time for a successful correction of the text. Thus, having their attention taken up with the interests of *ff*, they make a perverse transposition and leave 697 (693) of the Herc. Furens, with the older editors, as follows:

metus, pavorque, funus et frendens dolor,
aterque luctus sequitur et morbus tremens:

Madvig l. l. p. 112 says that *funus* cannot be right: ‘subest adjectivum; sed ex iis quae apta sunt pavori non reperio quod satis prope ad litteras accedat (*foedus, falsus?)’ Long ago I wrote down ‘pavorque effrenus’: when the one *e* was absorbed in the other, the corruption followed at once.

In the same play 795 (791) foll., which our editors punctuate perversely in the interests of *h* and *i*, we have

ut proprior stetit
Iove natus, antro sedit incertus canis
et uterque timuit. ecce latratu gravi
loca muta terret cet.

As it was not possible that Hercules could feel fear, and as *uterque* interrupts the construction, the editors say with justice ‘Et uterque *vix sana*’. But their conjecture ‘uterque tumuit’ is not happy. Seneca, I feel sure, wrote ‘Teterque timuit’.

Doubtless many easy emendations await any one who will examine these plays on the principles of common sense. In the Agamemnon 205 (204) we find in all editions

victor venit
Asiae ferocis, ultor Europae: trahit
captiva Pergama et diu victos Phrygas.

But the Phrygians had only just been conquered: surely we are to read ‘*diu invictos Phryges*’, the *in* having been absorbed in the preceding *iu*. 
Herc. Oetaeus 1741 (1736) the best Ms. gives us
ast ille medias inter exsurgens faces
semiustus ac laniatus intrepidus ruens:
Gronovius reads with inferior Mss. rubens for the corrupt ruens:
Peiper and Richter rigens. Surely the right reading is struens:
the st was absorbed in the preceding s: Hercules, burnt and
mangled, without flinching arranges the burning logs to make
them blaze more fiercely.

Ib. 1854 (1849) it is said of Niobe
deflevit aliqua mater et toto stetit
succissa fetu bisque septenos greges
deplanxit una.
The 'septenos greges' cannot be right, as it was a flock of
fourteen, not fourteen flocks, that Niobe mourned for; nor
does our editors' conjecture of rogos for greges strike me as
happy. Did not the poet write 'bisque septenum gregem',
septenum being the gen. plur.? 'her flock of fourteen': the
reason why a transcriber changed gregem to greges is obvious.

The metres in which the Senecan tragedies are written,
or at least the iambic portions shew a great deal of technical
power and skill. I think it likely that this peculiar verse,
cultivated by Pollio and by Varius in his Thyestes, was still
further improved by Ovid in his Medea, and that he may have
given to the Latin tragic iambic its final shape, as he did to the
Latin hexameter and pentameter. Perhaps the most marked
feature of this verse, that which imparts to it its peculiar weight
and massiveness, is the fifth foot which must be a spondee or
an anapaest, and to make the contrast still more striking
between its rhythm and that of the rest of the verse, nine
times out of ten the accent of the word and the metrical ictus
are in opposition, and this result is often produced by most
violent elisions, such as seldom or never occur in the other feet
of the verse. When it is said that the fifth foot must be a
spondee or anapaest, the exceptions should be mentioned which
perhaps confirm the law: among the many thousand iambics
in these tragedies six have been pointed out which end in a
quadrisyllable with a short first syllable: four of these are
Greek names, Phoronides, Polyxena, Promethei, Capheires, and all paroxytons in Greek: a careful reader of these tragedies will not overlook the point of this remark. Another instance is Medea 515 (512) ‘Phoebi nepotes Sisyphi nepotibus’: of four words, two of them Greek names, and many verses of Virgil and Ovid will shew what licence of rhythm Greek words permit. The only instance left is Troades 1090 (1080) ‘Hic alta rupes cuius in cacumine’, but in the thousands of verses there is not one instance of an iambus in that place, when the word containing it is an iambus or cretic or fourth paeon.

This law is violated again and again by Madvig in the second volume of his Adversaria: of the 160 pages which are given to emendations of Latin poets from Plautus to Martial, a good share is devoted to these tragedies. Thus of v. 1294 (1287) of the Herc. Furens, which in the Mss. runs ‘Mecum cremabo tota cum domibus suis Dominisque tecta,’ he says ‘scribendum sine dubio est aut tota cum hominibus suis Dominisque tecta’, introducing this metrical solecism: other corrections have been given of the corrupt domibus: the whole passage I would confidently arrange as follows:

arma nisi dantur mihi,
aut omne Pindi Thracis excidam nemus
Bacchique lucos et Cithaeronis iuga
mecum cremabo tota; cumve opibus suis
dominisque tecta, cum deis templa omnibus
Thebana supra corpus excipiam meum.

Again in the Oedipus 715 (702) he errs in the same way by reading ‘omne quod plum est eat’: ‘omne quod dubium putat’ I believe to be right, but then quod is the conjunction, not the relative as it is taken to be by the editors: ‘because he believes every thing unsafe’: the obvium of the best Ms. seems to me to come from the od of quod being repeated, and dubium being written duvium; and it is possible that aestimat for putat would explain the ∅ eat of that Ms.

Then of Medea 410 (407)

quae ferarum immanitas,
quae Scylla, quae Charybdis Ausonium mare
SENECA'S TRAGEDIES.

Siculumque sorbens quaeve anhelantem premens
Titana tantis Aetna fervebit minis?

Madvig observes justly enough 'Medea futurum suum furorem non cum aliis futuris rebus, sed cum iis, quae umquam fuerint cognitaeque sint vehementissimae, comparare debet.' But then he introduces another metrical solecism; 'debebat ferbuiit (fer-
vuit) quod et unum ad rem aptum est et facillime in fervebit transit'; nay rather ferbuerit, which is nearer the Ms. reading, suits the sense better, and fully satisfies the metre.

Ibid. 518 (515)

(Ias.) Quid facere possum, loquere. (Med.) pro me? vel sclerus.

On this he observes 'prorsus inane illud pro me? nec aptum in Medeae persona vel... nulla littera mutata verum nascitur:

Ias. Quid facere possim, loquere; promē vel sclerus':

once again this metrical solecism: 'pro me? vel sclerus' of editions is not right; read 'pro me vel sclerus': 'what can I do', says Iason; 'for me even crime': for me who have committed so many heinous crimes for you.

On the other hand of Troades 1181 ene; which is thus given quite correctly by the Mss.

mors, votum meum,
infantibus violenta virginibus venis,
ubique properas saeva, me solam times:

he says 'miror nihil dici de anapaesto tertiae sedis qui mani-
ifesto versum vitiat, nihil de copula prave omissa Infantibus
violenta, virginibus': but infantibus is an epithet agreeing with
virginibus; and the anapaest does not vitiate the verse: in
this very play there are seven other exactly similar cases of an
anapaest in the third foot: 316 retinesque, 503 latuisse, 525
referamus, 640 trepidasque, 914 sociosque, 952 miseranda,
1158 miserantur; the fact that an anapaest in that place can
hardly appear except with the above rhythm accounts for its
comparative rarity.

Cobet in the epimetrum to his variae lectiones, p. 403,
speaks with high praise of the illustrious scholar's *Adversaria critica*: 'sunt palmariae et manifestae emendationes permultae, Latinae quidem quantum quidem iudicare possum *omnes* et Graecarum pars non exigua.' Of the great critic's unrivalled mastery over the classical Latin prose no one has a firmer persuasion than I have; but the *omnes* is far indeed from being true with regard to his emendations of the poets; and when Cobet adds 'quam vellem poetas Graecos et praesertim Atticos non attigisset', I should be inclined to add 'et Romanos'. Not only has he many gross violations of prosody and rhythm; but even when these are avoided, his conjectures too often give token of a weakness which stands out in harsh contrast to the power and success with which he deals with Cicero or Livy. In p. 65 he gives *pār* to Propertius, and makes the greatest of metrists Ovid write in p. 82 *nātasse*, in p. 93 *terrīcula*: Accius, Lucilius and Afranius will vouch for *terrīcula*: in p. 98 we find *scripsit sine dubio Ovidius pāletur*: to Ovid too in p. 86 he gives *āh en*: 'interiectionem *ah* (*a*) ante *en* corripuit Ovidius, ut Vergilius o (*o Alexī)*: but in the two or three instances in which Virgil, Horace and Catullus each leave, and the eleven in which Lucretius leaves a long monosyllable, or one ending in *m*, short and unelided, it is in every case before a short syllable, and the unelided syllable forms the first short syllable of the dactyl: a rhythmical ear feels this to be a necessary condition: Ovid never, I believe, avails himself of this licence, but in no case whatever would *āh en* be metrical. Again in p. 106 he makes Ovid write 'te laedis: ille'. Once more in p. 102 he puts a rhythm into his mouth, which Lucretius would have rejected: 'Thyrsus pulsat me, gustata est laurea vobis'. The line is from the ex Ponto II 5 67 and has been maltreated by all editors in various ways: the best Ms. has 'Thyrsus sublestate', which is clearly 'Thyrsus ubi est a te' as is given by another Ms. Ovid is addressing his friend Salanus, a distinguished orator, and says that their several professions have much in common. Moreover when he was young, he himself aimed at the *laurea* of the orator, at the same time that Salanus courted the *thyrsus* of the poet: I would therefore confidently write
thyrsus ubi est a te, gustata est laurea nobis;
et tamen ambobus debet inesse calor:

'what time the thyrsus was essayed by you, the laurel was essayed by me; and yet (to make no account of this) there ought to be in both of us the same heat of inspiration': et tamen as so often implies an ellipse to be supplied in thought: see my note on Lucr. v 1177.

In p. 164 he makes Martial, a metrist second only to Ovid, write 'Nunc vivi necem uterque scit bonosque', in which there are two great offences against Martial's principles of rhythm: Schneidewin's correction seems to me both elegant and certain: of his necuter Madvig says 'nova voce non recte ficta'; but Lucretius uses both necuter and neque uter.

Even where the externals of poetry are not violated, his emendations often offend against its inner spirit: thus in p. 147, of a line in Valerius Flaccus 'Ergo opibus magicis et virginitate tremendam Iuno duci sociam coniungere quaeerit Achivo' he observes with justice 'virginitas Medeam tremendam non sane faciebat,' and conjectures 'et virga atque arte tremendam', Heinsius having already suggested et dira...arte: but how weak the three substantives, all signifying much the same thing! Read rather

ergo opibus magicis, et origine et arte, tremendam;

'awful in magic powers, derived alike through her descent and her own acquired skill': she was daughter of Aeetes, niece of Circe, granddaughter of the Sun and great-granddaughter of Oceanus: Κύρκη ἐνυπλόκαμος, δευτ θεός αὐθήεσσα, Αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοίφρονος Αἰήτας: Ἀμφω δ' ἐκεγεγάτην φαεσιμβρότου Ἡελίου Μητρός τ' ἐκ Πέρασης, τὴν 'Οκεανὸς τέκε παιδα.
EMENDATION OF A PASSAGE IN PROPERTIUS.

Prop. iii. xxv. 11, 12., (ed. Paley).

Ah quotiens quernis laesisti frondibus ora
Mansisti stabulis abdita pasta tuis.

In the first number of Hermathena I changed mansisti to mandisti from mando 'to chew.' I also (in "corrigenda") expressed my conviction that abdita was corrupt. I was since lent by the late Mr Henry Allen¹ a most beautiful MS. of Propertius (date 1467). I have the best grounds for believing that this MS. is the identical one used by Scaliger (liber Cujacianus): and it supplies us with the means of eliciting a beautiful and certain emendation of the above passage. For, instead of abdita it has clearly abbita, a vox nihili, under which lies the true reading arbuta. Mr Munro notices that arbuta was sometimes written arbita, Lucr. Pref. p. 37, ed. 3.

Read: MANDISTI stabulis ARBUTA pasta tuis.

For the arbutus twigs, a favourite food for cattle, the reader may compare Virg. Georg. iii. 300,

\[ \text{iubo frondentia capris} \\
\text{Arbuta sufficere,} \]

and other passages.

But the strongest confirmation of the emendation is to be found in Ovid Met. i. 632, where, speaking of this same Io, he writes, according to the reading justly preferred by Heinsius,

\[ \text{Frondibus arbuteis et amara pascitur herba.} \]

ARTHUR PALMER.

¹ The MS. is now in the possession of Mr S. Allen, of Dublin.
NOTES ON CERTAIN DERIVATIONS.

I do not propose to illustrate the phonetic bearings of the derivations I am about to suggest as the correspondencies and changes are all in accordance with generally received analogies. I begin with the word ἄικάλλω, “to flatter,” or “fawn upon,” which Curtius considers an instance of metathesis, and connects his ἀικάλλω with ἄειμαι.—It seems more probable that we have here a loss of the initial guttural tenuis before another guttural in the same word as in ἵχλα (Hesychius) for κίχλα, ὀγχη for κόγχη (Hesychius), ἑχλέασται, most probably ὅκνος for κόκνος. (Curtius, 3rd ed. p. 660, &c.) καικάλλω I take to have been an intensive frequentative form from root of κόλαξ: cf. δαίδαλλω. Another instance of this loss of initial κ appears in the forms ὄχος, ὄχη for κόσκος, κόσκη: exactly corresponding to Skt. चाखाह, identical in meaning with the Greek. This account separates it, of course, from ἄγος and μόφχος.

One of my pupils again has suggested that ὄκλαξω is for κοκλάζω from the root κακ; cp. Skt. root kuch, which Grassmann recognizes in κάμπτω, καμπή, and Corssen in Lat. conquerisco. With this I should connect κοχώνη, Lat.ossa, and also Lat. conor. The primary meaning of “bending” is changed into that of “exerting oneself” in Lat. nitor.

With regard to ἐπίρροθος, it has occurred to me as possible that it is not the Homeric word which occurs Hesiod W. and D. 560 τήμος τάμμου βουσθε, ἐπ’ ἀνέρι δὲ πλέον εἰη Ἀρμαλής· μακραὶ γὰρ ἐπιρροθοὶ εὐφρόναι εἰσὶ; but that this word is connected with βλαστός, &c., from the root vardh, “increase.” However, Aeschylus Sept. cont. Theb. 360 may have had this
passage of Hesiod in his mind, and if so, can hardly have under-
stood it as I suggest.

I wish to point out that the Aeschylean ἰχαρ and the forms ἰχάω, ἰχαίνω point to a root is which we find in Skt. in the form
ish. The Skt. present base ichchha points to a form isk for issk, and therefore I think that the form ἰσχαίνω, "I desire," may
be connected with the Hesychian ἰχάω, ἰχαίνω, and ἰχαρ, all
containing secondary forms of the root whence ἱότης, ἱμερος.

Κόχυ, πολύ Ἀσκήσεως is connected by Curtius with the
root of χέω, but on the other hand the Skt. adverb caçvat "perse-
petually" corresponds exactly in sound and sufficiently in sense.
The existence of κόχυ then is a reason against Benfey's connec-
tion of ἀπας with caçvath.

μάρπτω has been generally referred to the root vark; but
I think this instance should be deducted from the small list of
words in which m represents v: as we have the Skt. mriç, "to
touch," which, compounded with parâ and pari, means "to seize."

Pars is generally connected with portio, πορείων, but the Skt.
pat (with a lingual t) "to split, divide" probably for an earlier
part seems to me to throw a doubt on the accepted derivation.
The lingual t can generally be analysed into rt or st.

ἐνοπτή and ἦπεροπτεύω are generally referred to the root vak:
but compounds with digammated forms are comparatively rare
in Homer, and I do not see why they should not be referred to
the root sak.

χάρμη I think may be connected with our skirmish, O. H.
G. skirm, skerm, "a shield," and ἡμέρα with Skt. yáma.
ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'GYPSY.'

The connection of the Gypsies with Egypt and the origin of their name has long been an insoluble, or possibly only an unsolved problem. It is absolutely certain, that they did not come to Europe by way of Egypt, and that their connection with that country is simply nil. A new solution of this curious question has been proposed by Count Rudolf Wratislaw, of Mitrovitz, in his "Versuch einer Darstellung der Lebensweise, Herkunft und Sprache der Zigeuner im Allgemeinen und der in Oesterreich lebenden Zigeuner insbesondere," which was written at the request of the Archduchess Elizabetha Francisca Maria of Austria, and printed at Prague in 1868.

The Gypsies appeared for the first time in Europe in 1417, in the country of Moldavia, in the 19th year of Alexander the Good, and thence spread rapidly over all parts of Europe. They uniformly gave themselves out for Egyptians, and their principal leaders claimed the title of "Dukes of Egypt." In 1418 they appeared in Switzerland and in 1422 at Bologna in Italy. They reached the neighbourhood of Paris in 1427.

Examination of their language has long proved them to be an Indian clan, and it is manifest, that they came round the Black Sea and entered Europe by the valley of the Danube without having the slightest connection with Egypt in Africa. But whence could they have obtained or assumed the name of 'Gypsies' and their leaders the title of 'Dukes of Egypt'?

Count Rudolf Wratislaw suggests, that there was an "Egypt" lying upon their actual route, from which the leaders might easily have taken their name and title. There was an "Aegypsos" near the mouth of the Danube, of which mention is
made several times by Ovid in his Epistles from Pontus, which he wrote from a spot not far distant from that of the gypsies' first appearance in Europe. In Ep. Ex. Pont. i. viii. 11, he says, writing to his friend Severus:

"Stat vetus Urbs, ripae vicina binominis Istri,
Moenibus et positu vix adeunda loci.
Caspius Aegypsus de se, si creditur ipsis,
Condidit, et proprio nomine dixit opus."

And again iv. vii. 19, writing to Vestalis:

"Non negat hoc Ister, cujus tua dextera quondam
Puniceam Getico sanguine fecit aquam.
Non negat Aegypsos, quae te subeunte recepta
Sensit in ingenio nil opis esse loci.
Nam dubium, positu melius defensa manuve,
Urbs erat in summo nubibus aqua jugo."

And finally, 53:

"Vincitur Aegypsos; testataque tempus in omne
Sunt tua, Vestalis, carmine facta meo."

Now what could be more likely than that the gypsies should have settled temporarily in or near the remains of this Aegypsos, and that their leaders should have taken a kind of title from it? This is a part of Europe, which has not been much explored by travellers, and it would be an interesting object for a traveller to ascertain whether the name of Aegypsos still survives in or near the locality of the ancient town and fortress. Its existence there would go far to prove Count R. Wratislaw's theory, while its non-existence would not absolutely disprove it. For a name, which was current 450 years ago, might since then easily have disappeared and 'left not a rack behind.'

A. H. WRATISLAW.
ON THE WORD GLAMOUR AND THE LEGEND OF GLAM.

In the Grettis Saga there is a wild legend how Grettir kills the ghost Glam who haunted Thorhall’s farm. There was a long and fierce struggle between them, but at last “Glam fell open-armed aback out of the house and Grettir over him. Bright moonlight was there without, and the drift was broken, now drawn over the moon, now driven from off her; and even as Glam fell, a cloud was driven from the moon, and Glam glared up against her. And Grettir himself said that by that sight only was he dismayed amidst all that he ever saw.” Glam then spoke to him as he was dying, “This weird I lay on thee, ever in those days to see these eyes with thine eyes, and thou wilt find it hard to be alone,—and that shall drag thee unto death.” (See Magnusson and Morris’ translation, p.109). The spell soon begins to work, for in the next page we read, “herein he found the greatest change, in that he was become so fearful a man in the dark that he durst go nowither alone after nightfall, for then he seemed to see all kinds of horrors. And that has fallen since into a proverb that Glam lends eyes or gives glamsight (glám-sýni) to those who see things nowise as they are.” Mr Magnusson has given me from the Sturlunga Saga a very interesting instance of glamsight which occurs in the description of a battle before daylight.

En þá er ljóst var orðit, gaf þeim glámsýni, er til varu kvænnir, ok sýndist þeim sem menn hvarðanæva at þeim; en þar sá þeir torfhrauka ok stakkgarsa, þvi hélupoka var um mýrarnar, ok mændu upp or kollarnir.

“But when it was daylight the sight of those who had arrived became glamour stricken, and it seemed to them as if they were set upon by men from everywhere; but what they saw were turf-ricks and stack-yards (winter shelter for horses),
the bogs being enveloped in rime-mist, and the tops (of the ricks and the stacks) standing out of (the fog or mist)."

Glam, or in the nominative glamr, is also a poetical name for the moon. It does not actually occur in the ancient literature, but it is given in the glossary in the Prose Edda (p. 96, ed. 1818) in the list of the very old words for the moon, "Túngl; míni, ny, nið, ártali, mulenn, fengari, glámr, &c." Vigfusson, in his Dictionary, says, "the word is interesting on account of its identity with Scot. glamour, which shews that the tale of Glam was common to Scotland and Iceland, and thus much older than Grettir (of the year 1014)."

The ghost or goblin Glam seems evidently to have arisen from a personification of the delusive and treacherous effects of moonlight on the benighted traveller,

Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
Est iter in sylvis.

Now there is a curious old Sanskrit word glau or gláv, which is explained in all the old native lexicons as meaning 'the moon.' It is given in the Unádi sútras, which are probably older than Páñini, and we also find it in the Amarakosha, Hemachandra's lexicon, and the Medini. It is derived by the native grammarians from the root glá, 'to be disgusted' or 'wearied,' and then 'to fail, decrease.' It might either be taken as 'waning,' or with a causal sense, 'obscuring.' The word never occurs as meaning 'moon' in the old literature; it occurs once in the Aitareya Bráhmana, i. 25, and once in the Atharva Veda, vi. 83, 3, but as meaning some kind of wasting sickness; but the consensus of the old lexicographers proves that it must have been found in some passage now lost. The St Petersburgh Dict. would connect the word with globus, glomus; but is it possible that this is an old word for the moon connected with the

1 Mr Alex. J. Ellis writes in the Athenaeum, Dec. 19, 1874, that Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte informed him that the word gloam for moon is not yet extinct in the modern Shetland dialect. "During his stay in Scotland he obtained the word from three or four old men, who assured him that it was still used in certain phrases. The word is in the Prince's MS. Shetland Dict., and in Mr T. Edmonstone's Shetland Vocabulary, printed by the Philological Society (London)."
Norse glam or glamr, and so mediately connected with the legend of Glam? The following lines, from an early mediæval poet, Bhásā, will illustrate the deceptive character of moonlight from a Hindu point of view. The strong and wild Norse imagination delights in what is terrible and gloomy; the Hindu loves to dwell on the milder and quieter aspects of human life. Bhásā is a poet who lived not later than the beginning of the seventh century of our era, for he is praised, as a dramatist, by Bāna in his Harsha-charita (see Dr Hall's Preface to his edition of Vásavadattá, p. 14).

Kapále márjáří paya iti karán ledhi śasinas,
Taruchchhidraprotán visam iti karí sankalayati;
Ratánte talpasthán harati vanítá 'py āmsúkam iti,
Prabhámattáś chandáj jagad ídam aho viplavayati.

"The cat laps the moonbeams in the bowl of water thinking them to be milk; the elephant thinks that the moonbeams, threaded through the intervals of the trees, are the fibres of the lotus-stalk. The woman snatches at the moonbeams as they lie on the bed, taking them for her muslin garment; oh, the moon intoxicated with radiance bewilders all the world!"

A similar passage, no doubt imitated from this, is also quoted in the Sáhitya-darpada.

Mugdhá dugdha-dhiyá gavám vidadhate kumbhán adho val-laváh,
Karne kairava-sankayá kuvalayam kuvranti kántá api,
Karkandhú-phalam uchchinoti śavarí muktáphalákánkshayá,
Sándrá chandramaso na kasya kurute chitta-bhramam chandriká.

"The bewildered herdsmen place the pails under the cows, thinking that the milk is flowing; the maidens also put the blue lotus blossom in their ears, thinking that it is the white; the mountaineer's wife snatches up the jujube fruit, avaricious for pearls. Whose mind is not led astray by the thickly clustering moonbeams?"

E. B. COWELL.

1 The lines are quoted anonymously in the rhetorical work, the Kávéya-prakása, book x., p. 342, but they are directly quoted as Bhásā's, in the Sárngadhara-pādhati.
Printing has done much to make us ignore a kind of error to which ancient and medieval writers were constantly liable—I mean errors as to the area or limits of quotations in the books they read. It is evident that, in the absence of inverted commas, italics, marks of parenthesis, and similar devices, every one was left to his own resources in doubtful instances; the natural consequence being that a reader who lacked the sense of style or due acquaintance with literature, was as likely as not to draw the line at the wrong point, to curtail or enlarge a citation, and to transmit it in his turn to those coming after him in some new or modified shape. An account of such errors and of the misconceptions to which they have given rise, would probably be one of the most curious chapters of literary history. Some may remember that even in this critical age of ours an eminent scholar, Mr Wolfflin, gravely set about restoring Caecilius Balbus, the imaginary author of an imaginary book, the idea of which we now know (thanks mainly to Mr Reifferscheid) to have originated in a misread page of John of Salisbury. Late Classical writers, I suspect, abound in mistakes arising from the source here indicated: a careful criticism of their citations would perhaps lead to a conclusion somewhat disturbing to our scientific equanimity, namely, that not a few fragments of lost authors (more especially of lost prose authors) appear in our received collections with worse than dubious credentials. As it is not always possible to expose these impostors, it may be worth while to trace the antecedents of a pretended Heraclitean dictum, in which a Leipzic scholar conceives himself to have discovered a genuine fragment.
The story is a short one: it begins with Plutarch, who in his treatise De cohibenda ira (c. 9) writes as follows:

'Ανθρώπων μὲν γὰρ κρατήσαι καὶ χείροσι βελτιώνων ὑπηρέξει τὸ δ' ἐν ψυχῇ στῆσαι κατὰ θυμοῦ τρόπαιον (ὁ χαλεπὸν εἶναι διαμάχεσθαι, φησίν 'Ἡράκλειτος· τι γὰρ ἄν θέλῃ ψυχῆς ὄνειται) μεγάλης ἐστὶ καὶ νικητικῆς ἵσχύος.

Here we at once distinguish what Heraclitus said from its context, because our editors save us all trouble on this score by enclosing his words in a parenthesis; I need hardly observe that the extent of the parenthesis is not an open question, as the same citation occurs in what is practically the same form in Aristotle and elsewhere. Ammianus Marcellinus, however, was not equally fortunate: he read the above passage and, strange as it may perhaps seem, succeeded in misreading it. Speaking of the unamiable character of the Emperor Constantius, he seizes the opportunity of throwing in a few general reflexions, among which occurs this choice specimen of the Latinity of the décadence:

Id Ephesius quoque Heraclitus adserens monet ab inertibus et ignavis eventus variante fortuna superatos aliquotiens viros fuisse praestantes: illud vero eminere inter praecipuas laudes, cum potestas in gradu, uelut sub iugum missa nocendi saeviendi cupiditate et irascendi, in arce victoris animi tropaeum erexerit gloriosum (XXI. 16, 14).

A comparison between this and the passage from Plutarch makes the situation as regards Ammianus pretty intelligible. In order to find a commonplace on resentment he had recourse to some gnomologium which presented an excerpt with a Heraclitean citation parenthetically introduced: failing to see the limits of the parenthesis, he hastily assumed the whole excerpt to be Heraclitean; and a singular perversity led him to make matters worse by the suppression of the very parenthesis which contained a familiar and indisputable fragment. Not content with thus mangling the excerpt and fathering it on the wrong man, he went further and proceeded to adorn his translation (if translation is an appropriate term for such a sorry performance)
with cheap flowers of rhetoric which are all his own. In the final result, then, there is something of Plutarch (misunderstood) and a great deal of Ammianus, but not so much as a vestige of anything that Heraclitus ever wrote or (if I may venture to say so) could have written.

Here, however, I come into collision with an authority on this subject, for I find that Dr Paul Schuster, author of a monograph on Heraclitus occupying no less than 400 pages of Ritschl’s Acta Societatis Philologae Lipsiensis, takes the opposite view—apparently without the doubts and misgivings which naturally suggest themselves, the moment one reads the passage from Plutarch. He must be quite clear that the words of Ammianus have the genuine Heraclitean stamp and ring about them, since he tries the bold experiment of “retranslating” them almost word for word into Greek, so as to restore the ipsissima verba of the great Ephesian. The original, it seems, was “something like this:”—

ἐπὶ νοθέων καὶ δειλῶν μικηθέντες τύχης εἰκὴ κρατεούσης ἔστιν ὅτε ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο γενναίοι ἐκεῖνο δὲ διαπρέτει ἐν μεγάλοις ἐπαίνοις, ἂν τὸ κράτος ἐν τέλει ἐδώ ὀκωσπερ ἔξανδρατο- δισθείσης τῆς τοῦ ἀδικεέων καὶ μαίνεσθαι καὶ θυμοῦσθαι ἐπιθυμίης ἐν τῇ ἀκροτόλει νευκηκότος νόου τροπαίον ἀναστήσῃ μεγαλόδοξον.

I still believe that the original is actually extant in Plutarch, and that it is not necessary to suppose Heraclitus to have written anything in the least like the above experimental restoration of the language of the Ιάδες Μούσαι.

1 The literary demerits of Ammianus are great and notorious: Gibbon says of him that “his love of ambitious ornaments frequently betrayed him into an unnatural vehemence of expression,” which is true, but by no means the whole truth. Bernhardy’s criticism is much more severe and searching (R. L. p. 767, ed. 5).

I. BYWATER.
I THINK a very simple explanation will suffice to remove all the obscurity of this 'locus difficilis', as Orelli calls it. I believe three voting tablets were given to each judex at the commencement of a trial. Now it is surely reasonable to suppose that these were not given to him loose, but fastened together with packthread, string, tape, or something of the kind. At the conclusion of the trial the judices would naturally unfasten these tablets for the purpose of recording their votes. I therefore translate with great confidence:

'The tablets will be unfastened with a smile, you will depart acquitted.'

In prose we should have found cum risu rather than risu alone.


χωρίς γὰρ ἄλλης ἤς ἔχουσιν ἀργιάς,
φθόνον πρὸς ἄστων ἀλφάνουσι δυσμενή.

I think ἀργία simply implies abstinence from manual labour. In this sense one who worked with his head would be ἀργός, as compared with one who worked with his hands. 'For over and above the abstinence from manual labour which they display, such persons incur dangerous envy from the townspeople.'
I think ὁποία is not the dative after ἐγχειρῶ, but an adverb of the class of πὴ and ὅπη = δε' ὁποίας. 'I don't know which kind of way to make the attempt first.'

Whether φρενί or φρενὸς be here read is immaterial to the remark I am about to make. That is, that φρενί or φρενὸς is surely mentally opposed to γλώσση or γλώσσης, and that Medea is expressing her shame at uttering fainthearted language and meaning it. She uttered μαλθακὸς λόγον enough to Jason γλώσση, ἀλλ' οὐ φρενί, in order to deceive him. Compare φρενόθεν γ' in Soph. Ajax 183.

Aeschylus, Eumenides 581.

αὐ δ' εἰσαγη 
ὅπως τ' ἐπίστα τὴνδε κύρωσον δίκην.

Compare this with 638 and 639:

tαὐτὴν τοιαύτην εἴπον, ὡς δηχθῇ λεως, 
"οσπερ τέτακται τὴνδε κυρώσαι δίκην" 

and we shall see that very cognate senses of κυρόω will satisfy both passages.

In the first place: 'And do thou as archon or president, after ἀνάκρισις or preliminary hearing, introduce this cause into court, as thou well knowest how, and put it on such a footing as to be finally decided, by making it κυρίαν in a court of final instance.'
In the second place: ‘I have stated this woman to be such, that the people may be rendered indignant, who have been appointed to settle this lawsuit as a court of final instance.’ Aeschylus appears to be insisting, for reasons of his own, upon the finality of the decisions of the Areopagus. And in every passage of Aeschylus and the one passage of Euripides, in which κυρώσις occurs, the idea of finality appears included in and intended to be conveyed by it. It is El. 1069, τὴς θυγατρὸς πρὶν κεκυρωθεῖ τάφας. ‘Before the sacrifice of your daughter has been irrevocably settled.’

The difficulties in this passage are far more apparent than real, and will be found to vanish entirely under a careful analysis with a fair allowance for the seeming capriciousness, but real sensitiveness to shades of expression and meaning, which is characteristic of the Greek mind. Thus the change of mood from εἴθεντο to νομίσωσι is to be accounted for by the writer proceeding after the quasi-parenthesis: καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς—ἀν προσφέροι τὸν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι μή καθ’ ὃσον ἃν τις αὐτῶν μέρος βούληται, τοῦτο ξυνεῖαι, ἀλλ’ ὃς ἃν αἰ τύχαι αὐτῶν ἥγησωνται.

Secondly, if we transpose the clauses μή καθ’ ὃσον ἃν τις αὐτῶν μέρος βούληται and τοῦτο συνεῖαι, which stand to each other logically, though not grammatically, in the relation of relative and antecedent, we shall find that, by writing τινὶ for τοῦτῳ and οὗτος for τις, we shall have the equivalent to a
regular English sentence without the inversion, which exists in the Greek. Lastly, the above considerations will of themselves explain αυτῶν in the last clause, which manifestly refers to the persons implied by the indefinite τις. Rewriting the sentence for the purpose of explanation in accordance with these remarks, we have:

σωφρόνον δὲ ἀνδρῶν οίτεις ταγαθᾶ ἐστὶν ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς ἐθέντο· καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ εὗρισκότεροι ἐν προσφέροντο· τὸν τε πόλεμον [ἐὰν τινες] νομίσωσι τίνι ξυνείναι, μὴ καθ’ ὅσον ἀν οὗτος αὐτοῦ μέρος βούληται μεταχειρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅσ ἀν αἰ τίχαι αὐτῶν [τῶν πολεμοῦντων] ἕγγραφεσθαι.

'These come under the category of soundminded people, who, keeping on the safe side, set down their advantages in the doubtful column of the ledger—and the same persons will deal more intelligently with their misfortunes—and [so do those come under the same category] who consider that war does not associate with a man just according to the portion thereof which he wishes to take in hand, but as the fortunes of the belligerent parties shall lead the way.'

Ibid. iv. 28. 1.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων τι ὑποθορυβησάντων ἐστὶ τὸν Κλέωνα ἐτὸν οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖ [πλέοι], εἰ ραξίου γε αυτῶ φαίνεται.

This passage appears to me extremely awkward with the usual construction of ὅτι = 'because' or 'that'. Removing the ὅτι, it cannot be reduced to the oratio recta. They could not have said to him: οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖς, εἰ ραξίου γε σοὶ φαίνεται; But if for ὅτι we write ὅ, τι, the indirect interrogative, we find the exact words, which the Athenians were likely to have used: τί οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖς, εἰ ραξίου γε σοὶ φαίνεται; There was no reason for blaming Cleon for not sailing; indeed he was not a general and had no authority to do so. When they gave him the hint, he took it, and made a good thing of it.
MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Ibid. vi. 11. 6.

It appears to me that the words δἰ οἴγαρχίας are merely equivalent to the adjective οἴγαρχικῆς, and that δἰα simply expresses "in a state of," which is no uncommon meaning. Such prepositional expressions are common enough and unambiguous when an article is prefixed to them, but without the article they must always be more or less ambiguous, and are rather avoided than otherwise by careful writers on account of their ambiguity. I have attempted to shew that the difficulty in an awkward passage of the Epistle to the Romans (iii. 30) is only to be solved in a similar manner, i.e. by taking τερτουμην εκ πίστεως as a compound expression = 'believing members of the circumcision,' (Journal of Philology, iii. 256). In Herod. i. 206 we have δἰ ηπισκίας εἰναι, 'to be in a state of tranquillity,' and in Thucyd. vi. 59 ὁ Ἰππίας διὰ φόβου ήδη μᾶλλον ὅν, "Hippias being now to a greater extent in a state of fear."

In Eurip. Med. 803 we have

οὔτ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ γὰρ παῖδας ὑπέται ποτε ζώντας τὸ λοιπὸν οὔτε τῆς νεοζύγου νύμφης τεκνώσει παῖδα.

Here ἐξ ἐμοῦ παῖδας is clearly a compound expression of which ζώντας is a tertiary predicate.

Ibid. vi. 16. 2.

νόμωρ μὲν γὰρ τιμῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου καὶ δύναμις ἀμα ὑπονεῖται.

The opposition in this sentence is clearly between νόμωρ and ἐκ τοῦ δρωμένου. I think the latter expression refers to the practical result as opposed to recognized theoretical usage, and translate:
'For such things are by recognized usage an honour, while \textit{practically} power also is supposed to be in the background.'

Dale translates: 'For according to the usual view of them such things are a subject of honour, while \textit{from the practice of them} an idea of power is also formed.' Here, besides weakening the antithesis, the translation draws \textit{kai} away from its position before and connexion with \textit{dýnamus}.

Eph. vi. 2.

\[\textit{hýtas éstiv éntolh prótth év épanggelía.}\]

There is a good deal of difficulty in the expression \textit{prótth év épanggelía}. Winer takes it as signifying 'first in point of promise', whereby he appears to understand 'chief in point of promise'. He quotes no passage from any writer to support his view, but simply negatives the explanation which confines itself to understanding the 5th as the 1st commandment 'ad-ditâ, annexâ promissione'. I shall quote a passage from Thucydides II. 29, which is so exactly parallel to the explanation rejected by Winer, that no doubt of its correctness remains in my mind. There it is said of Teres: \textit{basileús te prótos év krátei 'Odrysówv éγένετο}. Here \textit{prótos év krátei} clearly means, that Teres was the first powerful king of the Odrysians. Hence \textit{éntolh prótth év épanggelía} will mean 'the first promissory commandment' or 'the first commandment with a promise.'

A. H. WRATISLAW.
Duumviri and Triumviri.

There appear to be two forms in which these words are written: duoviri duumviri (duomvires Nom. Plur. in an inscription of the Sullan age C. I. L. i. 1149) tresviri triumviri. Duoviri and tresviri seem to be the usual forms in official documents, duumviri and triumviri in literature. The singulars duomvir and triumvir occur however in inscriptions: for the former see C. I. L. i. 1107, and for the latter ib. 198, 16 (the Lex Repetundarum of B.C. 103).

What are these forms duum and trium? To take them as genitives involves a far-fetched and hardly Latin way of speaking. I venture to suggest that duum and trium are neuter substantives corresponding in form to the Sanskrit dvayām and trayām = (in meaning) dvās and ṭριṇās. These words are used in Sanskrit at the end of compounds (as if we were to say a pipe-dozen for a dozen pipes) as the word catām (= a hundred) may also be. If therefore it be objected that in Latin duum and trium are always found as numerals prefixed to a plural, whereas in Sanskrit they are always used as the last part of a compound, it may be replied that the use of centum is similarly limited in Latin, while in Sanskrit catām may be used both in composition and as an ordinary numeral.

Supposing duum and trium to be neuter nouns used as numerals, this use as indeclinables with all cases would correspond with the use of the great majority of numerals in Latin, and especially with that of the two neuter nouns centum and mille.

Saeculum.

This word, as is well known, has two senses, one peculiar to Lucretius who uses it for race, kind (saecla ferarum, ad sua Journal of Philology. Vol. VI 7
saecla recedunt, &c.), and the other common to all Latin, the meaning, namely, of period of time. Büchler has connected the word with the base sā to sow, an idea which also occurred independently to the present writer. The difficulty in the way of this etymology is not the ending of the word: for although the ending -culum in Latin usually denotes the instrument by which an action is carried out (po-culum, everri-culum, fer-culum, &c.), this is not always the case, as is shown by the instance of periculum (= a going through, a trial). So far, therefore, there would be no difficulty in making saeculum = a sowing, and thus a generation, either in the sense of a race or a period. The difficulty is rather that supposing saeculum to be connected with sā, we should expect in Latin either sæculum or sæculum or seculum (compare sæ-tus with sæ-vi). The name of the god Saturnus (or Saiturnus) more commonly Saturnus has similarly been supposed to mean the god of sowing. But other etymologists have inclined, perhaps more correctly, to make Saturnus = Saviturnus, and connect the name with the base su, to generate. If this be right, perhaps saeculum may be taken to stand for saviculum (comp. caelum for cavilum), and to mean originally a generation: then either (as with Lucretius) a race, kind, or (as in ordinary Latin) the period during which a race lives.

Superstes, Superstitio, Superstitiosus.

From Plautus ap. Festum, p. 305 (Müller), and Cicero Murena § 26, it appears that superstes had, in old Latin, the sense of a witness (“Superstites testes praesentes significat” Festus 1. c.). It is equally clear that superstitiosus in old Latin meant not superstitious, but prophetic, whether of seers or of their utterances. Plautus Amph. 1 1 170 “Illic homo superstitiosus est vates”: Curc. 3 1 27 “Superstitiosus hic quidem est: vera praedicit”: Rudens 4 4 94 “Quid si ista aut superstitiosa aut ariola est atque omnia quicquid insit, vera dicit?” Ennius Trag. 79 (Vahlen) “Missa sum superstitionis ariolationibus:” Poet. ap. Cic. de Div. 2 § 115 “Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines, Unde superstitiosa primum saeva.
evasit vox foras.” And with a sneer Ennius Trag. 356 “super-
stitiosi vates impudentesque ariol.”

There are traces in Latin, I venture to think, which seem to shew that superstition once had the sense of prediction. Cicero says (de Div. 2 § 129) “Utrum philosophia dignius, sagarum superstitione ista interpretari an explicatione naturae”, i.e. by the pretended knowledge or foresight of wise women: and so in the concrete, of the instruments of such foresight, “his superstitionibus non dubitasti etiam omina adiungere” (ib. § 83).

Nor again are superstition and superstitiosus even in other senses always words of reproach. In Cicero Har. Resp. § 12 “quae tanta religio est qua non in nostris dubitationibus atque in maximis superstitionibus liberemur” superstition seems to mean anxious thought, pondering over religious matters, so Virgil Aen. 8 187 “Vana superstition veterumque ignara deorum”, which implies that there might be such a thing as a vera superstition: and in the concrete (of the Styx) Aen. 12 817 “Una superstition superis quae reddita divis.” So superstitiosus may mean simply anxious, scrupulous in matters of religion: Cic. de Domo § 105 “modum quendam esse religionis, nimium esse superstitionem non oportere” : so the Stoic doctrine of divination (de Div. 2 § 190) is called “nimis superstitionis.”

Besides their ordinary senses therefore we find that these words connote two things: power of foresight, and anxious reflection. This fact, I think, may be explained if we suppose that superstition originally meant being present at (comp. superstes), and hence knowledge of a thing, or pondering over a thing. The words were determined almost exclusively to religious associations, before the formation of literary Latin as we have it. But even within those limits we see that superstitiosus once had the meaning of wise, seeing. It seems probable that it must once have meant wise in general, and that this sense was subsequently forgotten. The Greek ἐπὶ-στα-μα, supposing it originally to mean to stand over a thing, offers a striking illustration of the etymology above suggested.

H. NETTLESHP.
ON DISLOCATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE [NICOMACHEAN] ETHICS.

In [Nic.] Eth. v. 9 § 8, we read, ἐτὶ οὖν προειλόμεθα δὲ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, πότερον ποτ' ἀδικεῖ ὁ νείμας παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τὸ πλεῖον ἢ ὁ ἔχον, καὶ εἰ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν. The questions here proposed for discussion having been partially considered in the next five sections, §§ 9—13, four sections succeed which it is difficult to harmonize with their surroundings. A sense of the incongruity seems to underlie the following note in the commentary of Sir Alexander Grant:

"14—17. These sections contain remarks concluding the subject of justice. As they correct popular errors regarding its nature, they may be considered a continuation of the ἄπορπια, with which the chapter commenced. The views which are here combated are (1) a shallow and external notion about justice and injustice as if they merely consisted in outward acts; (2) a sophistical opinion that to know justice merely consists in knowing the details of the laws, cf. Eth. x. ix. 20; (3) an opinion that justice implies its contrary, as if it were an art (δύναμις); see above ch. 1 § 4. This opinion," &c.

It will be observed that Sir A. Grant, though he has headed his note '14—17', says not a word here about § 17, but instinctively leaves that section to be dealt with in a separate note, in which he rightly refers the reader to 1 § 9 as a parallel passage.

Now on examination it will be noticed (1) that §§ 14—16 belong to a preliminary review of popular notions about δίκαιον and ἀδικον, such as that with which the book opens, rather than to a supplementary investigation of ἄπορπια in regard to
that § 17, which limits the sphere of κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνη to human society, has nothing to do either with §§ 14—16, or with §§ 8—13; (3) that the sections now in question are succeeded in ch. 10 by an investigation of ἐπιείκεια and its relations to δικαιοσύνη, which is admitted on all hands to be wrongly placed, inasmuch as in ch. 11 the subject partially discussed in 9 §§ 8—13 is resumed.

Thus not merely ch. 10, as has been commonly supposed, but the whole passage, from the words οἱ δ' ἀνθρώποι in 9 § 14 to the words ἐτέρα τις ἔξις at the end of ch. 10, is intrusive: and furthermore the intruded passage consists of three fragments not connected, in thought or grammar, either with one another or with their present surroundings.

Now in 1 § 3 and 1 § 9 there are places in which, as I think, the first and second of these three fragments may be appropriately introduced. In 1 § 3 the author states and accepts provisionally the popular notion of justice and injustice: he then proceeds in § 4, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπιστημόν καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξεων. Does this sentence naturally succeed § 3? For my part, I think not. To say nothing of the harshness of the ellipse which Sir A. Grant assumes,—"(and I have specified them thus) for it is not the same," &c.—the introduction of a doctrine of the schools in § 4, for no better purpose than to justify the form in which the popular notion of § 3 has been expressed, is surely very strange. Here then, after the words ἐποκείσθω ταῦτα, I propose to insert 9 §§ 14—16. The text and the argument will now run as follows:

3. ὅρωμεν δὴ πάντας τὴν τοιαύτην ἔξιν βουλομένος λέ- 

γειν δικαιοσύνην, ἂφ' ὅσ πρακ-

τικοί τῶν δικαίων εἰσὶ καὶ ἂφ' 

ὅσ δικαιοπραγοῦσι καὶ βούλον-

ται· τὰ δίκαια· τὸν αὐτὸν ἐδ

We see that all understand by justice a ἔξις ἂφ' ὅσ πρακτικοί τῶν δικαίων εἰσὶ καὶ ἂφ' ὅσ δικαιοπραγοῦσι καὶ βούλονται τὰ δίκαια, and by injustice a ἔξις ἂφ' ὅσ ἀδικοῦσι

1 That it is κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνη which is here spoken of, is clear from a comparison of the first words of this section with 1 § 9.

2 I have heard the use of the word βούλονται instead of προαιροῦνται alleged
as an indication of the Eudeman authorship of the book: but it is obvious that βουλονται is strictly appropriate, because the author is here recording a popular and superficial view, not his own doctrine, Cf. § 17, where in recapitulating his results the author is careful to introduce the words κατὰ προσέμενα.
how and when and to whom they should be applied, in fact being a physician.

Fourthly, not appreciating the above distinction, men suppose that ὁ δίκαιος can ἀδικεῖν as easily as ὁ ἄδικος, if not more easily: thus he can commit an adultery or an assault, and the brave man similarly can act like a coward. But τὸ δειλαίειν and τὸ ἀδικεῖν do not consist (except κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς) in committing the acts in question, but in committing them in certain ἐξεῖς [which ἐξεῖς cannot belong to the δίκαιος and the ἄνδρείος respectively]; just as ἰατρεύειν and νημάζειν consist, not in applying remedies, but in applying them ὁδί [i.e. ἰατρικῶς']. Now ἐξεῖς differ from ἐπιστήμαι and δυνάμει, inasmuch as a δύναμις or ἐπιστήμη includes the knowledge of the opposite of its matter, whilst a ἐξεῖς confers no power of doing what is contrary to its appro-

1 Or, as the paraphrast puts it, ὂξιν ἰατρικὴν ἔχοντα. Cf. ii. 4 § 1 sqq. ἀπορήθησε ό ἄν τις, πῶς λέγομεν ὅτι δεῖ τὰ μὲν δίκαια πράττοντας δίκαια γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σώφρονα σώφρονας: εἰ γὰρ πράττοντι τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ σώφρονα, ἤδη εἰς ἄκακον καὶ σώφρονα, ώσπερ εἰς τὰ γραμματικὰ καὶ τὰ μουσικὰ, γραμματικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνῶν ὄντως ἔχει; ἐνδέχεται γὰρ γραμματικῶν τινῶν ἐπιστήμεως καὶ ὀπὸ τῆς καὶ ᾿Αλλου ὑποθενέμου. τότε οὖν ἔσται γραμματικός, ἐὰν καὶ γραμματικῶν τι ποιήσῃ καὶ γραμματικῶς τοῦτο δ᾿ ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ γραμματικὴν.

2 Cf. Rhet. ii. 19: ὁ γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἐναντίων ἔναντι, whence Spengel proposes to read ἐν for ἐν in the present passage. I do not think the alteration an improvement.
priate acts: for example, a man with a healthy ἔξις cannot exhibit the symptoms of ill health
death cannot occur without injury to the body. The body is a temple of the soul, and it is important to maintain its health.

It should be remarked here (1) that a somewhat lengthy enumeration of popular views with accompanying criticisms is precisely what the author’s declaration in § 2, that he will proceed kata τὴν αὐτὴν μέθοδον τοῖς προερημένοις, has led us to expect at the outset of the enquiry, whereas the addition of such an enumeration after the author’s own view has been stated is not only useless, but also contrary to his ordinary practice; and (2) that the doctrine of 1 § 4 is necessary to complete the argument of 9 § 16, as was seen by Michael Ephesius, who, though he does not suspect any displacement, is nevertheless careful in commenting on the latter passage to quote the former.

Having thus disposed of 9 §§ 13—16, I proceed to consider the remaining section of this chapter (§ 17).

This section determines the kind of society in which ἰπτατά μέρος δικαιοσύνη can subsist, and has therefore no connection either with the sections which precede it or with the theory of ἐπιείκεια contained in ch. 10. On the contrary it is obviously connected in thought with 1 § 9. Accordingly I propose to insert it after the words τὰ αὐτῶς ἀγαθά, though I cannot allege any better reason than a general sense of superior fitness for placing it here, after the parenthetical remark about prayer, rather than after τινὶ δ’ οὐκ ἄει. The text and the argument will now run thus:  

9. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πλεονέκτης ὁ ἄδικος, περὶ τάγαθα ἔσται, οὐ πάντα, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὅσα εὐτυχία καὶ ἀτυχία, ἃ ἐστὶ μὲν ἀπλῶς ἄει ἀγαθά, τινὶ δ’ οὐκ ἄει—οἱ

And since the ἄδικος may also be πλεονέκτης [i.e. may exhibit ἄδικλα in the particular form of it called πλεονεξία], he will be concerned with those
goods on which good and ill fortune depend, which goods, though always good ἄπλως, are not always good τυεις;—(not seeing this, men pray for and pursue these goods, whereas they should rather pray that ἄπλως ἄγαθά may be good for them, and choose those things which are good for them;)—and relations of justice of this sort subsist among those who can enjoy ἄπλως ἄγαθά, but may have too much or too little of them; i.e. not on the one hand among gods who cannot have too great a share of ἄπλως ἄγαθά, nor on the other among the incurably bad who cannot have too small a share of them: hence this justice is peculiar to human society.

But the unjust man does not always choose ἥπειρον, &c.

On the position of ch. 10 I shall have something to say hereafter, when I come to speak of another fragment, which must in my judgment be associated with it. For the present I assume that it is set aside, so that 9 § 13 may be followed immediately by 11 § 1 to the evident advantage of both these chapters: for I cannot admit that ch. 11 is superfluous.

1 I think that the words ἐν τοῖς should be omitted. They do not appear in Kε and Λε, the MSS to which in this book Rassow attributes the greatest importance (Forschungen über die Nikomachische Ethik, p. 7). For the omission of the relative of, see Madvig's Greek Syntax, § 101. If the words in question are retained, the clause must be construed as though it were ἐν ὧν δὲ ἔχοντι ἐκ τῶν ἄγαθών καὶ ἐλευθερών kur. &c. Should we read δὲ instead of ἐκ? At present ἐστὶ has no evident subject.
I turn now to 6 §§ 1—3. These sections, as is acknowledged by nearly all the scholars who have attempted to unravel the perplexities of this book, seriously interrupt the argument. As the text stands, 5 § 19 declares that the investigation of δίκαιος, δικαία, δίκαιον and δήδικον regarded καθόλου is now complete; while 6 § 4 begins an investigation of the kinds of δίκαιον called respectively πολιτικόν, δεσποτικόν, πατρικόν, οἰκονομικόν; and the introductory sentence—
δεί δὲ μὴ λαυθάνεω ὅτι τὸ ξηπτούμενον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἀπλῶς δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον—carefully marks the connection of this inquiry with the inquiry concluded in ch. 5. Any intervening sentences must be either explanatory of the previous discussion, or explanatory by anticipation of 6 § 4 sqq., or, if purely parenthetical, complete in themselves. Now it is impossible to connect §§ 1—3 either with 5 § 19 or with 6 § 4: and when we consider them by themselves, apart from the context, we find that the author (1) in 6 §§ 1, 2, starting from the new assumption that ὁ δῆδικὼν is not necessarily δήδικος, asks a question, demurs to the form of it, and alleges examples in justification of his objection, but does not restate the question or proceed to enunciate his doctrine, although in the words ἀλλ' οὖ διὰ προαιρέσεως ἄρχῃ he has implicitly established a basis for it; and (2) in 6 § 3 introduces a reference to a former discussion, which reference is irrelevant not only to 6 §§ 1, 2, but also to 5 § 19 and 6 § 4. I conceive then that the passage does not occupy its proper position, and that it consists of two distinct fragments, one of which, §§ 1, 2, belongs in thought, as Trendelenburg (Historische Beiträge zur Philosophie, III. 421) has pointed out, to ch. 8, whilst the other, § 3, contains at first sight no hint of its origin. I proceed to deal with these fragments separately and in detail; and first with §§ 1, 2.

I have already said that the distinction between ὁ δῆδικὼν and ὁ δήδικος, which is introduced as though it were familiar to the reader, is here imported into the discussion for the first time. I may now add that, whereas the words οὖ διὰ προαιρέσεως ἄρχῃ are not noticed in the margin of the Venetian edition of 1550. Michael Ephesius paraphrases §§ 1, 2, but not § 3.
σεως ἀρχὴν ἄλλα διὰ πάθος read as though the distinction between τὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως and τὰ διὰ πάθος had been already enforced, that distinction has not been brought before us in connection with the present subject. It has also been stated that the author after asking the question ὅ ποια ἀδικήματα ἀδικῶν ἦδη ἀδικός ἦστιν ἐκάστην ἀδικίαν; objects to the form of the question, prepares to answer it in its spirit if not in its letter, but strangely stops short and drops the matter. Now in ch. 8 we find (1) that προαιρέτα and ἀπροαιρέτα (i.e. ὅσα διὰ θυμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πάθη) are carefully distinguished in 8 § 5; (2) that the distinction between ὅ ἀδικῶν and ὅ ἀδικός is introduced, apparently as a novelty, in 8 § 8; and (3) that the very question asked in 6 § 1, not having been restated in the interval, is declared answered in 8 § 11, upon the principle hinted at but not distinctly enunciated in the former passage. Hence I infer that the fragment 6 §§ 1, 2 is to be inserted in ch. 8 somewhere between ὅν μέντοι πω ἀδικοὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πονηροὶ (§ 8) and ἀν ἐκ ὅποιος ἀποκλίνεται θυμὸν καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδικοῦσιν μὲν, καὶ ἀδικήματά ἦστιν, οὐ μέντοι πω ἀδικοὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πονηροὶ οὐ γὰρ διὰ μοχθήριαν ἢ βλάβην ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦστιν ἀδικοῦντα μήπω ἀδικοὺς εἶναι, ὅ ποια

8. ὅταν δὲ εἰδὼς μὲν μὴ προβουλεύσας δέ, ἀδικήμα, ὅσον ὅσα τε διὰ θυμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πάθη ὅσα ἀναγκαία ἢ φυσικὰ συμβαίνει 1 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ταύτα γὰρ βλάπτοντες καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδικοῦσιν μὲν, καὶ ἀδικήματά ἦστιν, οὐ μέντοι πω ἀδικοὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πονηροὶ οὐ γὰρ διὰ μοχθήριαν ἢ βλάβην ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦστιν ἀδικοῦντα μήπω ἀδικοὺς εἶναι, ὅ ποια

Thirdly, it is an ἀδικήμα when a man βλάπτῃ another knowingly but not deliberately; for instance, harms done under the influence of anger or any other unavoidable or natural passion: when men do harm or wrong in this manner they ἀδικοῦσιν, and the acts are ἀδικήματα, but the perpetrators are not necessarily ἀδικοὶ or πονηροὶ, the

1 I have expunged the commas after τάθη and φυσικὰ, thinking that the second ὅσα is the subject of συμβαίνει. If the first ὅσα were the subject of συμβαίνει, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις would be unmeaning and superfluous.
have introduced these words from 6 § 4. Münsscher points out that they are wholly irrelevant to that passage, and proposes to place them after ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων at the end of 6 § 2. They would make good sense in that place, but it seems to me that they are urgently required after διοίκησις. In fact when I was paraphrasing these sections, before I had made up my mind to insert these words in the text, I found that I could not make the meaning clear without inserting an equivalent for them, as indeed Michael Ephesius has done. It will be observed that the structure of the sentence is improved, as μὲν finds its proper correlative in τὸ of the clause introduced.

I have written οὖ κλέπτης on the authority of Κ¹ and Π² (Vaticanus). Οὕτω κλέπτης is hardly intelligible, even if with Münsscher we expunge οὖδὲ μοιχὸς ἐμοίχευσε δὲ so that οὐδὲ may introduce an example supplementary to the one already adduced. As Bekker's text stands, οὐδὲ cannot bear its proper meaning.
II. If a man harms another εκ προαιρέσεως, he adikei and
forgetfulness which results from anger.

1 ανδικη has no antecedent. Should we read ου γαρ ὡσπερ οι εν τοις συναλλαγμασι;?
2 αν μη δια λήθην αυτο δρωσιν. These words are commonly understood to refer to the two parties concerned in a συναλλαγμα. If this interpretation is correct, the transition from the singular των έτερων to the plural δρωσιν is strangely abrupt. I take the clause to refer to ο δρψαια and ο δρψαελες, who do not dispute the fact unless they do it through forgetfulness, i.e. the

but when a man adikei εκ προαιρέσεως, he is adikei και μοχθηρος.

Hence τα έκ θυμων are rightly held not to proceed εκ προνοιας. For (1) it is not ο θυμων ποιην who αρχει, but the man who gives the provocation. Moreover, the question is one not of fact but of δικαιον, anger arising at the appearance of δικαια. Here the parties do not dispute the fact,—as they do in συναλλαγματα, where one or other must be μοχθηρος,—unless they do it through forgetfulness; but, agreeing about the fact, they dispute on which side right lies (ποτερω δικαιον). And (2) ο έπιβουλευσας, the vengeful man, is obviously not ignorant of the fact; but thinks he has been wronged, whereas the other denies it.

But if a man harms another εκ προαιρέσεως, he adikei and

for obliviousness which results from anger.

Mr Bywater (Journal of Philology, v. 115) anticipates me in the remark that ο έπιβουλευσας is to be explained from the ninth book of the Laws; where, as here, a distinction is made between ο θυμων ποιην and ο έπιβουλευσας, the cases of both being included in τα έκ θυμοδ.
The train of thought of §§ 6—11 is then as follows:—'The

The train of thought of §§ 6—11 is then as follows:—'The

When the agent is mpoeddwevos, he adixet Kat

It will be observed, (1) that the fragment inserted accounts

clear from the parallel statement in

Not certain specified acts, but

These last words do not refer exclusively to 'ό δίκως who is also δίκος,' and therefore cannot constitute the distinction required; but are part of the definition of το ἐν μέρει δικών. Cf. 4 §§ 2, 3, where it is stated that το δικόν το ἀντικείμενον το διανοητικῷ δικαίῳ ἐστιν το ἄνθρωπον, and that το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου το ἀνθρώπου, and το τοῦ δικαίου τo ύπο. 1 1 1 1 1
for the transition from the plurals δίκαιος, πονηρός in 8 § 8 to the singulants δίκως, μοχθηρός in 8 § 9; and (2) that the phrase διὰ προσωφήσεως ἀρχήν in 6 § 1 leads up to the emphatic ἀρχεῖ in the last sentence of the second of these sections. These coincidences may seem in some measure to confirm my conjecture.

So much for the first of the two fragments of which I suppose 6 §§ 1—3 to consist. It is more difficult to dispose of the second. We may however assume from the form of it—πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον εὑρηται πρότερον—that it is the beginning of a distinct paragraph, whilst it is evident that this allusion to the investigation of τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς would be specially appropriate at the beginning of a subsequent chapter upon an offshoot of justice. Indeed it is difficult to imagine any other circumstances under which the reminder would be required. I propose therefore to insert the fragment at the beginning of the chapter upon equity1. No inconsistency or awkwardness is created by the transfer. The opening sentence of ch. 10 will now run thus:

πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον εὑρηται πρότερον, περὶ δὲ ἐπιεικείας καὶ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς, πῶς ἔχει ἢ μὲν ἐπιεικεῖα πρὸς δικαιοσύνην τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικὲς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον, ἐχέμονον ἐστὶν εὐπείν, οὕτε γὰρ ὡς ταῦτον ἀπλῶς οὖθ' ὡς ἐπερον τῷ γένει φαίνεται σκοπουμένοις, κ.τ.λ. The question here arises—Where are we to place the investigation of ἐπιεικεία together with the heading which I have prefixed to it? In my opinion it should stand immediately before 11 § 10 at the end of the book. This arrangement justifies the distance of the reference to what has been said previously (πρότερον) about τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς, and is in other respects a perfectly natural one. It agrees at least as well as the received arrangement with that of the corresponding passage of the Magna Moralia.

I think that when these changes have been effected the several matters discussed in the book follow one another in a natural and orderly sequence. In ch. 1, (1) certain popular

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1 According to Sir A. Grant, Spengel so far anticipates me as to place ch. 10 after 6 § 3. In his Aristotelische Studien however Spengel adopts Hil-
notions about justice and injustice are stated, criticized, and accepted, modified or rejected: (2) the relations of the just and the unjust, the just and justice are considered: (3) the just is shown to include the lawful and the equal: (4) the just in the sense of the lawful is subdivided into ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀρετὴν and ὁ ποιητικὸν καὶ φυλακτικὸν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῇ πολιτικῇ κοινωνίᾳ.

In ch. 2 (1) our attention is directed to ἦ ἐν μέρει δικαιοσύνη, the discussion of which is necessary to the completeness of our theory of the virtues: (2) ἦ κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνη is subdivided into ὁ διανεμητικόν and ὁ διορθωτικόν. In ch. 3, distributive justice is shown to consist in that kind of equality which is attained by geometrical proportion. In ch. 4, corrective justice is shown to consist in that kind of equality which is attained by arithmetical proportion. In ch. 5, (1) commercial justice is shown to consist in that kind of equality which is attained by reciprocal proportion: (2) the general investigation of δικαιοσύνη, ἀδίκεια, δίκαιον, and ἀδίκον is declared complete. In ch. 6, we leave ὁ ἀπλῶς δίκαιον and proceed to consider ὁ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον together with ὁ καθ’ ὁμοίωτητα δίκαια, viz. δεσποτικῶν, πατρικῶν, ὀἰκονομικῶν. In ch. 7, two elements of ὁ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον, viz. ὁ φυσικὸν and ὁ νομικὸν, are distinguished. In ch. 8, we pass on to the investigation of justice and injustice in the individual, who (1) ὁ ἄδικει unless he is ἐκῶν, (2) ὁ ἄδικος ἐστιν unless he acts ἐκ προαιρέσεως. In ch. 9 §§ 1—13 and ch. 11 supplementary ἀπορλαι in regard to ἄδικεῖν and ἄδικεσθαι are discussed. Finally in ch. 10, ἐπιείκεια and its relations to justice are considered.

To the question which at this point suggests itself—How did these dislocations arise?—I can give only a general answer. I conceive that in some ancient roll, from which all the extant MSS are derived, several columns were misplaced, one or two of these misplaced columns being also torn. How far the confusion so caused may have been increased by attempts to restore the true order, it is impossible to say. But in any case the amount of injury necessary to account for the supposed dislocations is less considerable than might at first sight appear.

1 See Journal of Philology, iv. 812 sqq.
It now only remains for me to tabulate my arrangement of the book as follows:

1 §§ 1—3. **περὶ δὲ—ταῦτα.**
9 §§ 14—16. **οἱ δ'—όδι.**
1 §§ 4—9. **οὐδὲ γὰρ—ἀγαθά.**
9 § 17. **ἐστὶ δὲ—ἐστιν.**
1 § 10—5 § 19. **ὁ δ'—καθόλου.**
6 § 4. **δεὶ δὲ—ἀδίκου.**
6 § 4—8 § 8. **τοῦτο δ'—βλάβη.**
6 § 1. **ἐπεὶ—δυσοίσει;**
6 § 4. **ἐν οἷς δ'—ἀδικία.**
6 §§ 1, 2. **καὶ γὰρ—ἄλλων.**
8 § 9—9 § 13. **ἐπεῖν δ'—ἐλαβεν.**
11 §§ 1—9. **πρῶτοι—τούτωι.**
6 § 3. **πώς μὲν—πρῶτοι.**
10 §§ 1—8. **περὶ δὲ—ἐξει.**
11 § 10. **περὶ μὲν—τούτων.**

**HENRY JACKSON.**
ON PSEUDO-ARCHAIC WORDS AND INFLEXIONS IN THE HOMERIC VOCABULARY, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ANTIQUITY OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.

(Continued from Vol. V. no. 9, p. 114.)

I have endeavoured to show at some length, in the Prefaces to Homer's Iliad and elsewhere, that the alleged antiquity of the Iliad and the Odyssey, at least in the form in which we possess them, is liable to grave doubts, for reasons which still appear to me to be based on plain and incontrovertible facts. Independently of these reasons (the principal of which I shall now only briefly recapitulate), but strictly in confirmation of them, I propose in the present paper to offer some arguments derived from the language of Homer. If I am successful in throwing a doubt on the genuineness of many of the forms found in these poems, and in showing that in the use of others a confusion and uncertainty is observable, such as might be expected in the working up of old materials in new combinations, I furnish, of course, an additional evidence of the compilation of them in a much

1 Dr Hayman's Preface to Vol. II. of his Odyssey—though he says all that, perhaps, can be said on the side of the great antiquity of our texts, in which he agrees in the main with Mr Grote, Col. Mure, K. O. Müller, and still more cordially, perhaps, with Mr Gladstone's conclusions and convictions—has failed to remove my difficulties in receiving the ordinary account. Without being conscious of any special bias or any unfairness in dealing with this difficult question, I offer the following remarks simply as a literary contribution on the open field of friendly controversy. My views, in the main, of the composite nature of these poems are those of F. A. Wolf, except that I go further than he in detecting more general proofs of ῥωτήραμος. As the whole subject is necessarily far removed from the possibility of demonstration, I can only, of course, offer presumptive evidence, which will probably appear to different readers in very different lights.
later age than has commonly been supposed; an age in which, though much of the old spirit and genius of the epic bards re-

mained, imitation had set in, and a large importation of words from the later dialects had impaired and corrupted the genuine old ballad literature that for a very long period had been indefin-

itely assigned to a poet called Homer.

I am well aware that there are some who will not hesitate to refer any anomalies or inconsistencies in the Homeric lan-

guage to the “interpolations of late rhapsodists.” They think this is an easy way to get rid of all verbal difficulties, while it allows the general bulk and even form of these long poems to be as ancient as they would fondly imagine, viz. B.C. 850. And I may say for myself, that I held to this theory, till further reasoning and a more careful research convinced me that it sign-

nally failed to account for a large part of the evident modern-

isms that seemed to me to pervade the whole structure of our Homeric texts. There are others, and those not few, who are averse to any investigations, and refuse to hear evidence that requires them to reconsider and perhaps to resign their long-

cherished convictions. Some, again, seem little able to appre-

ciate a series of cumulative arguments, though they will admit the force of this or that particular objection. Still there re-

main some, as I apprehend, who will feel and acknowledge that it is a matter of no small literary interest to entertain the whole question honestly, and to reject reasonings upon it only if they appear to be unsound. From them I ask a fair hearing for an inquiry which cannot be deemed unimportant, since it affects intimately the whole subject of Grecian literature.

I will begin by stating in a very few words the precise po-

sition which I shall endeavour to maintain. It is simply this: that when, in a literary and writing age (from B.C. 450 to 400), the grander poems of the Iliad and the Odyssey had been ela-

borated out of the old materials and under (perhaps) really old titles1, the genuine old poems out of which they grew,—the poems which Pindar and the Tragic poets alone knew of, and which they so extensively used, came to be regarded as secondary, drop-

1 It will be observed that Iliad is an inappropriate title to a poem which turns mainly on the anger and subsequent prowess of Achilles.
ped comparatively out of notice, and so in later ages were referred to not as originals, but as supplements and imitations.

The general considerations, which tend to throw doubts on so remote an antiquity as B.C. 850, commonly assigned, on the sole authority of a statement of Herodotus (II. 53), to the Homeric poems as we have them, may be summed up as follows.

1. In the age of Pindar and the Tragics the subjects and persons connected with the tale of Troy were very much more varied and numerous. The legends which they had and the materials which they used were certainly not taken directly from our poems, the allusions to which are at once scanty and dubious. They were, as a rule, derived from epics which they must have regarded as their sole authority, or, in other words, which they followed as the Homer of their day. And these epics we can identify, not with our Homer, but with other poems that are known to have constituted the earlier and later portions of the so-called Epic Cyclus.

2. Precisely the same remark applies to the vase-paintings of the same period, many thousands of which, mostly recovered from ancient tombs, and now open to the examination of all, are stored in the great public Museums of Europe. They only occasionally illustrate our Homeric texts, but very often the "Tale of Troy" as known to the Tragics.

3. That the poets of the Periclean age did not possess subject of Ulysses and the Cyclops in Aristophanes and Euripides are any proof that they knew of our Odyssey. On the contrary, the statement of Sophocles (Aj. 1030), that Hector was killed by being tied to the ear of Achilles by the belt he had received from Ajax, is quite inconsistent with II. xxii. 397.

1 It is obvious, that if our Homeric poems were compiled by ἀρχαῖα αὑτῶν from older materials, some episodes in them will be more or less closely coincident with the tragic accounts. But it is an illogical conclusion to assume that, because of such occasional coincidences, the tragedies must have been taken from "Homer" as we have him, e.g. because Thersites is mentioned in the Philoctetes of Sophocles, (442,) and the exchange of gifts between Hector and Ajax (II. vii. 303) in the play of that name, therefore he must have had before him the accounts given in the Iliad; or that the allusions to the hackneyed dramatic subject of Ulysses and the Cyclops in Aristophanes and Euripides are any proof that they knew of our Odyssey.

2 An excellent epitome of the whole "Tale of Troy" is given in Mr A. S. Murray's Handbook of Mythology, pp. 283—307. Such portions of it as can be collected from Pindar and the extant Greek plays, I have given in the Preface to Vol. II. of the Iliad.
Homer in the same form in which we have it, is further shown by their entirely ignoring, as it were, those very scenes and episodes which we regard as the chief beauties of the poet.

4. Plato is not only the first writer who cites or appeals to our Homeric texts with any definiteness, but he is the first to speak of reading and writing in our sense of the words¹.

5. The Iliad and the Odyssey are composed throughout on the principle of slight allusions to incidents, of which the Tragics evidently had a full and detailed account². And the way in which these allusions are made always presupposes the fuller story to be known to the reader or hearer.

6. The few incidents which are common to our Homeric texts and the Tragics (e.g. the dragging of Hector round the walls of Troy, the firing of the Grecian fleet, the drawing of lots for the duel between Hector and Ajax, the capture of the steeds of Rhesus, the return of Menelaus and the other heroes) show a difference of treatment³ which is an evidence that both came

¹ As far as I know, the earliest mention of reading books is in Aristoph. Ran. 1114 (n.c. 405), βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἔκατος μανθάνει τὰ δεξά, where the practice is distinctly spoken of as a novelty.

² Thus the early education and adventures of Achilles, his raids in the Troad, his death by the hand of Paris, the detention of the fleet at Aulis, the judgment of Paris, the carrying away of Helen, the wooden horse, the death of Memnon, the capture of Troy, suicide of Ajax, murder of Agamemnon, disguise of Ulysses as a beggar, the envoy to demand Helen, &c., and very many other of the primary Homeric stories current in the Periclean age, are only just touched upon in the lightest possible manner in our texts; while conversely many of the scenes which are primary in our poems, and have given them in an especial degree their great celebrity, are nowhere alluded to by Pindar or the Tragics, e.g. the meeting of Hector and Andromache (vi. 395 seqq., where ἐκπροδότης reads like a modernism), the lament of Andromache over Hector's death, Ulysses with Calypso, the transformations of Proteus (probably adapted from the older story of the transformations of Thetis, i.e. of the ever-changing sea), the palace of Alcinous, the recognition of Ulysses by Penelope, the slaughter of the suitors, the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon, the combat of Achilles and the river Xanthus, the funeral games in honour of Patroclus, the Διως ἀράγη in II. xiv. (a remarkable episode, very peculiar in style), the interview of the Envoys with Achilles in II. ix. &c.

³ In the Iliad Achilles dragged Hec- tor ἐρεί φθόνον ἥπεοι ἀνήρα, but in Soph. Aj. 1031, ἐς τ' ἀπεφευγων βίων. So the λαταί of Thetis in II. i. 505 differ from the petition in Pind. Ol. ii. 80.
from earlier and *variable* sources, i.e. the unwritten "Homer" of the rhapsodists, rather than that the tragic account was derived directly from our Homeric poems.

7. There are many evident *repetitions* of scenes and incidents (to say nothing of verses and passages) in our texts, which show a fluctuating ballad-literature from which our poems were made up. Thus, the deaths of Hector and Patroclus through supernatural agency, the funerals of Hector, Patroclus, and Achilles (in Od. xxiv), the lament of Briseis over the dead Patroclus (xix. 282) and of Andromache over the dead Hector (xxii. 477), the pedigrees of Glaucus (II. vi. 145) and of Aeneas (xx. 208)¹, the detention of Ulysses in precisely the same manner by Calypso as well as by Circe, the two cannibal giants Antiphates and the Cyclops, were probably due to the efforts of rival rhapsodists, and from them have found a place in the compilation of our texts. The transformations of Proteus, I have already remarked, seem a *replica* of the story of Thetis. And the celebrated description of the arms of Achilles in the 18th book of the Iliad has no recognition in Pindar or the Tragics, the older and more genuine account, of which this is a repetition or imitation, being that of the arms given to Peleus by the gods (Eur. El. 455—75, alluded to in Il. xvii, 84, and taken by Hector from the body of Patroclus.

8. The main topics, not to say the almost hackneyed themes, of the Tragics, occupy so subordinate a place (if indeed any place) in our Homer, that it seems impossible they should have looked to our poems as the source of their information². It is abundantly evident (especially from the titles of the lost plays) that they had the whole Trojan story before them, while our Iliad is a mere incident in it. The building of Troy, its

¹ Compare especially vi. 150, 195, with xx. 185, 213, coincidences which demonstrate that both followed some common story in the earlier epics.

² It has been argued, that the Tragics purposely avoided the field occupied by the immortal Homer. But *why* should three dramatic writers have agreed in following secondary and inferior poems? This was felt to be a difficult question by Aristotle himself (Poet. Chap. 28). K. O. Müller says (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 66) that the Cyclic poets "built upon particular allusions in Homer, and formed from them long passages of their own poems." This is a pure assumption, and one that is remotely improbable.
ON SOME HOMERIC WORDS AND INFLExIONS. 119

capture by Hercules, the birth of Paris, his judgment of the rival goddesses, his building of the fleet and carrying off of Helen, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the oaths of the suitors, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the consequent vengeance of Clytemnestra on Agamemnon and of Orestes on his mother, the capture and burning of Troy by Philoctetes and Neoptolemus, the woes of Priam, Hecuba, Andromache, Electra, the return of the heroes, the carrying off and disposal of the captives, the death of Neoptolemus,—these were the subjects of the "Homer" of B.C. 450, whether we choose to call them "Cyclic" or "Homeric."

9. Conversely, if the Iliad and Odyssey have frequent allusions to the stories more fully worked out in the tragedies, it is natural and reasonable to suppose they were made up from the same sources as the tragedies themselves.

10. It is nearly certain that no written Greek literature existed before, or much before, the middle of the fifth century B.C. And as so many other poems on Troy unquestionably coexisted, and were orally recited as the works of a bard called

1 Alluded to in I. v. 640, xx. 145.
2 In the time of Thucydides, circa B.C. 410, "Ομήρος began to be applied distinctively to the author (or authors) of the Iliad and Odyssey, while the older bards, who were no longer, as they had been in the time of Herodotus, called by the same general name of Homer, were classed anonymously as οἱ παπραλ, or οἱ παλαιοί τῶν ποιητῶν, a term which Thucydides uses several times (i. 5. 10. 11. 13. 21. vi. 2). In later ages, when the "Cyclus," including both of our Homeric poems, was arranged by (as it is generally thought) Alexandrine compilers, distinctive names were found, perhaps from local traditions, for those "Cyclic" poets whom we have been taught to consider post-Homeric and inferior imitators. We know that in the time of Herodotus all the ballad-poetry relating to the war of Troy as well as to that of Thebes went by the general name of "Homer." There is every probability that the "Catalogue" in the second book of the Iliad was taken directly from the Κύρη η Ενη, which seems to have been κατ' έξεχυσ the Homer of antiquity. The "Catalogue" was clearly the composition of a poet who was not an Asiatic, but was intimately acquainted, as a wandering bard might well be, with the geography of Upper Greece. Nothing can be clearer than that the compiler of the Odyssey made large use of the poem of the Νόστος. Indeed, the very words in Od. 1. 326, ὅ σ' ἀχαιών νόστον ἔδεικ, seem to point to this. The Agamemnon of Aeschylus is composed from the Κύρη η Ενη, and the Νόστος and the 'Iliou πέραι, but has no special allusion to our Homeric texts, the murder of Agamemnon, &c., being a commonplace of the older epics.
"Homer," the preservation of two special and primary poems (supposing them, against all internal evidence, to have then existed as such,) for four centuries, genuine and unmixed with the rest, is as nearly an impossibility as we can conceive anything to be. And this, of course, is a question independent of the mere powers of human memory to recite a certain number of verses.

11. When a demand for a written literature grew up with the increased facilities for writing and reading shortly before the age of Plato, an epitome or compilation, in a continuous and dramatised form, was made from the older epics, the name of Homer being, as a matter of course, retained for the author, and probably the names of older poems being selected as the titles,—the primary subjects of these compilations being the adventures of two heroes, Achilles and Ulysses. And in the time of Plato these two long written poems had entirely become the textus receptus,—the Homer of the Greek world, as they have ever since remained.

12. In order that these two poems should maintain their claim to a remote antiquity, on which their literary credit...
depended, it was necessary that they should preserve an archaic style and character, presenting the most marked differences from the dialects of the day\(^1\). Nevertheless, the descriptions of the armour, the war-chariots, the chariot-races, the details of the ships, the walls, the trenches\(^2\), &c., are in the main those of the age of Pericles, as can be shown by abundant existing records and monuments. So that, if the descriptions are really as old as B.C. 850, we are driven to conclude that a warlike and enterprising nation had made no advance or improvement in any of these matters for four centuries\(^3\).

13. The *euphemistic* language with which Helen is always spoken of in our poems, contrasted with the execration of her name commonly found in the Tragics, indicates that the superstition mentioned by Plato in the Phaedrus (p. 243) in connexion with the blindness of Stesichorus, was strongly prevalent when our poems were compiled\(^4\).

14. The minute and technical anatomical nomenclature in the Iliad seems to show that the writings or teachings of Hippocrates were familiarly known to the compiler of that poem, who appears to have been both a countryman and a contemporary of his\(^5\).

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1 It is very important here to remark, that Greek art affected antiquity in vase-paintings, sculptures of Athena with her aegis, Gorgon-heads, inscriptions written *βωτρήμιος*, and especially in oracles. Hence a *spurious Homer*, so far from being, as many think, a literary impossibility, is quite consistent with habitual Greek deception. The epics attributed to Orpheus are certainly spurious. The detection, of course, is difficult just in proportion to the skill of the compiler in the art of deception.

2 Compare the towered wall and fosse in Il. vii. 3838—41, with the description of Thucydides of the circumvallation (which he seems to have mistaken for the city wall) of Plataea in Book iii.

3 The description in Il. xxiii. 517, of the closeness of a horse's tail to the chariot-wheel, *exactly* coincides with, and indeed, curiously illustrates, the sculptured horse-cars on the frieze of the Parthenon. The accounts of the chariot-race in the above passage and in the Electra of Sophocles are as nearly as possible identical. But Sophocles merely described the custom of his time, and nowhere gives us reason to suppose he knew the Homeric account.

4 That it was a popular superstition, is shown by the Helena of Euripides (b.c. 415), which turns on the well-known story, introduced by Stesichorus, of the *εἴδωλον Εὔνας*. In the Cypria, Helen was represented as the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis (K. O. Müller, Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 68), and the Tragics clearly followed this account.

5 Thus in II. v. 305, *ἐνθα τε μηρὸς*
15. The language of our Homeric poems, though in the main archaic, is replete with words and idioms, not to say verb-forms, of the middle Attic period, which the influence of Athens on the Asiatic coast in the age of Pericles will sufficiently account for. And the violations of the now well-ascertained laws of the digamma are so frequent and so glaring, that no attempt to emend can satisfactorily remove them. They are due to the unskilfulness of rhapsodists in times when the digamma had become wholly disused, and was only traditionally retained in imitation of the genuine old epics.

16. Allusions occur, as it would seem, to historical events in the 5th century B.C., e.g. to the destruction of Mycenae by the Argives in 468 (Il. iv. 53), and the building of the Erechtheum on the Athenian Acropolis.

Against these, and indeed several other minor, yet not less valid arguments, it is pleaded,

1. That Herodotus expressly says “Homer lived 400 years before himself.”

1 ἐσχίῳ ἐντρέφεται, κοπόλην δέ τὲ νῦν καλόνοις, the subject to καλόνοις must be οἱ τέχνην ἐχοντης, not οἱ παλα-μοντες. But shall we say that human anatomy was a τέχνη as early as B.C. 850? Let the student thoughtfully examine the following passages; II. v. 67. 73. 306. 579; viii. 325; x. 424; xii. 546. 569. 651; xvii. 315; xxii. 325—8. Can we believe that such a phrase as ὀμοῖος ἐπινεφρίδιος (xxi. 204), “the fat on the kidneys,” belongs to a primitive form of language? To these might be added certain astronomical passages, as xviii. 486—9, xxii. 29, which might seem to reflect the teaching of Anaxagoras, but that Hesiod might be quoted in evidence of an early astronomical nomenclature.

1 Precisely the same partial use of the digamma is found in Theocritus, Apollonius, and other late epic poets. In fact, this affectation of a digamma-use, very imperfectly as it is carried out, is to me one of the most decisive proofs of pseudo-archaism.

2 Od. vii. 81, οὖν Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδεῖν Ἒρεχθεώς πυκνῶν δόμων, where the epithet πυκνῶν, “built of closely-fitted stones,” perhaps indicates a contrast with an earlier and much ruder temple of the masonry known as “Cyclopian.” See also II. ii. 547. The references in II. ix. 381, 405, to the wealth of Orchomenus, Egyptian Thebes, and Delphi, can hardly be earlier than Herodotus.


4 To which it may be fairly objected (a) That the statement is a mere guess, and in accordance with the fondness of the Greeks for giving precise dates, and for claiming a great antiquity. (b) That his placing Hesiod
2. That the language generally as well as the syntax is evidently very archaic.

3. That the scant mention of riding, of working iron; the non-mention of laws, of writing, of slaves (δοῦλοι), of coining, of cock-crowing; the primitive descriptions of heroes’ tents, their meals, the palaces of the chiefs, the small knowledge of any geography but that of the Asiatic coast, the allusions to Phoenician traders and Phoenician arts, all point to a really great antiquity.

4. That the generally chaste and virtuous manners described in our Homer are evidences, not of a philosophic and ethical conception of character, but of a real primitive innocence such as the “Juventus Mundi” may actually have exhibited.

5. That no record of any compiler, other than the general name of “Homer,” has come down to us as the author of such great and celebrated poems as the Iliad and the Odyssey. This, it is said, is quite incredible in itself.

The primary object of the present paper is to show that the second argument,—a very important one, of course,—derived from the archaic forms of language, is deceptive. I shall maintain, in the same category goes very far indeed to show that he really knew nothing about it. (c) That the assertion on the passage, that “Homer and Hesiod composed the theogony for the Greeks, and gave names to the gods,” though it may suit the Kypria ἔτη, certainly does not fall in with our Iliad and Odyssey. K. O. Müller (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 68) remarks that the Cypria “had much of a rude attempt at philosophising on mythology.”

1 Π. xvi. 684; Od. v. 371.
2 But ἀναφέρονται occurs in II. vi. 475, διώκεις and δομωι in the Odyssey.
3 Prof. Geddes, on Plat. Phaed. p. 265 (note v).
4 I see no great improbability in a suggestion I formerly made (though I lay no stress upon such a mere guess), that Antimachus of Colophon, a contemporary and countryman of Herodotus, (whose language presents such marked and numerous affinities to the language of the Iliad,) and who is known to have been an “editor” of Homer (Wolf, Prolegom. § 39), was the real διασκευασθης or διορθωτης of the Iliad in its present form. That some verses of Antimachus are preserved as distinctively his, proves nothing. It is evident that no compiler would allow the work to bear any other name than “Homer.” The editorial name would have been eclipsed by the greater name, and become, as it has become, irrevocably lost, though a dim tradition of Antimachus (as afterwards of Aristotle) as “editor” of Homer has survived.
that a very old and almost infinitely versatile epic vocabulary, and even old verses and old episodes, with some modifications, could very easily be re-combined, re-adjusted, altered, enlarged, added to, and even altogether re-modelled, by a set of professional men, characteristically called "fitters" and "botchers," ἰαψῳδοὶ and τέκτονες ὑμνοῦν, even up to the age of Plato.

That these epic reciters made not merely a boast of, but a trade and a livelihood by, their memory and skill, is no matter of guess, but is distinctly attested by Plato and Xenophon. We know also, not only from the clever imitations of the oracles and of Homeric verses so frequently composed in joke by Aristophanes, but from the works of the late epic poets, e.g. Apollonius Rhodius, Quintus Calaber, Musaeus, &c., that an archaic jargon (not to use the term in a disparaging sense) existed, of so varied and flexible a kind as to form at once a ready and an inexhaustible store of word-material to epic reciters and composers. It was so essentially a verse-dialect, that, like the pieces of coloured glass in a kaleidoscope, turn it which way you would, it fell into shape, and produced patterns that easily passed for antique in a wholly uncritical age. Now this dialect, though in its general character archaic, was undoubtedly subject to the same general laws which govern all language; it was liable to endless modifications by constant accretion and additions. It was the "Homeric" dialect; and as such, i.e. as an old verse-dialect distinct from the more

1 e.g. the long stories told by Nestor in Book x. and elsewhere, that about Meleager in the ninth Book, &c. These were old Achaean ballads, totally alien to the general tenour of the Iliad, but worked into it by the compiler to vary the interest. The constant reference to the birth and adventures of Hercules clearly comes from the same sources.

2 Pind. Pyth. iii. 113. Plato, Iou (passim). Xen. Conviv. iii. 6, and Memorabb. ry. 2, 10. On the ἰαψῳδοῖς, or "revisers" of the Homeric texts, before the Alexandrines, see Wolf, Proleg. § 34.

3 It is difficult to read the later epic poets without strongly feeling this. Apollonius and Q. Calaber show marvellous versatility, and had they lived at a much earlier age, their language, as we have it, would never have been questioned, but accepted as truly archaic. This being granted, we must admit how easy it was for the Homeric ἰαψῳδοῖ to assert the genuineness of long episodes, composed, in fact, by themselves.
modern prose-dialect, or the language of current literature and conversation, it had a separate existence in a sense, but it was not therefore unalterable during some hundreds of years. So long as Homerids and Rhapsodists lived and sang, the language they used was in effect a living, though an old-fashioned language.

Now, if it can be shown (as I think it can) that some of these Homeric forms were partially misunderstood, and that a not unfrequent misuse and confusion of them may be detected by a critical examination of the language of the Iliad and the Odyssey; then this fact, combined with the large admixture of apparently late words and idioms, and the frequent misuse of the digamma, will go far to shake our confidence in the alleged vast antiquity of our Homeric texts. The question of their genuineness will have to be reconsidered; and all lovers of plain truth will be called upon to make a decision, founded not on sentiment, but on sound logical induction.

Let us first appeal to common sense, and put this plain question. Is it possible to conceive that poems so long, so complex, so comprehensive in their plan, as the Iliad and the Odyssey, should have descended to us pure, separate and distinct from the numerous coexisting epics on the same subjects and the same heroes, though for at least four centuries (if there is any truth in the date assigned by Herodotus) none of these

1 The old prose dialect, as we see in Herodotus, and indeed in Thucydides as compared with Demosthenes and even with Plato, had a large admixture of poetic forms, inflexions, and phrases.

2 The weight of mere authority over ordinary minds is something well-nigh irresistible. Even now, when inquiry on almost every subject is rife, and philology has made such great advances, it seems to many a plain literary heresy and a heartless scepticism, not to say an unwarrantable presumption, to call in question the genuineness of poems which no one has expressed any serious doubts about for more than two thousand years! We may however feel certain that no critical examination of the Homeric language was made before the age of the Alexandrines, who were prepossessed with a reverential conviction that Homer was Homer. We know that even in Plato's time (Phaedr. p. 252 ν) rejected verses, ἀπόθετα ξη, were in circulation; and the editorial liberties taken long afterwards by Zeno notus and Aristarchus, as frequently recorded in the Venetian Scholia, prove beyond a doubt how late was, at least, the formation and redaction of our Homeric texts.
poems existed in writing at all? Is it possible to conceive that half a dozen rivers should flow into a lake, and yet the waters of two of them,—the largest, it may be,—should pass through unmixed with the rest? The very fact, known to us from Herodotus, that other epics than those which we possess (viz. the Epigoni and the Cypria) were in his time attributed to Homer, leaves us not a hope that such a separation could have continued, and that too in all the cities of "sporadic" Hellas, and with all the rhapsodists of Asia, Italy, Attica, and the Peloponnese. For there does not seem to have been with them any critical separation of Homeric from non-Homeric, which was a figment of later times, due entirely to the absorbing popularity attained by our poems.\footnote{The "Little Iliad," said to have been composed by Lesches, was attributed by many to Homer (K. O. Müller, Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 66). There can be no question that the Tragies, who borrowed very largely from this poem, as from the Cypria and the \textit{Néstor}, regarded them all as "Homer."}

The Homeridae, we know, were a class or clan of professional rhapsodes who pretended to an hereditary knowledge as well as claimed the sole custody of the Homeric poems. Were there no impostors among these men, or no rival geniuses? Was pseudo-archaism in vase-painting wholly unknown? Was there no false antiquity assigned to oracles and inscriptions on \textit{αναθηματα} at Delphi and elsewhere? Is then the mere pretense and assertion of a great antiquity of any high value in the face not only of strong improbability, but of combined internal and external evidence\footnote{`Oμηριδας, \textit{παπτων} \textit{επεων \ιαδοι,} Pind. Nem. ii. 1.} in the opposite direction?

Or, to take another line of inquiry,—is there no charm in novelty itself? Is it not conceivable that, as Chaucer and Shakespeare worked up old tales and traditions, so the \textit{Troica} were recombined and reproduced in countless forms, and that (by what we have learnt to call the law of natural selection) the best, even though the latest, of these came uppermost and finally put out of existence the rest?

This view indeed derives some support from the language of
the Odyssey itself. In a verse which not only directly violates the law of the digamma, and therefore cannot be very ancient, but contains a Platonic adverb, probably of the later Attic dialect, (Od. i. 10,) the Muse is thus invoked,—

τὸν ἄμονον γε, θεὰ θύγατερ Δίως, εἰπὲ καὶ ἦμιν.

The only reasonable interpretation of καὶ ἦμιν is, "tell it to us also, as it has been told to others before." And with the same kind of consciousness on the part of the writer that novelty had its charms, we read in Od. i. 351

τὴν γὰρ άουδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσαν' ἀνθρώπωι,

♀ητὶς ἀκούοντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφισβήται.

A full examination of the Homeric language would possibly require a volume as large as Buttmann's Lexilogus¹. All that I can hope to do in a brief space is to point out such inconsistencies and anomalies in the Homeric vocabulary as tend to show that much at least of what we have is, in the main, the later work of a pseudo-archaic compiler.

I shall pass over at present a rather large class of words which I consider characteristic of the fully-developed language of the Periclean age, and to have no pretension whatever to belong to the archaic or heroic period. They are such words as we find in familiar colloquial use in the time of Aristophanes, and seem, for the most part, of Attic rather than Ionic stamp. Such are, παππάξειν compared with the Aristophanic πατερίξειν, 'to say Papa'; κέλης, 'a riding-horse,' κέλητιξειν, 'to ride on horse-back,' πλίσσεσθαι, 'to amble as a mule,' χυτλούσθαι (χυτ- λάξεϊ Arist.), 'to anoint at the bath,' Χοίνξ, 'a corn-measure,' μετοκλάξειν (οκλαδίας Arist.), 'to rest alternately on one knee,' ἔλεον, 'a meat-tray,' ἑμερίς, 'a cultivated vine,' κυκέων, ἐρανος, εὐαγγέλιον, σκότιος = νόθος, δεταλ, ταδεα, κνήστις, 'a cheese-knife,' ὁμοῦ, 'a mortar,' the use of ἄηρ for 'air' (as distinct from

¹ A large part of the Lexilogus is taken up with the endeavour to reconcile and explain inconsistencies of usage. Buttmann never seems to have been troubled with any serious doubt about the genuineness of our texts. The idea does not appear to have occurred to him. The view I have advocated furnishes, of course, a short and ready way out of the verbal labyrinth in which he found himself (sometimes hopelessly) entangled.
'mist,' II. xiv. 288, Ar. Pac. 750), σχίζαι, 'pieces of split wood,' οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρίαμου, 'Priam and his friends,' III. 146, κανῶν, 'a bar across a shield,' and 'a stick' used in weaving (VIII. 193, XXIII. 761, Ar. Thessm. 822—5), ἀνθρακία, 'a heap of embers,' τεκταίνω, 'to plan and plot,' περιδόθανα τίνος, 'to wager,' μὴ ὄφελε γενόσθαι, δειπνεῖν ἐν ὥρᾳ, 'to take an early dinner,' ἐκεῖνοι, 'the other side,' 'the enemy' (XVIII. 188), σάλπυξ, σπόγγος, χόανος (χρώνη), τροχεῖς κεραμίκος, ὅπος, 'verjuice,' κῆπος, 'a pleasure-ground,' ἐπαλξῖς, 'a battlement,' the stadium end and the terminal pillar (XXIII. 332), ἑπίδοναι (ἐπίδοσις), 'a free gift' (XXIII. 559), μολύβδαινα (μόλυβδος), κέραμοι for 'wine-jars'; to which may be added, the minute description of the parts of a chariot with wheels of eight spokes and iron axle, in v. 722—30, the offering of the Peplus to Athene, vi. 90, the writing ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ, vi. 169 (whatever the nature of the writing may be supposed to have been), κρύασθαι ὑνεῖροι, 'to interpret dreams,' &c. It may always be said, and some will think with force, that we cannot prove that such words did not belong to the archaic vocabulary of B.C. 850. For this reason I shall also dismiss without further discussion, and simply record as suspected, a class of philosophic words, implying mental states, and very much used by Plato and Aristotle, e.g. ἀφίσανες, δειλαίνεις, μωραίνεις, χαλεπαίνεις, κροαίνες, βλεμαίνεις, μαργαίνεις, δραίνεις, ὁρμαίνεις, θαυμαίνεις, μενεάινεις, κυάνειν. I shall not dwell further on the numerous anatomical terms, to which I have already alluded, nor collect all the examples of Atticisms, such as ὅτε μὲν, ὅτε δὲ ὅτα ἄλλατε, = ἐνιοτε, ἐπίτηδες, ἀμώδεν, σπουδὴ = μόλις, αἰκὸς for ἀείκοσ, εἴναι for 'soldiers' quarters,' εἶκεν for ἔσκει簸, —of adjectives of frequent occurrence in the Attic writers, as γενναῖος, ἄλλοιος, πεμπταῖος, ἄσσα for ἂ τινα, or of such forms as ὁ αὐτὸς, 'the same,' ὀσκίς, quotiens, ὅψεν for ἔδέσσεν (II. XVIII. 100, Ar. Ran. 265); such futures as ἄεικω, κτεριοῦσι, ἐπαγλαίεσθαι, κρεμὼν ὕφοι, ἐλώσι for ἐλωσί, ἀντιγών for ἀντίγων, which seem to represent, in a pseudo-archaic form, the Attic ἐλῶ, σκεδῶ, δαμῆ for δαμάσει. In II. XXIII. 361, μεμνέω is like a pseudo-epic imitation of the Attic optatives μεμνήσθην and κεκλήθην, and so βιῶσι (II. XI. 467) is suspiciously like the Platonic θεότο and αἰτιώτο. I cannot believe
that such forms as ἀεικῖσσασθαί or ἐταιρίσσασθαι or ἐτοµμάσσατο or ὀμηγυρίσσαθαι or ὀπάσσαθαι τιν, 'to take one as a comrade,' were part of the vocabulary in use four centuries before the time of Herodotus, and two or three centuries earlier than the smallest scrap of a Greek inscription has ever been found. I feel morally certain that a long list of words in -άξω and -ίζω (active and middle) was the coinage of quite a late period, and adopted from their expressiveness and metrical convenience,—accretions, as it were, to the old epic vocabulary. The following will suffice as specimens; πτωσκάζειν, 'to play the beggar,' προμαχίζειν, προποδίζειν, πολεμίζειν, πελεμίζειν', κτειτίζειν, μοχθίζειν, πειρητίζειν, κεραίζειν, ἐναρίζειν, καπνίζειν, θαμίζειν, αἰτίζειν, ὀφρίζειν, ὀχλίζειν, ἀδικίζειν, στροφαλίζειν, δυσπαλίζειν, ἐγγυαλίζειν, μακαρίζειν,—words of sound, formed by onomatopoeia, as κοναβίζειν, καναχίζειν, μυνιρίζειν, κροταλίζειν, χρεμετίζειν, ἀνακυμβαλίαζειν,—ethical words, like ἀλεγίζειν, ἀθερίζειν, αἰτίζειν, ἐρατίζειν, and the medial forms of the like kind, ἄφοταλίζεσθαι, πληκτίζεσθαι, μετατροπαλίζεσθαι, κακίζεσθαι, οἰνίζεσθαι, αἰνίζεσθαι, νευμεσιζεσθαι, ὀπίζεσθαι, ἐταιρίζεσθαι, μεγαλίζεσθαι, ἀκάζεσθαι, ἀγκάζεσθαι, μεγάζεσθαι, γονατιζεσθαι. There are almost as many forms in -δύω, e.g. σκοπιάζειν, μιμώναζειν, ῥυστάζειν, ἵσαζειν, ἐλκυστάζειν, δικάζειν, νευστάζειν, ἀναδώζειν, ρητατάζειν, ἀβροτάζειν, πειράζειν, ἄλυσκάζειν, ἕγγαλαζειν, οἰνοποτάζειν, εἰλαπτινάζειν. Not one of these verbs, as it seems to me, has any pretension to be really archaic. But the Homeric language is so largely interspersed with them that, if the words are modern, we must conclude the whole text was recast and remodelled in late ages, i.e. not very long before the time of Plato. And this theory is perfectly compatible with a general archaic vocabulary and style of composition: the materials of our Homer, as well as a great part of the language, may really be very ancient, though the poems were wholly recast in order to make them intelligible at all to the Greeks of a literary age. To take a single instance; no one doubts for a moment the

1 That a few such words occur in Pindar, as μυραίνειν and ὄρασιν εἶναι occur in Aeschylus, is obviously no answer to an argument brought against an antiquity of four centuries earlier, especially as applied to a class of words, and not to isolated examples.
genuine antiquity of such a phrase as FevAlzrodes FédcKes Bods. But its use in Od. I. 92 ignores the digamma, μη' αδινα σφύζουσι και ειλιπόδας ἐλκας βοῦς, and is therefore a more recent adaptation.

Such unpoetic phrases as παραβάλλεται ψυχήν, 'to expose one's life to danger,' II. IX. 322, πουείσθαι παίδα, 'to adopt as a son,' ib. 495, are much more like the language of the rhetoricians; while the syntax ἐπὶ δόρων ἐρχεο, 'go, while gifts are to be had,' IX. 602, μάχης ἐπὶ, 'while the battle lasted,' XVII. 368, is almost peculiar to the Attic orators. In connection with the tradition that an έκδοσις of the Iliad was made by Aristotle, we may note two remarkable Homeric words casually occurring (i.e. without the least appearance of quotation) in the writings of Aristotle's pupil Theophrastus, μη' μ' ἀπογυμώσῃ, Π. VI. 265, and ἦταν γε τοὺς καθ' ἕνα ἀπογυμώσῃ, Char. XIX. (λαλία); and ζωρότερον τε κέρατε, II. IX. 203, compared with ζωρότερον πιεῖν in Char. XIV. (ἀγροκεία). The number of words of a peculiar kind, common to Homer and the Alexandrine poets, (especially to Nicander,) in itself proves nothing; but it is a fact to be well considered, in determining the amount of innovation possibly introduced into our Homeric texts in the Alexandrine period.

The shortening of the long vowels, in accordance with the ancient practice, would easily give rise to many words that passed as genuine, e.g. ἑσαν for ἤσαν, πάρεσαν, πρόσεσαν, ἀνεσαν, ἑστασαν for ἑστησαν (I. IV. 334), ὑπέρβασαν for ὑπερεβήσαν, ἠλεται for ἠληταί, &c. Still more clearly are such forms as ἐστάτε, ἐστητε, ἑστασαν (analogous to ἐστωκ), ἐπιδείτε (Opt.), ὀξε for ὥξε, ἐκίκως for ἐκικὼς, words of the Attic vocabulary. Again, such contractions as ἀποτρηματί (plural), δαινύτο for δαινύοτο (II. XXIV. 665), remind one of ξενηνύσι for ξενηνύσι (Eur. El. 1323) and διεσκεδαστίαι in Plat. Phaed. p. 77.B. The strange word τοῦδεσσι seems formed in imitation of the Attic νοι, οὕτῳ, ἐκείνῳ, &c., engraved on the familiar Ionic inflexion χείρεσσι, πελάγεσσι, &c. The use of μη with the indicative, as a form of

1 See, for instance, Dem. Mid. p. 515, 2; 523, 28, τὴν ἐπί τῶν ἱδίων ἄρ- κων πλεονεξίαν. Also 528, 44; 537, 70, τὴν ἐπί τοῦ βοηθεὶν ἄποδιδόναι χάρις.

2 ἐξώρων μέθυ occurs in Eur. Alc. 757. So ὑποβάλλειν, 'to interrupt,' II. XIX. 80, Theophr. Char. XIX.; ἐφαρμ. ἐπιβαλλόμενος, Π. VI. 68, 'eager for spoils,' an Aristotelean usage.
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oath, e.g. in II. x. 330, μὴ μέν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἰδίᾳ ἐποχὐσεται ἄλλος, and xv. 41, μὴ ἐὰν ἐμὴν ἱότητα Ποσειδᾶδον ἑνορίχθων πημαίνει Τρώας, is, as far as I know, peculiar to Homer and Aristophanes, and is much more likely to be of late than of early origin. The same remark applies to xix. 258—61, ἵστω Ζεὺς—μὴ μέν ἐγὼ κούρη Βρισηίδι χεῖρ ἐπενείκα, followed immediately by οὔτε—οὔτε. There are two remarkable uses of μὴ with a participle and optative, so similar that both would seem to have been derived from some common verse; Od. iv. 684,

μὴ μηψτεύσαντες μὴδ' ἄλλοθ' ὀμιλῆσαντες ἕστατα καὶ πῦματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δειπνήσειαν, and ibid. xi. 613,

μὴ τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσατο, ὥσε κεῖνον τελαμώνα ἐὴ ἐγκάτθετο τέχνη.

Such an idiom too as Od. xi. 290 seems more like the advanced Attic use,

οὔτε τι Νηλεύς τῷ ἐδίδομ, ὦς μὴ ἔλικας βόσα ἐυρυμετώπους ἐκ Φυλάκης ἐλάσει (qui non egisset).

Much might be said on the mixed use of the article, which is partly demonstrative (the “Homeric use,” as it is called), partly after the more refined and subtle Attic use, e.g. ὤ τε κόμη τὸ τε ἐδίδος, III. 55, ὤ γέρων Πρίαμος (xxi. 526), ἐμὲ τὸν δύστην (xxii. 59), τὸν ἐδο, swum, xxiii. 295, πεδίον τῷ Τροικῶν, (x. 11), πεδίον τῷ Ἀλήνῳ (vi. 201), Μυρμιδόνων τῶν ἄριστων (xviii. 10), ὥ κλυτὸς Ἀχιλλεύς (xx. 320). Such anomalies as οὔτε τὰ τεῦχεα καλὰ, xxii. 317, τὸν ξείνων δύστην, Od. xvii. 10, ὥ μοχλὸς ἐλάίνως, ib. ix. 378, τὰ μῆλα ταναίποδα, ib. 464, resulted, perhaps, from a pedantic and incorrect imitation of the archaic style.

I may add to the above a play on words and names which is very characteristic of the age of the drama, e.g. νηήσαι νῆς,

1 Eccl. 1000, Av. 194, Lysist. 918.

2 In II. i. 340, we should perhaps punctuate καὶ πρὸς τοῦ, βαυληῖος ἄρη-

loomberg, where the two last words are in apposition. In ii. 11, τὸν Χρήστην ἀγρι-

μασον ἄρῃσε, the syntax appears to involve a later use of the predicate, i.e. "he had slighted Chryses in his capacity of priest."

3 I have given many examples from Euripides in the Preface to Vol. I. of my edition.
All the above uses are either really ancient, and were reproduced in the Attic period, or they are later developments of language introduced in the compilation of our Homeric texts. No one, of course, can assert which view is the true one. It is a question only of probabilities, and it is given but as a confirmatory argument, not as in itself decisive.

If we may judge by the really early vase-paintings, i.e. those as early as B.C. 500, the old names were not Mevélas and 'AyiAevs, but Mevéras and 'Axsrevs. Here therefore metrical innovation may fairly be suspected, and the more so, as Pindar prefers the older forms.

There are two adverbial forms which appear to be almost certainly late corruptions or developments. One is δχα, in the not unfrequent combination δχ' αριστος, the other is ύπερμορα (ΠΠ. 155). It is very conceivable that there was an old epic termination ἔξοχα' αριστος, 'prominently and conspicuously brave.' For metrical convenience in other parts of a verse, ἔξοχα was afterwards clipped down to δχα, a word absolutely unmeaning; for, as Buttmann remarks, "take away the ἔξ, and you deprive the word of its significant part."

As for ύπερμορα, it follows the formation of the late Attic nouns ὁ παράλογος, ὁ ἀνάλογος, ὁ μετάμελος, and their adjectives and adverbs ἀνάλογος, ἀναλόγως, &c. They were, of course, at first prepositional clauses, that is, some act was done ἀνά or παρά λόγον, according to or against reason. Thus ύπερ μόρον, ύπερ αἰσιεν (XX. 30) were the old terms; but ύπερμορα= ύπερμόρως reads very like a late forgery.

Such words as ἐδανός in ΠΠ. xiv. 172, δέελος or δέελον in X. 466, and the occasional interchange or confusion of others, similar in form but quite distinct in origin, e.g. ἔδις or ηὗς 'brave,' ἔδις or ὄς σωμ, εὑτε and ηὗτε (III. 10), further support

1 The attempts to connect it with ἄχυρος are clearly wrong, since it is incredible that there should have been two formulae of different origin, ἔξοχα' αριστος and δχ' αριστος.
and justify the charge of pseudo-archaism. Some late rhapsode, in describing the fragrant oil with which Hera anointed herself, called it ἄμβροσίου and ἐδανός. He seems to have thought that, as ἡσαυ was often ἔσαυ, &c., he might use a form of ἥδος (σφαδ) after the analogy of μυγεδανός, ἦπεδανός, οὐτεδανός, with the η changed to é. It appears certain from the context that ἥδν is the sense required; and so Hesychius explained ἐδανός by εὐώδες, ἥδυ. But it is not less clear that ἐδανός is a false form of the word. Buttmann (Lexil. in v.) is quite perplexed by it. That ἐδανός should be a by-form of ἥδος he allows to have no analogy in its favour, because the root-vowel is ι, not ε. He then suggests that it may represent ἔδος or ἔς ‘good,—an old epithet which he recognises in the probably genuine, but obscure archaic phrase θεός ὑπήρες ἔων. But at the end, in a kind of despair, he comes back to the theory that, after all, ἄδανος may have become ἐδανός. But what are we to think of ἄδανος, a purely imaginary word, as a synonym of ἥδος?¹

It will be sufficient here to remark, that ἄμβρος ἐγος, ἐγος, ἐώο, are over and over again confused, as the senses of ‘brave son’ or ‘his (her) son’ seem to predominate. A careful perusal of Buttmann’s article in the Lexilogus on these words will show that the compiler of our text knew no clear distinction between them.

The passage in II. x. 466 seems to me a curious example of evident “botching.” It refers to Ulysses making a mark of a handful of reeds and twigs in order to recognise a certain tree on which he had hung up a war-spoil. The words are obscure, δέελον τ’ ἐτι σῆμα τ’ ἐθηκεν, where the grammarians took δέελον to mean δέσμυν, ‘a tie,’ as if from δέω. It is probable that some earlier verse had expressed “he put a plain mark on it,” but δῆλον, through its archaic form δέελον, was mistaken for a noun.

There is, in the Iliad especially, an uncertainty, and apparently a confusion, in the forms of verbs, which can hardly be accounted for on any other theory than that of compilation

¹ Not less difficult is ἐτεὶ χ’ ἔωνεν πολέμου, ‘when we are tired of war,’ in xix. 402. This is probably formed on a false analogy as from δω, satio, connected with δῶν, ad latim, ἄσαι, from the same or a closely cognate root as ἥδας. Hardly less strange seems the form ἄμεναι, xxi. 70, apparently intended to represent ἄμεναι.
(διασκεύασις) from old and imperfectly understood materials. Thus, we have ἐλασωθαυ, εἰσάμενος, εἰσάμενος, from a root Φσ or Φδ, confused, by the spurious addition of Φ, with the root Ι, ‘to go,’ e.g. καταφείσατο γαίης, XI. 358, "Εκτον ό άνω Αἰαντος εἴσατο, XV. 415, τω μὲν εἰσαύσθην, XV. 544. No philologer, I suppose, pretends to account for a digamma in ιέναι ‘to go’; and in fact we have ῥεία meteisάμενος and ὦ πη χροός εἴσατο in XII. 90, 191. So too, if ἐπιτετανός (ἐπιτετανός) is right, then ἐπετήσιος, Od. VII. 118, is wrong. Similarly, both ἐπιάμενος and ἐπιφάλμενος occur (Φαλ or Φαλ, σαλιο), both ἰδειν and Φιδεῖν, ἀπειπεῖν and ἀποφειπεῖν, II. XIX. 35, 75, ἐκαστός and Φέκαστος, ἵδως and Φηδως, ἀναζ and Φάναξ, θυγατέρα ἵν (σφην, ἱματ) and πρός ὰν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν, both υποδειλαστες and ύπεδειδέσαν (V. 521), where the δ is not merely doubled in arsi, but is due to an Φ or ϒ, as in ξενοῦς for ξενοῦς (Lexil. p. 355, Peile, Etymol. p. 299, ed. 1). If Φς is the root of the verb ‘to clothe,’ then λάμνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα in III. 57 must be a modernism. If ἑρύνω is Φερύνω (compare Lat. veru), as shown by the form αὔρυσαν (I. 459) for ἀπΦέρυσαν, then such verses as II. IV. 492, νέκυν ἐτέρωσ' ἐρύουντα, I. 141, υ'α μέλαιναν ἐρύσομεν, XVII. 635, ἥμεν ὑπώς τὸν νεκρὸν ἐρύσομεν, XXIII. 21, "Εκτορα δεύρ' ἐρύσας, must also be modernisms like those ending with ἴδεος οἴνου, κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπιδόντα (XXII. 61), ἐνωπαδίως ἐστίδεσκεν (Od. XXIII. 94), and the like combinations, which are far too numerous to need dwelling further upon in this place.

Buttmann has written at considerable length on the numerous forms and varieties of meaning from πυρμα and ἐρύω (Lexil. in ἐρύσεθαι), such as ρύσαθαί, ἐρυτο, εἱρύσατο, εἱρύσαο, εἱρύσαται, εἱρυντο, &c. The most probable account of ρύω and ἐρύω, as it seems to me, is that the latter is shortened, on the principle of compensation, from Φρύω = Φερύω, like ρύγος, φρίγος, ρόδον, Φρόδον (Βρόδον), ράκος and Φακός (braccae). The primary sense of both was drag, draw, or pull away, from which those of delivering, rescuing, protecting, keeping or observing, are easily derived. The naturally long syllable in ρυεόθαι might, perhaps, be shortened by its open position; but ρυσάμην (II. XV. 29) seems wholly indefensible1; and when Buttmann says (Lexil.

1 Thus λῶ, θῶ, φῶ, sometimes have υ in the present tense; but such an aorist as ἠλώσα or ἠφώσα is contrary to analogy.
p. 308) “that the Attics afterwards used ρύεσαθαί long, is an usage which originated with them,” he seems to me clearly trying to struggle out of a difficulty caused by his unquestioned acceptance of our Homeric texts. I think also that he is wrong in regarding the anomalous forms ἔρυτα and ἔρυσθαί (Od. v. 484) as syncopated from ἔρυντο (imperf.) and ἔρυσθαί (Lexil. p. 309), which he compares with ἔρυγα used by Apollonius, Π. 1208. All these may have easily resulted from an uncritical confusion between ῥῦο, ῥῦο and ἕρynos, ἕρυς. Probably ἔρσθαί was intended for an epic aorist with the augment retained, as in ἔστιμενος, ἐσποτμαι, Od. xii. 349.

There are not a few forms which seem to have been imperfectly understood by the rhapsodists, and so were referred now to one verb-root, now to another, in quite a different sense. This is a most important evidence of lateness; but I cannot do more here than indicate the chief instances that I have noted. It will be found that ἀνέσαθαί and some similar forms were referred sometimes to ἀλλεσθαί, sometimes to πάλλω (II. xv. 645, xxiii. 692—4); ταρπηναί to τέρπω and τρέπω (xiv. 314), βεόμαι to βιώναι and βῆναι (xv. 194, xxii. 431), ἀνέσαι to εἰσά and ἰημι, ἐλοάς to ἐλαίνω and εἰλέω, πεφηνεται to φένω and φαινω, κεκάδοντο and κεκαδισσομαι to roots κηδ and χαδ, ἱσχαναν to ἔχω and ἑχειρ (II. xv. 723, xxiii. 300), ὄνατο and ὄνωσάμην to ὄνιμαι and ὄνομαι (xvii. 25, 173), while στεῦτο in Od. xi. 584 and προθεώσην in Π. i. 291 seem figments from supposed archaic presents of ἵστημι and τῖθημι. There was a like uncertainty as to ἔργω, εἴργω, and ἔργαζομαι. Thus, γεφυραί εἴρηγμεναι evidently mean “artificial mounds” or embankments, in

1 Some nouns of the rhetorical and philosophical period, e.g. ἐφεσίς, σύνεσις, ἀνέσις, imply an aorist of ἵμα with the σ and not the κ. And there are compounds of ἵμα, e.g. ἐφεσίς ἐλθείν, ‘to go on an embassy,’ σύνεσις, ‘a union,’ which might be cited in support of the common Homeric εἴσομαι, εἰσάρχο and its compounds. Perhaps therefore εἴμι ἰβο, equally with εἴμι συμ, has lost an original α.

But in xiii. 657, εἷς διάφορον δ’ ἀνέσατες, the sense unmistakeably points to εἴσα, collocato, while in Od. xviii. 265, ωκ οὐδ’ εἶ κεν μ’ ἀνέσει θεός, and Π. xxi. 537, οἱ δ’ ἀνέσαι τε πύλας, it must be a compound of ἵμα. In II. xiv. 209, εἰς εὐνύμ ανέσαι, it might be referred to another verb. The late aorist ἄνερθη in Acts xvi. 26 may be compared with ἄνεσαι, πάρεσαι.
Perfect tenses were changed into secondary presents, as εἰκὼ from εἰκά, εἰοικά (whence the Attic εἰδαι and προσήξαι), πεφεύγω (πεφεύγοι, II. XXI. 609), ἀνώγω (ἀνώγοιμι, XIX. 206, ἀνώξω, XV. 295), πεφράδο (πεφράδοι, ΙΙ. XIV. 335), and aorist infinitives, as χραίσειῶν, ἰδεῖν, τυχεῖν, πεπιθεῖν, ἐνυπεῖν, were treated as present verbs in -έω, whence χραίσεμίσομα, ἰδήσομι, τυχήσομα, πεπιθήσομα (XXII. 223), ἐνυπτήσω (Od. v. 98), εἰδήσω from εἰδέναι (I. 546). The epic aorists from the distinct roots λέγ and λέχ were identical in form, λέξομαι, ἐλέγμην, λέκτο, λέγμενος, λέχθαι, and this gave occasion, it would seem, to an intentional play on these two senses in Od. iv. 451—3.

πάσας δ’ ἀρ’ ἐπὶ χείτο, λέκτο δ’ ἀριθμόν.

--- ἔπειτα δὲ λέκτο καὶ αὐτὸς.

But, if I mistake not, λέκτο from λέχ was a figment of the later rhapsodes. In II. IX. 67, φιλακτήρες (φιλακτήρας, Aristarchus) δὲ ἐκαστοι λεξίσθον παρὰ ταφρῶν, there is an ambiguity between 'choosing' and 'reclining': in VIII. 519, λέξασθαι clearly has the latter sense.

I now come to some examples of words which seem to involve positive error in their use. The old attributive or descriptive epithet of seals, ψεῦδος, 'footless' (i.e. having undeveloped fore-paws or 'flippers'), is used in the Odyssey (IV. 404) for 'brood' or 'progeny'—a late use found also in Theocritus, have induced later rhapsodists to multiply them indefinitely, as πεφλέσθαι, λεξάσθαι, πεφλεσθείων, πεφλεσθεῖα, πεφλεσθεῖαι. Such an aorist as ἥρα from ὅρω, ἁρτο, II. XIV. 167 (whence ἄραντες in II. 136, Od. I. 280, in the sense of ἄραντας, ἀρθμον πωθαντες), seems unlike the archaic language. One might fairly doubt if ταλάσαμαι=ταλῆσω is really an old aorist, though the roots ταλ and ταλ may be traced in other forms. It seems formed by an expansion of the imaginary ταλῶς into ταλῶ, and inflecting it like σνῶ, στᾶσω. Similarly μεθίκειν, 'to be remiss,' from a present ἰδολ=Ἰδω, and φύηκεν from φύεω, II. x. 252.
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and possibly confounded with the early Italian word *nepotes*¹. The accusative of χέρης, 'a handicraftsman,' was wrongly made a synonym of χερείονα, and constructed (iv. 400) with a genitive; and πλέας, 'full,' from an old word πλής, was mistaken for a syncopated form of πλείονας (II. 11. 129). The genitive of ἀγγελίη was wrongly supposed to be a nominative, ὁ ἀγγελεύς (II. 111. 206, xiii. 252, xv. 640), and Buttmann does not seem able to disown its existence in our texts. The word τέλος, whatever be its true sense in II. xiii. 707, certainly does not mean τέλος, as it is made to mean in xviii. 544,

οἱ δὲ ὄποτε στρέψαντες ἱκοίατο τέλον ἄροιρης,

and ib. 547,

ιέμενοι νεοίοβ βαθείης τέλον ἱκέσθαι.

A considerable number of words occur in the Homeric texts which seem dialectic importations from cities not truly Hellenic; such, for instance, as might come from Magna Graecia, Alexandria, Macedonia, or from some of the Greek islands. But I am well aware that I am here treading on very delicate ground. I am suggesting what I cannot possibly prove; but I think that even a feeling may sometimes be worth recording in those who have spent a life in the study of Greek. Two words especially excite my suspicion as mere inventions; μινήσα (Od. xxii. 111), and λάων (ib. xix. 229). The first is explained by Hesychius προφάσεσσων, 'excuses.' I cannot doubt that it was coined from a false notion that μινήσα meant "to act promptly and without excuse," in reference to a well-known Attic proverb, σκῆψιν ἄγων οὐ δέχεται. As for λάων, and λαίε, which some interpret 'seeing' and some 'holding,' and which Donaldson (New Crat. § 451) refers to a common root λαβ or λαφ, I have as little doubt that it was in like manner supposed to be the verb from which ἕλαος and its derivative ἅλασσεν had been formed.

Among late (Alexandrine?) forms I should place such participles as συνοχακοῦ, ὑσχυμένος, ὑπερτυμένος, μεμορυχμένος,

¹ This suggestion may seem rather startling to some. But the strange word ἐφέρος in Od. vii. 529 seems to be a Magna Graecia form of the Latin servitus. A similar word is φέρτρον, feretrum, xviii. 236, with which compare φέρτε in ix. 171, and συμφέρτη in xiii. 237. So ἀναλτος resembles altus (aio), μήδεα φωτός are viri media, &c.
such medial aorists as χύρατο, ἡσατο, μύνατο, and the oft-used εἵσατο=ἡνί: the perfects ἡρίκε (XVII. 295), κεκοπός (XIII. 60), the strange compound κατάδημοβορίσσαι (XVIII. 301, where the κατά has the peculiar Attic sense that it bears in καταπροδούναι, καταχαρίζεσθαι, &c.), σκέπτευ (XVII. 652), ἰστό τοῦ ἑνῶ ἐπενεκαί (XIX. 261), ὀμνύναι πρὸς δαίμονος (XIX. 188), πεφεύγοι (XXII. 609), ἐπιδοῦναι προίκα, a Demothenic law-phrase, Ix. 148, τεθαράκασι (IX. 420), τετιμήμεσθα (XII. 310), ὑπὸ κρασίν (X. 152), συνόμεθα (XIII. 381), εὐνευτο (Od. IV. 76), ἐπιθέωναι θωήν (Od. II. 192), εἴθελωντερεῖς (ib. 292), ἀνάξασθαι=ἀνακά γενέσθαι (Od. III. 245), μυθεῖσθαι ἀπὸ (ἀπὸ) σκοτοῦ (a Platonic phrase, Od. XI. 344), ἀμφέθεν, a Platonic adverb, futures like εἰδήσω and ἰδήσω, which follow no sound principle of formation, εἰκεῖν, a secondary present formed from the Attic εἰκῶς and προσεκεῖναι, λυκάβας, 'a year,' Od. XIV. 161; ἄβακησαν, Od. IV. 249; φάεα, 'eyes,' Od. XVI. 15; δεύτηστος, 'dinner-time,' ib. XVII. 170; σκηρίππεσθαι, ib. 196; δεδεπυνήκειν, ib. 359; προσώπατα, ib. XVIII. 192; λελύτω, for λελυμένα εἶν, ib. 238; ἐκεπταταγμένος, ib. 327; δικρυπλῶειν, Od. XIX. 122; κλοτοπεῦειν, κατ' ἀντιστίν, ib. XX. 387; ἐξεσιν ἐλθεῖν, ib. XXI. 20; ὑγίων, ib. 61; μύνησι, ib. 111; μυχοίτατος, ib. 146; ἀκομιστίν, ib. 284; ἐσώθεσκεν, XXIII. 94; ἄγνώσασκε, ib. 95; ἐνήλπα, lora, Π. XXIII. 481; χρόμαδος, ib. 688; ἐνδίνα, viscera, ib. 806; ἡμῶν, 'skilled in shooting,' ib. 886; ἑντυτάς, ib. XXIV. 163; φέρτρον, feretrum, ib. XVIII. 236; κελευτίων, ib. XIX. 125; νιοῦς, ib. 207; συμφερτή, ib. 237; ἔθρεξα, as an aorist of τρέχο, ib. 409; ἀμεννηνοῦν, 'to weaken,' ib. 562; σιφλοῦν, 'to blast with disease,' XIV. 142. Such words as ἄνθεσεων for ἄνθης εἶναι, ἀπωνύσεων, ἀελπεῖν, νηκουστεῖν, ἀτέοντες, (if genuine at all as poetic words,) seem to reflect the age and language of Herodotus. Such compounds too as ἀφαμαρτοτοπήσ, ἀλλοπρόσσαλος, ὑφηνύοχος, ἀμέτροτης, ἀπορτίμαστος, can hardly belong to the genuine early epic. Among false (pseudo-archaic) words I should (of course, as a suggestion only) be inclined to enumerate the following: ἀπητίμησε (XIII. 113), ἀποτωμίγειν, βλάβειν, τέμειν, ἱεῖν and ἰμμεναι (ἰέναι), ἔοις for εἰς (IX. 284), ἄφρεῖν=ἄφρίζειν

1 Some may call this a reduplicated aorist, as Plato has ἄκοψα for the perfect of κόπτω.
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(XI. 282), such questionable Ionicisms as déchatai, érchatai, érhoato, éstóhato (XII. 340), for plural forms1, and such forms of epic aorists as órba, bleto, pérbai, páltó, dégmenevos = προδο- ków (IX. 148); ἀξιοντο (al. ἀξιαντο) (VIII. 545), ἐσσυμαί (XIII. 79), ἀκίδεσεν (XIV. 427), κλήρο τεπαλάσθαι, éksaai, telésekoe, ψυχην ἐκάπτυσσεν, υπεμήμικε, ἐξμένοι, ἔστο, ὀτινας and ὀτινα for οὕς τινας, ἀ τινα, δου for οὗ, δος τις for ὄς τις, θάρσυνος (formed, perhaps, like γηθοσύνος, but questionable by the side of θαρσύνω), νεωί = νεότης, XXII. 604), τεφιδέσθαι, λελαβέσθαι, τεταρτέσθαι, ἐχεῖν, 'to cause to hope' (Od. II. 91), εἰρων = φημι (Od. II. 162), κῦθε (aor. of κεύθω, Od. III. 16), κεκύθσει (Od. VI. 303), τετυ- κεῖν (ib. XV. 77), εἴργγυ (ib. X. 238), ἀφάν, ἕλαν, and ὕφαν for ἀπτείων, ἰλάκτειν and ὑφαίνειν, ἐβιοῦσαι (vivere fecisti, Od. VIII. 468), δίγύςας, γενέσκετο, ἤτει = ἤτει, εἴματα εἶται, καταειννσαν (II. XIII. 135), τετευχός fæctus (Od. XII. 428), ἐρχατόωντο ib. XIV. 15, ἀργύματα = ἀτάργυμα or ἀταρχαί ib. 446; δεδάσσασαι, ib. XVI. 316; καστορνύσα, ib. XVII. 82; οὐδόν for ὁδόν, ib. 196; ἀπόθεσαι for ἀπόθεσο (like ᾧδάμαστος, ἀνυόντασος), ib. 296; βληταί, ib. 472; ἐρεμοί, ib. 509; πεπαθύνη, ib. 555; ἀσοτέρω, ib. 572; ἄχομαι, vexor, Od. XVIII. 236; οὐκ ἄθεει, non sine deo, ib. 353; προβλασκέμεν (= προμολείων), ib. 25; εἰσθα ibis, ib. 69; κέκασσαι, ib. 82; κέσκετο for ἐκεῖτο, ib. XXI. 41; εἰρντο φάσ- γανον = εἴρνε, ib. XXII. 90; τετευχόθησαι armatos esse, ib. 104; κτέωμεν = κτείωμεν, ib. 216; ἀλύσκαε, ib. 350; θῆνον = θέειον, ib. 493; φθεωσί, ib. XXIV. 437; ἀφάρτερος, II. XXIII. 311; παροίτερος, ib. 459; πρόσσοθεν, ib. 533; ιδέω χάρων (as if from εἰδεύει), II. XIV. 235.

I have said,—and this is an argument of primary weight and importance,—that a remarkable characteristic of the Iliad and the Odyssey is the frequent allusion in brief to incidents fully treated of in Pindar and the Tragics. If my view is true, our Homer was compiled from the older sources which they used; if the commonly alleged date of our Homer be main- tained, then all these tragic stories are later developments of a

1 Such terminations as σαλατο and τιθαται are legitimate, the ν of the plural being represented by a. But could any Greek have used τυτταται, σαλατο, or τυττατο, σαλατο? This form could only be explained by the omission of the vocalising syllable between the termination and the root.
few verbal hints. This latter view, maintained as it is by K. O. Müller and others, I hold to be utterly improbable, and indeed, wholly inconceivable. Was the famous story of the arms given by the gods to Peleus based on the bare mention of them in II. xvii. 195, xviii. 84? Was the acquaintance of Achilles with Patroclus at the house of Menoetius, and the appointment of the youth on the chief’s military staff (Pind. Ol. ix. 70—80), an expansion of xviii. 325, or xxiii. 85? Were the raids and adventures of Achilles in the Troad (which we know were celebrated in the Cypria), or his earlier life in the island of Scyros1, or his education by Chiron the Centaur, based on II. xi. 832, or 625, or xix. 296, 326, or xx. 92, 192? Were the capture of Troy by Hercules, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the judgment of Paris, the story of the Wooden Horse, and many other themes most popular with the tragic writers, and most frequently represented by the vase-painters, developments of the few words in II. xx. 145, xxiv. 29 and 62? The arrival of the Amazons (which we know was a “Cyclic” subject) is mentioned in a single verse in III. 189. The building of the fleet and the carrying off of Helen (i. 71, iii. 444, vi. 292), the embassy of Ulysses to Troy to negotiate for her restoration (iii. 206); the very frequent mention of the earlier exploits of Achilles in the Troad (vi. 415, ix. 188, 328, 668, xi. 625)—all these hints about well-known and hackneyed stories clearly imply a dismissal of them in brief; and it seems most perverse in K. O. Müller to argue (p. 69) that “the Cypria referred altogether to the Iliad for the completion of its own subject.” I maintain that “the Iliad refers altogether to the Cypria (and the kindred early poems) for the subjects which furnished matter for these allusions.” How indeed, except on the theory of compilation from the poems popular in the Periclean age, shall we account for clear references even to the Thebaid, in II. xxiii. 346 and 678, also in iv. 377, v. 804, and in Od. xi. 271? In a word, was the major taken from the minor, or the minor from the major,—the allusion from the full and popularized legend? Common sense must give the verdict in favour of the latter view.

Knowing, as we do, from Proclus, the general summary of the subjects treated of in the early poems attributed to Arctinus, Stasinus, Lesches, and Agias, we are able to compare with them most carefully (and this is what I claim in the study of very many years to have done) the accounts of Pindar, the dramatic writers, the vase-painters and our Homeric texts. And I must state, that not a shadow of doubt now remains on my mind, that our texts are a compilation from the very same sources which they possessed, and that the proofs that they possessed or knew of our texts at all, are very few and altogether unsatisfactory. This is the more remarkable, from the contrasted certainty with which we can identify our texts with the citations and allusions (and they are extremely numerous) in Plato and Aristotle. With a few exceptions, they are all found in our Homer.

When therefore we read in K. O. Müller's History of Greek Literature, passages like the following, we are inclined to express astonishment that a view which appears so far-fetched, and even so impossible to some, should still commend itself to others, and those scholars of learning and good sense, if not men of independent research.

"It is credible" (he says, p. 64, chap. vi.) "that they" (the Homeridae) "were Homeric rhapsodists by profession, to whom the constant recitation of the ancient Homeric poems" (he means the Iliad and the Odyssey) "would naturally suggest the notion of continuing them by essays of their own in a similar tone." "From a close comparison" (he adds) "of the extracts and fragments of these poems, which we still possess, it is evident that their authors had before them copies (!) of the Iliad and Odyssey in their complete form." Again, "notwithstanding the close connection which they made between their own productions and the Homeric poems, notwithstanding they often built upon particular allusions in Homer, and formed from them long passages of their own poems, still their manner of treating and viewing mythical subjects differs so widely from that of Homer, as of itself to be a sufficient proof that the Homeric poems were no longer in progress of development at the time of the Cyclic poets, but had, on the whole, attained
a settled form, to which no addition of importance was afterwards made."

One may fairly grant that the Odyssey existed as a separate poem in the Periclean age; but that does not show its present form to be as old even as that. On the contrary, in the very interesting epitome of that poem given in Cassandra’s prophecy, Eurip. Troad. 431—43, there is a remarkable omission of Calypso; and though the last verse seems to refer to the suitors, and perhaps to x. 535 of the Odyssey, nothing is said of their death by the hand of Ulysses.

1 p. 65. The great mistake in the reasoning here is, that the author confounds the fixedness of tradition with the fixedness of certain poems, the antiquity of which he assumes. The whole argument is based on a petitio principii.

2 Sophocles wrote a play entitled Ναυσικά, and Thucydides mentions the dangerous current of Charybdis, rv. 24, the celebrity of the Phaeacians in the naval art (t. 25), the τέμενος of the hero Alcinous (iii. 70), and the Cyclopes and Laestrygonas as indigenous inhabitants of Sicily (vi. 2), whereas in the Odyssey Laestrygonia is placed in the west of Italy.

3 She is first mentioned by name, I think, by Aristotle; the passage in Hes. Theog. fin. being clearly spurious, and of late date. (But perhaps it is fair to lay some stress on ως δὲ σωτέμω, ξῶν εἰα ἐς "Αἰδήρ, κάκφυγών ἄλμης ὑδωρ κάκ’ ἐν δόμοισι μυρί’ εὐρήσει μολών.)
In the same manner we may, to a certain extent, bring the Iliad, as we have it, to the test supplied by Thucydides. We shall find that in his time the making of the Grecian camp was one of the first operations of the war, whereas in our text it is narrated as a work of the ninth year, in Book vii. We shall find him referring to the oaths of the suitors as one of the reasons of the expedition; an event recorded in Euripides (Iph. Aul. init.), but not alluded to in our Iliad. We shall be forced, I think, to conclude, that he had a full account of the raids in the Troad (so often alluded to, but never described, in the Iliad), and to other more peaceful means adopted for the maintenance of the Grecian troops during the early years of the war. We shall observe that he quotes a verse from the second book under a title which makes it at least probable that in his time Σκηπτρου παράδοσις was, like Διονυσίου ἀριστεία in Herod. ii. 116, the title of a scene or separate portion of the action that had been adapted from the Cypria. It is remarkable that the first book of the Iliad contains many marks of νεωτερισμός, and so far as I know, it is nowhere alluded to in any passage of Pindar or the Tragics. For the petition of Thetis, i. 505, that Zeus will do honour to her son, which is again mentioned in xv. 76, in a way that shows design and continuity in the plan of the Iliad, was very probably altered from the older, because more strictly mythological, account of the Λεται in Pindar. The sea, the mother of the sun, wishes the sun to be transferred in glory to the bright western sky; in human language, Thetis beseeches Zeus that Achilles may be brought an immortal hero to the isles of the blest. The whole point of the petition in ll. 1. is, that the

1 i. 11.
2 i. 9.
3 i. 11, φαίνονται δ' οὖν ἐνταῦθα πάση τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπέζεων καὶ ληστεῖα τῆς τροφῆς ἀποφεί. The cultivation of land in the Chersonese must have been mentioned in the 'Troica' in the time of the historian.

4 As εὖ δ' οὐκαὶ διέσθει, i. 19, τὸ κρήτου εἶτας, 106, ἐπετηθεῖς, 142, εἰδήσεις, 546, νῆα μελλόνων ἐρύθισμεν (without ἐ), 141.
5 In Ar. Nub. 1056 there is a citation of Ἀχilléως δρόμος, or λευκή στή near the Euxine, was the sun's glorified apparition in the

6 Ol. π. 80. The 'Ἀχilléως δρόμος, or λευκή στή near the Euxine, was the sun's glorified apparition in the
Greeks may find that they cannot afford to alienate Achilles, or hope to succeed without his prowess.

The original Iliad may, as has often been suggested, have been an Achilleid; certain it seems, that as we have it, it carries large and palpable accretions, made up from the old Achaean stories about Hercules, the Aetolians and Epeians, in books IX. and XI., besides endless episodes of the long and sometimes monotonous fights between the heroes on both sides. The ἀναγνώσις of Glaucus and Diomedes (book VI.), the Doloneia (book X.), and probably the Δίος ἀπάτη (book XIV.), seem to me not older than the fifth century B.C. The tenth book, indeed, was regarded as interpolated even by the Alexandrine critics. The μάχη παραπτάμιος (book XXI.) is not only ignored by writers of any antiquity, but it is founded in part on an incident which we happen to know was narrated in the Cypria, the capture of Lycaon by Achilles¹ (35 seqq.).

The death of Hector is certainly ancient, and it probably formed a genuine part of the poem in its oldest form.² But in reconstructing these many and often incongruous materials into one continuous poem in a dramatised form, in the Periclean or "writing" age, it seems to me nearly certain that a great deal that was very modern was worked up with much that was very ancient. No person, by the exercise of the most subtle critical skill, can possibly demonstrate precisely what is genuine and what is spurious, or separate with absolute certainty the really archaic from the pseudo-archaic additions. But to maintain that the Iliad, and perhaps too the Odyssey, have come down to us from B.C. 850, or even that Pisistratus introduced Homer, as we have him, three centuries later into Athens, is so con-

¹ To the original story, as I suppose, rather than to that in the Iliad, may be referred a vase-painting supposed to represent Lycaon and Achilles, which Dr Hayman endeavours to force into his service, Pref. to Vol. II. of his "Odyssey."
² Such verses as II. 41. 47, "Εὐπροπ νῦν Πρώμου, and xxii. 363, λισσόν ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἡβην (if this, and not ἀδροτήτα, be the genuine reading), and τέος and ἔος pronounced τεος and εος, point to a very archaic kind of verse, if not to differences in the forms of words in a remote age. Such an aorist as γένεο, which is often used for ἔγερο, though it may be only dialectic, is probably a very old form.
trary to the conclusions I have reached from a very special study of Homer for a number of years, that I despair of ever being brought to see the probability of it.

Not one of the arguments here brought forward against the antiquity of the Homeric texts has been noticed by Mr Grote, though he has written at great length and with much learning and research upon the question, in Chaps. xx. and xxI. of Part i. of his history. Although he believes the Iliad to differ from the Odyssey in this, that the former is a composite, the latter one a continuous and uniform poem, he still assigns to them both,—apparently on a general opinion of the archaic state of society represented,—the commonly received date. "To place the Iliad and Odyssey at some periods between 850 B.C. and 776 B.C., appears to me more probable than any other date," he says; and again, "On the whole, the balance of probabilities seems in favour of distinct authorship of the two poems, but the same age, and that age a very early one, anterior to the first Olympiad." Nevertheless, he is evidently perplexed by the difficulty of the preservation intact of such long poems unwritten; and he labours to show (what never can be shown, and what is opposed to all that we know on the subject) that they "first began to be written before the time of Solon." Aware too that MSS. imply readers of them, he does not scruple to speak of the "probability" of the formation of a narrow reading class as early as B.C. 660 to 630—a mere guess, which I must venture to call a clumsy expedient invented to get rid of a difficulty. Misinterpreting the well-known statement of Diogenes Laertius (i. 57)—in itself too late to be of much value as evidence—that Solon ordered the poems of Homer to be recited εἰς ὑποβολῆς, to mean "by prompting," he goes on to argue that "a prompter implies the existence of MSS. professedly complete." He goes so far as to say that "the first positive ground which authorizes us to presume the

1 Vol. ii. pp. 135, 204, ed. 12mo.
2 p. 149.
3 P. 154. The words εἰς ὑποβολῆς, 'taking up one part after another,' are rightly explained, and very clearly too, by Diogenes himself, ὅποιος ὁ πρῶτος ἑλετέν, ἔκειτον ἀρχεθαί τῶν ἄρχομενον,—where it is evident that τῶν ἄρχομενον should be read.

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existence of a MS. of Homer, is in the famous ordinance of Solon with regard to the rhapsodes at the Panathenaea; but for what length of time, previously, MSS. had existed, we are unable to say. Thus he is led "to reject the idea of compilation by Peisistratus, and to refer the present state of the Iliad to a period more than two centuries earlier." And with these preconceived convictions—which, I contend, are totally incapable of any proof, and are in themselves opposed to all reasonable probability—but without the least critical inquiry into the phenomena of the Homeric language, he makes the following summary, which I quote at length, because it seems to me a singular instance of a petitio principii throughout, in a mind eminently logical and usually distinguished for the calm and impartial weighing of historic evidence.

"The whole tenor of the poems themselves confirms what is here remarked" (viz. that any changes in them must be earlier than Peisistratus or Solon). "There is nothing either in the Iliad or Odyssey which savours of modernism, applying that term to the age of Peisistratus; nothing which brings to our view the alterations, brought about by two centuries, in the Greek language, the coined money, the habits of writing and reading, the despotisms and republican governments, the close military array, the improved construction of ships. Everything in the two great Homeric poems, both in substance and in language, belongs to an age two or three centuries earlier than Peisistratus. Indeed even the interpolations (or those passages which on the best grounds are pronounced to be such) betray no trace of the sixth century before Christ, and may well have been heard by Archilochus and Kallinus—in some cases even by Arktinus and Hesiod—as genuine Homeric matter. As far as the evidences on the case, as well internal as external, enable us to judge, we seem warranted in believing that the Iliad and Odyssey were recited substantially as they now stand (always allowing for partial divergences of text and interpolations) in 776 B.C., our first trustworthy mark of Grecian time."

I have elsewhere remarked, that whatever may be the value of the traditions about Solon and Peisistratus in their

1 p. 144.  2 p. 161.  3 p. 160.
ON SOME HOMERIC WORDS AND INFLEXIONS. 147

relation to the Homeric poems, there is not a particle of evi-
dence that the two isolated poems that we have learned to call
"Homer", or either of them, were meant, since all epics on the
Troica were alike attributed in ancient times to that author.
But Mr Grote makes one important admission, in which I
fully agree with him. "If," he says, "the Iliad was made up,
as Wolf believes, from ballads composed by different authors, in
the time of Peisistratus, then he or his associates must have
done more than transpose and interpolate here and there; he
must have gone far to rewrite the whole poem". And again,
"the transposition from smaller songs to a combined and con-
tinuous poem forms an epoch in the intellectual history of the
nation. Nor is it to be imagined that the materials pass
unalterd from their first state of isolation into their second
state of combination. They must of necessity be recast, and
undergo an adapting process, in which the genius of the organ-
ising poet consists." I believe that the most reasonable account that can be
conjecturally given of the origin of the Iliad is the following.
It is one which fully and easily satisfies every difficulty that
can fairly be raised: and that, I think, is saying a good deal.

Some time in the fifth century before the Christian era—
probably in the time of Pericles—a desire arose to commit to
writing the hitherto oral and ever fluctuating literature which
passed under the name of Homer*. Such portions of a vast
subject as related mainly to the adventures of the chief hero,
Achilles, were taken down from the mouths of rhapsodists by
some unrecorded person—possibly, as I have hinted, none other
than the reputed "editor", Antimachus of Colophon. These rhaps-
odists, living in such late times, had so remodelled and inter-
polated their "parts", that a great deal of modern diction had
crevt in, along with the general use of the much older vocab-
ulary. Some of the episodes, I am convinced, were hardly if
at all older than their own generation, although, of course, they
were represented as handed down verbatim from the remote
antiquity in which Mr Grote and others have avowed their
belief. Well, then, these episodes about Achilles, Hector,

1 p. 173. 2 p. 175. 3 Wolf, Proleg. § 36.
Diomede, and others, were written down, under the very inappropriate title of "The Iliad", with such continuity and uniformity, and with such skill in selection, as the genius of the transcriber could adopt, and thus became the first written Homer. And thus we understand the constant allusions to the older stories which the tragics knew and used. We can understand too how the rhapsode who contributed the European (not Asiatic) poem of the "Catalogue", or our second Book, took it from the Kíρπια ἔπη, which he, like his contemporaries, as affirmed by Herodotus, attributed to "Homer".

The mass of Troica excluded from the Iliad did not cease to exist. It, in turn, became a written literature in the "Cyclus", in Alexandrine times; but as "Homer" had then got to mean the Iliad and the Odyssey, the names of other poets, real or fictitious—the anonymous οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, it may be, of Thucydides,—were assigned to them. Ultimately, as in the time of Horace, the "scriptor cyclicus" had become a term of disparagement, simply because "the divine Homer" had bequeathed nothing but a necessary inferiority to all other epic bards.

That it underwent further revision § 43. He does not hesitate to say (ib. under Zenodotus and the Alexandrine § 39) that "accuratior forma Homeri critics, is shown by F. A. Wolf, Proleg. prodiit tandem e Museis Alexandrinis."

F. A. PALEY.
NOTE ON ISAIAH VIII.—X.

The concluding verses of the eighth1 chapter of Isaiah have caused the greatest perplexity to commentators, since they contain a description of hopeless gloom and distress from which it is apparently not easy to pass by a natural transition to the light and triumph which characterise the opening of chapter ix. Attempts have accordingly been made to extract from the actual verses in question an intimation of the coming change; but I doubt whether any such internal point of transition can be found without violence to their structure and rhythm, unless we agree to introduce some sort of alteration into the text itself. The expedient of emendation is indeed justifiable as a last resource, but, it may be asked, have all other methods of solving the present difficulty been fairly tried? As a practical answer I shall propose for consideration a view which occurred to me several years ago as a result of my own examination of the passage, but for which2 I am now able (1873) to quote no less an authority than Ibn Ezra,3 by whom it is proposed with apparent confidence and without the least show of hesitation.

The main point is to determine the relation of the disputed verses to the whole passage:

viii. 5—8. The L ORD spake also unto me again, saying, Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son; now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his

1 Verses 21, 2, which according to the A. V. conclude the chapter.
2 But in part only. See p. 159.
3 Cf. also the Targum (p. 153).
glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks: And he shall pass through Judah; he shall overflow and go over, he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel.

viii. 9—20. Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries: gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us. For the LORD spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the LORD of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken. Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples. And I will wait upon the LORD, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him. Behold, I and the children whom the LORD hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the LORD of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion. And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead? To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.

viii. 21, 22. And they shall pass through it, hardly bestead and hungry: and it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and look upward. And they shall look unto the earth; and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish; and they shall be driven to darkness.

ix. 1—7. Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such as
was in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian. For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.

For the sake of simplicity I shall first state the proposed interpretation, and afterwards consider a little in detail the ordinary interpretation and its difficulties.

The general meaning of the paragraph viii. 5—8 is plain. It is only needful (1) to call particular attention to the words italicised in ver. 8, corresponding to the Hebrew: יְלִילֹתָה בַּיָּרוֹדָה יִשְׁמַוְחֵל בִּעְכָּר, and herein especially to the two words (a) יָרוֹדָה, (b) יִשְׁמַוְחֵל, and (2) to bear in mind that the subject of יִשְׁמַוְחֵל is מלך אֲשֶׂר, the King of Assyria, or מלך כל כבחד, all his glory.

The paragraph viii. 9—20 contains many difficulties in detail which need not here be considered. Suffice it to say that in general it is of the nature of a digression—a going off at the words Immanu El, God with us. The enemy shall sweep the whole place like a flood: the stretch of his wings shall be the full breadth of thy land, O God with us. But that
name is a tower of strength. Though the nations take counsel together it shall come to nought, for God is with us. Comp. Mic. iii. 11. The prophet goes on to reprove the people for want of trust in God: "Let him be your fear, and let him be your dread."

The verses viii. 21, 22, referring back to ver. 5—8, predict the fall of Sennacherib. It had been said that "he shall pass through Judah" (ver. 8); but "they shall pass through it hardly bestead and hungry" (ver. 21). They shall curse their hard fate and be hurled headlong in the gloom. The words italicised do not exaggerate the degree of closeness with which verses 8, 21 correspond, for although the expression pass through in the one case represents נחל and in the other רבו, yet the word רבו itself occurs, as we have seen, in verse 8, where it is rendered go over. Thus the English Version fairly represents the degree of correspondence between the two paragraphs, or rather understates it, since instead of "they shall pass through it" (ver. 21) we should rather read in the singular, he shall pass through it:

"the subject being the same as in the רבו of ver. 8.

The paragraph ix. 1—7 describes the consequent triumph of the oppressed: the sun of Asshur has set, but "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light...For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian."

Closer examination confirms the view that the destruction of the Assyrians is described in the verses:

These words are by Rashi referred back to viii. 11: and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people; their "way" being to forsake God and seek help from Egypt.
In like manner the וַיָּהָר refers to the practice of necromancy.

The מֵרָא מֹרֶה understands that, "they all of them know this ‘word’ and transgress it."

But all such renderings are confessedly forced. None of them are so simple as those which refer הָב to the land. Compare R.D.K. and Ibn Ezra, who will be quoted below. Compare also the Targum אָנָא בָּאָרְעָה. But we should expect that the land would be explicitly mentioned somewhere. Accordingly it has been suggested that the הָב has a proleptic reference to ver. 22: “and they shall look unto the earth.” But, to waive other obvious objections, it is probable that this רָאִי does not mean the country, but rather the ground in contrast with והָלַעֲלָה, thus, whether they look upward or downward, distress shall meet them on every side. If however ver. 21, 22 be read in connexion with ver. 8, everything becomes clear: הָב necessarily refers to Judah, the land of Immanuel: יִצְרָך is no longer without a subject, and the most appropriate meaning is assigned to יִצְרָך, which here applies better to foreigners who sweep across and over the land, than to inhabitants of the land who are regarded as cooped up within its limits. For this use of the word compare inter alia: Isaiah x. 27; Ezek. xxvii. 15, 18, 19; Dan. xi. 10; Lev. xxi. 6; Num. xxi. 21; Ezek. xv. 17.

The collocation of ver. 8, 21, appears not less natural in the Targum:
These expressions may be taken literally. There is indeed a paronomasia "עבש, but this does not prevent us from taking "עבש to mean literally hungry. It is upon "עבש thus rendered that Ibn Ezra rests his interpretation.

"Some say, Lo days are coming when the passer through the land of Judah, being himself of Judah, shall be hard bestead and hungry because of the host of Sennacherib, and when he sees that his king and his idol cannot save him then he will turn upward to pray to the God of heaven. But in my opinion it refers to the host of Sennacherib which will pass through the land of Judah, it being evident that a great host would be hungry. His king, is the king of Assyria, and when he turns upward or downward he will see everything darkness."

The Targum is favourable to the literal rendering. It represents the passer through the land as famished and begging food from its inhabitants. R. D. K. speaks clearly to the same effect. Having said that "עבש means "עבש, referring to (ver. 18), he observes that the passer through the land will be "עבש (Job xxx. 25) and hungry, not finding anything in the land to eat because of its devastation by war.

This has been compared with Rev. xvi. 11: καὶ ἐξασφαλίζεσαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκ τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν, but it seems best, with the Targum, &c., to understand by Elohim an idol, or idols. Assuming this, I think it rather more natural that "his gods" should mean the gods of the Assyrian than that it should mean "the gods" of the Jews.

As regards the construction, elsewhere we find, (Exod. xxii. 27), where למל is followed by a simple accusative. It is followed by ב and means to curse by in the passages: בmal Hashat haR (1 Sam. xvii. 43), and בmal Hashat (2 Kings ii. 24).

Whether he looks upward or downward he sees only darkness: "Terrors shall make him afraid on every side" (Job xviii. 11). Compare Eccl. xii. 5.

This difficult clause is variously
interpreted. Some make מִדְרָ֣דָה, and understand that the darkness is either (1) scattered or spread over the land, or (2) dispelled. But מִדְרָ֣דָה is certainly most applicable to the person who is the subject of the preceding clause. Many authorities understand that “he is driven into darkness,” but we may take מִדְרָ֣דָה absolutely and understand that, being in darkness, he stumbles and falls headlong, in accordance with Jer. xxiii. 12.

**Chapter IX.**

For or but &c. After the fall of the oppressor the recovery of the oppressed is described. They are no longer in a land of מִדְרָ֣דָה; it is he who has fallen in the darkness. This to a certain extent simplifies the emphatic הָלָּל (Targ. מִדְרָ֣דָה) of ver. 2. But whether we adopt the מִדְרָ֣דָה, or the בֹּכּוּת taken relatively, or read לְרַבִּים הָעָה with Professor Selwyn¹, it is clear from the context what the clause means, or ought to mean.

It would be beside my present purpose to add more about mere details. Enough has been said to shew that there is good reason for adopting the proposed rearrangement of the passage in general, which (i) accounts for the verbal correspondence of ver. 21 with ver. 8; (ii) applies a definite subject to מִדְרָ֣דָה; (iii) explains the reference of מָכַּב; (iv) gives to מִדְרָ֣דָה its most natural application; (v) interprets מִדְרָ֣דָה in an appropriate, if not the most appropriate, way; (vi) refers the expression rendered “curse...their God” to heathens; (vii) and prepares the way for the contrast in מִדְרָ֣דָה.

It is a moot point in what way the destruction of Senacherib’s host was brought about, since the historical notice in 2 Kings xix. 35² gives no more specific intimation than that “it came to pass that night that the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore

¹ Reifman in Haschachar, Oct. 1870, vest” (ix. 3) is intended to be significant.
² Perhaps the contrast “joy in har-.
³ Cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21.
and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses."

There is reason to think that the final stroke which destroyed the Assyrian power was led up to by famine, which is so often mentioned amongst divine judgments in the phrase "the sword, the famine, and the pestilence." The interruption of field labours leads to famine which affects the whole country: "Ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves, &c." (2 Kings xix. 29); and in particular a vast army would find difficulty in obtaining provisions, according to the remark of Ibn Ezra, given above.

Very significant in this connexion is the action of Hezekiah.

"He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city: and they did help him. So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water"? (2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4)—a proceeding which is indeed condemned in some passages of the Talmud Babli, as shewing a dependence upon human means:

"Our Rabbis have taught, Six things did Hezekiah the king, for three they praised him, and for three they praised him not. He hid the book of medicines and they praised him; he broke the serpent of brass and they praised him; he trailed the bones of his father on a bier of ropes and they praised him. And for three they praised him not. He stopped the waters of Gihon and they praised him not; he broke off the doors of the temple and presented them to the king of Asshur and they praised him not; he intercalated Nisan in Nisan and they praised him not" (T. B. Berachoth '10 b and Pesachim 56 b); but in the Aboth de R. Nathan II. a stopping of the waters of Gihon is mentioned amongst four things which Hezekiah king of Judah did, and in all of which "his mind accorded with the mind of the Most High, for it is said, Hezekiah stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon...and Hezekiah prospered in all his works" (2 Chron. xxxii. 30).

There is a suggestive passage bearing on this point in Blunt's Undesigned Coincidences:
"Isaiah was to go forth to meet Ahaz, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool (Isai. vii. 3); to go forth—the conduit of the upper pool therefore was without the walls, open to the use of the enemy. Ahaz, therefore, we may conjecture, was employed, as we know, though not from Isaiah, Hezekiah under similar circumstances afterwards was employed, with a number of his people, in providing a defence for the city by stopping the fountains, of which the enemy might get possession."

In later times a siege of Jerusalem was actually prevented by similar measures:

"And Saladin heard that the Franks were preparing to come against Jerusalem in great force, and he sent and gathered his forces and prepared for war, and he strengthened the walls of Jerusalem, and destroyed all the reservoirs of water that were without Jerusalem. And when the Franks were prepared to come against Jerusalem, the king of England dissuaded them, for he said 'The district of Jerusalem is a dry district, and the Arabs have destroyed all the water that was round about it, and the river is more than a parasang distant, and think not that Jerusalem is like Acco, believe (me), but for the sea we could not have encamped two days against Acco.' And they all acquiesced in his counsel, and they removed to Gaza."

(Bar Hebræi Chronicon Syriacum, text pp. 421, 2, ed. Bruns et Kirsch).

It is possible that Isaiah may be alluding to actual privations which the enemy was to endure in the verse: "It shall be even as when an hungry man (ךָּלָּשׁ נְפַךְ, cf. דָּרְעַת) dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite: so shall the multitude of all the nations be, that fight against mount Zion" (Isai. xxix. 8); and again in an expression of peculiar difficulty at the end of x. 27:

יָמֹר בְּךָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַع בְּכָלָּבַע בְּכָלָּבַע on which Hitzig writes:
Diese Worte sind von jeher missverstanden worden. Nach Gesenius und dem Syrer bedeuten sie: Der fette Stier werfe muthwillig werdend das Joch ab... Vielmehr ist die Meinung: das Joch, dem früher magern und unansehnlichen Stier umgethan, wird dem immer fetter werdenden allmählig zu eng, indem der Hals immer mehr Fett ansetzt, und berstet endlich." But this also is, I think, an improbable interpretation; for (i) the significance of this fatness is quite different (Deut. xxxii. 15; Jer. v. 28; l. 11; Ezek. xxxiv. 16, 20. Notice also Isai. vi. 10); (ii) the ox itself would be injured by a yoke which grows "allmählig zu eng"; (iii) this deliverance is never ascribed to the strength or "fatness" of Judah, but is represented as coming from above; (iv) under the circumstances it is inconceivable that the "Stier" should grow "immer fetter." Both sides were rather in danger of starvation owing to the desolation of the land: "Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of hosts, send among his fat ones (בָּלֶחֶם) leanness" (x. 16), see xvii. 4, &c. The following interpretation better suits, I will not say the words, but at any rate the external circumstances:—take מֶלֶט in the sense "owing to (lack of) oil," comparing מְנַשֶּׁה (Ps. cix. 24 [Symmachus has ἰπτὸ ἄνθλενψιας, and Apolinarius νοσφίνεν ἐλαίου]), and נְבֻה (Jer. xlviii. 45, in Rashi and the הַזַּר). It was the custom to anoint shields (Isai. xxi. 5; 2 Sam. i. 21) since otherwise they would become brittle. In like manner a yoke might grow brittle if not anointed. The "yoke" in Isai. x. 27 is the Assyrian power, which was to become attenuated by privation and at length be destroyed: in this sense the yoke was to be "broken" or marred literally through (want of) סֶלֶע.

In conclusion I must ask the reader to consider the two main points of this article as far as possible independently. We may reject the theory that certain allusions to famine have

1 See Field's Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt.

2 "Computrescet jugum, i.e. jugi lora, [Jer. v. 5] defectu olei" (Sanctius). For the implied but not expressed negative, compare the negative use of the piel in some verbs. Thus לֹא means "lapidibus purgavit" in Isai. v. 2, although it has the positive meaning "lapidibus petiti" in 2 Sam. xvi. 6.
a literal application, and yet admit that הָעָבֶר in viii. 21 has the same subject as הָעָבֶר in viii. 8, and that כִּי in the one verse corresponds to כִּי in the other. This verbal correspondence is the basis of my argument, and the reference to Sennacherib in ver. 21 suggested itself as a corollary. Ibn Ezra on the other hand seems to start from his literal interpretation of הָעָבֶר, and he makes no explicit allusion to the occurrence of הָעָבֶר with the same subject in ver. 8.

C. TAYLOR.
NOTE ON A PASSAGE OF PLATO SOPH. 262 D.

Elév. oýtw òh katháper tà πράγματα tà μèv ἀλλήλους ἡμοττε, tà òð ou̱, kai peri tà tê̱s φωνῆ̱s αυ̱ σημεία tà μèv ou̱χ ἁρμόττει, tà òdè ἁρμόττουτα αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπειργάσατο.

From the use of the Imperfect ἡμοττε it would seem that the Eleate is in this passage using a comparison that has already been made and is well known to his respondent. I have however searched the dialogue in vain for any notice of πράγματα ἁρμόττουτα; but in pp. 252 ε, 253 Α, &c., where the Communion of Kinds is discussed, an example is introduced of the combination of letters, of which some will combine and others not; and in p. 261 D is an exact parallel to this passage... καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐλέγομεν, περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐ...ἐπισκεφώμεθα...Εἴτε πάντα ἀλλήλοις ξυναρμόττει εἴτε μηδέν, εἴτε tà μὲν ἑθέλει, tà òdè ou̱. [For other examples of this illustration vid. Theaet. 202 ε, Polit. 277.]

Considering that for some pages πράττειν, πράξεις have been used of the action of the verb, in which sense πράγμα itself is used a few lines lower, and that πράγματα with this meaning is here quite irrelevant, I cannot but think that for ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ we should in this passage read ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ, which is in perfect accordance with the line of argument pursued from p. 261 D.

EDMUND ARBLASTER.

Clare Coll.
THE HASTÁMALAKA.

The poem, of which I give the text and translation below, is one which is very well known in India, but has never been printed in Europe. Most educated natives know it by heart, and it is universally considered as one of the best summaries of the Vedánta doctrine. Its authorship is uncertain; but there are two commentaries upon it, each of which curiously enough is ascribed to 'Sankara Achárya, the celebrated Vedántist teacher of the eighth or ninth century. Dr Hall, in his 'Bibliographical Index,' ascribes the poem to Hastámalaka. The twelfth stanza is quoted in the Vedánta-sára (the only quotation which I have noticed from the work), and Hastámalaka is mentioned as the author in the Vidwan-manoranjini Commentary on the Vedánta-sára, by Rámátrirtha-yati. Hastámalaka is celebrated as one of 'Sankara's earliest disciples; and he is afterwards said to have founded a modified form of Vedántism recognizing Vishnu as the supreme Brahma. It is probable, however, that the title of the poem has no reference to any author, as hastámalaka may simply mean 'a myrobalan on the hand,' and thus be used metaphorically to signify something very plain and obvious, as the round fruit on the open palm. The phrase is thus used in the Vajrasúchí Upanishad (Weber's ed. p. 213. 10), where the true Bráhman is
described as 'the contented man, free from desires and passions, who sees everything as visibly before him as a myrobalan on the palm of his hand' (karatalamalakam iva'); and this is the interpretation which one of my Pundits in Calcutta gave to the title.

The ultimate identity of the individual and the supreme soul is the great tenet of the Vedánta. 'That art thou' (tat twam as?) is the first lesson of the neophyte, and the last vision of the perfected mystic. The one supreme soul alone exists; all the separate consciousnesses of individuals are but the reflection of the one soul on the multitudinous 'internal organs' which are the creation of 'ignorance' or illusion. To reach reality we must strip off the successive veils—the waking world first (where the soul is disguised by the gross effects), and the world of dreams next (where it is disguised by the subtil effects), till we reach that of sound sleep. Here for the time the individual soul does attain its real nature, but its inherent delusion remains latent, and is still capable of being called out into actuality. Only the knowledge of the highest truth, as taught in the Vedánta, can abolish ignorance, and so destroy personality in its germ.

The soul's real nature, as identical with Brahma, is always described as 'essentially existent, intelligence, and joy'; but though defined as essentially intelligence, this intelligence is not exercised on any object, as all objects, as well as the internal organ or 'mind' which cognizes transient perceptions, are produced by 'ignorance,' and therefore unreal. There is a striking verse of the Yoga-vádáshita:

"As would be the pure nature of light, if all that is illuminated by it, as space, earth, and ether, were annihilated, such is the loneliness of the pure-essenced spectator (soul), when all objects, as I, thou, and the three worlds, have passed into non-existence."

1 Cf. also Vijnána-bhikshu, Comm. on Sánkhya S. p. 96. 2 infr.
2 There is a remarkable passage in Hippolytus' Philosophumena, i. p. 29: τούτο δὲ τὸ φῶς ὤν τὸν Θεόν, αὐτὸι μὲνοι εἶδέναι Βραχμανάς λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖναι μόνοι τὴν εἰσοδοξίαν, ὅ ἐστι χειτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐσχατος.
3 Quoted in Vijnána-bhikshu's Comm. on Sánkhya Sūtra, p. 97.
"कश्चं शिष्यो कश्चं कुतो ५ सि गन्ता
किं नाम ते लं कुत चागतो ५ सि।
प्रतदद्व लं मम सुप्रसिद्धं
मन्मोत्यं गौतिविवर्धनं ५ सि।" ॥ १ ॥

नां मनुष्यो न च देवयो न
रात्मणं चतुष्वैवेष्यायुः।
न ब्रह्मचारी न युध्य वनखो
भिचुर्व चाहं निजवोधुपः। ॥ २ ॥

नियतं मन्नश्चुरादिप्रभर्ती
निर्माणिनोधिराजाश्रुपः।
रविप्रत्येकनिमितं यथा चः
भ नियोपधिबिख्रुपो ५ चमात्मा। ॥ ३ ॥

यमन्नश्चविन्योधिध्रुपप
मन्नश्चुरादीन्योधात्मकानि।
प्रवर्तनं चाहित नियकमकं
भ नियोपधिबिख्रुपो ५ चमात्मा। ॥ ४ ॥

मुखामाको दर्पणे दुःश्मानो
मुखलामुख्य्यो मैवायसि वसु।

11—2
विद्रामासको धीपु जीवो स पि तदन्।

म नियोपपलिभिख्रृष्पो स हमात्मा॥ ५॥

यथा दृष्पाभाव हामामहानी।

मुखं विचयते कल्याणाहीनमेकस।।

तथा धीवियोगे निरामासको यः।

म नियोपपलिभिख्रृष्पो स हमात्मा॥ ६॥

मन्दुरादेरिरिमुकः खं दो।

मन्दुरादेरिरमन्दुरादि।।

मन्दुरादेरिरगम्यख्रृष्पः।

म नियोपपलिभिख्रृष्पो स हमात्मा॥ ७॥

य एको विभाग मनः, गँज़ितेिा।।

प्रकाशख्रृष्पो स पि नानेव धीपु।।

श्रावुदक्खो यथा भानुरेकः।।

म नियोपपलिभिख्रृष्पो स हमात्मा॥ ८॥

यथानेकचुः प्रकाशो रविन्।।

क्रमेन प्रकाशीकरोति प्रकाशम्।

ब्रह्मेक धियो चल्येकप्रवेधः।।

म नियोपपलिभिख्रृष्पो स हमात्मा॥ ९॥

1 I. O. Lib. MS. reads Siddhachetāh.
विवेकस्मात् यथा उपस्माः
प्राकृतिः नामात्मेंवं विवेकाः।
तथा भात जशामायत्वकमेकः
स नीतीपलविलङ्गकः 5 हमात्मा ॥ १० ॥

यथा सूर्य एको 5 खलनक्षुलामु
खिराक्ष्युनन्विभावविलङ्गः।
चलामु प्रभिन्नामु धीष्ठेक एवं
स नीतीपलविलङ्गकः 5 हमात्मा ॥ ११ ॥

पञ्चच्चर्रद्धियिचन्चर्ममेकः
यथा निपातं सहते चातिसुदः।
तथा बुद्धवस्त्राति यो मूढतुः
स नीतीपलविलङ्गकः 5 हमात्मा ॥ १२ ॥

समस्तेऽपि वस्तुमुनुप्तेमेकः
समस्तानि वस्तुनि यं न सृष्टि।
विवेकस्तु सद्रा गुद्धमचक्षुः
स नीतीपलविलङ्गकः 5 हमात्मा ॥ १३ ॥

\(^{1}\) ananyak = prithak. Comm.
1. 'Who art thou, my child, and whose, and whither goest thou? what is thy name, and whence art thou come? Tell me all this clearly to gladden me,—thou fillest my heart with gladness.'

2. 'I am not a man nor a god nor a demigod, no bráhman, kshatriya, vaisya, nor śúdra; no student, nor householder, nor anchorite, nor religious mendicant; innate Knowledge am I.

3. 'That which is the cause of the action of mind, eye, and the rest, as the sun is the cause of the movements of living beings, but which itself is void of all conditioning disguises, like the infinite ether,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

4. 'That which being itself one, unmoved and essentially eternal knowledge (as the fire is essentially heat), is the substratum which bears, as they act, the mind, eye and the rest, which are mere Ignorance',—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

5. 'The reflection of the face seen in the mirror is nothing in itself as separated from the face, so is the personal soul in itself nothing, the reflection of Intelligence on the internal organ,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

6. 'As the reflection vanishes when the mirror is not, and the face remains alone, apart from all delusion, so that Soul

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1 The MS. Comm. takes it differently: "that which being itself one, unmoved and essentially eternal knowledge, is the substratum which bears as they act, the mind, eye, and the rest, which are mere ignorance,—as the fire is the substratum that bears the heat,—that Soul, &c."
which remains without a reflection when the understanding is not, that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

7. 'That which abiding aloof from mind, eye, and the rest, is itself mind, eye and the rest to mind, eye and the rest, and whose nature mind, eye and the rest cannot reach,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

8. 'That which, being one, shines forth self-manifested, possessing pure Intelligence, and itself essential Light, and which yet appears as though variously modified in various internal organs, as the one sun shines reflected in the water of different vessels,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

9. 'As the sun, illumining countless eyes, illumines at the same moment the object to each, so that Soul, the one intelligence, which illumines countless internal organs,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

10. 'As the bodily sense illumined by the sun grasps the form of the object, but when unillumined grasps it not, so that by which the one sun must be itself illumined to illumine the sense,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

11. 'As the one sun seems many in the agitated waters, and even when reflected in still waters must be yet recognized as really separate, so that which, though really one, seems many in the restless internal organs,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

12. 'As he whose eye is covered with a cloud thinks in his delusion that the sun is clouded and has lost its light, so that Soul which seems bound to him whose mind's eye is blind,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

13. 'That which, being in itself one, is strung through all things, and yet with which nothing ever comes in contact, and which, like the ether, is always pure and uncontaminated in its nature,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

1 The printed Comm. explains achchha as amértta, the MS. as samsargarāhita.
14. 'As the pure crystals appear different by the presence of a disguiser', so thou too appearest different by the diversity of individual minds; as the moonbeams appear to be tremulous in water, so thou too, O Vishnu, appearest to flicker in our world!'

Of the two different commentaries on the Hastámalaka, ascribed to 'Sankara Achárya, one was printed at the end of the Calcutta edition of the Vedánta-sára, in 1853; there is a MS. of the other in the India Office Library, belonging to the Guikwar collection, and copied Samvat 1563 (A.D. 1506). Both profess to claim 'Sankara Achárya as their author; but both, especially the latter, are far too diffuse to vindicate their claim to have been written by the greatest philosophical author that India has produced. As a specimen of each, I subjoin the introductory passage, in which each professes to explain the origin and object of the poem. Neither gloss comments on the two first stanzas, as found in our present text; both begin their explanations with the third.

The Commentary in the E. I. Library (MS. 2532) thus opens: "a certain student, who had attained supreme knowledge and who had assumed the last body before absolute emancipation, having been ejected from home by his relations because he seemed obstinately dumb, was pointed out by his father, and accordingly asked by the author of the Commentary (on the Vedánta-sútras, i.e. 'Sankara), 'who art thou?' Desiring that others also might have a dignity like his own, he proceeded accordingly to describe his own pre-eminence, and to declare himself in the following stanzas (i.e. beginning with the third')."

The other Commentary opens with the following introduction:

1 As the China rose reflected in it.
2 Kaśchid utpanna-jnánti avirbhúta-
charamadehāḥ swajanena mūkātvena
vahishkrītaḥ pitrā pradarśito bháshya-
krūdhibhiḥ 'kas twam' iti prishtāḥ swānu-
bhávām prakāṣṭayann 'anyeshám apy
anubhāvo bhútān madvad' iti manvāno
yathávad átmānam áchachakshe 'nimit-
tam' ityádibhir dwádaśabhīḥ ālokaiḥ.
"All beings here have an instinctive desire to obtain happiness and to escape pain; now a certain person, possessed of a pre-eminent amount of merit, and considering worldly happiness as only so much pain from its inseparable connection with pain and from its transitoriness, becomes thoroughly disgusted with all mundane existence, and in his disgust he strives to escape from its bonds; and his teacher, telling him that the ignorance of the soul's nature is the cause of all mundane existence, and the knowledge thereof the cause of its abolition, instructs him accordingly in the knowledge of the individual soul."

Neither of these opening paragraphs gives any hint as to the author or the real circumstances of the composition of the poem. A Bengali translation inserts a curious legend, that 'Sankara, in the course of his wanderings as a religious reformer, met one day in the road a certain beautiful youth, whom he addressed in the words of the first verse, and who repeated the remainder of the poem as his reply; but there seems no authority for this story.

There is a curious parallel to the Hastámalaka in an ode of the great Persian mystic Shamsí Tabríz, quoted by Erskine in the first volume of the Bombay Literary Society's Transactions.

"What advice, O Musalmáns, as I do not know myself; I am neither Christian nor Jew, nor am I a fire-worshipper nor Musulmán. I am not from the East nor the West, nor am I of land or fire, I am not from the country of 'Irák, nor am I from the land of Khurásán. I am neither of water nor air, nor am I of fire or earth; I am not of Adam or Eve, nor am I of the inhabitants of paradise. My place is no place, my sign is without sign: I have neither body nor soul,—what is there then? I am the soul of my beloved."

E. B. COWELL.
CONJECTURAL EMENDATION OF THE SAMARITAN TARGUM ON GEN. xiv. 5.

In Gen. xiv. 5 the Hebrew ד'קxא is represented in the printed text of the Samaritan Targum, as given in Walton's Polyglot, by גנפנ2רף sulapeyya, which Castell in his Lexicon renders gigantes, connecting it with the Chaldee דל, absorpsit, deglutivit. Now by a slight change of two very similar letters we get גנפנ2רף sultaneyya, 'powerful ones,' a word which, though not found in Castell, has a much stronger warrant for its existence in the cognate Arabic root, as well as in the Hebrew י"א, than the word which stands in the printed text.

W. A. W.
I. 'TO SAVE APPEARANCES.'

[Read before the Cambridge Philological Society 20 May 1875.]

This phrase has not, so far as I know, been traced to its source. I am now able to carry it up to a date many hundred years older than that which I assigned to it seventeen years ago. In a passage, otherwise also of great interest, Plutarch says de fac. in orbe lunae 6 § 3 p. 923a:

καὶ ὁ Δεύκιος γελάσας, 'μόνον εἶπεν, 'ὅ ταυ, μη κρίσιν ἡμῶν ἀσεβείας ἐπαγγείλης, ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχον ἔτεο δεῖν Κλεάνθης τὸν Σάμμον ἀσεβείας προσκαλείσθαι τοὺς. Ἐλληνας οὐς κινοῦντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἐστίαν, ὅτι τὰ φαινόμενα σώζειν ['à sauuer les apparences' AMYOT] ἀνήρ ἐπειρᾶτο, μενεὼν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος, ἐξελίττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ λοξὸν κύκλου τῆς γῆς, ἁμα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄξονα δινουμένην.

The lax modern acceptation of the words is perhaps not older than the sixteenth century. Littré indeed (s. v. apparence n. 2) cites no earlier authorities than Molière, Bossuet, Massillon, Fénélon, Balzac. Add Bayle (Agésilaus n. H) "ce sont, généralement parlant, les maximes de tous les états; la différence des uns aux autres n'est que du plus au moins: les uns sauvent mieux les apparences que les autres." But Tommaso s.v. apparenza n. 7 alleges the concetti politici of Fr. Sansovino, published in 1575.
In England the phrase owes its popularity no doubt to Milton. I therefore make no apology for reproducing here a note which I printed in Notes and Queries 21 Aug. 1858 (2nd Ser. vi n. 138 p. 143):

I do not find that the commentators have pointed out the source of the singular lines in the Par. Lost viii 82, 83. Yet no one who considers the strong attractions which the bold and eloquent History of the Council of Trent must have possessed for the author of Areopagitica, and observes the exact verbal correspondences of the two passages cited below, will doubt that Milton was indebted here to Father Paul:

"... or if they list to try
Conjecture, he his fabric of the heav'ns
Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide
Hereafter, when they come to model heav'n
And calculate the stars, how they will wield
The mighty frame, how build, unbuild, contrive
To save appearances, how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb."

"Fù da alcuni faceti detto, che se gli astrologi, non sapendo le vere cause de' moti celesti, per salvare le apparenze, hanno dato in eccentrici et epicicli, non'era maraviglia, se volendo salvare le apparenze de' moti sopracelesti, si dava in eccentricità d' opinioni."—Hist. del Conc. Trid. Lond. 1619 p. 222.

The allusion is well explained in "The life of Samuel Fairclough" p. 184 (printed in Samuel Clark's Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons, Lond. 1683 fol.): "He could never expect to see or find peace on earth amongst men, until the spirits of men were so acted by the Spirit of God, as the spheres are said (in the old philosophy) to be acted above by angels, where all
the little smaller epicycles and circles of every particular orb do all give themselves up wholly to the conduct and motion of the larger and greater spheres; and truly (said he) it is this, which (according to that hypothesis) doth make the sweetest music in heaven." [Bossuet also (Variations xv 81 cited by Littré s.v. sauver n. 9) has made use of Father Paul: 'Les anciens avaient imaginé je ne sais combien de cercles différemment entrelacés les uns dans les autres, par lesquels ils sauvaient toutes ces bizarreries.' Mr Wright reminds me of Bacon's Essay xvii, which was no doubt known to Milton, but he also knew and cites elsewhere Father Paul. Bacon says: 'It was gravely said, by some of the Prelates, in the Councell of Trent, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no such things: And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen had framed a Number of subtile and intricate Axiomes and Theorems, to save the practise of the Church.'

Since the above was in print I received from the Rev. G. Wheelwright a specimen (8 pp. 4to. FA—FACE) of the new English dictionary promised by the Philological Society. Here under fabricate I found a reference to Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy p. 2 s. 2 m. 3, where is much curious learning respecting epicycles and eccentrics. In p. 159 col. 2 (ed. 1676) all the editions (I have had the advantage of consulting Mr Wright's collection with his aid) read: 'Maginus makes eleven Heavens subdivided into their Orbes and circles, and all too little to serve those particular appearances,' where I should not venture upon the correction save. Elsewhere the true reading salve has been in the first and several other editions displaced by solve. Thus p. 160 col. 2: 'To avoid therefore these impossibilities, they ascribe a triple motion to the earth,... and so solve all aparences better than any way whatsoever.' Yet a few lines lower down salve has kept its place: 'to salve those ordinary objections of Parallaxes and Retrogradations of the fixed stars.' Solve occurs again by mistake p. 162 col. 1:
'But to avoid these Paradoxes of the earths motion (which the Church of Rome hath lately condemned as heretical, as appears by Blancanus and Fromundus writings) our latter Mathematicians have rolled all the stones that may be stirred: and to solve all appearances and objections, have invented new hypotheses, and fabricated new systems of the World, out of their own Dedalcean (sic) heads.'

II. 'IN PURIS NATURALIBUS.'

The history of this phrase affords a striking instance of that degeneration of abstract philosophical terms, which Hegel, if I remember right, as cited in Guesses at Truth, supposed to be characteristic of England, pointing to the very material sense attached by our chemists and grocers to such a word as essence. I have myself heard a dignitary charge materialism on the Athanasian Creed because of its use of the ὅμοοὐσιον.

In puris naturalibus, we all know, now means 'stark naked'; man in puris naturalibus, as our late Public Orator wittily put it, is to us man before the grace of the tailor. But in scholastic divinity pura naturalia are opposed to supernaturalia, man's unaided powers to his powers quickened and guided by Divine grace. See Jo. Duns Scotus in II sent. dist. 29 (not 39, as Cotta says) qu. unica, where in p. n. several times occurs. Tho. Aquin. summa p. I qu. 95 art. I 'qui posuerunt hominem non esse creatum in gratia, sed in naturalibus tantum'; ibid. prima sec. qu. 109 art. 4 tit. 'utrum homo sine gratia per sua naturalia legis praecepta implere possit'; ibid. ad fin. 'praeceptum de dilectione Dei non potest homo implere ex puris naturalibus.' Cotta has appended a learned note
(iv 248—250) to Jo. Gerhard's loci theol. ix 'de imagine Dei in homine ante lapsum' § 46, in which many authorities are cited. See especially Bellarmine de gratia primi hominis c. 5 (opp. Colon. 1619 iv 256) 'Quare non magis differt status hominis post lapsum Adae a statu eiusdem in puris naturalibus, quam differat spoliatus a nudo; neque deterior est humana natura, si culpam originalem detrahas, neque magis ignorantia et infirmitate laborat, quam esset et laboraret in puris naturalibus condita.' Cf. c. 7 col. 36ab, 37ab, 38b, 39a.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.
NOTES ON THE AJAX OF SOPHOCLES.

399, 400.

οὐτε γὰρ θεῶν γένος οὐθ’ ἀμερίων
ἐτ’ ἄξιος βλέπειν εἰς ὁνειριν ἀνθρώπων.

I cannot see why εἰς ὁνειριν should not be taken adverbially here, = 'to advantage,' i.e. profitably. "For I am no longer worthy to behold the race either of gods or mortal men advantageously to myself."

Compare Soph. Phil. 111;

ὅταν τι δρᾶσ ἐς κέρδος, οὖκ ὁκνεῖν πρέπει.

449.

οὖκ ἂν ποτε
dίκην κατ’ ἄλλον φωτὸς ὁδ᾿ ἐψήφισαν.

Why cannot ψηφίζω here have its proper meaning 'to count'? "They would never have thus counted up [the votes in] a law-suit to the detriment of another man." Cf. infr. 1135:

ΤΕΤ. κλέπτης γὰρ αὐτοῦ ψηφοποιὸς εὑρέθης.
ΜΕ. ἐν τούς δικασταῖς, οὖκ ἐμοὶ, τὸδ᾽ ἐσφάλη.

The persons who counted up the votes would have especial opportunities of manufacturing surreptitious ones. And such a repetition of Ajax's complaint against the Atridæ by Teucer gives a greater unity to the action, than the interpretation, which makes Teucer the originator of this special accusation.
NOTES ON THE AJAX OF SOPHOCLES. 177

465.

γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἁριστείων ἄτερ, ὡν αὐτὸς ἐσχε, στέφανον εὐκλείας μέγαν'

I cannot assent to any explanation of a double genitive, that I have seen, in the second of these lines. It appears to me that ὡν is simply the direct object of ἐσχε, attracted to its antecedent τῶν ἁριστείων, while στέφανον εὐκλείας μέγαν is in apposition with ἄτερ, the proper object of ἐσχεν, implied in the attracted ὡν. Compare 967, 968;

ὁν γὰρ ἡράσθη τυχεῖν, ἐκτῆσαθ' αὐτῷ, θάνατον ὄνπερ ἦθελεν.

where θάνατον ὄνπερ ἦθελεν is a mere exegetical apposition to ὡν ἡράσθη τυχεῖν.

556, 557.

ὅταν ἔ ηκη πρὸς τούτο, δεὶ σ'—ὅπως πατρὸς δείξεις ἐν ἐχθροῖς οἶος ἦ ὦτυ τράφης.

I think the hypothesis of an aposiopesis from agitation after δεὶ σ', and then a change of construction, is preferable to any method of forcing δεὶ σ' into syntactical union with ὅπως δείξεις.

730.

κόλεων ἐρυστὰ διεπεραιῶθη ξίφη.

The proper meaning of διεπεραιῶθη is 'to cause to pass across'. Why can it not mean here: 'swords, drawn from sheaths, were crossed'? It would then be vividly descriptive of the attitude of persons proceeding in a quarrel as far as possible without actually striking a blow. Or perhaps, as ἐπεραιῶθη is the intransitive aor. of περαιῶθ, διεπεραιῶθη would be better translated simply "crossed."

Journal of Philology. vol. vi. 12
If we analyse the word πρόστητη, we arrive at once at the meaning 'stand in front of'. Adding the idea of motion with a view to standing in front of, we obtain the meaning 'get in front of', i.e. 'be beforehand with'. Thus, although I am not aware of any similar use of the word, we arrive at exactly the meaning required by the context: 'Alas, friends, be beforehand with fate!'

With regard to εξ ουρίων, it is surely as legitimate to refer to such passages as Αesch. Eumen. 147:

εξ ἀρκίων πέπτωκεν οἶχεται δ' ὁ θηρ,

as to εξ ουρίας πλεῖν and similar expressions, which usually abound in the notes of commentators. And the former reference brings out an easy and vivid sense, which is not very apparent in the latter.

"Consider that that state some day in course of time, if it were to run out of the sphere of favourable winds (εἰ δράμοι), will fall into the abyss."

I understand ὡσπερ oἱ πόνου πολλοῦ πλέῳ to be a hit at the meddlesome and fussy character of the Atrides.

"For Ajax did not go on the expedition at all on account of your wife, like those who are full of much ado," meaning by that, Menelaus himself, who was meddling with the burial of Ajax, a matter with which he had properly no concern.
1396, 1397, compared with Heb. vi. 6.

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καὶ ἄμπραςε κεῖ τινα στρατοῦ θέλεις κομίζειν, οὐδὲν ἄλγος ἔξομεν.

In this passage I think τινα στρατοῦ must be taken as the subject and not the object of κομίζειν, which again I think is used intransitively in the sense ‘exequias ire’. ‘And if you wish any member of the army to attend the funeral, I shall feel no annoyance.’ That is to say, although Teucer objects to Ulysses attending Ajax’s funeral himself, yet he is perfectly willing to allow him to send a representative to do so. If I were to supply an object to κομίζειν, it would be τὸν νεκρὸν, for which compare Eurip. Andromache 74.

This is one of those curious uses of a transitive verb in an intransitive sense, which illustrate the employment of ἀνακατ-νιξεῖν in the sense of renewing [a covenant] in Heb. vi. 6, where I translate, ‘For it is impossible that those who have been once illuminated....and have fallen away should renew [their covenant] again in the direction of repentance, by [re]crucifying for themselves the Son of God, and putting him to open shame.’

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Curtius grounds his opinion that the Greek aspirates were up to the period of classical literature, if not much later, genuine aspirates or double sounds—that is, not spirants, on the following five considerations:

1. The moveability of the aspirate as shown, e.g. in reduplication-syllables and in the Ionic κιθών, &c. as compared with Attic χιτών.

2. The representation by foreigners of the aspirates by the corresponding tenues, as in the case of the Scythian in Aristophanes, Thesmophorazusae—πέρε for φέρε.

3. Latin transcription—e.g. tesaurus, Corintus, where t stands for Greek θ.

4. The mention by Dionysius of Halicarnassus of the προσθήκη τοῦ πνεύματος.

5. The fact that modern Greek in some dialects gives the tenues for the older aspirate—e.g. ἐκω for ἔχω, τέλω for θέλω.

Now any additional evidence on this point coming actually from the Classical period of Greek literature would be especially important: and it seems to me that the passage in question goes a long way towards supplying this deficiency. The question is there asked whether a man could be said to have real scientific knowledge of (ἐπίστασθαι) the first syllable of the names Θεαίτητος and Θεόδωρος, if in the one case he were (by accident) to spell it right Θ + η, and in the other wrong Τ + η. The example seems to derive its whole point from the case with which such a mistake might be made by an unlettered person; while the improbability of the mistake is increased and the θῆτα and ταῦ more widely separated and less likely to be confounded, if we assume that the θ had a pronunciation somewhat like modern Greek θ or our own hard th in thin.

E. S. ROBERTS.
ON THE SO-CALLED ARABICUS MONS.

The Ancient Atlas of Dr Smith and Mr Grove, just completed, contains a sheet of 'Geographical Systems of the Ancients'. They are drawn by Dr Karl Müller. In the Herodotean system there is a mountain range marked as 'Arabicus Mons', starting from above Heliopolis in Egypt, running parallel with the Arabicus Sinus, and ending in a 'Thurifera Regio' West of the opening into the Southern Sea, among or South of the Ethiopians;—in Africa as we should now call it. And its length is set down as "60 dierum iter."

In accordance with this, so far as it goes, Smith's Dictionary of Ancient Geography has a title 'Arabiae or Arabicus Mons', which is said to be "the name given by Herodotus to the range of mountains which form the Eastern border of the Nile valley, and separated it from the part of Arabia West of the Arabian Gulf."

The invention and denomination of this mountain range has arisen from what I conceive to be a misunderstanding of Herodotus, Book II. 8.

Herodotus goes on to say that this mountain and a corresponding one, on the Libyan side of the valley, make Egypt
narrow for about "four days' sail;" τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτὸς εἰρέα Ἀγυπτὸς ἔστι.

Quite a different interpretation of this passage is that implied in Niebuhr's condensation of it (Geography of Herodotus, English Translation, Oxford, 1830): "The Arabian chain of mountains from West to East measures two months' journey (i.e. 12,000 stadia), from the edge of the valley of the Nile to the region of frankincense." He adds, "I say from the edge of the valley of the Nile, because the Gulf is considered as inland, and not as the boundary of the country."

Had the passage in Herodotus stood alone, _ should even then have thought no other interpretation tenable. An Arabian mountain, of which the longest range is described as Easterly, comes to a termination at the Mokattam quarries, and thence turns South; and so, with the corresponding Libyan range, makes the valley of the Nile narrow for four days' journey up the stream: what becomes of it after this he does not distinctly say.

But there is another passage, which seems to me to remove any possible doubt where this West and East range is to be looked for.

In Book II. c. 158, describing the course of the canal intended by Necho to connect the Nile and the Red Sea, which started from the river near Bubastis and the modern Zagazig, he says: "ἐχεταὶ δὲ κατύπερσθ᾽ τοῦ πεδίου"—that is, to the South of the Eastern part of the plain of Lower Egypt—"τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὦφος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λαθοτομίαι ἐνεισὶ"—the very words of the former passage, and he proceeds to say that the canal was carried along the foot of this mountain range "ἀπ᾽ ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡδῶν," after which "τεῖνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέροντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὦφεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον." The low land at the head of the gulf is treated as a mere transverse valley, and the range continues Eastward into Arabia. In truth, Herodotus and the other Greeks who visited Egypt, must have been much more familiar with this West and East line of hills—or more correctly, I imagine, this northern boundary of the mass of intersected table land lying between the Nile and the Gulf, than
with the eastern bank of the Nile valley. The views of Gebel Geneffeh, Attakah, &c. strike the modern traveller on the Suez canal; and Murray's Guide tells us of spots whence the additional prospect of "the granite peaks of Sinai" combine with them to form "a really magnificent coup d'œil." It is, I conceive, at the end of a two months' journey in this direction that Herodotus was told we should scent the odours of the frankincense.

Niebuhr states a difficulty, without dwelling on it, in reconciling this datum for determining the incense country with the other in Book III. 107, that it occupies the extreme South of Arabia. I do not think it is necessary to picture the range to oneself as running due East: neither, on the other hand, do I suppose it possible to draw a map of the habitable world from the data of Herodotus which should be thoroughly self-consistent. But I think it quite clear that he placed this region in what we call Arabia, and not in what we call Africa. No doubt he extends Arabia West of the Gulf, where, then as now, there were Arab tribes bordering on Egypt and Nubia: but he does not carry it far South (see vii. 69). On the large scale, the succession Westward of the nations occupying the shores of the Southern sea is, in Asia, Persians, Assyrians, Arabians; and then, after the narrower strip, where Palestine and Egypt separate the northern and southern seas, comes Libya (iv. 39, 41). And the frankincense region is in the ἐχατια of Arabia; gold, elephants, ebony, and the long-lived Ethiopians in that of Libya (III. 107).

There is another passage pertinent to this question, which seems to me to confirm these inferences; but it is not so conclusive as it might be, owing either to our ignorance or to a corruption of the text (II. 75). Herodotus tells us he went to a place τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτόν πόλιν μαλαστά κη κείμενος where flights of winged serpents arrived every year from this frankincense region (III. 107), and were stopped and destroyed by the ibises at the mouth of a wady debouching into a large plain which joins on to the plain of Egypt. The only known Buto is here out of the question, being far away in the Western Delta. But the description certainly seems to point to the hills
flanking the Eastern Delta, between Cairo and Suez, or beyond the Suez Canal; and even if we suppose the spot to be South of Cairo, the wady must then run into the Nile valley from the East. It seems impossible to imagine the inroad to come from beyond Meroë.

1 If we could ascertain the position, we might ascertain what it was that Herodotus really saw there which, with mind prepossessed, he accepted as heaps innumerable of serpents' bones and vertebrae (δεδώθας). The nummulites which, singly and in conglomerated masses, strew the path and compose the soil on the way to the Beni-hassan tombs, at once struck me as possibly his vertebrae. The same fossils are said to be Strabo's "petrified lentils" on the platform of the Pyramids; but I forgot to look for them when there. In all probability there are many other localities where they are equally conspicuous.

D. D. Heath, Kitlands.
In the Second Book of the Nicomachean Ethics, after it has been shown on general grounds that each 'virtue' or excellence is a 'mean state' between excess and defect, a chapter follows in which this position is confirmed by a list of the several Virtues and corresponding Vices. This list gives by anticipation, in a summary form, the results afterwards arrived at by the discussion of the Moral Virtues in Books III and IV. I propose to show that it is not only founded on the subsequent discussion (which we should expect to be the case) but also that it is of later date, and probably not the work of the same author. I shall then endeavour to point out the bearing of this conclusion on the disputed questions regarding the composition of the Nicomachean Ethics.

1. The terminology of the chapter in question (II. 7) is more complete than that of Books III—IV. In particular there are several characters which have no specific name given to them in the later place, e.g.

a. In III. 2, § 7, the defect answering to ἑυφροσύνη is said to be nameless, 'for such incapacity of feeling (ἀναισθησία) is not human'; but no name is proposed for it. In II. 7, the term ἀναισθητός is adopted.

b. In IV. 6, the mean between the ἀρεσκός and the δυσκόλος is said to have no name, but to be 'most like friendship' (ἐοικε δὲ μάλιστα φιλία). In II. 7 it is spoken of as φιλία, as though that were a well understood term.

c. In IV. 7, a 'nameless state' is discussed which is 'the mean of ἀληθόνεια'. It is described by circumlocutions,—ὁ ἀληθευτικός, οἱ ἀληθεύοντες and the like—and in one place
(iv. 8, § 12) is said to be \(\pi e p l \ \alpha l \eta \theta e i a n\). In II. 7 the term \(\alpha l \eta \theta e i a\) is definitely adopted (\(\eta \ \mu e s o t h s \ \alpha l \eta \theta e i a \ \lambda e g \varepsilon \theta o\)).

In all these cases a new term is adopted by the writer of II. 7, out of materials and hints contained in Books III and IV. Language which in these Books is used in a loose, illustrative way, is now strict and technical. And I cannot but think that the new uses of the words \(\phi i l i a\) and \(\alpha l \eta \theta e i a\) are very harsh and unlike the manner of Aristotle.

2. The three ‘social habits’ are treated in Book IV in a manner which is professedly tentative and unsystematic. The discussion of \(\pi r a o t h s\) suggests the habit which is ‘like Friendship’: then follows \(\eta \ \alpha l a \zeta o n e i a s \ \mu e s o t h s,\) with an apology for introducing ‘mean states’ that are not properly speaking Virtues: then \(e i n t r a p t e l i a.\) At the end, however, there is a short recapitulation (c. 8 § 12), in which the three habits are more accurately distinguished; \(\delta i a f \varepsilon \rho o u s i \ \nu t i \ \eta \ \mu e n \ \pi e p l \ \alpha l \eta \theta e i a n \ \kappa. \pi. \lambda.\) This classification gives us the new order \(\alpha l \eta \theta e i a \ \epsilon i n t r a p t e l i a \ \phi i l i a\): and is adopted ready made in II. 7, \(\pi e p l \ \mu e n \ \nu \nu \ \tau \circ \ \alpha l \eta \theta e i e s \ \kappa. \pi. \lambda.\) Even the change of expression from \(\pi e p l \ \alpha l \eta \theta e i a n \) to \(\pi e p l \ \tau \circ \ \alpha l \eta \theta e i e s\) may be accounted for by the fact that the Virtue itself is now called \(\alpha l \eta \theta e i a,\) and consequently could not be said in the same sentence to be \(\pi e p l \ \alpha l \eta \theta e i a n.\)

3. The opening words of the chapter under discussion—
\(\delta e i \ \nu t o \ \mu h \ \mu o n o n \ \k a t \circ \theta l o u \ \lambda e g \varepsilon \theta a i \ \alpha l l a \ \k a i \ \tau o i s \ \k a b' \ \varepsilon k a s t a \ \epsilon f a r m o t t e i w—\) offer a use of the phrase \(\tau \circ \ \k a b' \ \varepsilon k a s t a\) which it would be difficult to justify from Aristotle, and which is inconsistent with the use of the same phrase in the next words of the sentence—\(\pi e p l \ \gamma a r \ \tau \circ \ \k a b' \ \varepsilon k a s t a \ \alpha i \ \pi r a \zeta e i w.\) The ‘particulars’ with which action ‘has to do’ are those of individual cases. To confuse these with the several kinds of Virtue (\(\tau \circ \ \mu e r h \ \tau h s \ \alpha r e t h s\)) is the mistake of a clumsy imitator of Aristotle.

4. The expression \(\lambda o u m a i \ \alpha r e t a i\) at the end is noted by Sir A. Grant as post-Aristotelian.

5. The \(\delta i a g r a f h\) mentioned at the beginning of the chapter seems to be a catalogue or table. It is referred to
also in the Eudemian Ethics, 1228 a 28, δειδομεν δ' ἐν τῇ διαγραφῇ πρότερον θράσος καὶ φόβον ἑναντῖα: cp. 1230 b 12, and 1231 b 8. It is not like Aristotle to make use of a list of the kind, much less to found an argument upon it as though it were something well known and accepted.

6. The references to Book II contained in Books III and IV are in favour of this view.

Note especially the words at the beginning of the discussion of Temperance in Book III: οὐτὶ μὲν οἷς μεσότης ἐστὶν περὶ ἡδουός ἡ σωφροσύνη εἰρηται ἡμῶν· ἦττον γὰρ καὶ οἷς ὀμοίως ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν λίπτας, i.e. 'we have said about Temperance simply that it is about pleasures (and that was enough), for it is not about pains in the same way.' This is therefore a reference to II. 2, § 7, and ignores II. 7, where the words ἦττον ἔδε καὶ περὶ τὰς λίπτας are evidently taken (and spoiled by the omission of οἷς ὀμοίως) from III. 10, § 1.

The reference at III. 6, § 2 may also be to II. 2, and proves nothing in favour of II. 7.

The only references to II. 7 are the following:—

III. 7, § 7, εἰρηται δ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον ὦτι πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἀνόψυμα.

IV. 4, § 1, καθῶπερ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ἐλέχθη.

IV. 4, § 3, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ἐλέχθη.

It can hardly be accidental that these three references are all parenthetical, and may be struck out without affecting the sense in the least; whereas the two other references, at III. 6, § 2, and III. 10, § 1, are indispensable to the context.

These arguments seem to show conclusively that II. 7 was composed after Books III and IV; and that, even if it should be thought that the difference of authorship is not established. It will be found, in fact, that not merely the substance but the language of II. 7 is taken servilely, clause by clause, from the longer discussion.

To this rule however there is an exception which leads to some important inferences.

The agreement between II. 7 and the discussion of the
Virtues in Book IV extends as far as the mention of aidoś, and then suddenly stops; the last words of II. 7, which answer to anything in Book IV, are ἐπαυεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ aidoś (§ 14). The account of the extremes answering to aidoś, with the whole doctrine of νέμεσις, announced in II. 7, are wanting in Book IV. Now if the summary of II. 7 is derived from the longer discussion—if it is not a 'programme' but a recapitulation—it follows that the writer had before him the missing conclusion of Book IV.

If, however, it is admitted that the last pages of Book IV are lost, a considerable a priori probability is gained for Sir A. Grant's theory of the Eudeman authorship of Books V—VII. We have seen the Nicomachean context fail; the burden of proof rests with those who tell us where it is resumed.

The reference in II. 7 to the discussion of Justice is very brief, but seems to point to something different from the existing Book V. The words are—περὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης, ἐπεὶ οὖχ ἀπλῶς λέγεται, μετὰ ταῦτα διειλόμενοι περὶ ἐκατέρας ἐροῦμεν πῶς μεσότητες εἰσιν. That is to say, 'we shall distinguish two senses of the word Justice, and show how each kind of Justice so distinguished is a mean state.' Instead of this, the two senses distinguished at the beginning of Book V are Universal and Particular Justice, whereas the two kinds to which the law of μεσότης is (somewhat differently) applied are Distributive and Corrective. Hence the passage of II. 7 seems to point to a Nicomachean Book V of somewhat simpler plan than the extant book. On the other hand it is possible that the writer of II. 7 has himself confused the plan of the book. The distinction of Universal and Particular Justice must be due to Aristotle himself.

D. B. MONRO.
THE LEGEND OF THE CHAPMAN OF SWAFFHAM CHURCH.

I give the English form of this legend in the words of Sir Roger Twysden, as quoted in Blomefield's 'History of Norfolk,' 8vo. ed. Vol. vi. pp. 211—213.

"The north aisle of Swaffham Church is generally reported and believed to be built by John Chapman, a tinker of this town: the history of it I shall here transcribe from Sir Roger Twysden's Remembrances, MS. p. 299, published by our great antiquary, Mr Hearne of Oxford, and shall then give my opinion on it.

"The story of the Pedlar of Swaffham Market is in substance this: 'That dreaming one night if he went to London, he should certainly meet with a man upon London Bridge, which would tell him good news; he was so perplexed in his mind that till he set upon his journey he could have no rest; to London therefore he hastens, and walked upon the Bridge for some hours, where being espied by a shopkeeper and asked what he wanted, he answered, 'You may well ask me that question, for truly (quoth he) I am come hither upon a very vain errand,' and so told the story of his dream which occasioned the journey. Whereupon the shopkeeper replied, 'Alas, good friend, should I have heeded dreams I might have proved myself as very a fool as thou hast; for 'tis not long since that I dreamt that at a place called Swaffham Market, in Norfolk, dwells one John Chapman, a pedlar, who hath a tree in his back side, under which is buried a pot of money. Now, therefore, if I should have made a journey thither to dig for

such hidden treasure, judge you whether I should not have been counted a fool." To whom the pedlar cunningly said, 'Yes, verily; I will therefore return home and follow my business, not heeding such dreams henceforward.' But when he came home (being satisfied that his dream was fulfilled), he took occasion to dig in that place, and accordingly found a large pot full of money, which he prudently concealed, putting the pot among the rest of his brass. After a time it happened that one who came to his house and beholding the pot, observed an inscription upon it, which being in Latin he interpreted it, that under that there was another twice as good¹. Of this inscription the pedlar was before ignorant, or at least minded it not; but when he heard the meaning of it he said, 'Tis very true, in the shop where I bought this pot stood another under it which was twice as big;' but considering that it might tend to his further profit to dig deeper in the same place where he found that, he fell again to work and discovered such a pot as was intimated by the inscription, full of old coin; notwithstanding all which, he so concealed his wealth that the neighbours took no notice of it. But not long after the inhabitants of Swaffham resolving to re-edify their church, and having consulted the workmen about the charge, they made a levy, wherein they taxed the pedlar according to no other rate but what they had formerly done. But he knowing his own ability came to the church and desired the workmen to show him their model, and to tell him what they esteemed the charge of the north aisle would amount to; which when they told him, he presently undertook to pay them for building it, and not only that, but of a very tall and beautiful tower steeple.' This is the tradition of the inhabitants, as it was told me there. And in testimony thereof, there was then his picture, with his wife and three children, in every window of the aisle, with an inscription running through the bottom of all those windows, viz. 'Orate pro bono statu Johannis Chapman...Uxor is ejus, et

¹ The common tradition is, it was in English rhyme, viz.:  
"Where this stood Is another as good;"

Or as some will have it:  
"Under me doth lie Another much richer than I."
Liberorum suorum, qui quidem Johannes hanc alam cum festris tecto et...fieri fecit.'

"It was in Henry the Seventh's time, but the year I now remember not, my notes being left with Mr William Sedgwicke, who trickt the pictures, he being then with me. In that aisle is his seat, of an antique form, and, on each side the entrance, the statue of the pedlar of about a foot in length, with pack on his back, very artificially cut. This was sent me from Mr William Dugdale, of Blyth Hall, in Warwickshire, in a letter dated Jan. 29th, 1652—3, which I have since learned from others to have been most true.

"ROGER TWYSDEN.'

Blomefield remarks that the story is to be found in Johannes Fungerus' "Etymologicon Latino-Greceum," pag. 1110, et 1111, where it is told of a man of Dort in Holland. Blomefield also adds that the north aisle of the church was certainly built by John Chapman, who was churchwarden in 1462; but he thinks that the figures of the pedlar, &c., were only put "to set forth the name of the founder; such rebuses are frequently met with on old works."

The story is also told in Abraham de la Pryme's diary (Nov. 10, 1699) as a "constant tradition" concerning a pedlar in Soffham, alias Sopham, in Norfolk.

As Fungerus' book is not a common one, I subjoin the passage to which Blomefield alludes; it occurs in the article somnus. The copy of the "Etymologicon Latino-Greceum" in the University Library bears the date 'Lugduni, 1607.'

"Rem quae contigit patrum memoria ut veram ita dignam relatu, et sepemunero mihi assertam ab hominibus fide dignis apponam. Juvenis quidam in Hollandia, Dordraci1 videlicet, rem et patrimonium omne prodegerat, conflatoque ære alieno non erat solvendo. Apparuit illi quidam per somnium, monens ut se conferret Campos2: ibi in ponte indicium aliquem fac-turum, quid sibi, ut explicare se posset illis difficiltatibus, instituendum foret. Abiit eo, cumque totum fere diem tristis et meditabundus deambulationem supra prædictum pontem

1 Dort.
2 Kempen.
insumisset, misertus ejus publicus mendicus, qui forte stipem rogans illic sedebat, quid tu, inquit, adeo tristis? Aperuit illi somniator tristem et afflictam fortunam suam, et qua de causa eo se contulisset. Quippe somnii impulsu hoc se profectum, et exspectare Deum velut a machina, qui nodum hunc plus quam Gordium evolvat. At mendicus, Adeone tu demens et excors, ut fretus somno, quo nihil inanius, hoc arriperes iter? Si hujusmodi nugis esset habenda fides, possem et ego me conferre Dordracum ad eruendum thesaurum sub cynosbato defossum horti cujusdam (fuerat autem hic hortus patris somniatoris hujus,) mihi itidem patefactum in somno. Subticit alter, et rem omnem sibi declaratam existimans rediit magno cum gaudio Dordracum, et sub arbore prædicta magnam pecuniam invenit, quæ ipsum liberavit (ut ita dicam) nexu, inque lautiore fortuna, dissoluto omni ære alieno, collocavit."

We see by this extract that the story is one by no means confined to Norfolk, but equally current in Holland and probably elsewhere on the continent. It is evidently an old legend, located by popular fancy in several widely distant spots (just like that of Whittington and his cat), and it has only become connected with Swaffham as an attempt to explain the forgotten mystery of the figure of the chapman and his pack in the parish church.

Modern research has shown that a very large proportion of the popular legends of Europe can be traced in their oldest forms to the East, and especially to the early Buddhist writings, as fables and stories were continually used by the Buddhist teachers to illustrate and popularize their doctrines. I have not succeeded in tracing this at present to India or to a Buddhist source; but I have found it in the great Persian metaphysical and religious poem called the Masnavi, written by Jalaluddin, who died about A.D. 1260, and therefore it may very probably have come to him from a still more Eastern home.

I subjoin a translation of the legend as it appears in the Masnavi, only slightly compressing it, and omitting the long metaphysical and mystical digressions with which the author, more suo, continually interrupts the course of the story.
In his prose title prefixed to the chapter, he tells his readers that the man is sent to Cairo to learn that "a man's treasure is only to be sought in his own house, though he may have to go to Egypt to find it."

A certain heir in Baghdad possessed boundless wealth; 
He wasted it all and was left destitute and forlorn. 
(Hereditary wealth is never faithful, 
For unwillingly it parted from him who is gone.)
When he became empty, he remembered God, 
And began to say 'O God, look upon me;' 
He said 'O God, thou gavest me wealth and it is gone; 
O give me wealth again or send me death.'
And one night he saw a dream, and an angel's voice said to him, 
'In Cairo shall thy wealth be found; 
'In a certain place is a great treasure; 
'Thou must go to Cairo in search for it.'
When from Baghdad he came to Cairo, 
His back became hot as he saw the face of the country, 
In his hope that the heavenly voice would prove true, 
That so he might find a treasure there to banish his sorrow. 
The voice had said that in a certain street in a certain place 
A treasure of marvellous value lay buried. 
But of provisions, little or much, he had none left; 
And he began to beg of the common people. 
But shame and spirit seized the hem of his garment, 
And he began to gather himself up for endurance; 
And then again his appetite fretted with hunger, 
And he saw no escape from showing his want and begging. 
At last he said 'I will go out softly at night, 
'That in the darkness I may not feel shame at begging. 
'Like a night-mendicant I will pray and beg, 
'That they may throw me half a dénk from the roofs.'
In this thought he went out into the street, 
With this intent he wandered hither and thither. 
At one moment shame and honour stopped him, 
At another hunger said to him 'beg.'
One foot forwards, one foot backwards, for a third of the night,
Saying, 'shall I beg or shall I lie down with parched lips?'
Suddenly a watchman seized him,
And angrily beat him with fist and stick.
By chance it had happened that in those dark nights
The inhabitants had been greatly vexed with robbers,
And the Caliph had said, 'Cut off that man's hand,
Whoever wanders abroad at night, though he were my own kinsman.'
And the minister had sternly threatened the watchmen,
'Why are ye so pitiful towards the robbers?'
It was at such a time that the watchman saw him and smote him,
With blows of stick and fist without number.
The poor man shrieked and cried aloud for help,
'Strike me not;' he said, 'that I may tell thee my true story.'
He answered, 'I have given thee a respite, speak on;
Tell me how thou hast come out by night.
Thou art not of this place, thou art a stranger and one unknown;
Tell me truly in what treachery art thou engaged.
The officers of the court have blamed the watchmen,
Saying, 'why are the thieves now so many?'
Their number is made up of thee and thy friends,
Disclose at once thy evil companions.
If not, I will take on thee the vengeance for all,
That the men in power may be no longer blamed.'
The other replied, after many oaths,
'I am no house-burner or purse-stealer;
I am no robber or lawless liver:
I am a stranger to Cairo—a man of Baghdad.'
Then he told the story of the dream and the hidden treasure of gold,
And the heart of the watchman opened at his truthfulness.
The heart is at rest in upright speech,
As a thirsty man finds rest in water.
He answered, 'thou art no thief or villain,
Thou art an honest man—only an owl and a fool.
For such a fancy and dream to take such a journey,
There is not a barley-corn's worth of reason in thy head.  
Times upon times have I seen a dream,  
That in Baghdad there is a treasure hidden,  
Buried in such a street, in such a quarter,'  
(And lo! that was the very street of this distressed one,)  
'It is in such a house, go thou and find it,'  
(And lo! the enemy mentioned his own name as that of the house,)  
'Times upon times have I seen this dream,  
That there is a treasure in a place in Baghdad;  
But in spite of the vision I never stirred from my place,  
And thou from a dream wilt only find weariness of foot.'  
He said to himself, 'the treasure is in my own house;  
Why then should I have poverty and sorrow here?  
I have been dying of beggary on the top of a treasure,  
Because I was in ignorance and behind a veil.'  
At the good news he became drunk with joy and his pain was gone,  
Silently he uttered a hundred times 'Praise to God.'  
Back to Baghdad he returned from Cairo,  
Making prostrations and bowings, and uttering thanks and praise;  
All the way amazed and drunk with joy at the wonder,  
At this reverse of fortune and strange journey of search.

E. B. COWELL.
MODERN GREEK BALLADS FROM CORSICA.

The village of Cargese, which is situated on a headland on the west coast of Corsica, about a day's journey north of Ajaccio, is still inhabited by a colony of Greeks, who have been settled in the island for two centuries. Their history is as follows. When the Turks had made themselves masters of Crete in 1669, they proceeded to attack the district of Maina in the south of the Morea, the central promontory that forms a continuation of Mt. Taygetus, and ends in Cape Matapan. The Mainotes from the strength of their mountain fastnesses have always been an independent race, and might even then have resisted successfully, had not one of the factions into which they were divided sided with the Turks and betrayed their country to them. When further resistance became impossible, one of their leaders, John Stephanopoulos, accepted an offer of the Genoese to provide them with a home in Western Europe, and emigrated by sea with a band of about 1000 souls, in the autumn of 1675. They were planted by the Genoese in Corsica, the object being to employ them as an outpost against the natives, who were always ready to rise against their foreign masters. One of the conditions required of them was, that they should acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, but they were allowed to retain their own form of worship. At first they were established in a place called Paomia, a short distance from their present abode, but in 1731 they were forced to abandon that site, owing to repeated attacks on the part of the Corsicans, whose enmity they had incurred as partisans of the Genoese, and took refuge in Ajaccio. Subsequently, in 1774, when Corsica had passed into the hands of France, they were placed at Cargese, which
place they have occupied up to the present time, except during the period from 1790 to 1814, when their neighbours, taking the opportunity of the French revolution, again drove them out; and when they returned, a part of the colony preferred to remain behind in Ajaccio.

In the course of a journey in Corsica in the early part of 1872, I visited this remarkable community, which now consists of about 400 persons. The Greek that is spoken there, is almost identical with the ordinary Romaic of the mother country, the only perceptible difference being in the soft pronunciation of the gutturals, which, however, prevails throughout the islands of the Ægean. This is the language of the older inhabitants, though they speak Corsican with equal or greater readiness, but the younger generation are for the most part unacquainted with Greek, and seem to wish to ignore their nationality, as interfering with their advancement. One of them even said to me "We are not Greeks." The elders on the other hand shew great enthusiasm for anything Greek, and one remarked, that the old Greek dirges, which are sung at funerals, would move him to tears, while he was not at all affected by the modern Corsican ones. The French government for some years past has paid a sum equivalent to £25 a year to one of the priests of the village for teaching Romaic in the school, but, as he observed to me, this can do but little towards arresting the disuse of the language, as it is only taught for an hour a day.

It is evident that the Greek of Cargese will soon be extinct. In the Church Services, however, it is retained, the old Greek service-books and evangelia which they brought over with them being still used, and the Greek rite observed, except in certain particulars. The dress of the priests also is that of the Greek Church. The names of the people are almost all Greek: thus my host at the inn was called Corfioti, and the ordinary Modern Greek terminations of names in ακυί and οποιός are the most usual. The most intelligent person whom I met there, was the priest already mentioned, Papa Michael Stephanopoulos; he spoke Greek fluently and well, though of course without the refinements which of late years have been introduced amongst the educated classes at Athens and Constantinople.
In the course of conversation with Papa Michael, I enquired whether any Greek popular songs existed at Cargese, and he at once recited to me fragments of several, one of which I recognized as corresponding to a ballad in Passow's *Popularia Carmina Graeciae recentioris*. Accordingly I requested him to collect and write down for me a number of such songs, stipulating that they should be only such as were still sung by the residents there. After the lapse of a month or two, he forwarded to me those which I now publish, written in Greek characters, often difficult to decipher, and with numerous mistakes of spelling, but generally intelligible. The spelling I have thought it better to correct, especially in the case of homophones and diphthongs, as otherwise the reader would find it a mass of confusion; but anything that appears like a real dialectic peculiarity, I have for the most part retained. After receiving them, I learned that a collection of ballads from Cargese had been published in the *Pandora* of Athens for December 1, 1864, by M. Pappadopoulos, who obtained them from a native of that village, who visited Athens. These comprise six ballads and fifty-seven distichs, and on comparing them with mine, I find that one of the ballads, viz., that entitled 'H kari μάνα, and three of the distichs, are the same in both, but I have thought it worth while to print mine in full, because the differences in the two versions of the ballad are well worth comparing, shewing as they do that the versifying power is still, or has been until lately, alive among the people, for it is only orally that these songs are handed down, whether in Greece or elsewhere. Most of the poems that I give here have their counterpart in Passow's collection, a fact of great importance, because it implies that many of the Greek ballads are as much as 200 years old; for this colony seems to have been entirely cut off from communication with the mother-country, at all events until quite lately, and the character of the correspondences and differences between the songs from Corsica and those of Greece Proper, is such as clearly to shew that there has been no borrowing; besides which, the priest writes to me that they are compositions, "which the inhabitants of Cargese sing as dirges and ballads" (όπολ ἐδώ οἱ ἐντόπιοι μυρολογοῦνται καὶ
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trayoudou). About one however I have some doubts, viz. No. 3, which appears to me too polished in style for an ancient poem. On the general characteristics of the Romaic ballads, I may be allowed to refer to the essay on the subject in my Researches in the Highlands of Turkey (Vol. II. p. 224).

1.

THE CRUEL MOTHER.

[This is the story of a youth, who is driven away from home by his mother's unkindness, and prophesies her distress when she hears of his death. It is sung as a dirge (μυρολόγιον), and is one of the most favourite Greek ballads, eight different specimens being given of it in Passow's collections (Pop. Carm. Nos. CCCXLIII—CCCL.). The present ballad presents resemblances to all of these, but does not correspond exactly to any of them. See also Pappadopoulos (No. 4) in Pandora, ubi supra, p. 416.]

Διαλύνεις με, μάνα, διαλύνεις με, κ' ἐγώ μισέσθω θέλω, νά πάω νά βρώ τά κάτεργα, τά πλέο ψηλά καράβια.
νά σταθής μήνας νά μ' ἰδής, χρόνους νά μοῦ μιλήσης, ν' ἔρθη κ' ἡ σχολή τ' α' Γιοργίου, ποῦ 'ν πρώτη ἐφορή τοῦ χρόνου,
νά πάς καὶ μὲς [σ']τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, νά 'μπης νά προσκυνήσης, νά ἰδής τὸν τότον μου εὖκαιρον καὶ τὸ στασίδο μου ἄδειον,
νά ἰδής καὶ τοὺς συντρόφους μου, πῶς παίζουν καὶ γελοῦνε.
τότε σε πάρ' ἡ πίκρα σου καὶ τὸ παράπονό σου,
νά πάρμης τὸ στρατεί στρατεί, τ' ὀράιο τὸ σταυροδρόμι·
θέλουν καοῦν τὰ μάτια σου, τηράζοντας τὴν στράταν,
θέλουν ψιθοῦν τὰ χείλια σου, ῥωτώντας τοὺς διαβάταις.
διαβάταις ποὺ διαβαίνετε, τὴν στράταν ποὺ περνάτε,
μὴν εἴδετε 'νά καλὸ νεά, 'νά ὀμορφο στρατιώτη;
κ' οὔ τὸ εἴδα, κ' οὔ τὸ ἀπάντησα, τοῦθε νά τὸ γνωρίζω;
δὸς μου σημάδια τοῦ κορμοῦ, ἔτι καὶ τὸ γνωρίζω.
ὅτε περπάτα ἔχορευε, κ' ὀτε ἔστεκε ἐτραγούδα,
κ' ἀν ἔμπαινε καὶ στὸν χορὸν, σὰν αἰδῶν ἀπέτα·
ψηλὸ λίγη' ἦτον στὸ κορμὶ, ἰσιο σὰν κυπαρίσσι,
You drive me away, mother, you drive me away, and I shall depart—to go in quest of the ships, the tallest vessels—you will have to wait months before you see me, years before you speak to me—till the feast of St George arrives, which is the first festival of the year:—then go to the church, there enter for prayer—that you may see my place vacant and my seat empty—that you may see my companions how they sport and laugh.—Then your sorrow, then your grief will come upon you—so that you will betake yourself to the road, to the fair crossroad.—Your eyes will burn, as they look at the road—your lips will mutter, as they question the passers-by—“Ye travellers who pass by, who travel along the road—have ye seen a fair youth, a handsome soldier?”—“I have not seen him, I have not met him; how should I recognize him?—give me a description of his

1 στριφτοτζιλούφρη. This word is not found in any dictionary, but a Greek gentleman informs me that it is a very rare expression for cheveux bouclés.

2 There is evidently some omission here, as the line is imperfect: the corresponding line in Passow, No. ccxl., line 13, is εἶχε καὶ στ' ἀκροδάχτυλον πανόρμιον δαχτυλίδι (cf. ccexliv. 13, and ccxiv. 14).
person, so I shall recognize him."—"When he walked, he used to dance, when he stood still, he used to sing—and when he entered the dance, he would fly like a nightingale:—in person he was tall and slight, just like a cypress;—his hair was chestnut, his eyebrows like a band—his eyes like wheels and his hair curly;—on his finger he had a lovely ring,—but the finger outshone the ring."—"Last evening we saw him on the shore of Barbary;—black birds were feeding on him, white birds were flying round him—but one bird, one lovely bird, would not eat. —'Eat, thou bird, thou lovely bird, of the hero's shoulder—to make thy wings grow an ell, thy feathers a span;—that I may inscribe on thy wing three golden letters:—one for thee to give to my mother, another to my sister—the third, the strongest, for thee to take to my sweetheart:—that my mother may read it, and my sister may weep—that my sister may read it, and my sweetheart may weep—that my sweetheart may read it, and the whole world may weep.'"

2.

THE BRIGANDS.

[This is the story of a recognition. A young merchant falls into the hands of brigands, and is killed by their captain, who ultimately discovers that he is his brother, and then kills himself. There are two ballads on the subject in Passow (Nos. CCCCLXXVII. and CCCCLXXVIII.) entitled Οἱ Χαραμίδες, "The Brigands," which closely correspond to this in the treatment of the subject, but present few resemblances in the wording, though here and there phrases and parts of lines are identical.]

Πραγματευθής κατέβαινε τὴν περιποταμίτζα:
ἀρχίζει ὁ νεός καὶ πραγμοδιδᾶ, ἀρχίζει ὁ νεός καὶ λέγει,
δὲν εἶναι κλέφταις ποῦ ἀπερνό, δὲν εἶναι χαραμίδες,
τὴν πραγματικὰ νὰ τάρουνε, κ’ ἐμένα νὰ σκοτώσουν,
καὶ ἀκόμα ὁ λόγος ἔστεκε, καὶ ἥ συντηχῆ ἀποκράτει,
ἐσώναν οἱ κλέφταις ἐσώναν, καὶ οἱ χαραμίδες φθινοῦν,
A merchant went down by the river bank;—the youth began to sing, the youth began to say—"There are no klephts for me to meet, there are no robbers—to steal my goods and kill myself."—Hardly had he ended speaking and the sound of his words ceased—when they came, the Klephts came, and the robbers arrived;—they stole my goods and killed myself.—The first dealt him his sword, the next his lance,—the third, the strongest, gave him a stab.—And when they had wounded me to death, they proceed to ask me—"Come tell us, tell us, young fellow, whence do your parents come?"—"Bad customs are yours, ye heroes of the world—now that ye have killed me, to

1 στά γαλάμα: this has no meaning, and is evidently the corruption of a proper name, perhaps Γαλάμα: or perhaps the original was στό Γαλατά, corresponding to ἄρ' το Γαλατά in Passow cccclxxvii. 23.
2 The conclusion of the same line in Passow is ο κύρις μου ἄφι τῇ Πόλι.
proceed to question me:—so now that ye have mentioned it, come let me declare it to you.—My mother lives in Galata, my father in Constantinople;—and I had a very brave brother, but he was carried off by the Turks:—were it not for your beard, I should say that you were he.”—He bent down, he clasped him closely, and kissed him tenderly—then took him by the hand, and led him to a physician.—“Physician, as you have healed many, heal also this man.”—“The sword I can heal it, the lance I can cure it;—but this dreadful stab can not be cured.”—He drew his golden sword from its silver scabbard;—he raised it aloft to heaven, then thrust it in his breast.—“Depart, my soul, with a blessing, along with my brother.”

3.

[Compare Passow: No. dcxxxvi.]

In a fair garden adorned with flowers—one morning I walk to refresh myself;—I walk up and down within the garden—and stop to look at the flowers I am fond of:—I see too a spring at the foot of a cypress—which watered the trees with its cool stream:—and upon a branch a bird was sitting—a bird was sitting, and sweetly sang.
4.

[Compare Passow: No. dlx., which however is less graceful than the one here given.]

κάτω στὴν ἄμμο σὲ ῥημοφησί 
ἀετὸς ἐβγήκε νὰ κυνηγήσῃ. 
δὲν κυνηγάει λαγός καὶ ἀλάφια, 
μόν κυνηγάει τὰ μαύρα μάτια. 
μαύρα μου μάτια καὶ πλούμωμένα, 
καὶ τῶς κοιμᾶστε χωρίς ἐμένα; 
γὼ δὲν κοιμοῦμαι μὴτε νυστάξω, 
μῶν σ’ ἐνθυμοῦμαι κ’ ἀναστενάξω.

Down by the shore of the desert-island—an eagle went out to the chase;—he does not hunt hares or stags;—the object of his chase is dark eyes.—O sweet dark eyes, so rich and rare,—say, how can ye sleep away from me?—I cannot sleep nor slumber—but I think of you and lament.

5.

ρίξε νερὸ στὴν πόρτα σου νὰ πέσω νὰ γλυστρήσω, 
νὰ βρῶ ἀφορμὴ τῆς μάνας σου ν’ ἀμβῶ νὰ σὲ φιλήσω.

Spill water at your door, that I may slip and fall;—so that I may find an excuse to your mother for going up to kiss you.

6.

[Compare Pappadopoulos; Nos. 6, 7, and 44.]

(a)

ἐμένα ἡ θυγατέρα μου εἶναι ἡλίος καὶ φεγγάρι, 
κ’ ἂν τὴν ἴδης, κακόμοιρε, γίνεσαι δημονιάρη.

My daughter is the sun and moon;—and if you see her, luckless man, you will lose your senses.
(b)

καὶ ἐπιμονιάρης νὰ γενῶ καὶ τὰ κλαδιὰν νὰ πάρω,
τὴν θυγατέρα σου ἀγαπῶ καὶ θέ νὰ τήνε πάρω.

Well, if I do lose my senses and take to the forests,—as I love your daughter, I intend to carry her off.

(c)

κρέμασε ταῖς πλεξίδες σου ὅξιν στὸ παναθύρι,
νὰ κάμω σκάλα ν ἀνεβῶ νὰ σὲ φιλῶ στὰ χείλη.

Hang down your braids outside the window—for a ladder for me to climb by, that I may kiss your lips.

1 I have followed Pappadopoulos' translation, who renders this by νὰ φύγω εἰς τὰ δασηγ. I had myself supposed κλαθάδ to stand for κλαθάδ, and should have translated, "yet if I get the keys," which gives better sense.

2 πλεξίδες, for πλεξοῦδας, 'plaits of hair.' The idea of scaling a wall or tower by the help of a witch's hair is found in some Popular Tales.

H. F. TOZER.
ARISTOT. METAPH. I. 1, § 6.

The received text reads: τοις φλεγματώδεσιν ἡ χολόδεσιν ἡ πυρέττουσι καύσων designate έιδη των νοσούντων (Berlin Index, s.v. φλεγματώδης): so that, whereas έμπειρια determines that a particular medicine is beneficial to Callias and Socrates when they are suffering from a particular disorder, τέχνη determines that a particular medicine is beneficial to all persons who are suffering from a particular disorder, the words κάμνουσι την ἕν νόσον being explanatory of τοῖς τοιοῦσιν κατ’ εἶδος ἐν ἄφορισθείσι. But is this the distinction which Aristotle wishes to make? and is not the use of the adjectives φλεγματώδεσιν and χολόδεσιν to indicate persons in diseased states very strange? Rather, I think, έμπειρια determines that a particular remedy suits Callias and Socrates when they are suffering from a particular known disorder: τέχνη on the other hand determines that a particular remedy suits persons of a particular habit (τοῖς τοιοῦσι), when they are suffering from a particular known disorder (κάμνουσι την ἕν νόσον). Thus the phrase κάμνουσι την ἕν νόσον does not explain τοῖς τοιοῦσι, but corresponds exactly to κάμνουσι την ἕν νόσον in the earlier part of the sentence. The parallelism having been so far complete, it is reasonable to expect that it will be...
maintained in the exemplificatory clause introduced by οἶον. Now πυρέττουσι καῦσῳ exactly corresponds to κάμνουσι τὴν τὴν νόσον. Hence in order to obtain the required sense it is only necessary to omit the ἥ which at present precedes πυρέττουσι. οἶον τοῖς φλεγματώδεσιν ἡ χολόδεσι πυρέττουσι καῦσῳ will then mean—‘for example to persons of phlegmatic or bilious habits when they are suffering from the fever called καῦσος.’ Cf. Nic. Eth. x. 9, § 21. οὐ γὰρ φαίνονται οὖθεν ἰατρικοὶ ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων γίνεσθαι. καίτοι πειρώνται γε λέγειν οὐ μόνον τὰ θεραπεύματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἰαθείεν ἄν καὶ ὡς ἰerà θεραπεύειν ἑκάστους, διελόμενοι τὰς ἔξεις. On this principle the sanitary effects of particular kinds of weather are considered in the Problemata (I. 9—12, p. 860), as they affect φλεγματώδεις and as they affect χολόδεις. So too Galen (ed. Kühn) x. 651 regards the study of the patient’s temperament as a condition of artistic, as opposed to empirical, treatment. In the concise statement of the Rhetoric, I. 2, p. 1356 b 28, misunderstanding is hardly possible.

HENRY JACKSON.
ON A MS. OF THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. (Cambridge University Library, li. v. 44.)

In a recent work upon the Nicomachean Ethics Prof. Rassow has shewn the necessity of a more careful and comprehensive examination of the MSS. than any which has been hitherto attempted. I wish that I were as hopeful as he seems to be of the result of such an examination; but in any case it is reasonable that those who have an ancient MS. at hand should endeavour to ascertain its history and to determine its value. It is something gained if it can be shewn that the further study of a given MS. is unnecessary.

In the University Library of Cambridge there is a MS. (li. v. 44) containing the Magna Moralia, the Nicomachean Ethics, the Eudemian Ethics, and the Óconomica, written (as the note at the end informs us) by the hand of Nicolaus, eúteleioús anagwóstou tòv ώρων, aítíssei tòv theotimhτου μοναχοῦ kυρίου Ἰακώβ, σκευοφύλακος μάνδρας ἀκρωτηρίου μην Ἰουνίου ἵς, ἰνδ. β, ἔτει ζψπζ, i.e. A.D. 1279. The MS., which formerly belonged to Bishop More, was known to Wilkinson, who in his edition of the Nicomachean Ethics (Oxford, 1716) occasionally cites it as El, i.e. Eliensis. It is also mentioned in the prolegomena of Zell, who is acquainted with it only through Wilkinson’s citations, and complains that the latter has neither described the MS. nor given a collation sufficient to enable others to form an opinion of its worth. Of its externals there is an account in the printed catalogue of the MSS. belonging to the library. It is, according to Prof. Churchill Babington by whom this part of the catalogue was prepared,
"A moderate-sized quarto, on vellum, of 147 leaves, each page containing about 26 lines, written in a cursive hand of the latter part of the thirteenth century, abounding with contractions. Various ornaments and other parts of the MS. are rubricated, and numerous remarks in later hands (Greek and Latin) occur throughout the volume. From fol. 81—90 the MS. is written in a different hand, which appears to belong to the fifteenth century." Catalogue of MSS. University Library of Cambridge. Vol. iii. p. 495.

The lacuna of which Prof. Babington speaks in the concluding sentence of the above extract occurs in Nic. Eth. viii. ch. 4—12 (according to Bekker's parenthetical numeration). The original hand continues to the bottom of the second page of fol. 85, i.e. the fifth leaf of the quire, which ends with δ ἐδε ϑερα. Then come the leaves numbered by Prof. Babington 86—89, which however, as Mr. Bradshaw pointed out to me, do not belong to the original quire, but have been subsequently inserted. The later hand in which these four leaves are written does not end with the page, but is continued throughout the first four lines of the leaf numbered by Prof. Babington fol. 90, which is in fact the sixth leaf of the original quire. On a closer examination however it becomes evident that of these four lines rather more than two and a half are written over an erasure, ηςδυ being the last of the words erased. Plainly these lines are identical with something more than the first two lines of the first interpolated leaf. It would appear then that in the MS. copied by the earlier scribe there was a lacuna beginning not at the point reached at the end of fol. 85, but some two lines and a half further on. Accordingly he left a line and a half blank to indicate the deficiency, and then continued with the words μᾶλλον δ' ἱσασιν οἱ γονεῖς (12 § 2) which stood next in the MS. before him. The missing pages were supplied at a later period, apparently by the same scribe who has throughout the Nic. Eth. collated the text of El with that of some MS. less closely related to K², introducing into the former frequent corrections and alterations. Finding at the top of the sixth leaf of the original quire some two lines and

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a half which it was necessary to erase, together with the line and a half left blank, the later scribe has made use of the space thus afforded, and has so accurately estimated the amount of matter which it was necessary to introduce that he has been able, by 'spacing' in the last line, exactly to fill the gap.

Now in the library of the Vatican there is a MS. of the three Ethical treatises and the Economics, described as 'Vaticanus 1342' and called by Bekker P. It is contained in a volume resembling in size and shape a modern octavo, and is very closely written with many contractions in a hand not unlike that of the Cambridge MS. In the middle of the second page of fol. 76 the old hand disappears and is not resumed till fol. 82. The new hand is of a much later date. The inserted portion begins in the sentence οἱ δὲ μὴ τὸ ἡδὸν ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι ἀλλὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, κ.τ.λ., after ἀντι-, and ends with the words ὥς ἀπ’ ἐκείνων τι ὄντα, a blank being left at the end of fol. 81. Thus the lacuna in this MS. is coextensive with that in the Cambridge MS., except that in the latter the ἀντι- of the unfinished ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι has been omitted. It would appear then that these MSS., El and P, are intimately related, both being descended from the same imperfect MS. But what is the nature of their relationship? That P is not descended from El seems to be indicated by the fact that the ἀντι- of ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι is retained in the former but not in the latter, and is proved abundantly by internal evidence. Of the remaining hypotheses, (1) that El is descended from P, and (2) that P and El are related through a common ancestor, I am inclined to prefer the former. A collation of the fifth book, which I have made in the hope that these MSS. might throw light upon some of its difficulties, shews that in this part of the work P and El agree in differing from all Bekker's MSS. (K, L, M, O) in fifty-nine places exclusive of differences of spelling, &c. My list includes additions and omissions of words and clauses, transpositions, and one or two strange perversions; in fact considerable deviations from the ordinary text. On the other hand, the discrepancies between P and El are unimportant and precisely such as the writer of
El might originate in copying from P^b. Of the thirty-five cases in which El deviates from P^b, fifteen are false spellings mostly due to confusion of vowels; five are trifling omissions, and seven trifling additions (δέ, τά, oůν, καὶ four times), not countenanced by any of Bekker's MSS.; three are corrections of obvious blunders in P^b; three are unauthorized variants which give as good a sense as the text of P^b and the other MSS., but not a better one; finally, one is the omission, with O^b, of a τά, and one the addition, with M^b, of a καὶ. A cursory comparison of a small part of the Eudemian Ethics as presented by El with Bekker's collation of P^b gives similar results.

On the whole my impression is that P^b is the very MS. from which El was copied. However this may be, there can be no doubt of its superior value. In fact El contains nothing which is not to be found in P^b in a more trustworthy form. On the other hand, it seems to me that P^b is a MS. of some importance, inasmuch as it bears a greater resemblance than any of Bekker's MSS. of the Nic. Eth. to the valuable Laurentian codex known as K^b. If I am not mistaken, P^b and K^b are connected not by direct descent, but through a common ancestor, so that the former may occasionally enable us to recover readings from which the latter has diverged. It should at any rate be collated in X. 5 § 9 sqq., where K^b has a considerable lacuna.

HENRY JACKSON.

1 My thanks are due to Signor Guidi, who, at the request of Prof. Swainson, has kindly verified for me several of the foregoing statements.
NOTES BY THE LATE PROFESSOR T. H. KEY.


1. **ADELUNG** in his dictionary under *Nachtigalle* has: "Lat. Luscinia von Lux und canere, weil er bey Licht singt;" and anything that Adelung says is entitled to consideration. That the syllable *cin* of *luscinia* should represent *can* of *canere* is consistent with what is seen in *fidicina;* nor can there be a valid objection to the presence of an *s* or the absence of *c* at the close of the initial syllable. First, as regards the *s,* the analogy of *aqueductus,* *iurisdictio,* etc., justifies the assumption that a genitive may well enter into such formations. Whether *agrimensor,* *agricultura,* etc., had a long *i,* it would be difficult to decide by authority, as they are not likely to occur often in poetry; and if an instance is found, an editor can print the words *divisim,* as: Nauigia atque agric ulturas moenia leges, Lucr. 5, 1448. But a long *i* would be required, if, as seems probable, we have a genitive in the first element. Again, the second syllable of *regifugium* in the line of Ansonius: Nec regifugium pulsis ex urbe tyrannis, has its best explanation in the earlier existence of a fuller *regisfugium.* Precisely in the same way E. *whalebone,* now a disyllable, had at first a longer form, as seen in Shakspere's "as white as whale's bone" (Love's labour's lost, 5, 2). Similarly Chaucer (v. 16565 of Tyrwhitt's ed.) wrote and pronounced *beddissyde* in preference to *bedside.* *Jurisconsultus* again, and *iurisperitus* were in use as well as the more familiar forms *iureconsultus* and *iureperitus.* Although the disappearance of the genitival *s* led eventually in many words to the loss of a whole syllable; still intermediate forms frequently present
themselves. Vineyard for example is now a disyllabic word; but Shakspere (Tempest 4, 1) writes:

thy poleclipp'd vineyard
And thy sea marge, steril and rocky-hard.

In the Gr. nouns ἰχθυοφαγός, ὀφρυοσκίος, βοτρυοδώρος, φυσιολογός, ὀφιοπός, the o could not be wanted as a 'Bindevokal,' but was in place as the weakened representative of a fuller os. But the very word Nachtigalle, as compared with E. nightingale tells the same tale of corruption, for the syllable in for en of the latter represents a Teutonic suffix of like power; and a parallel is seen in the successive forms G. Sonnentag, Chaucer's Sénéday, and the existing Søntag and Sunday, i.e. Solis dies. So too the Dan. natt-er-gal Swed. näkt-er-gal have in the er what points to a similar explanation, when we call to mind the Norse genitives in ar. Lastly in the name Βοσπόρος, if standing, as commonly supposed, for Βοος-πόρος the σ of the case is retained, while the o, that should have preceded it, has passed away; and strangely enough our own geographical term which seems at least to be a literal translation of it, viz. Ox-ford, once possessed the suffix in full, Ox-en-ford. Some indeed hold that ox- in this word has a different origin, but there still remains the fact that the older name had a genitival suffix.

Let us assume then that luscinia is compressed from luciscinia; so that with the loss of the genitival i we should be brought to luscinia; but the harsh combination of consonants esc would inevitably be followed by the suppression of the first c, as sescenti for sex-centi, escendo for ec-scendo, disco for die-sco, διδασκῶ for δι-δακ-σκω. Nay ἀλωτῆς, where we have only a κσ, would not have been written with an η, but that the κ of ξ was silent. So too when Diomedes (p. 430 Keil's ed.) tells us that lux had a circumflex accent, it is implied that it was sounded like the E. loose or lose.

In form then no sound objection can be taken to Adelung's derivation; but against his explanation, "weil er bey Licht singt," the mind revolts, as utterly opposed to the fact, with which the Teutonic nachtigalle and nightingale are thoroughly consistent. Hence I look elsewhere for an interpretation of the first syllable of luscinia; and think that I find a step to-
wards a satisfactory solution of the difficulty in a comparison of two passages from Latin authors, one from Aelius, as quoted by Festus (173 A, l. 21 Müller), the other from the digests 21, 1, 10, 4. The words of Aelius are: *nusciciosum...qui plus uideret uesperi quam meridie*; while Ulpian writes: *Luscitionem eam esse quidam putant, ubi homo lumine adhibito nihil uident.* Here one writer gives us an adjective, the other a substantive; but Festus in the same passage quotes *nusciciones* from another author; and Plautus (Mil. 2, 3, 50) has the adj. *luscitiosus*. Thus it is beyond a doubt that *luscitio* and *nuscitio, luscitiosus* and *nuscitiosus* coexisted; and the change of liquid is what is familiar to us in *lympha* and *nympha*, in *λυτρον* and *νυτρον*; while the disease is simply what we see in the albino, and is well expressed in Galen by the term *vukταλ-ωψ*; 'seeing by night only.' The Lat. adj. *luscus* must of course be of kin with these; and in fact there is a close similarity of ideas between one who has but half the use of his eyes through the defect of the albino, and one who has but half a sight from the loss of an eye. *Luscus* then must be for *nuscus*, which I would deduce from *nucis-ος-υς* where ος is the stem of *οculus = ωτ* of *ωψ*. It may be as well to note that the Gr. *νυχα* and *νυχιος* have the desired vowel, and at the same time are without the *t*. All this admitted, it is an easy assumption, that *luscinia* superseded a lost *nuscinia*, and this a more genuine *nuc-ις-ιν-ια*; which corresponds in the three parts with *night-in-gale*. The last syllable of this Adelung, no doubt with reason, identifies with the old Teutonic *Gall Gällen* 'singen.' Lastly the change from *n* to *l* in the initial of *luscinia* was probably aided by the presence of an *n* in the latter part of the word, an instance of which principle is seen in the L. festival *Lemuria*, as standing, according to Ovid for *Remuria* from *Remus*.

2. The noun *locus* has a striking likeness, setting aside

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1 The Fr. *rossignol* is admitted to be a representative of *luscinia* or rather of a diminutival *lusciniolus*, and so also is one with *nightingale*. Can words be more utterly unlike?

2 I have just heard that I have been anticipated as to the etymology here claimed for *locus*; that in fact it has been considered and finally rejected by Corssen, etc., and this chiefly on the ground that the root *sta-* never gives up its final vowel. This point
the first letter, to the Gr. τοπος of the same power—can they be related, and whence are they derived? I answer that they are both derivatives from the same root, that of sisto, sto and ἵστημι. This will strike people at first sight as utterly paradoxical; but Quintilian’s statement that older forms of locus, and lis were stlocus and stlis—the latter assertion being confirmed by the occurrence of slis in inscriptions, as in Mommsen’s Corp. Insc. Lat., sl for slitibus (38), and slis (198, 7)—removes most of the difficulty. Now stlocus with its fearful collection of consonants must once have had a fuller form, something like stelocus or stolocus, which brings us near to the Gr. vb. στελλω ‘set or place,’ and the G. vb. stell-en and sb. Stelle identical in power with locus. The E. stead also, whence instead, = G. an... Stelle, must be of the same stock, and if so stand and stood likewise. But this brings us into immediate connection with sto, etc. We are often told that sta- is an ultimate root. To this however there are several objections. The fact that stare denotes a state, and not an act, is in my view fatal to the doctrine; and anyone, who compares sisto with gigno γίγνομαι πιπτω μιμο, will at once see, that sisto is a reduplicate verb, = si-set-o, of which set is the root; and that s(e)ta-re owes its static notion exclusively to the added a, precisely as cumb-a-re does compared with cumbere, etc. If this be right, it follows that στελλω stands for στε-ελλω, in which ελ is but a suffix. In support of this last point I would refer to several examples of verbs so formed. 1. σκελλω, ‘to dry,’ which I connect with the L. siccus—2. κ-ελλω, which Liddell and Scott justly regard as one with the L. pello, referring to the Homeric νηα κελσαι, and the L. appellere (navem).—But here we have the awkward result that κ. alone is left for the stem—a difficulty at once removed however by the form ok-ελλω of identical power; and this of course requires that an older form of the L. verb was op-ello. It will be seen presently that not a few Greek verbs have lost an initial aspirate, and that such aspirate has grown out of a sibilant. If such has been the fate of the however is already treated of in my remarks, in which the title of sta- is held to be an independent suffix. Hence I leave the paper as it was, the name of a root is denied and the a
present verb, it may be that we have the same root in the E. shove of like power and the Germ. schieben ge-schob-en—3. of-\epsilon\lambda\omega 'help,' which, in the view of the two authors just quoted, is of the same root with the initial syllable of the L. opus est, and so of the L. opem fero; 4. of-\epsilon\lambda\omega 'sweep,' for which I would claim an initial aspirate, lost through the influence of the following \phi (as in \epsilon\chi\omega), and that again the relic of an s (again as in \epsilon\chi\omega), so that the root was for Greek \sigma\phi. When the L. userro 'sweep' is compared with this Gr. vb., we find an identity of meaning, and in the erro what may well represent the Gr. \epsilon\lambda\omega. This suggests older forms ou-erro, and sou-erro. Looking to the usual interchange of a Gr. \phi with a Latin b, I should have preferred a form sob-erro, which however differs but in a slight degree from sou-erro; and then the roots \sigma\phi of Greek and sob of Latin would naturally take for English the from sweep—5. of-\epsilon\lambda\omega, as well as of\phi\epsilon\lambda\omega 'owe.' Already there is much similarity; and still closer would this be, if, comparing \sigma\phi\epsilon\nu\varsigma, Flora and \chi\lambda\omega\rho\iota\varsigma, we could believe an older form of the present verb to have been \sigma\chi-\epsilon\lambda\omega, which in its consonant under Rask's law would duly correspond with the A.-Sax. a\gamma-an, whence our vb. owe.—6. \beta\delta-\epsilon\lambda\omega, given by Hesychius, and the source of the adj. \beta\delta\epsilon\lambda-\upsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron. Already the form \beta\delta\epsilon\omega is sufficient to prove that we have only a suffix in the \epsilon\lambda\omega. I hold then that \beta\delta-\epsilon\lambda\omega stands for \pi\epsilon\delta-\epsilon\lambda\omega, so as to be a frequentative of a lost \pi\epsilon\delta\omega = L. pedo; for as soon as the e of the stem vanished, the \pi being then in immediate connection with \delta would of necessity give place to a thick labial. To all this I would further add that diminutival verbs with a frequentative power are in other languages often found with a suffix = \epsilon\lambda, as L. conscribillo, sorbilo, ventilo, ustulo, cavillor; E. gamble, gambol, sparkle, tickle, whirl.

The el then of my theoretic se\text{-}t-el-oc-us can cause no further difficulty; and it remains to deal with the next syllable, oc. Had the word belonged to our own language I might at once have claimed this as a diminutival suffix, as seen in bull-ock hill-ock, etc.; and the Greek aκ of \mu\nu-ak, \upsilon-ak, etc., differs from this but little in sound, and has precisely the same power.

1 Cf. a\delta-\upsilon, sweet.
The Latin language again, though it seems at first sight to give a preference to the varieties ec and ic, as mur-ex, sor-ex corresponding to the Greek nouns just quoted, and foll-ic-ulus, nau-ic-ula, ret-ic-ulum, yet in old times employed for the same purpose the syllable uc. Thus the familiar acicula geniculum are proved to have superseded older varieties acucula genuculum by the very fact that they are deduced from acu- and genu-; and this is confirmed by the u of the Fr. aiguille, Port. agulha and the E. knuckle. But I go a step further. I have elsewhere given my reasons for the belief that L. neuters in um of the o declension have in this um a corruption from an older oc, just as we have bott-om by the side of butt-ock; and again to the L. pluma correspond the three English terms, fluff, flock (as in flock-bed) and flue; and hence it is that L. adjectives deduced from neuters in um reproduce the guttural, as sebum sebac-eus, hordeum hordeac-eus. Thus set-ol-oc-us I hold to contain two, perhaps three, suffixes of diminution, and to have had for its original meaning ‘that little bit of ground on which one stands;’ so that the Germ. stand-punkt, had it retained its first physical meaning, would have well represented the idea. It may be useful too to note that in our adopted phrase locus standi, we have the two ideas brought together.

3. Festus (270 B. 32 Mull.) has the following:

Redantruare dicitur in Saliorum exultationibus, cum praesul ampiruavit†, quod est, motus edidit, ei referuntur invicem idem motus. Lucilii: “praesul ut ampiruet, inde vulgus redamputavit at †.” Pacuvius: “Proaererenda† gratia: simul cum videam Graios nihil mediocriter redamptruat, opibusque summis sequi.”

To this there is appended in ‘emendations:’ 1. quod cum pr. amptruavit, 2. amptruat unde: ita volgus redamptruat ollim, 3. Promerenda.

That the passage is fearfully corrupt is of course evident; but some of the corrections seem not very satisfactory. Let us see if a better view can be taken. Now first of all it is clear that the four varieties, 1 antrua-, 2 ampirua-, 3 ampla, 4 amptrua-, must have proceeded from some common form; and as ampirua- occurs twice, and amptrua- differs from it very
slightly, it has clearly the first claim upon our attention. But more than this, Ampiruare suggests what is to my mind a satisfactory origin for itself. I have elsewhere drawn attention to an Umbrian preposition ampr or ambr, as occurring in the inscriptions edited by Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, ampr-ehtu = ambito (p. 142, l. 11), ambr-etuto = amb-eunto (142, l. 22) etc.; and I have urged that this preposition is in fact a comparatival form of the familiar am 'round;' and indeed itself enters into the formation of amfr-actus equal in power to circum-actus; and lastly that it corresponds to $aμ\phi$-us, itself a comparative. I would therefore translate empirua-re by the words "to make a pirouette." Nay as this Fr. word stands I believe without an etymon, I would ask whether it may not be deduced by decapitation from the word before us. But independently of my comparative amper, I would offer the alternative of deducing ampiruare from am-ped-uare, from ped- 'foot.'

It remains to see how far the suggested form fits in with the passages quoted by Festus. Premising that inde in the old language was then cut down to a monosyllable (perhaps in), as deinde, proinde, to dein, proin, and what should have been utrinde-que to utrinque (cp. Ter. Ph. 4, 3, 76: Inde sùmam: uxori tibi opus esse díxero); and further that such a pronunciation may well be admissible for Lucilius, I would suggest as a possible reading: "cum uiderit ipse Praesul ut ampriuet, inde (pronounced as in) uolgu' redampiruabit, where the b alone in place of v differs from the text of Festus. It is true that I have dropped the at. Perhaps however, this was intended as a correction of the last syllable of ampriuet, and this would give us: Praesul ut ampriuat, inde u. r.; and so render unnecessary the three words I have prefixed. Then for Pacuvius we should have

Prómerenda grátia.
Simúl cum uideam Gráios nil mediócriter
Redámpiruare opibúsque summis prósequi.

i. e. 2½ lines of good Senarii; with an acceptable metaphor.

T. HEWITT KEY.

Univ. Coll., LOND.,
Oct. 10, 1875.
ON THE POSITION OF THE GUESTS AT A ROMAN DINNER TABLE.

There are several contradictions in the accounts given of the position of the guests at a Roman dinner by Yates (Smith, Dict. of Ant. s. v. Triclinium), Rich (Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant. s. v. Lectus Tricliniaris), and Andrews (Lat. Dict. s. v. accumbo). All agree as to the order of the couches and of the places on each couch as in the diagram

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each of the numbers 3, 6 and 9 being designated by Yates and Rich as imus on their respective couches, by Andrews as ultimus. Again it is agreed that the lectus medius was the most honourable, but the most honourable seat on it is, according to Yates, No. 4, according to Rich, No. 6, according to Andrews, No. 5, though he says that No. 6 was usually occupied by the consul or other magistrate, if present, that he might be able to attend without trouble to any official business that might occur. Moreover, according to Yates, the host usually occupied
No. 8 as a convenient (?) place for giving directions, while Andrews assigns No. 7 to him, as does Rich. On each couch the most honourable place was the middle according to Yates and Andrews, the former allowing that an exception may be made in the case of No. 4, while according to Rich the most honourable at each of the side couches were Nos. 1 and 7 respectively.

We now come to the interpretation of a fragment of Sallust preserved by Servius (ad Verg. Aen. i. 698) which is as follows; “igitur discubuere: Sertorius inferior in medio; super eum L. Fabius Hispaniensis senator ex proscriptis; in summo Antonius; et infra scriba Sertorii Versius; et alter scriba Maecenas in imo, medius inter Tarquinium et dominum Perpernam.” They are thus placed by Yates; Sertorius at No. 6, Fabius at No. 5, Antonius at No. 1, Versius at No. 2, Maecenas at No. 8, Tarquinius at No. 7 and Perperna at No. 9. Here “inferior in medio” must surely mean No. 5, as Rich takes it, and not No. 6, as Yates thinks, taking the expression as equivalent to _imus. There were only seven guests present and only two on the lectus medius, so Fabius should be placed at No. 4, and Nos. 3 and 6 would be unoccupied. Moreover Tarquinius should be placed at No. 9 and Perperna the host at No. 7.

Next comes the well-known passage in Horace (Sat. ii. 8. 20—23)

“summus ego, et prope me Viscus Thurinus, et infra,
si memini, Varius, cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras.
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra.”

Here Yates places Maecenas at No. 5, whereas he should be at No. 6, for Servilius and Vibidius were plainly next to each other as appears from vv. 33, 34,

“tum Vibidius Balatroni,
nos nisi damnose bibimus moriemur inulti,”

where the remark of Vibidius is evidently an ‘aside’ to Balatro. Here the position of Nomentanus is exceptional. He occupies the usual place of the host at No. 7 for the special purpose given in vv. 25, 26
“Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, siquid forte lateret, indice monstraret digito.”

The result of a comparison of these passages seems to be that No. 6 was the place of the most honoured guest, No. 7 that of the host, Nos. 2 and 8 the most honourable on their respective couches, and Nos. 3 and 9 the least so, while all places on the summus lectus were more honourable than those on the imus, less so than those on the medius.

J. H. SWAINSON.
THE NORTHERN BUDDHIST LEGEND OF AVALOKITEŚWARA’S DESCENT INTO THE HELL AVĪCHI.

One of the most remarkable features of the Northern Buddhism, current in Nepal, Tibet, Tartary, and China, as distinguished from the Southern, current in Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam, is the worship paid to the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśvara.

This Bodhisattva is supposed to be the son of the Buddha Amitābha who reigns in the Western heaven, called Sukhāvatī; to him is attributed the famous formula Om mani padme hūm, and he is looked upon as the tutelary saint of Tibet. In China he is worshipped under a female form (corresponding apparently to the Hindu notion of a deity’s sakti, or personified power), as Kwan-yin or the Goddess of Mercy; and the Rev. S. Beal has translated the Confessional Service addressed to her, in the second vol. (new series) of the "Journal of the R. A. Society." The name and attributes of Avalokiteśvara are entirely unknown to the Southern Buddhists; and his worship is one of the later additions which have attached themselves to the simpler original system, as it spread through India and ultimately made its way to China and Japan.

We cannot tell when this new deity first rose on the popular horizon; but there are some indications which may help us to approximate in fixing the date. Burnouf has remarked that

1 A Bodhisattwa is a potential Buddha, one who has only one more birth before he attains nirvāṇa. Burnouf explains Avalokiteśvara as a barbarous Sanskrit compound, meaning ‘le seigneur qui a regardé en bas’ (Introd. p. 226).

2 Cf. also the Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese, pp. 383—409.
the earlier and simpler Northern books contain no allusion to this object of worship. "Ce nom n'est pas cité une seule fois dans les Sútras, ni dans les légendes de l'Avadána çataka, ni dans celles du Divya Avadána, tandis qu'il figure au premier rang dans notre Lotus de la bonne loi" (Introd. p. 115).

Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller, who travelled in India from 399 to 414 A.D., expressly says (ch. xvi.) "men who belong to the Great Translation worship the Prajñá Páramítá, Manjuśrí and Avalokiteśwara;" and in a subsequent chapter he describes himself as invoking Avalokiteśwara when exposed to a storm during his homeward voyage from Ceylon to China. Hiouen Thsang also (who travelled in India in the seventh century) is well acquainted with this saint, and mentions him in several places. He finds his statue in Kapíša, south of the Hindu Kush, and in a monastery in Udyána, and in Kashmir: and he also mentions a celebrated statue on the bank of the Ganges, famed for its power of working miracles.

The two best known Northern works which contain details respecting Avalokiteśwara are the Káranḍa-vyúha and the Saddharma-Puṇḍaríka; both belong to the collection of nine books which, under the name 'the nine dharmas,' is regarded with such veneration in Nepál. The latter was translated by Burnouf as 'Le lotus de la bonne loi;' the text of the former has been recently published at Calcutta, in a native series of Sanskrit books. The editor does not mention where he found the original MS., from which he has printed his text; but it was probably one of the many MSS. presented by Mr B. H. Hodgson to the Bengal Asiatic Society, between 1824 and 1839.

The twenty-fourth chapter of the 'Lotus' is devoted to the praises of Avalokiteśwara. To pronounce his name even once is said to be equal in merit to the continual worship of as many Buddhas as there are sands in the sixty-two Ganges; and to invoke his aid in any difficulty or sorrow brings certain deliverance. He is also represented as assuming various forms in different worlds to proclaim the law of Buddha to different creatures; to some he appears under the form of a Buddha, to others of a Bodhisattwa, to others of Brahmá, Indra,
Maheśvara or even of a universal monarch, a Brahman or a Piśācha, "in order to teach the law to those beings made to be converted by these respective teachers." The 'Lotus' is mentioned by Hiouen Thsang; and when he visits the mountain Grīḍhrakūṭa in South Bihār, he expressly adds that at the bottom of the southern edge of the mountain there was a stūpa, and "here in olden time Buddha explained the book of the lotus-flower of the law."

The Kāraṇḍa-vyūha has as its principal topic throughout the glory of Avalokiteśvara; and towards the end of the book we have glowing accounts of the efficacy of the celebrated formula attributed to him. The work is found in two different recensions, the one in prose, the other in verse. The latter has been partly analysed by Burnouf (Introd. pp. 220—231), but it is evidently the more modern version; the MS. of the prose version at Paris, however, was too incorrect for him to attempt to translate it. This defect has now been supplied by the Calcutta text.

The peculiar characteristic of Avalokiteśvara, as worshipped by all the Northern Buddhists, is, that he has declared his purpose, under the most solemn oath, to manifest himself to every creature in the universe, in order to deliver all beings from the consequences of sin.¹

The first few chapters of the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha are occupied with a description of Avalokiteśvara's descent into the hell Avīchi to deliver the souls there held captive by Yama the lord of the lower world. As these seem to me to bear a curious resemblance to the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, I subjoin a translation from the Calcutta text, only occasionally condensing the narrative where we have the usual repetitions of the Northern Buddhist writings.

The Kāraṇḍa-vyūha (or 'arrangement of the basket of Avalokiteśvara's excellences') professes to be a narrative by the disciple Ānanda, who was present at the original discourse as uttered by Buddha, and it therefore commences with the usual formula evam mayā śrutam, "thus was it heard by me."

¹ Beal, Buddhist Catena, p. 383.
The work opens with the description of an assembly held in the Jetavana garden at Sravasti, where Buddha is attended by a vast throng of mendicant followers as well as a still more numerous audience from the spiritual world, thousands of Bodhisattvas, and sons of the devas, with Indra, Brahmá sahámpati, the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, Varuña, &c., at their head, with countless nágas, gandharvas and kinnaras, with their daughters, and Apsarasas, besides hundreds of thousands of lay devotees of both sexes.

"When the vast assembly was met together, suddenly beams of light issued forth in the hell Avícì; and having issued forth they reached to the monastery of Jetavana and decorated the whole place. The pillars appeared to be inlaid with heavenly gems, the upper chambers to be covered with gold, the doors, staircases, &c. to be all of gold, and the grounds outside to be filled with heavenly trees, with golden trunks and silver leaves, and hung with costly garments, pearl-wreaths, and all kinds of ornaments, while the eye wandered over lakes filled with water and various kinds of flowers.

CHAPTER II.

"Then in the midst of that assembly a noble Bodhisattwa named Sarvanivaranavishkambhin, having risen from his seat, and thrown his upper garment over one shoulder and bent his right knee to the ground, putting his hands to his forehead and turning reverentially towards Buddha, thus addressed him, 'I am filled with excessive wonder, O holy one; whence come these rays? of what Tathágata are they the visible majesty?'

"Buddha replied, 'This is not the majesty of a Tathágata; O noble youth, the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalokitésvara has entered into the great hell Avícì; and having delivered the beings there is entering the city of the pretas; hence is it that these my rays have been emitted.'

1 This water has a curious epithet, ashtángopeta-vári; does this mean 'water flowing downwards,' i.e. prostrate, or 'endowed with the eight good qualities'? 2 A title of a Buddha. 3 The pretas are beings in a state of punishment, and are described as always emaciated and hunger-stricken.
Then the Bodhisattwa Sarvanivaranavishkambhin addressed Buddha, 'O holy one, what beings are found in Avichi?, there where no joy (véchi) is known, does he preach the law? in Avichi, whose iron realm surrounded by walls and ramparts is as it were one uninterrupted flame, like a casket of flashing jewels. In that hell is the great wailing cauldron, wherein myriads of beings are thrown; just as kidney beans or pulse sweat rising and sinking in a pot full of boiling water, so do these beings endure corporeal pain in Avichi. How then, O holy one, does the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteswara enter there?'

Buddha answered, 'O noble youth, just as an emperor enters into a garden full of all precious things, attended with all his royal pomp, so Avalokiteswara enters into the hell Avichi. But his body undergoes no change. When he approaches the hell, it becomes cool. Then the guards of Yama, bewildered and alarmed, begin to think, 'What is this inauspicious sign which has appeared in Avichi?' When Avalokiteswara enters, then there appear there lotuses as large as chariot-wheels, and the cauldron bursts open, and within that bed of fire a lake of honey is manifested.

Then Yama's guards, seizing all manner of weapons, swords, clubs, javelins, &c., and all the defensive armour of hell, repaired to Yama the lord of justice and addressed him; 'Let our king know that our field of action is destroyed and is become a place of pleasure and filled with all joy.'

Yama replied, 'What is the reason that your field of action is destroyed?'

The guards answered, 'Let our lord also know that an inauspicious sign has appeared in Avichi; all has become quiet and cool, and a man assuming all shapes at will has entered there, wearing matted locks and a diadem and decked with divine ornaments, with his mind excessively benevolent, and like an orb of gold. Such is the man who has entered; and immediately on his entrance lotuses have appeared as large as chariot-wheels, and the cauldron has burst open, and within that bed of fire a lake of honey is manifested.' Then Yama

1 Asmákam karmabhámiḥ.
reflected; 'Of what god is this the majesty? Of Maheśwara, great in power; or Náráyána worshipped by the five oceans? or have any of the other sons of the gods obtained by boon such preeminent reward, and descended to this place? or has some Rákshasa arisen, some rival of Rávana?' Thus he stood and pondered; and beholding with his divine eye he saw no such power in the world of the gods; and who else can have such power?

"Then again he looked back to the hell Avichi, and therein he beheld the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara. Then Yama the lord of justice went where he was, and having saluted his feet with his head began to utter his praise. 'Glory to thee Avalokiteśwara, Maheśwara, Padmaśrí, the giver of boons, the subduer, best overlooker of the earth, &c.' Thus having uttered his special praise, Yama thrice circumambulated round the Bodhisattwa and went out."

**Chapter III.**

"Then Sarvanivaranavishkambhin thus addressed Buddha, 'When does the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara come back?'

'Buddha answered, 'Noble son, he has gone out of hell and has entered the city of the pretas. There hundreds of thousands of pretas run before him, with forms like burned pillars, tall like skeletons, with bellies like mountains and mouths like needles' eyes. When Avalokiteśwara comes to the preta city, the city becomes cold, the thunderbolt ceases, and the doorkeeper, with uplifted javelin, his hand busy with poison, and his eyes red with anger, suddenly by his power begins to feel the influence of benevolence, 'I must not have to do with such a field of labour.'"
“Then the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara having beheld that abode of beings, being filled with compassion, caused ten Vaitarani rivers to issue from his ten fingers, and ten more from his toes; and likewise in his great compassion rivers of water poured from all his pores down to those afflicted beings. And when the pretas tasted that water, their throats became expanded and their limbs filled, and they were satiated with food of a heavenly flavour. Then regaining human consciousness they begin to think of worldly things. ‘Alas, happy are the men of Jambudwīpa who can seek cool shade, who can always live near their parents and wives; who can cut the sacred staves, and repair the broken and crumbling monasteries, and shattered topes; who can always wait on those who recite, write, or read the sacred books, and behold the miracles and various wonder-works of the Tathāgatas, Pratyeka-buddhas, Arhats, and Bodhisattwas.’

“Thus meditating, they abandoned their preta bodies of punishment and became capable of attaining their desire. Then from Avalokiteśwara there issued the precious royal sūtra of the ‘great translation,’ the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha. Then having split with the thunderbolt of knowledge the twenty-peaked mountain of the delusion which teaches that the body exists, they were all born in the Sukhāvatī world as Bodhisattwas named Akāṅkṣita-mukhā. Then Avalokiteśwara, when these beings were released and born in the land of the Bodhisattwas, went out again from the city of the pretas.’

CHAPTER IV.

“Then Sarvanīvaranavishkambhin said to Buddha, ‘Does Avalokiteśwara still delay to come?’

“Buddha answered, ‘Noble son, he is maturing the experience of many thousands of myriads of beings; day by day he comes and matures them; there never was such a manifestation

1 For this curious phrase cf. Burnouf, Introd. p. 263, and Childers’ Pali Dict. sakkāya.
of the Tathāgatas as there is of the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśvara."

Buddha then describes an assembly held in a former aeon by a Buddha named 'Sikhin, who sees Avalokiteśvara coming to him with a present of heavenly flowers from Amitābha. The Buddha 'Sikhin asks where he is performing his works of merit. Avalokiteśvara replies that he is visiting the innumerable hells in the universe, and that he has resolved that he himself shall not grasp the perfect knowledge of a Buddha until all beings have been not only delivered from punishment, but are settled in the world of Nirvāṇa.

If we now turn to the second part of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, we find a curious parallel to this legend.

The two sons of Simeon, who are described as having been raised from their graves at Christ's death, are brought before the chief priests. They then call for ink, pens, and paper, and relate how they were in Hades with the fathers, when suddenly "at the hour of midnight, upon those dark places, there arose, as it were, the light of the sun and shone, and we were all lighted up and saw one another." Satan then goes to Hades and tells him of Jesus, his crucifixion and death, and bids him hold him firmly when he comes. Hades replies that Christ had lately rescued Lazarus,—"I conjure thee both for thy benefit and mine, not to bring him hither; for I think that he is coming here in order to raise up all the dead. And this I say to thee, By the darkness which we keep, if thou dost bring him hither, none of the dead will be left to me."

While Satan and Hades were thus talking together, there came a great voice like thunder, quoting Ps. xxiv. 7: "And when Hades heard, he said to Satan, 'Go forth if thou art able and resist him.' Therefore Satan went forth. Then said Hades to his demons, 'Secure well and firmly the brazen gates and the iron bars, and hold down my bolts, and stand upright and watch everything; for if he should enter here, woe will seize us.' On hearing these things, the forefathers all began to reproach him.
saying, 'All-devouring and insatiate, open that the King of Glory may come in.'...The voice therefore came again, 'Lift up the gates.' Hades hearing the voice a second time, answered as forsooth not knowing and said, 'Who is this King of Glory?' The angels of the Lord said, 'The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.' And immediately at this word the brazen gates were broken and the iron bars were crushed, and all the dead that were bound were loosed from their bonds, and we with them. And the King of Glory entered as a man, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up. Hades straightway cried, 'We are conquered, woe unto us.'...Then the King of Glory seized the chief ruler Satan by the head, and delivered him to the angels and said, 'Bind with irons his hands and feet and neck and mouth.' Then he delivered him to Hades and said, 'Take him and keep him safely until my second coming.' Then Hades took Satan and said to him, 'Beelzebub, inheritor of fire and punishment, enemy of the saints, by what necessity hast thou contrived that the King of Glory should be crucified, that he should come hither and spoil us? Turn and see that none of the dead is left in me; but all that thou didst gain by the tree of knowledge, thou hast lost it all by the cross.'"

Christ then blesses all the fathers, beginning with Adam, and rises with them in triumphal procession to Paradise, where he delivers them to the archangel Michael.

Is the resemblance of the two legends accidental, or is it possible that, in the Buddhist account, we have one of those faint reflections of Christian influence (derived perhaps from Persian Christians settled in western and southern India) which Professor Weber has endeavoured to trace in the doctrine of faith as taught in the Bhagavad Gītā, and some of the mediæval schools of the Vedānta? Much must depend on the date of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. Maury and Cowper would place it as low as the fifth century; but Tischendorf with greater probability would refer it to the second1. Even if the present form in which we have the legend is interpolated, much

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1 Que omnia conjuncta ejusmodi sunt ut libellum nostrum ex antiquissimo scripto apocrypho secundi saeculi haustum vel transcriptum putem. Evang. Apocr. p. 73.
of it must surely be of an early date; and we find direct allusions to events described there, in the Pseudo-Epiphanius’ homily ‘in Sepulchrum Christi,’ and in the fifteenth sermon of Eusebius of Alexandria. At the same time we have no reason to suppose that the Buddhist legend was connected with the earliest worship of Avalokiteśwara. It is not alluded to by the Chinese travellers in India; and the date of the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha can only be so far fixed, that it seems to have been translated into Tibetan in the ninth century.

1 The phrase in Athanasius’ third sermon in Arios reminds one of the legend, though it may be only a rhetorical phrase, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ θέμα πάλιν εἰπεῖν δείλεν τῶν Κύριων, δι’ οἱ πυλωροὶ τοῦ Ἀδων πτήζαντες ἔσαφηκαν τὸν Ἀδων. 2 In Csomo Körösi’s paper (Asiat. Res. xx. p. 530) it is said to have been translated by Sākya-prabhā and Ratnarakṣita; the former is associated in p. 516 and p. 530 with Bandé-yé-shés-sdé, one of the well-known Tibetan translators of the 9th century (p. 527).

E. B. COWELL.
NOTES UPON I. THE ROOT AK; II. THE ROOT MAGIC; III. THE WORD ARE.

I. ON THE ROOT AK.

The Indo-European root ak is not a very easy one to deal with, because there would seem to be more than one root of that form. Besides this, there is a root agh which seems to have been nearly allied to it; and beyond this again, there seem to have been more roots than one of the latter form. All are more or less represented in English, but it is by no means easy to distinguish them. For the sake of convenience, I take them in the order in which they are presented by Fick, and it will be understood that I do not undertake to mention all their derivatives in the various Indo-European languages, but only endeavour to mention such as are actually represented in our own language.

To begin with ak. Here Fick cites at least four different roots, three in his Indo-European word-list, and a fourth in his European list. The first three are ak, to see, ak, to pervade or pierce, and the nasalised root ank, to bend. The fourth is ak, to be colourless or dark. The first two he supposes to be identical, and indeed, very little is gained by separating them. The notions of seeing and piercing are easily connected, as in our word sharp-sighted, or in the word eye, as applied to the hole in a needle. It is also better to consider the second ak before the other, as presenting what was probably the more original idea. I therefore rearrange his order to that extent, and present the first three forms as meaning (1) to pierce; (2) to see; (3) to bend. The derivatives of ak, to pierce, are seen in the
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Latin *acer*, sharp, *acidus*, sour, and *acuere*, to sharpen. From *acer*, we have *acerbity*; closely connected with which are *acrid*, *acridity*, *acridness*, *acrimony*, *acritude*.

From *acidus*, we have *acid*, *acidity*, *acidulate*; and in close connection, *acetic*, *acetous*, *acetate*, and other terms, chiefly chemical.

In connection with *acuere* stand the Latin *acutus*, *acumen*, and *acus*. Hence the English *acute*, *acuteness*, *acumen*, *acupuncture*, &c.

The Latin *acer* becomes *aigre* in French; whence the English *eager*, *eagerness*. Hence also *vin aigre*, sour wine; or, in English, *vinegar*.

From the Latin *acus* comes the diminutive *aculeus*. Hence the French *aiguille* and *aiguillette*. *Aiguille* is a word of frequent occurrence in the descriptions of Alpine scenery. *Aiguillette* has produced *aglet*, a word familiar to readers of Elizabethan literature, and occurring in Shakespeare in the compound *aglet-baby*. Spenser spells it *agyulets* in one of the finest stanzas he ever wrote, which is moreover remarkable for wanting half the last line. See F. Q. ii. 3. 26.

Mr Peile, in his Greek and Latin Etymology, 3rd ed. p. 104, admits the close connection of this root *ak* with the A.S. *eggian*, to incite, or *egg* on. This seems to me to admit of direct proof. For we must certainly connect the Latin *acies* with *acus*, and the Latin *acies* is obviously identical with the A.S. *ecg*, the edge of a sword, the very word which we now spell *edge*. The verb *eggian* is a mere derivative of this, signifying to apply an edge or point, hence to *incite*. This accounts also for the double form of the verb in English; we not only find to *egg* on, but also to *edge* on. Other derivations in A.S. are, apparently, *egl*, a sprout of corn, or a beard of corn, represented by the Essex word *ail*, meaning beards of barley. Also *eglán*, to inflict pain; a verb which is commonly used impersonally, as in the phrase *me eglán*, i.e. *it ails* me. Also *eglian*, to feel ill, our modern to *ail*.

More strictly, in accordance with Grimm's law, we should find the Latin *c* replaced by a Gothic *h*. Accordingly we find the A.S. *eher*, often contracted to *eár*, which is our *ear* in the
sense of an ear of corn. In Meso-Gothic we have ahana, a sprout or ear of corn, used in the sense of chaff in Luke 3. 17. This is the word which we now spell awn. Here too I should place the word awl, A.S. ál, which may be a contraction of a theoretical form ahal, signifying the piercer, in which the primitive sense of the root has been most exactly preserved. Another received meaning of the root ak (to pierce) is to attain to, to hasten; whence the Sanskrit aśva, for akva, a horse, Lat. equus, represented in English by equine, equitation, and equestrian. I quote from Mr Peile (p. 104) the opinion that Professor Curtius seems to be right in attributing to this root our word hammer, which seems to have acquired an initial aspirate to which it had no proper right, and is to be compared with the Lithuanian akmen and the Sanskrit aśman, meaning a hard stone.

I now come to the second ak, meaning to see. This is, probably, merely the same root in a different application. At any rate, it gives us the Sanskrit aksha, Lat. oculus, A.S. eāge. Hence not only the English eye, but the Latin-English oculist and ocular. A very interesting derivative of eye is the name of the flower which we call the daisy; the A.S. name was dæges eāge, i.e. the day's eye; an etymology which was well known as late as in the time of Chaucer. Another derivative is seen in window. In Middle-English this word was understood as meaning wind-door, and was sometimes spelt windore; but the original meaning was wind-eye, as testified by the Icelandic vindauge, in which both elements are perfectly preserved. The A.S. names for window were eage-pyrl, an eye-hole, or eage-duru, an eye-door. The latter form accounts for the confusion between eye and door in the word window.

We have also the word eyelet, not really of A.S. origin, but from the French œillet, a diminutive of œil, from oculus.

From the root ak, to bend, we have the Sanskrit añch, to bend, and the Latin angulus and ancora. Hence our angle, angular, and anchor. There is also an A.S. angel, the meaning of which is a fish-hook. Whether it was a borrowed or a cognate word it is hard to say. At any rate, it has given us the words angler, angling, and to angle.

From the root ak, to be colourless or dark, is said to be
I. ON THE ROOT AK.

derived the curious Latin word aquilus, meaning dark brown. The feminine aquila was used to designate a particular bird, passing into French as aigle, and thence into English as eagle.

Closely connected in form with the root ak is the root agh. To this have been assigned three different senses; viz. agh, to say; agh, to choke; agh, to covet. All three are represented in English.

Agh, to say, gives Lat. aio and adagium; whence adage.

Agh, to covet (which I take next) gives the Lat. egere which appears in indigent.

Agh, to choke, is a far more prolific root, the derivatives of which are liable to confusion with those of ak, to pierce. Hence the Lat. angustus, narrow; in connection with which we have anxious, anxiety, anxietude, and anger. There is also an A.S. ange, vexatious, with its derivation ang-negl, a sore beside a nail, known in later English as an angnail, angnail, or (by an attempt to give it a new meaning) as hang-nail.

Hence also the Lat. anguis, a snake, and anguilla, an eel. Cognate with anguilla is the Anglo-Saxon ãl (contracted from a theoretical ahal) now spelt eel. Thus the two words which we now spell eel and awl were once spelt alike, and it is difficult to distinguish between them. In the same way we have, in Greek, not only ἔχις, a viper, but ἐχίνος, a hedgehog. The former, ἔχις, must go with anguis and the Sanskrit ahi, from the root agh, to choke; but possibly ἐχίνος, almost naturalised in the form echinus, is to be referred to ak, to pierce. Beside the form echinus we have the interesting word igel, still preserved in German as the name of a hedgehog. Unless it may still be traced in some of our provincial dialects, the word is now out of use; but it occurs in the contracted form yl in a remarkable specimen of Anglo-Saxon which is said to shew traces of the dialect of East Anglia. When king Edmund of East Anglia was murdered by the Danes, we are told that his tormentors tied him to a tree, and threw javelins at him "till he was all beset with their shootings, as the bristles of a hedgehog, even as was St Sebastian;" or, in the original, "oððet he all wæs biset mid heoræ scotungum, swylce yles burstæ, swa swa Sebastianus wæs."
From the same root *agh*, to choke, is derived the *Meso-Gothic* *agis*, terror, preserved in English in the form *awe*. Also the good old Anglo-Saxon word *ece*, an *ache* or pain. This word was always spelt *ake* (with *k*) in Middle-English, until Greek became known amongst us. After that time, it was spelt *ache* in conformity with the spelling of the cognate Greek word *ἄχος*, though the word was not borrowed from the Greek at all, but only derived from a common source with it.

I wish here to record my conviction that nothing has so much obscured the etymology of English as the notion, still widely held, that we have few native words in our language, and that it is absolutely necessary to "derive" everything from a Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit root. The truth is rather that we have hundreds of native words which can only be fairly traced by comparing them with Indo-European roots, from which in many cases they can be derived without much error, and with which they ought always to be connected, where such a connection is fairly practicable.

II. On the root *MAGH*.

In dealing with the root *magh*, I may remark that I was led to investigate it in order to distinguish clearly between the different uses of the English word *main*. It is remarkable that we have two words of the form *main*, one a substantive and the other an adjective, which have come to us from different sources, and are yet nearly related to each other. The substantive, used in the phrase "with might and *main*," is of native origin, but the adjective, used in the phrase "the *main* chance," was borrowed from the French. The history of the words is quite clear. The substantive is the A.S. *megen*, might, from the verb *magan*, to be able. The adjective is the old French *maine* or *magne*, great, from the Latin *magnus*. But the Latin and A.S. roots are identical, viz. *mag*-, being cognate with each other. The Indo-European root is *magh*, to be great, or powerful; whence we have Sansk. *mahat*, great,
II. ON THE ROOT MAGH.

Gk. μέγας, Lat. magnus; and from the last of these, the O. Fr. maine, Eng. main as an adjective. We also find Mæso-Goth. magus, a boy (lit. one who is coming to his full strength), A.S. mæg, a relation, either male or female, whence Mid.-Eng. may, always used to mean a girl; also A.S. mægd, a maid, with its diminutive maiden. From the same root is the important A.S. verb magan, G. mögen, Eng. may. To the same root we can trace the Gk. μηχανή, a machine, and A.S. macian, to make. In Sanskrit mah means to honour; compare Lat. mactus, honoured, mactare, to honour. Other derivatives are Gk. μεγάλος, Goth. mikils, A.S. micel, Eng. mickle; Gk. μήκος, length; A.S. mægn, strength, now spelt main. Also Goth. mahts, A.S. meht, miht, Eng. might. Also much, more, most; Gk. μακρός, long, &c. And I can enumerate many more words which are obviously from the same root, viz. major, mayor, maxim, master, magistrate, magnate, magnify, majesty, mechanics, &c. I conclude by tracing the word mata-
dor, which must also be included. The Lat. mactare means (1) to honour, (2) to sacrifice, (3) to kill. Hence the Spanish matar, to kill, and matador, the “killer” of the bull in the Spanish bull-fight. Perhaps some more may be added; but these will shew how important the knowledge of such a root is in the tracing of English etymologies. It may also be observed that the strong similarity between the derivatives of the root magh in various languages is due to the fact that the letter m is extremely persistent as an initial, being unaffected by Grimm’s law. The substance of the present note upon this root is printed in a note to my edition of the Two Noble Kins-

III. ON THE WORD ARE.

In the Old Northumbrian version of the Gospels preserved in the Durham MS. (MS. Cotton, Nero D. 4) the modern English are is represented both by aron and by sind. Though these forms have at first sight no resemblance, they are, of course, both due to the same form, the Indo-European
asanti. The syllables asan give aron, and the syllables santi give sind. But the really interesting point is, that the word aron actually contains the root-vowel a (in as-), which is missing in the Sanskrit santi and in the Latin sunt, and only imperfectly represented in the Greek εἰσὶν and the Icelandic eru. The old Northumbrian dialect has had considerable influence upon that Midland dialect which has come to be recognised as standard English; and amongst other things, has excluded the word ben, and given us the word are in its place. In the MSS. of Chaucer we find three forms, viz. arn, ben, and beth. The point to which I wish to draw attention is the extreme antiquity of such a form as are; and to suggest that there is a vast number of forms in English which bear similar marks of having been preserved, without great loss, from the Indo-European period. This is, perhaps, admitted in theory; but I am sure that it is constantly ignored in practice. When etymologists are employed upon English, they commonly forget that they often have to deal with very antique forms. It is impossible, I suppose, to assign any very precise date. But when we notice the completeness of a language like the Meso-Gothic, which had forms of its own in the fourth century, and can trace back the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, to centuries preceding the Christian era, I would ask the question—Is it not speaking very much within bounds, to suggest that a word like are (understood as a corruption of aron or asan or asanti) must be at least 3000 years old? I very much doubt if the full importance of English has been recognised, even by Germans. The fragments of Gothic are very imperfect, and do not contain, for example, any such word as aron, but only sind. The Low-German languages are but imperfectly represented by their written remains. It is notorious that many words in daily use, obviously of Anglo-Saxon origin, are not found in our oldest MSS. I draw the conclusion that in the modern dialects, of English, Danish, Swedish, and in the Icelandic, there must be many forms of extreme antiquity, some of which may not have varied very widely from the original type; and I suspect that it is in this direction that least has been done to illustrate the original Indo-European speech.
I will add one more illustration from the same Northumbrian glosses. We have, in the one word *am*, the suffix *m* or *mi*, representing the first personal pronoun. But in the old Northumbrian we have further examples of the same suffix in the words *ic doam*, I do, Mark xi. 29; *ic beom*, I be (or rather, I shall be—for it has a future force), Mark ix. 19; and *ic geseom*, I see, Mark viii. 24. These I have already noted in my preface to St Mark’s Gospel, p. xxxi.

W. W. SKEAT.
It is, I suppose, the fact that there are a larger number of highly trained classical scholars in England than in any other country, and it is probably the fact also that the proportion of these who make contributions of value to Classical Philology is smaller in England than elsewhere. Even among our productive scholars, there are not many who care to undertake any task involving more than a few months' work: and the outsiders, who ought to form an intelligent critical audience, are content, for the most part, to utter their criticisms in lectures or conversation, and leave the public expression of opinion to the 'indolent reviewer' of the weekly papers. Such a book as that before me has, in all probability, been carefully read by some twenty or thirty men of matured scholarship, any one of whom would have been able to suggest some improvement, and so, with little trouble to himself, have helped to advance the cause of classical learning in England. If I am not mistaken, the Journal of Philology has always sought to be especially the organ of sober detailed criticism of this kind, avoiding all approach to the windy generalities and aesthetic affectations which are so popular in other quarters. What is perhaps still to be desired is that there should be a more systematic oversight of all publications which come within its province, so that any writer who had done really honest work might feel sure of finding here a fair and appreciative judgment, and what is of yet greater importance, of getting substantial help for
future editions. I do not of course assume that the suggestions of the critic should always be accepted by the author, but if they are worthy of being admitted into the Journal, they ought at least to direct his attention to points in which it is desirable that he should strengthen his position or alter his manner of expression.

Turning now to my immediate subject: I think there can be no question that this edition of the Private Orations far surpasses any that have gone before it, and that it will compare favourably with the English editions of any portion of Demosthenes, excepting only the masterly edition of the De Falsa Legatione by Mr Shilleto, which, in point of exact scholarship and familiarity with the language of the Orators, seems to me to stand altogether alone. It is a matter of satisfaction that the younger editor, as we may infer from the three volumes which have appeared with his name—the Select Orations of Isocrates, and the first and second parts of the Private Orations of Demosthenes—has already marked out for his own a definite portion of the field of classical study, thus setting an example of that division of labour which is so much needed among English scholars, and which seems so difficult to achieve. Mr Sandys' notes exhibit the good sense and sound scholarship which we naturally look for in any work of his, and they have the further merit of embodying the latest results of the researches of Arnold Schaefer and other distinguished German philologists. In the present volume, however, it is only the work of revision which has fallen to Mr Sandys, the bulk of the notes being due to Prof. Paley. In the second volume the parts of the editors are reversed.

It is fortunate for the students of this generation that Mr Paley has not practised the self-restraint which has been just commended in his coadjutor. No editor of the present day has taken so wide a range as he has done. Personally I am disposed to regret that he has preferred to turn his attention to Demosthenes rather than to the Lyric poets. If he had made use of his special knowledge of the language of the Epic and Tragic poets to provide us with an edition of the link which connects them, I think that his services would have been even
greater than they are. But beggars must not be choosers, and where so much has been done, it would be ungrateful to complain because something else remains undone.

The observations which follow are almost entirely confined to those passages in which I thought I saw my way to a more satisfactory explanation than that given in the notes. Where I was dissatisfied with the note but could suggest nothing better, I have said nothing. Once or twice I have mentioned where I thought a note might have been added with advantage.

Πρὸς Φορμίλωνα, 908. 6.

ἐδάνεσα Φορμίλων ἐκοσὶ μνᾶς ἀμφοτερόπλοιν εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ ἐτέρα ὑποθήκην.

Mr Paley translates "I lent the defendant twenty minae for the double voyage to Pontus and back, on the security of twice that amount of goods"; adding "the meaning of ἐπὶ ἐτέρα ὑποθήκη has been doubted, but the context leaves it pretty clear that it is a brief legal phrase for ἐφ᾽ ἐτέρῳ τοσοῦτῳ". On p. 63 (c. Lacr. 930) Mr Sandys suggests that "this singular phrase should be emended ἐπὶ ἔλευθέρα ὑποθήκη ‘on an unencumbered security’”.

I think the phrase is correct as it stands, and that it means ‘on a separate, distinct, independent security’, besides the ship and the cargo put on board. Allusion is made to this independent security, p. 909, οὐτε τὴν ὑποθήκην παρέσχετο οὐτε τὰ χρήματ᾽ ἐνέβετε ‘eiς τὴν ναῦν, where τὰ χρήματα are the τετρακισχιλίων φορτία ἄξια referred to in § 6. I cannot understand Mr Paley's note on the second passage. There is another allusion to this security in p. 914, ἐνθένδε ἔξεπλετέ οὐκ ἐνθέμενος εἰς τὴν ναῦν τὰ χρήματα καὶ ὑποθήκην οὐκ ἔχουν, where Mr P. gives no note, but, from the summary ‘he left Athens without sufficient goods as a security’, I should suppose that he gives an explanatory force to καὶ.

p. 916 § 31. ἀνελόμενος ‘taking up the bond.’ Rather ‘getting back’.

p. 917 § 36. πέπρακται αὐτῷ. ‘The usual Attic construction with this passive perfect (or aorist). We find it first in Aesch. Suppl. 960’. But why call it Attic? The agent is
commonly expressed in the passive by the dative both in Homer and Herodotus.

p. 918 § 38. παρηκαί eis Θηβας, 'entered Thebes'. So (p. 999 § 16) παρηκαί θεου eis Ταμώνας, is translated 'entered T.', where Prof. Kennedy's more correct version is 'went on the campaign to'. Literally it will be 'was marching along to'.

p. 919. 40. I think there should be a new paragraph after ἀποβάλωμεν. The sentence which follows is merely introductory to the general summing up of the case, not in any way explanatory or confirmatory of what precedes.

p. 921. 47. The construction of this difficult sentence would be clearer if the mark of interrogation were deferred to the end ὑπολάβοι τείνα, the previous clauses being separated by colons. There are three pairs of antitheses opposed by μὲν and δὲ. "How monstrous it would be that you should attach weight to a disputed statement, while you refuse to believe what is agreed to by both parties; that Lampis should come forward to give evidence of that which he formerly denied, and you should refuse to give the evidence of your verdict though fully convinced of the fact; that you should not listen to Lampis when he speaks the truth, but place implicit confidence in the story which he was bribed to tell". There seems to be a confusion in the note on oὐκ ἔστι μάρτυρες, 'While you by deciding that his first evidence was true, and that P. did not pay, decline to become witnesses of the fact in my favour'. It is not 'by deciding' but in spite of their knowledge: the antithesis is, "Lampis offers himself as a witness of what he knows to be false, you refuse to be witnesses of what you know to be true".

p. 921. 49. τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποστερουμένων, κ.τ.λ. This is translated in the note 'our assertion, &c.' Of course it is 'that part of the evidence of Lampis which tells in favour of the injured party', viz. his first statement that he had not been paid.

p. 923. I think that Mr Sandys makes too much of the peculiarities of style in the speech against Lacritus. Surely τοιχωρυχέω is not more harsh than the expressions which Aeschines finds fault with (c. Ctes. p. 77 § 166), ἀμπελοφυγοῦσι
Nor can I agree with the instances of 'lax diction' which Mr Paley adduces, e.g. p. 924. 4, οὐκ ἄν ἔχοντας = ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄν ἔχοι, ὅσις διδωσιν = τὸν διδοῦτα. p. 925. 7, ὅποιος ἄν ἐνεργῇ ὁσίῳ, ‘that they might be engaged in a trading enterprise’. They are ordinary constructions, of which examples can be found in the grammars. And why should, § 5, ὑπηθεῖτε τὰ δίκαια be considered ‘an anomalous accusative’? It is a simple cognate.

p. 925. 7. οὗδ‘ ὁ ὑπηθεῖτης. The οὗδέ is not intended to contrast T. with his brother (as the note says) but with the speaker Androcles.

p. 926. 10. There is a misprint in the note on ἔπτι διακοσίας. For 220 read 225, and ‘twenty-five’ for ‘twenty’ below.

p. 928. 17. οὔτοσι δὲ Λάκριτος ἦν ὁ ἔγγυητής. Note. ‘Perhaps we should transpose the article, which should not be used with the predicate, reading ὁ Λ. ἦν ἔγγυητής’. But the article is of course not wanted with the proper name (see § 15, οὔτοσι Λάκριτος again), and the predicate being coextensive with the subject may perfectly well take the article, which gives it additional definiteness.

§ 18. ὅστ’ εϊς τάλαντον ὀργυρίου τὴν τιμὴν εἶναι καθισταμένην. Note. ‘According to the market value. Cf. τῆς καθεστηκυίας τιμῆς’. I do not see how such an interpretation was arrived at, or what was the good of referring to the perfect to explain the sense of the present. Wolf and Schaefer rightly explain εἶναι καθισταμένην = καθίστασθαι, and so Kennedy translates ‘so that the price of the wine would amount to a talent in money’.

p. 929. 19. I cannot agree with the statement in the note that the double article τὰ κερώμα τὰ τρισχίλια denotes irony. In none of the passages quoted does it denote anything more than a wish to be exact.

p. 930. 22. τοιαῦτα τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ κακουργήματα. Note. ‘For the use of the article, cf. Aesch. Theb. 646, τοιαῦτ’ ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τάξευρήματα’. It was hardly worth while to go so far as Aeschylus for an illustration of this simple sentence when we have in the next page αἱ μὲν πανουργίᾳ τοιαῦται τῶν ἄνθρωπων.
The same might be said of the note on διπλάσια, p. 1289.

§ 23. Note. 'It would seem from this that lending on ἐπι-

dανεισμός was as illegal as borrowing'. But there is nothing

about illegality in the text: Aratus simply says that he should

not have lent money on the security offered, if he had known

it was already mortgaged.

p. 931. 25. Note. 'καὶ—μάλιστα seems the syntax intended'.

But καὶ would be quite correct without μάλιστα, 'It was here

also that they showed their insolence (μάλιστα) in the highest

degree'.

οὐκ εἰξομεν ὅτου κρατοίμεν ἕως κομισαίμεθα. In direct

speech the 1st optative would be a deliberate conjunctive, the

2nd would appear as ἕως ἄν κομισώμεθα. The note is likely to

be misleading to young scholars.

p. 932. 29. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅτος ἄν ἀπολάβομεν. A note

should have been added pointing out the difference between

ὁτος with the opt. and ὅτος ἄν with subj. and opt.

p. 941. 52. Summary. 'Terms of the law violated by taking

the ship first to Chios'. Rather it would seem to have been

brought first to Thieves' Harbour and afterwards taken to

Chios. Observe the perf. κατηγμένα in 53.

§ 54. It is said in the note that 'there seems to be some-

thing wrong in this passage'. The construction is set right by

substituting a comma for a period after τούτων. The general

meaning will then be, "goods lent from Athens for the return

voyage have been disembarked at Chios, proving the truth of my

remark that the city itself loses through the losses of its

capitalists. That you are involved in our misfortune is plain,

for when a man disobeys your laws and sends off your property

to Chios, is he not injuring you as much as us?"

p. 964. 26. Note. 'In late Greek κατείχεν seems to mean

lodged or kept there'. αὐτῶδ is the genitive governed by κ. in

the sense of took possession of. See Schaefer in loc., and Rost

and Palm's Lex.

p. 966. 1. καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον. Note. 'These words seem

an interpolation. The passive would require a change of sub-

ject. Nor does it seem likely that the passive could here have
been used in the medial sense, which is wholly inappropriate'. Schaefer gives the true explanation on 578, 15, to which he refers in his note on this passage. Translate 'having got rid of, being quit of, the whole matter'.

p. 969. 11. ἄνεδώς δὲ ἔχων οἷς λέγω τούτοις. Note. 'The dative of respect or reference'. These terms are extremely vague: an accusative of respect one has heard of, but Curtius knows no such dative, and though Madvig uses the phrase 'dative of reference' for Curtius' more exact 'dative of interest', this is not the signification given to it here, if we may judge from the quotation, in which a dative occurs with χαλεπῶς φέρειν. I should have no hesitation in calling it a 'causal dative'.

p. 971. 16. Note. 'The ἄν is attracted as usual to the negative. See Shilleto on Thuc. i. 76. 4'. But nothing is said there of attraction to the negative; the anticipation of ἄν is simply attributed to 'the desire of the Greeks to show as early as possible that a sentence is intended to be contingent'.

p. 975. 28. ταῦτα πῶς ἔνεστι ἐμοὶ πεπράχθαν τῷ μὴ πάροντι καὶ περὶ ἄν Εὐέργου κατεδίδασθα; Mr P. seems uncertain as to the force of καὶ. It seems to me to join the two reasons why the speaker was not responsible for the proceedings complained of: 1st, he was absent: 2nd, Euergus had been already found guilty. Either clause would have followed πεπράχθαν with equal propriety, though there is perhaps a little awkwardness in coupling them together.

p. 980. 46. Note. 'Εξήταστα, he has had the matter investigated'. I think there can be no doubt that ἔξ is used in a passive sense here. See the quotations in Reiske's Index or Rost and Palm.

§ 47. ἔχεω. The opposition of χαλεπῶν to ῥάδιον proves that ἦν is common to both, and prevents our supposing an indefinite subject as suggested in the note.

§ 48. It is not clear what use of the future is said to belong to the later Attic and to be confined to the Ionic form. I do not think the metaphor in ὑποστελλόμενον is either nautical or military. The meaning is simply 'without concealment' (putting a thing under).
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p. 994. 14. λάθρα. Note. ‘She had also sworn privately (and apart from the consideration of a bribe)’. I do not see any occasion for the words in brackets: why need kal mean more than ‘she had even gone so far as to swear’?

p. 998. 10. There is a misprint in the note: for ‘present’ read ‘indicative’.

p. 1001. 23. ὃν ἄν. Can there be any doubt that the genitive is attracted to the antecedent dependent on καταλλάτ-τεσθαι, and does not ‘depend on the sense of περί’?

p. 1011. 8. There should be a comma, not a full stop, after τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. I forgot to mention that in p. 966 the comma should be moved from τοῦτων to τοὐτοῖς, connecting πρὸς with the previous γεγενημένων, and reserving παρεγραφήμην for the following clause.

§ 10. For the construction of ὑμολογοῦ followed by the infinitive with όù, it would have been better to have referred to Madvig, § 205. Similarly for the use of the Perfect instead of the Aorist in later Greek (pp. 906 and 994), Winer’s Grammar should have been referred to, ed. Moulton, p. 136.

§ 11. πρὸς τὸν διαιτητὴν ἀπῆνυσε. Note. ‘We might expect πρὸς τῷ δ., but it is easy to supply ἔλθούσα’. I cannot see the use of a note like this. Nobody who had any acquaintance with the usage of the verb, or with the common phrases λαχεῖν πρὸς ἀρχοντα, πρὸς διαιτητήν, could have expected a dative, which I imagine is without example. In this very speech we have the same construction repeated in §§ 17, 38, 39.

A few lines below, for οὐδ’ ὦς read οὐδ’ ὦς.

p. 1012. 14. τῶν παῖδας τοὺς διακόνους τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ἔξαιρέτους ἐποιησάμεθα. Note. ‘Either τοὺς παῖδας or τοὺς διακόνους reads like an interpolated gloss’. On first reading one is certainly disposed to consider that διακόνους was a gloss to prevent a mistake as to παῖδας (and this is rather confirmed by the various readings), but a reference to the index shows παῖδα διάκονον 1155, οἰκήτην διάκονον 1359; and it seems probable from other passages that διάκονος was a term applied to a superior class of servants. Cf. Sturtz, Lex. Xenoph. s. v.

p. 1013. 17. τότε. Note. ‘Before the second arbitrator Boeotus did appear’. After the death of Solon each party brought
a suit against the other. Boeotus appeared in court as plaintiff, but made no appearance as defendant. This is shown by the antithesis περὶ μὲν οὖν ὃν ὁὐτόι μοι ἐδικάζοντο—ἡν δὲ ἐγὼ τοῦτον ἐδίκωκον. It is this second suit, not that before Solon, to which τότε refers.

p. 1013. 18. αὐτῷ Μαντιθέω. Note. "As Mantitheus, i.e. by an altered name. (Or perhaps 'with Mantitheus himself’, in ironical allusion to Boeotus being somebody else'). I think αὐτῷ must have the emphatic meaning here, but I cannot accept the ironical allusion. Translate "I prosecuted him as being actually Mantitheus, under the actual name M."

p. 1018. 13. μηδὲν ἀδικώντος. Note. ‘Here μη is used, not οὔ, because the case is hypothetical and represents εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡδίκουν. Schaefer's reading οὐδὲν is also correct, as asserting the present consciousness of innocence as a fact’. I do not think it is right to speak of this as a hypothetical case, and certainly εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡδίκουν would give a different sense to that required. If Schaefer's οὐδὲν is not accepted, I think all we can do is to impute this use of μη to carelessness, and number it among the exceptional cases referred to by Madvig, § 206, b, rem. 1. But the usage of later Greek makes it more probable that οὐδὲν (which occurs in some MSS.) was changed to μηδὲν than the reverse.

§ 34. I should understand εὐθῆς as referring back to ἀπράγματον in § 32.

p. 1019. 37. ὑπηρετῶν. The circumstances referred to are obscure, but the explanation given in the note does not seem to me probable. The text says nothing of rousing the anger of Cammes. I should suppose that Boeotus charges Mantitheus with having recovered money due to his father in Mytilene, in order that he, B., may claim a share of it, which of course he could not do if it were money supplied by Apollonidas and other friends of Athens for the purpose of levying a force against the tyrant. Such a demand might be represented as helping Cammes against the Athenians. Surely A. Schaefer is wrong in thinking Ameinias an enemy of Athens. Mantitheus would not then have mentioned his connexion with him.

p. 1024. 54. ἀλλ' ἄξιοντο. Note. 'He will not himself have any just grounds for having said them at all'. Rather "he will be unable to bring forward any fair plea".

p. 1026. 59. πρῶτα ή μή. Note. 'More correctly perhaps ή οὐ, since it is a direct question of fact. But we may say that it is equivalent to εἶτε ή μή'. As οὐ is allowable after εἶτε this does not help us much. Jelf (§ 875, obs. 3), followed by the editor of Madvig (§ 284), says that 'when the 2nd member of the disjunctive question is negative, this is expressed by ή οὐ, if the predicate, and by ή μή, if only a part of the sentence is negated'. I do not think this is borne out by facts. Of course μή is often required by the mood of the verb understood: where this is not the case, μή is allowable after πρῶτα, just as in any interrogative sentence which expects a negative answer; but I think it is rarely used without some special inducement, such as we find in this sentence, in the desire to avoid a second οὐ.

p. 1283. 23. τί λαβόντες τὸ βέβαιον. The force of the article should have been noticed in this and in the similar passage (§ 15). It is not simply 'what security' but 'what as our security'.

p. 1284. 5. Note. 'ἐφ' ὄτε. An abbreviation for ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνῳ ὄστε (or at least equivalent to it). Similarly οἶος τε is τοιοῦτος οἶος ὄστε'. It is a pity this note should have been inserted. Unless an editor can give a better account of a construction than is to be found in the grammars, he should content himself with a reference to them. It is unnecessary to say that there is no such construction as τοιοῦτος οἶος ὄστε: even if we assume that οἶος is inserted by mistake, how is it easier to understand an infinitive after ὄστε than after οἶος? The true explanation of ἐφ' ὄτε is that it is an abbreviated expression for ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐφ' ὄτε, which was followed originally by a future indicative, but as the idea of result got more and more associated with the infinitive, the latter in process of time became the more usual construction.

p. 1285. 8. συνετιμήθη. Mr Paley, proposing to read ἐπε-τιμήθη, does not notice that Suidas recognizes the ordinary reading. Prof. Kennedy translates 'the price was manipu-
lated through such letters'. I do not quite see how this sense can be got out of συντιμάω, and I think the context requires a word expressive of the result of manipulation, rather than of manipulation itself. If we consider what would be the natural consequence of selling only in the dearest markets, it would tend of course to equalize prices everywhere. May not this be the meaning of συντιμάω, to price together? An indirect effect would probably be to raise prices at Athens, where they had been kept down by artificial restrictions.

§ 10. πέρας δ' οὖν. This extremely awkward sentence seems to me more unlike Demosthenes than anything in the Lacritus. There are many minor points besides, e.g. the use of σύμπτωμα and ἀκαριαῖος (surely the right reading), which make me doubt the genuineness of this speech. The analysis in the note does not seem to me satisfactory. I think that, after the parenthetical statement of the breach of contract by Parmeniscus, λαβὼν γὰρ—ἀποδίδοται, it was intended to describe the insolent behaviour of the partners when called upon to make some reparation (cf. § 12 οὕτως υβριστικῶς ἔχρησατο), but the sentence breaks down under the accumulation of clauses, just at the point where the appeal of the plaintiff to the partners is about to be introduced. As Schaefer's reading καταφρονήσας is mentioned, it would have been as well to add that he suggests πέρας δὲ, λαβὼν γὰρ (omitting οὖν) after the pattern of τεκμήριον δὲ.

καθεστηκύλιας. I should be inclined to take this 'prices were quiet, not rising'. And similarly I should translate ἀπαγγελοῦντα ταῦθενδὲ καθεστηκύλια above, 'to report that prices here were steady'. The attraction from ἐνθάδε to ἐνθένδε seems to me more natural if we take καθεστηκύλια as predicate, than if we translate, as in the note, 'market prices here'. In the latter case the connexion of ἐνθένδε is rather with καθ. than with the verb of motion ἀπ.

p. 1286. 10. Must not the word ἐπιβάτης have had some technical sense which does not appear in our lexicons? It seems hardly possible that ordinary passengers should have been liable to the severest punishment if they changed their destination. I understand it of an agent sent in charge of goods.
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p. 1287. 13. It would have been well to note that ovdèv μᾶλλον is adverbial, 'not a whit the more for that'.

p. 1287. 13. ἀπολαβέων. Note. 'To take in part, to take as an instalment'. I doubt very much whether any example of such a meaning could be found. The force of the passage quoted from the Nubes depends entirely on ὀντως. The meaning there is, I believe, the same as in all the passages in which it occurs in this speech, viz. 'to get back what is due', the exact opposite to ἁποδοῶναι, which occurs in this very section. The other passages are §§ 12, 16, 30, 32, 33, 41, 46, and though in several of these passages reference is made to this note, there is only one (16) where it seems to me that the meaning here suggested is at all suitable, though even there it is not by any means necessary.

§ 14. ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου. I do not think that this could mean 'volunteered advice'. For the reasons given by Schaefer I take it in the same way as Kennedy.

καθομολογείν. I do not think κατὰ can have the force suggested in the note, either in this word ('to accept as full payment') or in καταγοράζω ('to purchase goods against, as a set-off to, a sum of money'). This meaning of 'against' is expressed by ἀντὶ not κατὰ. Thus we have ἀνταγοράζειν in p. 930. 24.

ὁμόσε πορευομένους. This phrase is no doubt commonly used of hostile meeting, but there is nothing in its nature to confine it to such; and the context here requires it to be taken in the sense 'ready to meet him half-way'.

p. 1288. 16. ὡς ἐτοιμὸν ὄντων. This is one of the few cases in which I should be disposed to follow Reiske against Schaefer, taking ἐτοιμὸν as referring to ἡμῶν. I do not see that it has any force if referred to τῶν ἀντίλεγομένων. The note speaks of 'a kind of attraction to ἡμῶν', but does not give any further explanation. In the simplest form the sentence would run ἄξιομεν, ὡς ἐτοιμὸι ἔντεις, κριθῆναι, which, thrown into the absolute, becomes ἄξιοντον ὡς ἐτοιμὸν ὄντων κρ.

p. 1289. 20. διαπεπραγμένος. Note. 'This is rather remarkable in the sense of διαπραξάμενος. But Demosthenes is fond of using perfect passives in the middle sense'. This again is likely to mislead: διαπεπραγμένος is the perfect middle and
appears as such in all the better grammars. As for the middle use of this particular verb being ‘remarkable’, plenty of examples will be found in the Indices to Demosthenes, Plato, and Xenophon. It is curious that the two former seem never to employ the active voice.

p. 1289. 21. As the form προσχεῖν is admitted in the text, there ought to have been a note to justify the omission of the ς. As far as I know, the form is not noticed in any commoner books than Lobeck’s Phrynichus, p. 673, Path. ii. 143, Paral. 17.

p. 1293. 35. Why should τὸ δάνειον τὸ ἀρχαῖον ‘the original debt’ cause a difficulty, (except indeed on the view stated in p. 929, that the double article denotes irony)? The use of τὸ ἀρχαῖον for ‘the principal’ presupposes the fuller form. In any case I should object to the emendation proposed in the note; as also to the very uncalled for ποικίλων instead of πολλῶν in § 37.

p. 1294. 40. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο. Instead of referring to τεκ-μῆριον δὲ, it would have been more to the purpose to quote p. 268, § 122, καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο with Holmes’ note.

J. B. MAYOR.
ON THE MEANING OF A PASSAGE IN CICERO, ORATOR c. 48, COMPARED WITH QUINTILIAN, INST. ORAT. xii. 10, § 27

There can be little doubt that many of the notes in rival series of later German Editions of the Classics are borrowed wholesale and systematically from each other, the choice of points for illustration and explanation, the illustrations and explanations, and even the words and structure of the notes often being nearly identical throughout, so much so, that were it not for the prefaces and indices, one would be tempted to think that Piderit and Jahn or Halm and Richter are but different names of the same persons. Probably this is done by express or tacit understanding between the respective proprietors and editors on the principle of ‘give and take’—sumimus inque vicem praebemus mutua—and does not concern the public directly; still some disadvantages connected with it should be pointed out; the loss to the student of fresh criticism on new points; of independent rival criticism on points and theories already mooted; the factitious weight given to one editor’s views by the apparently independent support of another; the consequent tendency to perpetuate old mistakes and encourage a somewhat servile rote-repetition of criticism, now-a-days perhaps too prevalent. Strange errors are not only made, but left unnoticed. Critics of the twentieth century will think but little of our scholarship when they find a mistake like the following, in a well-known and useful edition. "Und wenn Cicero nicht lange darnach mit unzweideutiger Beziehung auf den Orator, in einem Antwortschreiben an ebendenselben Cornificius erwidert ‘hin und wieder richte ich mein Augen-

¹ Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, December 2, 1875.
merk darauf, euch zu grossen Rednern zu machen' so war
diess nicht blos in Scherze, sondern in gewisser Beziehung auch
ernstlich gemeint." [Cic. Orator. Piderit, 1865, pref. 1, § 17.]
The passage referred to is as follows:—*quod extremum fuit in
ea epistola quam a te proxime accepi, ad id primum respon-
debo. Animum advorti enim hoc vos magnos oratores facere
non nunquam.* [Cic. ad Fam. xii. 18. 1.]

Except for such hurried bookmaking, and for a careless ac-
teptance of anything that appears in print, it would be hard to
understand how an old mistake with regard to a passage in
Cicero and in Quintilian on the usage of Greek characters in
their alphabet, could have been perpetuated in successive modern
editions. The two passages are as follows:—(1) Cic. Orator,
xlviii. 160, nec enim Graecam litteram adhibebant, nunc autem
etiam duas—and (2) Quint. Inst. Or. xii. 10. 27, *Jucundissimas
ex Graecis litteras non habemus,*—the question being whether Φ
and Τ are meant (as Jahn and Piderit and others hold), or Υ
and Ζ.
The reasons for thinking the latter are as follows.

(1) Under the head of what Cornificius calls 'elegantia',
Cicero is here considering the question of the proper forms and
pronunciation of certain words [cf. § 149, "ut cohaereant extrema
cum primis, eaque sint quam suavissimis vocibus"]: Among other
points the omission of the aspirates with consonants by older
and more correct writers, e.g. 'triumpos', 'Kartaginem', 'sepul-
cra', 'coronas' (sometimes evidently 'choronas'), 'lacrymas'—
the last three allowed by popular usage in Cicero's time. "So
too," he continues, "'Burrum' for 'Pyrrhum', 'Bruges' for
'Phryges', nec enim Graecam litteram adhibebant, nunc
autem etiam duas; and having to say Phrygum, Phrygibus,
it was absurd either on the one hand to use a Greek letter
even for Roman inflexions [read with Madv. 'etiam barbaris
casibus'] or to adopt the Greek form only in the nominative."

That 'duas' does not mean 'Φ' and 'Τ' seems almost
certain, because (i) if the word 'Phryges' is referred to, as it is,
'utramque' would then have been used; (ii) 'litteram' would have
been 'litteras'; (iii) 'litteram' must surely be a character and
not a sound; if so, 'litteram' must be 'Φ' or 'Τ': but as 'Φ'
the character was not used subsequently, 'Φ' can neither be
alluded to in 'litteram' or 'duas'. Therefore 'litteram' must mean 'T'. The sentence runs on—"It was absurd in those times to say 'Phrygum' &c. instead of 'Brugum' i.e. Greek 'Τ' with Latin '-um', or to say nom. 'Phryges'—gen. 'Brugum', and still in spite of that we now say both 'Phryges' and 'Pyrrhum' [instead of 'Burrum']". It will be noticed that these two coupled together are both examples of the usage of 'y' and not both of 'Φ'.

Corssen therefore very properly says (p. 6) on this passage—"Cicero can only have meant by the two Greek letters Y and Z". Cf. also Corss. p. 12—"Y and Z always counted as Greek letters". Cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 93; Quint. ii. 4. § 9; Ritschl zur Gesch. des Lat. Alphabets in Rhein. Mus, 1869, 1—32; Priscian i. 8, p. 45 Krehb.

(2) And now to reconcile this with the passage in Quintilian and Quintilian with himself and Corssen with himself. Quintilian, in talking of the inferiority of Latin generally to Greek in the way of eloquence, says:—"Latin to begin with is harsher actually in its sounds—the sweetest of the Greek letters we do not possess, (i) one a vowel, the other a consonant, the sweetest in utterance in their language; (ii) these we borrow when we use their names; (iii) and then the oratio somehow brightens up as in 'Ephyris' and 'Zephyris'; (iv) write these words in our characters, you get something heavy and outlandish, and fresh letters come in, harsh and uncouth; (v) and these are unknown to Greece; (vi) for that letter too ['et illa'] which comes sixth in our alphabet is very harsh."

It is agreed on either side that Y is one of the letters here meant, as in Cicero. The question left is, whether the second is Z or Φ? and this can only be settled by trying to see how either fits each clause.

(i) Can 'ph' (probably a hard aspirated sound) be called "jucundissima ex Graecis littera"? I see no reason why 'Z' should not be (spirant is surely not used philologically, of a 'spirant' exclusively).

(ii) Did the Latins borrow 'Φ' for Greek names? If it is replied that the sound is meant, then surely they borrowed not only 'Φ' but 'th' (Θ), 'ch' (Χ), and the "nunc autem"
"duas" should have been ‘quattuor’ or more. It is true of Z in Quintilian’s time, for Z, found in very early inscriptions, had fallen out of the language, and had been replaced by S or SS; cf. ‘comissor’, ‘Atticio’so’, ‘Saguntum’, [cf. Corssen, p. 295, &c.] “exceptions in Plautine MSS. being due to copyists”.

(iii) How can the usage of ‘ph’ be said to brighten up the ‘oratio’ in ‘Ephyris’ and ‘Zephyris’? The argument that there is no need for adding ‘Zephyris’ except to give an instance of the ‘Z’ is fair, though weakened by the fact that we find afterwards “servum et cervum”; certainly a Roman could hardly have used the instance ‘Zephyris’ without thinking of Z as a Greek letter, and might intelligibly talk of its use as adding something to the oratio.

(iv) “Write these words in Roman characters” &c.; we get EFURIS,—SEFURIS. The assumption that Quintilian is here talking of the two first-named letters, and those only, is gratuitous, and the source of the mistake; that he is talking of these, i.e. ‘S’ and ‘Y’ and also of a third, ‘F’, is shewn by the words “nam et illa” which follow, which of themselves almost prove that F and Φ were not alluded to before. Corssen then (p. 137), when he says on this passage: “Quintilian finds the Latin sounds F and U when compared with Φ and T harsh” can be referring only to the last part of this passage and not the first.

(v) The letters then unknown to Greece will be V and F: the two jucundissimae litterae first mentioned being Y and Z. For it is incredible that F, which Cicero calls ‘insuavissima littera’, should be the Latin equivalent of what Quintilian calls ‘jucundissima littera’, though it might well represent roughly, as it did in the fourth century A.D., the hard sound of Φ.

The question still remains whether “nunc autem duas” in Cicero is not suspiciously like the gloss of a commentator referring either to the passage of Quintilian or to the later usage of F for PH? If not, it is a very meagre and pointless digression of Cicero’s.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE GOTHIC PARTICLE -H, -UH'.

That the -h, -u-h, -que,—which are always enclitics, but only added to parts of the verb, to pronouns and particles, never to substantives—have been derived from the interrogative, originally demonstrative root ka, kva, and stand in closest relationship with Skr. ká, Zd. ca and also the Greek τé, and Lat. que, which are all likewise enclitic, is placed beyond doubt both by their sound and their employment. The Indo-Germanic primitive form of the particle was therefore ka, and corresponding to it is the Gothic -h, where the vowel must have dropped off. In this form the particle appears in all monosyllabic words which end in a vowel, and in those polysyllabic words whose final vowel is long. On the other hand, -uh follows forms terminating (as to sound) in a consonant, and such polysyllabic words as terminate in a short vowel (a), with suppression of this short vowel. An exception to this rule is made in some cases of hvaz-uh and hvarjiz-uh, quisque, in those, viz., whose datives (masc. sing.) are, not hvammuh, hvarjammuh, as one would expect to accord with pammuh, but hvammeh, hvarjammeh. The accusatives masc. are not (corresponding to panuh) hvanuh and hvarjanuh, but hvanoh and hvarjanoh. The nominative and accusative neuter of hvarjizuh, namely hvarjatoh, also differ from patuh. Hva-h is formed regularly from hvazuh; the t-form of the neuter does not occur in the Gothic in this pronoun.

1 Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, December 2, 1875. 

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See hvammeh: Mc. 14. 49; Lk. 2. 41; 6. 31, &c.
"pis-hvammeh: Mt. 4. 25; Lu. 4. 6.
"kvarjammeh: Lu. 19. 26; Rom. 12. 3, &c.
"ainhvarjammeh: Lu. 4. 40; Skeir. vii. 6, &c.
"hvanoh: Lu. 9. 23.
"hvarjanoh: Lu. 9. 14; 16. 5, &c.
"hvarjatoh: Mc. 9. 49; Skeir. vi. b.

These forms are antiquarian. In them the law of final sounds has operated incompletely or not at all. For hvammé-h would be equivalent to an original kasmái-ka; the i probably dropped off; but while a is elsewhere shortened (hvamma, pamma), it has here preserved its length before the -h suffixed. In like manner is it with the accusatives hvanó-h, hvarjanó-h, and with hvarjató-h, only that in these the other substitute of an original a is seen. Scherer (Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, p. 107 ff.) deals with the remarkable a which, as a support to the consonant sounded at the end of a word, is added to the neutral -t, to the accusative masc. of the pronominal declension, and to the 1st and 3rd persons plural of the conjunctive. I quite agree with him if he explains this supplemental element from its primitive am, which also occurs in Skr. in the pronominal declension; for example, in id-am = Lat. id, im-am = Old Latin im, em, more recently eum. That this a is to be put down for the Gothic as originally long (a is likewise used as the substitute for the dropped nasal, cf. O.N. a, i = ana, în) is clear, not only from the forms cited, hvan-ó-h, &c., but especially from the fact that short a could not have existed in consequence of the law of final-sounding vowels.

How then is -uh, as connected with -h, to be explained; if, as no one can doubt, the latter represents the original and, so to speak, more organic form?

Bopp (Vergleichende Grammatik, II. 213) has explained u as an auxiliary vowel. But in forms like panuh, iddjuh, and the like, this vowel would surely not be at all necessary. On this account Sonne (Kuhn's Zeitschrift xii. 289), with whom Scherer (Z. G. d. D. Sp. p. 374) agrees without reserve, gives another explanation. He recognises in u the prominent particle u frequently added as an enclitic in the Veda, especially
in cases of pronouns, which is confessedly contained also in
the Greek ὅ-ὖ-το, τὸ- viewController у-το = σα-土耳, τάδ-土耳-tud. To me, this
explanation is not convincing. If we proceed from words
ending in a consonant, as ḥvas, ἀνπατ, in, ἔπι, ἕπ, then the
particle following them, whenever it consisted only of the
aspirate ḥ, could only with difficulty be made audible; and
we find the origin of an intermediate sound to be natural. If
this be the origin of the u, the absence of any ‘Brechung’
is clearer. And might not ṭανμυ, ṭατυ, ṭανυ be formed
after the analogy of such current forms? Yes, we may perhaps
be allowed to consider the accusative also, and the neuter, as
quite normal. For we may suppose a time in which the neuter
sounded as thad, the accusative than (cf. ἄν = tum); and to
these the particle was joined with the auxiliary vowel. When
then gradually, in the neutrals in -t and in the accusative, an a
was suffixed, and the dative also abridged its termination to
a, the rule was followed in the continuance of ṭατ-土耳, ṭαν-土耳,
as compared with ṭατ-α, ṭαν-α; so that all polysyllabic word-
forms generally, which had their termination in a, would add
the particle in the form -μυ.

Scherer (l. c. p. 374) deems it inadmissible to identify -μυ,
-μυ with the Latin -que (consequently also with the Greek τε,
Skr. kā). It may, according to him, only be compared with
the Latin -ce, -c; "the primitive form κεκ would have produced
علومات." But we are by no means bound to admit that, in
the particle, the same substitution of the aspirate for the guttural
must have occurred as in the interrogative pronouns.

To postulate a special demonstrative root κa beside the like
sounding interrogative is not at all requisite (cf. Curtius, No.
650). So -que and -ce, -c, ultimately proceed from the same
root. And is their original identity not made probable by the
co-existence of ne-c and ne-que, κ-c (= at-c) and at-que?

As regards grammatical form, we may consider the par-
ticle -κa as coinciding with the root -κa. Perhaps, however,
it may also be conceived as an abbreviated instrumental case;
the Greek καί is the locative of the same root. (Cf. Curtius,
No. 27.)

Now with respect to the employment of -μυ, it serves (1) as
a copulative conjunction in the sense of the Latin -que. It is also not seldom used where, according to our ideas, the union of two actions by means of a conjunction would not be needed; thus, after the participle, e.g. jah athaitands sumana magive frahu; Lu. 15. 26.

Like τέ and -que, -uh can appear between prepositions and cases, e.g. inuh jainamna mela; Mt. 11. 25.

That inuh-h = ohne, like the Latin absque, admits with special readiness the enclitics (always in the Gospels) is acknowledged. Also in inuh pis, "therefore," and in duh-ìe, duh-ìe, which are of similar meaning, the connection with the preceding is, almost without exception, indispensible. The negation ni contains, through the suffixed -h, the meaning "and not," "nor," "not once," and agrees in form and meaning with the Latin ne-que, Osc. nei-p. As being conspicuous, and probably as being true, is to be taken along with it the absence of 'Brechung' of the i in nih.

(2) -uh follows other conjunctions, whose sentence-joining power it strengthens. It is affixed to the preceding word, in that case, only in -uh-pan, -up-pan, which, like pan alone, may be translated δέ. Similarly, but more rarely, -uh is joined to iò = autem, but so that it is added to the verb of the sentence (iò standing always at the beginning); e.g., iò Jesus qapuh, Mk. 10. 38; iò is visuh, Lu. 6. 8. In compound verbs, -uh seems to appear between the preposition and the verb. At least this position is observed in the two instances hitherto cited as appropriate (iò Jesus uzuhhof, Join 11. 41: and iò is ubuhvopida, Lu. 18. 38). Once -uh is directly joined to the conjunction which it strengthens. It is indispensible in ja-h, kai (cf. at-que), at least in the Gothic; but the O.S. ja, ge, gi, A.S. ge, show the unsuffixed form. To the interrogative -u an -h is occasionally added, by way of supplement, in the double interrogation. The simple pau (ἡ ἢ) receives -h but seldom, aip pau (ἡ ἢ) not at all. In sve-pauh and pauh-jabai, it is never omitted, nor perhaps even in andizuh—aippau (either—or); but there is only one case in point to show this (Lu. 16. 13).

In the adverbs nu-h, pahu (tunc), paruh, paproh, svah (sic), -h is prominent; cf. Gr. το-τε, πτο-τε, Dor. τό-κα, and
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generally the -te which is added to numerous conjunctions and adverbs.

(3) -uh stands in the demonstratives. The simple demonstrative pronoun and article sa, so, pata contains, through the suffix, the strengthened meaning hic, or even isque. Sah, soh, patuh, translate especially oυτος, καλαυτος, έκεινος, and not rarely the relative ὅς; cf. Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, IV. 445.

(4) Of sumzuh only some cases occur; the nominative of the sing. and plur. sumzuh (sumsuh, 1 Cor. 7. 7) sumaih, and the dative summamuh (1 Cor. 12. 10). Then again, with -uh-pan, -up-pan, the dative plural is sumainumuh-pan; the accus. is sumansuh-pan, and the neuter sumup-pan (sing. Rom. 9. 21; plur. 2 Tim. 2. 20). These suffixed forms are employed in enumeration (ὅς μέν—ὅς δέ, δαλλοι—δαλλοι δέ, &c.), and indeed sums either takes -uh in both members, or (only in the second) -uh, or -uh-pan; cf. Schulze, Gothisches Glossar. p. 328.

(5) Interrogative pronouns, in fine, become indefinite by means of -uh, with which again the Latin -que harmonises. Thus hvaz-uh, θις, quisque; hvazuh saei, sahvazuh saei, pis-hvazuh saei (et, izei), quicunque; with the adverbs hveh = certe, pishvazuh pei = ubicunque, pishvaduh peidei or pei = quocunque. Also hvaz-jizuh = “everyone,” ἔκαστος θις; ainhvarjizuh, unus-quisque, εἷς ἔκαστος. The dative ainhvaparammeh also warrants ainhvaparih = “each of two” (Skeir. III. b); while hvaparamma is used indefinitely, and consequently for hvaparammeh.

The existing German dialects know no more the pronominal suffix -h. Of the conjunctions some traces only have been preserved (in composition). O.H.G. jo-h = et, que, indo joh = atque, is the Goth. jah; O.H.G. no-h, O.S. no-h, Goth. ni-h, originally na-ka: and if O.H.G. doh is to be put down as equivalent to the Goth. pauh, pauhjabai, this would be the third citable remnant of the suffixed particle. O.N. né = neque bears witness by the length of the vowel to an earlier ne-h.

Another suffix is pointed to by the O.S. ja-c = et etiam, ne-k = neque, O.N. na-c, nö-c, in nok-kurr, aliquis, nak-kvaś, aliquid, &c. (Grimm, Gr. III. 71), and o-k, et etiam, in so far as it stands for jo-c. This -k is the prominent particle ga, Greek
γè, Dor, γα, Slav. ze, Lith. gi, gu (Skr. aspirated gha, ha, hi), which, as is well known, is contained also in mi-k, pu-k, si-k; cf. Schleicher, Compendium, p. 629; Scherer, l.c. p. 241. We have to admit it likewise in the Goth. a-k=sed, au-k=nam, enim.

In the next place, as regards ak (O.H.G. oh, Gr. III. 277; O.S., A.S. ac), it has its nearest affinities in Ecclesiastical Slav. a= et, ut, sed, vel (Scherer, l.c. p. 285); to which probably the Lith. o, “and, but” (Greek ἕ, cf. Schleicher, Lithauische Grammat. p. 329) will belong. This a may, as Scherer admits, be identical with the Skr. ḍ, which as a preposition means ad, but stands also as a conjunction = “thereto, further, also, and.”

As the O.H.G. ouh, auk, O.S. ōk, A.S. éac, have the meaning etiam, quoque, it is maintained that there is a verbal origin for auk in the root auk—“to increase;” cf. Gr. III. 274. Against this derivation, however, contends quite decisively the meaning of the Goth. auk (for). To me a pronominal origin seems much more probable. The Greek aó “again, on the other hand,” aó-τε, aó-τάρ, “further, yet,” Lat. au-tem, are offered for formal comparison. We may, I think, be allowed to regard the Zd. ava, Eccles. Slav. ovà, ille, as the fundamental root; which is perhaps also contained in the Greek aó-τάρ. I admit that neither the meaning of auk (cf. besides the Latin nam, enim with ana, “ille”) nor of ouh agrees with that of aó and autem. Yet this is no reason for making the suggested connections untenable. Certainly no one holds the opinion that auk is to be identified with ouh, although the one is nam, the other etiam. Words and particles of this kind are originally of general signification, which can easily become fixed in different ways.

R. DAHLMANN.
WAS HOC NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE INVARIA-
ABLY LONG?

In emending some passages of Lucilius, which will be found in Mr Wordsworth's Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, p. 320, I have assumed that hoc (nom.) was at the time when Lucilius wrote sometimes short. Mr Munro denies this. 'Hoc (nom. and accus.) was to Lucilius as long as hoc (abl.) or his or hos or huic or haec; and so it was to Plautus and Terence as well.' Academy for July 3, 1875, p. 17.

Mr Munro's statement is sufficiently explicit. Not to Lucilius alone, but to Plautus and Terence also, hoc nom. and accus. was metrically the exact equivalent of hoc abl., as well as of his, hos, huic, haec. The decisive tone of this assertion appears to me to be in striking contrast with the admitted difficulties of comic prosody.

The large work of C. F. W. Müller, Plautinische Prosodie, 776 pages in all, is from first to last a discussion of exceptions to the ordinary rules of metre. With this fact to start with, dogmatic assertions, even when they come from acknowledged masters in the craft, must be received with caution. Suppose it could be satisfactorily shown that no iambic or trochaic line in Latin ends with an iambus of which hoc forms the first half; and suppose on the other hand numerous instances could be adduced of undeniable hoc, we should still be very far from the conclusion that hoc was in the Roman tragic and comic writers invariably long. All that we could reasonably infer would be that hoc was felt to be a sufficiently defined quantity in the
direction of long against short to make its position in a place
where none but a short syllable was admissible avoided.

That hoc is often used long is of course undeniable.

Ad. 232. Nunc si hoc omitto ac tum agam ubi illine rediero.
And. Π. 3. 17. Sine omni periculo: nam hoc hau dubiumst quin
Cremes.

II. 5. 4. Ipsum adeo praesto video cum Dauo: hoc agam.

On the other hand I do not know any instance where a line
ends with hoc est, hoc ut or similar iambi. But what is the case
in the other parts of the verse? Are we to set down all the
numerous cases where hoc is scanned short as merely short
virtually? Is an anapaest like the following from the Bacchides
v. 1. 13,

Hoc hoc est, quo pectus peracescit, hoc est demum quod percrucior,
to be treated as if made up of three originally long syllables,
of which the two first are slurred over and thus shortened?
Will Mr Munro assert that it is impossible to draw distinctions
between cases where hoc is treated as short and cases where it
is short really? To me, I confess, this seems uncritical; it is
at least worth while to see what may be said on the other side.
Mr Munro writes 'It is exceedingly common for these latter
poets to treat all such monosyllables, when preceded by a short
monosyllable, or by a pyrrhic with the last syllable elided,
exactly like the final syllables of iambi. Thus we find near the
beginning of the Andria two consecutive lines commencing
thus, "Et id grátum." "Sed hoc mihi molestumst;" where id
and hoc are slurred over just as the manu and bonis already
spoken of': viz. in manu gessit gloriose, and Ex Graecis bonis
Latinas fecit non bonas.

That many instances of hoc shortened in this way occur in
Terence and Plautus, is shewn at length by C. F. W. Müller,
p. 324 sqq.
Aul. II. 9. 7. Sed quid hoc clamoris oritur hinc ex proxumo.
Heec. 97. Sed quid hoc negotist?
Men. 350. Scin quod hoc sit spinter?
ON THE QUANTITY OF HOC.

Pseud. 479. Sed quid ais? quid hoc quod te rogo?

1179. Scilicet solitum esse. H. Sanine estis? B. quid hoc quod te rogo?

and so 980, Truc. ii. 2. 18.

Similarly pp. 319—326 hanc hunc hinc hic (nom.), p. 390 hac haec has, p. 393 hic (adverb), p. 398 huc and hoc (adverb), p. 400 huic; his, hoc (abl.) huius are doubtful, hi unexampled. But it must not be supposed that there is no difference in the frequency with which each of these is shortened; hunc is common, and so are hinc hic (pronoun and adverb), hoc (nom. and accus.): hic haec are not very infrequent; but the rest are rare, possibly indeed not genuine. Surely this difference is significant, it corresponds to a felt difference in the weight of the syllable; hos has haec hi his hoc abl. were not in Plautus and Terence exactly on a par with hunc huic hic hoc (nom. and accus.) because there was more to be got over by the ear: quid hic huic was tolerable, quid huic hic was not. I would not put aside the commonness of hic hoc hunc in the language of everyday life as contributing to shorten them twenty times where hac haec has his hoc (abl.) are shortened once: but this is hardly in itself sufficient to account for the disproportion.

The result of a comparison of C. F. W. Müller's instances is that hoc is considerably commoner than hoc (nom. sing.); hic rather commoner than hunc: hoc occurs thirty times, for hic rather over, hunc rather under, twenty. Now Diomedes p. 430 Keil ranks hic and hoc together as communes syllabae. He says Sextus (the sixth case where a syllable is common) est cum pronomina hic vel hoc c littera terminata vocalis statim subsequitur, quoniam in his pronominibus c littera crassum et quast geminatum continet sonum. Est enim in hoc tam prima pedis syllaba longa quam tertia brevis. Hic uir hic est tibi quem promitti saepius audis. Similarly Probus de ultimis syllabis p. 258 Keil Possunt etiam videri communes eae syllabae, quae c littera terminantur, hic vel hoc; quarum de natura disputatum est. Hae enim syllabae apud Vergilium et longae et breves ponuntur si a vocali excipientur. Longae sunt in his 'pro Iuppiter; ibit Hic ait' et 'Hoc illud germana fuit;' alibi autem breves, Hic uir, hic est, tibi quam promitti
saepius audis. He refers in the words de quarum natura disputatum est to p. 221 Keil where c is stated to form an exception to the other mute letters bd g hk q p t in representing a double consonant as in the lengthened hoc and hic.

How did Diomedes and Probus arrive at this conclusion? Certainly not from Virgil, who has two instances of hic, none of hoc: nor from his predecessors Catullus and Lucretius, or the poets who followed Virgil, so far as they are known to us. It must have been, I think, from the earlier poetry: the Comic and Tragic Writers, and Lucilius. The laws of prosody as enforced by the hexameter poets from Ennius onwards made it impossible to treat hunc hanc haec as short under any circumstances; they could not have been so used by Lucilius, they could not have been mentioned by the grammarians from this point of view. This makes the fact of hic and hoc being placed by Probus and Diomedes on a level more remarkable and significant. The light which modern criticism has thrown on the metres of Terence and Plautus is misleading when we return from it to the point of view of the grammarians. To them hunc hine, &c. would always have represented a long syllable; hence if hic and hoc was an inference from the comic writers and Lucilius, it must have been obtained, not from such lines as those mentioned by Mr Munro, e.g. quid hoc quod te rogo, In hoc biduom (though such scannings or slurrings may have contributed to form such inference), but from actual or supposed shortenings in accordance with the ordinary laws of prosody. From this point of view examine a line like Adelph. iv. 5. 73

Quid hoc est negoti? hoc est patrem esse, aut hoc est filium esse?

Here hoc is used three times, once necessarily long aut hoc, once presumably hoc est patrem esse; what is its quantity in the third case, quid hoc est? It can hardly form one syllable with est, Quid hocest: is it a long vowel slurred and treated as short? This is certainly not the most ready or natural inference. Analogy is a tolerable guide in such cases and the parallel case of hic would at once suggest itself. Hic (nom.) could be indifferently long or short; it was used under conditions and in
ON THE QUANTITY OF HOC.

circumstances not distinguishable from those of hoc; it was a natural conclusion that hoc was indifferently long or short also. Quid hoc est was, I believe, to Probus and Diomedes not distinguishable from Quid hic est, i.e. a strict anapaest. Can it be demonstrated that it was anything different to Terence himself? Compare again the following lines.


And. 236:

Hocinest humanum factu aut inceptu? hocinest officium patris?

Adelph. 702:

Hic non amandus? hicine non gestandus in sinust? hem.

Adel. 237:

Hocine illo dignumst? hocine incipere Aeschinum?

In all these cases hicine hocine seem to have their first syllable shortened except in the second hocine of Ad. 237. Now reasoning from Pers. 544 it would be a natural conclusion that hícinest was short because hic was short: and vice versa it would be no less natural an inference from Ad. 237 where hócine is followed by hócine that hoc itself was both long and short. In other words if we were called upon to pronounce upon the quantity of hoc in Terence and Plautus from their works alone, it would be a plausible inference that it stood on the same ground as hic, and might like hic be a short syllable.

But if this is a fair inference from a comparison of híc hoc in the scansion of the comic writers, it is not less justifiable on other grounds. There seems to be no reason for supposing that the stem ho- was originally long. If it were, how is it that it is short in hodie, apparently an abbreviation of hoc (abl.) die. How is it that húc is admitted as a disyllable by Statius S. 1. 1. 107 Laetus húc done videas dare tura nepotes, II. 135 Fulsas húc pennas et cornua sumeret aethrae Rector, as expressly stated by Priscian xiii. 14? For even if Statius wrote Laetius húic, Fulsas húic, there must have been good ground for Priscian’s assertion per dihaeresin videtur protulisse? That is to say, he must have found this reading in MSS. which he con-
sidered to be authoritative. Even *huius* (*hoius*) was believed by Lachmann, on Lucr. III. 374, to be scanned with the first *u* short in Eun. v. 5. 10 *Quidquid huius factumst*, Heaut. III. 2. 40 *Siquid huius simile*, And. II. 6. 8 *Propter huiusce hospitali consuetudinem*, cf. Wagner, Introd. to Aulularia, p. XLVIII. Whether in these cases *huius*, or a shorter form *huis*, was used by the poet, makes little difference; in either case the syllable was short. Short, I say, not shortened; which prejudgets the question. Nothing can be inferred from the ordinarily long *u* of *huius cuius* as to the original length of the stem; and if it is asserted that *hui-us cuius* preceded *huius caius*, *huiic cui* preceded *huiic cui*, as *ci* preceded *ci*, some proof of each one of the assertions should be produced of a more convincing kind than any which I have seen. Corssen, I am aware, considers *hoc* to have been originally *hod-ce* then *ho-ce hoc* (II. 457); he compares it with *quocirca* which he conceives to have been originally *quod circa*. This is to explain a doubtful etymology by another as doubtful; it is possible *quocirca* is a causal ablative followed by a preposition expressing the same idea, but syntactically independent ‘for which along of it’: at any rate there seems to be no reason for this inserted *d* in *ho-d-ce*, except the wish to account for the syllable being ordinarily, and therefore presumably always, long. Starting from a different point of view, viz. that *hoc* is used by the comic writers in situations metrically so similar to *hic* as to raise a question whether the two words did not stand on exactly the same footing, I should be willing to admit the ablativeval *d* as an explanation of the undoubted length of the ablative *hoc*: but I should, for that as well as other reasons, be inclined to deny it in the nom. and accus., where its introduction seems arbitrary. For, we must remember, supposing *hoc* like *hic* to have been originally short, the tendency of final *c* to lengthen syllables, as well as the natural length of *hic* (adverb) and *hoc* (abl.), would be quite enough to account for *hoc* becoming like *hic* regularly long: as indeed the short *hic* in three passages of Lucretius, two of Virgil, one of Tibullus1 is no indication of the ordinary usage of classical poetry, in which both *hic* (nom.), and *hic* adverb are equally

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1 See L. Müller de Re Metrica, p. 343.
Even L. Müller who denies hóc in Lucilius admits the possibility of hōce (xxix. 98), by which I presume, he intimates that the word does not stand on a par with hoc abl., but may, by an artifice, be used short.

The two passages quoted by this authority for hōc are too doubtful to be of any great weight. The first from Seneca's Phoenissae 550

\[ \text{totus hoc exercitus} \]

\[ \text{Hoc utrinque populus omnis hoc vidit soror} \]

is not the MS. reading, if Richter and Peiper's apparatus criticus may be trusted. The other, Priap. 51. 28, \[ \text{Et nos hoc ipsum quod minamur invitat} \] is improved in sense as well as in metre, by the correction which Bücheler adopts \[ \text{Hoc nos et ipsum:} \] if hōc was admitted, it is against the metrical rigour usually observable in this collection. The MSS. too are late and not very good of the Priapia, and in such a dislocation of monosyllables is a frequent phenomenon. Hōc therefore may be counted here as a bare possibility, and no more.

The case is very different with Lucilius. He occupies an altogether peculiar place in Latin literature, as removed from Ennius on the one hand as from Horace on the other. It is true that Horace's Satires, especially the first book, continually remind us of Lucilius; but none of the longer fragments of Lucilius could have been written by Horace. To take a single instance, the fine description of virtue, thirteen lines in all, contains two licences which would have been inadmissible in Horace, the elision of final s, and the absence of caesura in \[ \text{Deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra.} \] Again Lucilius shortens tamēsi just as Plautus or Terence might; to Horace such a liberty would have seemed impossible. Speaking generally we should not be wrong in saying that his prosody, so far as Nonius will permit us to judge of it, was, not indeed fluctuating or uncertain, but less rigorously fixed than that of Lucretius or Horace, perhaps even than that of Accius. Hence I hold myself justified, where I emend Lucilius, in admitting some things which I should not admit as possible in the stricter prosody of later writers. And here I must confess I hold the MSS. of Nonius to be most trustworthy guides: and it is from
this point of view that, in common with Mr Wordsworth, I find so much to except to in L. Müller's edition. The best MSS. of Nonius, notably the Harleian, in which I have made a very careful collation of about half the Lucilian passages, may, in my experience, generally be trusted as regards the order of the words; but words, and parts of words, especially the numerous Greek words which occur in every page, are not unfrequently omitted, repeated, or mutilated. The passage of Nonius which Mr Munro refers to is written in the Harleian MS. as follows:

Non haec quid ualeat quidue hoc intersiet illud; cognoscis primum hoc quod dicimus esse poema; pars est parua poesis¹ idem epistola itemque; uis non magna poema e illa poesis opus totum totaque illa summa est una OCCIC ut annales enni atquestoc · unum est hoc maius multo est quam quod dixi ante poema; quapropter dico nemo qui culpat home-rum; perpetuo culpat neque quod dixi ante poesin; in uersum unum culpat uerbum enthymemate mălo cumque,

i.e. as I read it

Nunc haec quid ualeant quidue †hoc intersiet illud Cognoscis Primum hoc quod dicimus esse poema, Pars est parua poema.

Epistula item quaeuis non magna poemast. Illa poesis opus totum ut tota Ilia summast Una (Π)OЄCIC, ut annales Enni. Atque si (h)oc unumast, Hoc maius multost quam quod dixi ante poema. Quapropter dico, nemo qui culpat Homerum Perpetuo culpat, neque quod dixi ante poesin, Versum unum culpat uerbum enthymema locumue.

In the first line I have obelized hoc as not feeling sure that Lucilius did not construct interesse² 'to differ' with a simple ablative, instead of the usual abl. with ab: and I may take the occasion to remark that in Lucilius, if anywhere, preconceived views of syntax and prosody ought, in my judgment, to give

¹ Over poesis is written poema by a later hand.
² See Hildebrand on Apuleius, de Mundo, c. 10.
way to the MS. tradition, where it seems indubitable: and this for two reasons, first, because Latin was still comparatively unfixed and rigid when Lucilius wrote, was being experimented upon, and in fact under trial: secondly, because satire, the halfway house between the licence of comedy and the rigour of more serious poetry, is precisely the place where freedoms of expression, construction or metre might seem natural and to be expected. In vv. 5, 6 I have followed the MSS. as closely as I can, and though I do not profess to think the whole of my emendation certain, it at least keeps the order of the words without any of the violent transpositions or dislocations (as I think they may well be called) of most editors. By reading (Π)Ο€CIC for Θ€CIC, the rest of the line seems to fall naturally into the required form: it will not be denied, I believe, to bear a striking resemblance to many of the rougher hexameters of Horace’s Satires. The omission of h in hoc is so common as to require no illustration. The meaning is ‘that other word poesis means an entire work, as for instance the sum total of the Iliad is a single πόητις, and as the Annals of Ennius are. And so if this is allowed to be one (whole), this one is much greater than the poema of which I spoke before.’ The passage of Lucilius just treated is supplemented by another found in Velius Longus, de Orthographia. It is given in Putsch p. 2214 thus. ‘Sed scilicet si hoc sectentur, possent etiam plerosque consonantes et omnes semivocales pro syllabis ponere, nam apud Lucilium in IX. (in quo de litteris disputat) omnes vicem syllabarum implent, cum dicit: a re non multum abstet hoc cacosyntheton, atque canina si tibi lingua dico, nihil ad me; nomen hoc illi est. Item s nostrum, et semigraece quod dicimus sigma, nihil erroris habet. Apparet ergo haec nihil alius quam locum syllabae tenere: nec tamen syllabam scilicet esse.’ The italics are as in Putsch. The meaning is clear: both r and s were words as well as letters; hence nomen hoc illi est is intelligible, to say the least, without alteration. Nor does the passage as a whole seem particularly corrupt: there is no doubt as to the metre, any more than as to the metre of the second passage: nay the i of semigraece is a licence which even to Lucilius and his contemporaries might
seem harsh. Hence I accept hoc as short in nomen hoc illi est and explain the passage as stated in Mr Wordsworth’s notes.

To sum up then, I believe that to Plautus and Terence, as well as to Lucilius, hoc was only necessarily long in the ablative or when it = huc: yet that it was preferably used, either definitely long or in doubtful situations where a long or short vowel could stand indifferently: that it was however used short by the scenic writers and by Lucilius; and that it was from these, or their contemporaries such as Accius in his non-scenic works, that some of the grammarians concluded that it stood on a level with hic prosodiacally.

R. ELLIS.

ON THE ARATEA OF GERMANICUS.

PHAEN. 51

Cauda Helicen superat tendit acynos uran.

So Breysig’s MS. A: the word between tendit and acynos uran is variously supplied in the MSS. pene, simul, caput. Probably it was sinus.

PHAEN. 270

Quin etiam lyra Mercurio dilecta deorum
   Plurimum accepe prohs caelo nitet ante labore
   Devictam effigiem.

For Plurimum accepe prohs Haupt conjectured Multum accepta epulis, which after Mercurio dilecta seems to crowd the sentence unnecessarily. Perhaps Lumen adepta trahit caelo; nitet a. l. cf. 570 Nullaque nox bis terna minus caelo trahit astra, and for the meaning the scholia p. 144 Breysig igitur propterea aries dux aquae immortalis mutatus est et caeli sidera consecutus est.

PROGNOST. 77

Vere cauer imbres et fulgera comamanalto

Read

Vere cauer imbres et fulgura, Roma, memento.

R. ELLIS.
ON THREE GREEK EPIGRAMS IN VITRUVIUS.

In the discussion on remarkable springs which Vitruvius has inserted in the eighth book of his *de Architectura* there are three Greek epigrams, which the two best MSS. of that work, Harl. 2767, and Gudianus 69, now at Wolfenbüttel, as collated by Rose and Müller-Strubing in their edition of 1867, exhibit in a very mutilated form. The same three epigrams, however, are also found in a Greek excerpt entitled κρήναι καὶ λίμναι καὶ πηγαί. καὶ ποταμοὶ ὅσοι θανμάσια τίνα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν. contained in a MS. of the Medicean Library at Florence (56. 1), from which they seem to have been copied into a small volume of Greek excerpts from Aristotle and Theophrastus published by H. Stephanus in 1557. They are also printed in a similar but not identical collection published at Frankfort 1587. This Greek excerpt, which Stephanus ascribes to Sotion, has with more probability been attributed by Rose to Isigonus of Nicaea, a writer who lived in the first half of the first century B.C., and whose Ἀπιστα were used and quoted by Varro. (Rose, Anecdota Graeca, p. 10.)

The Greek MS. at Florence belongs to the 13th or 14th century; the Harleian and Gudian MSS. of Vitruvius to the 9th and 11th respectively. This superior antiquity in the Vitruvian MSS. quite corresponds with the superior excellence of their readings in those parts of the epigrams where these MSS. differ from the Greek extract. This will be clear from the third epigram. Rose and Strubing print it as follows:

údoτα κρανάεντα βλέπεις, ξένε, τῶν ἀπὸ χερσῶν λουτρὰ μὲν ἄνθρωποι(ς ἀβλαβῆ ἐστίν ἔχειν.)

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This epigram was written over a fountain at Susa, which had the property of making those who drank of it lose their teeth: and the purport of the epigram was in the words of Vitruvius, _egregiam esse aquam ad lavandum, sed ea si bibatur excutere e radicibus dentes._

In v. 1, the Florence excerpt has ταῦτα παρεπάθεσι φοβερά, γένε, seemingly a different recension from that given above from the MSS. of Vitruvius.

In v. 2, the words in brackets, like the similarly bracketed v. 4, and the latter half of v. 5, are absent from G. and H. It will not, I think, be denied that each of these three bracketed portions is open to suspicion. This is most conspicuous in v. 5, where the word δαιτὸς is awkward if not meaningless. In v. 2 ἐχεῖν is, to say the least, weak; it is not holding the water in the hands, but taking it up for washing purposes, that might be supposed to be dangerous. The construction of v. 4 is not that of the best Greek, though the peculiar word δολιχόν has an air of genuineness. Hence when in v. 3 we come upon so unusual a construction as ἥν δὲ βάλης ποτὶ νηδίος ὑδωρ in the sense of swallowing water, we cannot be surprised to find that the Vitruvian MSS. present a perfectly different reading. It is as follows:—

The letters written above are the variations of Gud. from H. There seems to be little doubt that this verse is

'But if you step into the mouth-destroying water of the weedy hollow;' ἀστομον in reference to the destruction of the teeth, whether as 'mouth-destroying,' or 'not capable of being held in the mouth.' Who can doubt which is the true
hand of the epigrammatist? The single word ἀστομον is conclusive, summing up as it does in one incisive, even if somewhat obscure, expression the point, not only of the isolated verse, but of the whole epigram. What is more, we can see from a comparison of this with the corresponding verse in the Greek extract how the epigram may have assumed the shape which it has there. It is obvious that the verse which I have restored from the MSS. of Vitruvius, and which even in these is not quite correctly written, came in a still more incorrect and imperfect form into the hands of a Greek transcriber. He found the outline and filled up the missing letters as he thought best suited to the meaning; wrongly, and with a very imperfect mastery of Greek, but with sufficient attention to the meaning required to make his supplements pass as original for a long period of time. Even Rose gives, as far as I know, no hint of the importance of this verse as exhibited in the two Vitruvian MSS. for determining the value of the additions in the Florence excerpt. For if this reading of v. 3 is right, it would seem to follow that v. 4 as given by the Florence extract is wrong; the sense required is ‘if you step into the water high enough to touch it with your lips,’ or ‘and then drink some of it;’ to which the Greek verse ἀκρα μόνον δολιχο χεῖλεος ἀψάμενος corresponds but imperfectly, if indeed it is at all defensible.

I proceed to the second epigram. Vitruvius says: Item est in insula Cio fons e quo qui imprudentes biberint fiunt insipientes, et ibi est epigramma insculptum ea sententia, tucundam eam esse potionem fontis eius, sed qui biberit saxeos habiturum sensus. Sunt autem versus hi.

Ηαελπογραιθοματοοχααααιααικτιτεπ | рοσои’наетйон

So they are given in the Harleian. This seems to be letter for letter.

'Ηδέ' ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ πόματος λιβάς ἀν ἀναφαίνει πέτρος ὁ τήμβε πιών.

In the Florence excerpt the following variations occur: 'Ηδεία ψυχροῦ ποτοῦ and at the end of the line ἀναβάλλει.
The pentameter is filled up by the words πηγή: ἀλλὰ νῦν, an obvious interpolation, which it is surprising the judgment of the latest editors should allow them to retain, even bracketed as they are. Instead of ἀναφαίνει, which I think is beyond doubt, they read ἄνιησι: a lection which is not justified by the slight discrepancies presented by the Gudianus. The Greek words prefixed to the distich are Ἀριστων δὲ ὁ περιπατητικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ Κήφ πηγὴν φησιν ὕδατος εἶναι, ἀφ’ ἕς τοῖς πίνοντας ἀνασβήτους γίνεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Hence it seems probable that the word πέτρος was repeated twice; we might restore the lacuna conjecturally πέτρος [ὡς: ἀλλ’ ἐκ νοῦ πέτρος] ὃ τῆν ἔδωκεν πιῶν.

The first epigram is as follows: Arcadia uero ciuitas est non ignota Clitori, in cuius agris est spelunca profluens aqua, e qua qui biberint fungest abstemii. Ad eum autem fontem epigramma est in lapide inscriptum hoc sententia versibus graecis, eam non esse tdoneam ad lavandum sed etiam inimicam uitibus, quod apud eum fontem Melampus sacrificiis purgavisset rabiem Proeti filiarum restituissetque earum virginum mentes in pristinam sanitate. epigramma autem est id quod est subscriptum.

The case is not quite the same here as in the second and third epigrams. Where the Harleian and Gudian MSS. differ from the Florence excerpt, they cannot always be said to be nearer to the truth. Thus in v. 5 the Harleian has

namacimhtenpiaoutragbatitęxra

1 So Rose himself admits p. 7, note.
which might suggest Νάμασι μητ’ ἐπὶ λουτρὰ βάλεις χρολ, were it not that ἀἀἀἀ, which the sense requires, seems to lurk in ἀμα, while the ν might well be repeated from the end of αἰπόλιον. Again, in v. 6, where the Harleian gives πινήσεις, Rose may be right in explaining this as the relic of τη(μη) νη (τερπνης) εντος, though the meaning is somewhat obscure, and σουτες might as well represent ἤγγις. Nor do I see any reason for doubting the genuineness of the concluding words of v. 9, and the whole of v. 10, though they are absent from both Harl. and Gud. But in v. 8, λυσάμενος (αυσαμενος Harl.) seems rightly preferred by Rose and Strubing to λουσάμενος of the Florence extract, and the weak and pointless ἀργαλέης, as against ἀρτεμεάς (ἳρτεμειας) of GH stands on the same footing as ἀγλαον in the third epigram against ἀστομον. In the next verse G and H perhaps point to ἐπίκρυφον rather than ἀπόκρυφον; but the latter word seems to agree better with Pausanias vii. 18. 7, ες τούτο ἀναφυγειν τὸ στήλαιον τάς θυγατέρας τοῦ Προλτοῦ μανείσας λέγουσιν, ὅς Μελάμπους θυσίας τε ἀποφήτωις καὶ καθαρμοίς κατήγαγεν ἐς χορίον καλοῦμενον Λούσους. The same writer states that the Proetides were cured in the temple of Artemis at Lusi: another reason for retaining ἀρτεμεάς in v. 8.

In v. 10 ἰλυθον, the reading of the Florence MS. seems right, not ἰλυθεν. Apollod. i. 9. 12 ὡς δὲ τᾶς ἐν Ἀργει γυναϊκας ἐξέμπει Διόνυσος ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς βασιλείας λασάμενος αὐτάς, ἐκεῖ μετὰ Βίαντος κατάκησε. Π. 2. 2 Γενόμεναι δὲ ἐμμανεῖς ἐπιλαῦντο τὴν Ἀρχείαν ἀπασαν. Ἀὖθις δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον διελθοῦσαι μετὰ ἀκοσμίας ἀπάσης διὰ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐτρόχαζον. If so, the letters of the MS. as given by Rose p. vii, ἀπόκρυφ | αγάρ perhaps represent αἰ γάρ.

R. ELLIS.
ARCESSO AND ACCERSO.

[Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, May 20, 1875.]

It is now generally, if not universally, admitted that the two forms *arcesso* and *accerso* are both legitimate and well established [Roby, I. p. 240, Zumpt, § 202, Public School Grammar, p. 202]. Many of the older scholars doubted the existence of the latter form, except as a corruption [see ref. in Kritz on Sall. Cat. xl. 6]. But (1) it is vouched for by old grammarians, alike by Charisius (p. 227) and Diomedes (p. 375), who endeavour to make out that it differs somewhat in meaning from *arcesso*, and by Velius Longus (p. 2232), and Terentius Scaurus, who deny the supposed difference [cp. Ellendt, ad Cic. de Orat. ii. 27. 117 not. crit.]. And (2) there is abundance of excellent MS. authority in favour of it. In Plautus it is the only form found, according to Lorenz on Mostell. 1030 (critical note, p. 261); and though Ritschl there (1044 R) silently alters it to *arcesserem* (against BCD, A being here defective), he allows it to stand in many other passages, e.g. Men. 729, 763, 770, 776, 875, in all which places Brix (against every MS.) gratuitously reads *arcess-*. This cannot be from any change of Ritschl's opinion between 1851 and 1852, for he leaves *accersam* in Most. 1092. A has however *arcessitu* in Stich. 327, where the other MSS. have *accersitu*; and DZ have *arcessere* in Bacch. 354.

The evidence of the MSS. of Terence is stated in the following table. Where a reference is given without any further note, it is to be understood that *every MS.* collated by Umpfenbach gives the form *accers-.*
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Andr. 299; 515 arcessitum (B?) P; 546; 581 (G accessit); 690 (G accessor); 741; 848 (arcesse BC, acerse G); 979.

Eun. 47 (arcesso BDG); 100 (arcessi DG); 510 (adcersier A, arcessier DG, accersier EF); 592 (arcessitur DG); 892 (arcessitum CP, arcersitum E).

Heaut. 948; 1047 (arcessi BC).

Hee. 184 (accersiri F); 185; 187 (accessunt E, accersivit G); 466 (adcersi A).

Adelph. 292 (accesset E); 354 accerse P cum ADEG (arcesse BCFP'); 620; 699 (arcessas C'DFGP, accessas C'T'); 890 (arcessant DG); 904 (accesseris G).

The only instance in which the evidence of MSS. is in favour of arcess- is in the Perioche of Sulpicius to the Heauton Timorumenos, v. 6, which naturally does not come into the question. In the face of this evidence Mr Parry has the following astonishing note on Andr. II. 1. 64: “We must undoubtedly read 'arcesso' in all cases where this word occurs. The form 'accerso', which is often met with in common editions of the classics is very clumsy (!) and violates all analogy.” It is still more surprising to find Dr Wagner also following the precedent of Fleckeisen in silently rejecting the form accers-, whatever the authority on which it rests. Surely the value of the Bembine is sufficient to make it worth while at least to discuss a form, which it gives invariably, and in which it is supported by a great preponderance of other evidence. And unless there is much better reason than any which I have been able to discover for its rejection, it is a violation of the canons which since Lachmann have been held by all good scholars as binding in Latin orthography, thus to tamper with our authorities. By doing so we may be—in this case I am inclined to suspect that we shall be—obscuring a fact of considerable interest in the history of the Latin language. In Caecilius Statius (ap. Cic. Tusc. iv. 32. 68, cp. Ribbeck, Com. p. 77) accersiri seems to have more authority than arcessier. This is

It is apparently by an oversight that Dr Wagner prints accerse in arcesse.
apparently the only instance in which the word occurs in the
dramatic poets; Catullus does not use it.

In Sallust the MSS. vary more, but the form accers- has
apparently the weight of authority in its favour in Cat. 40, 6;
52, 24; 60, 4: Jug. 39, 2; 43, 3; 62, 4; 84, 2; 109, 4: Hist.
Fr. i. 51, 6 (Vat. 1. 2, 3); ii. 94. The latter fragment is quoted
by Priscian, and accersi is found in all the MSS¹.

In Vergil we find the word (or words) in four passages:
Georg. iv. 224 (accersere R): Aen. v. 746 (accersere MR); vi.
119 accersere MRy'c⁴, accersere P, arcessere y'c⁴b: x. 11 arces-
site (without variation apparently).

In Horace there does not seem to be strong authority for
acerse in Ep. i. 5, 6, or in Ep. ii. 1, 228, though Orelli on the
latter passage quotes one MS. of saec. x. in favour of it.

In Cicero, the texts used in Faciolati's Nizolius give 15
instances of accersio or accerso, 15 of arcessio or arcesso (the
pres. ind. being then supposed to vary between the i- and
the consonant conjugations). Most editors (e.g. Kayser, Baiter, Halm
and Orelli) read uniformly arcess-, but Ellendt on De Orat. ii.
27, 117, defends accers-, and has the same form in iii. 24, 92,
38, 156, 'bonis libris addicentibus', adding indeed on the
former passage 'ut solent boni libri'. For other instances of
strong support for accers- see Kühner on Tusce. D. iv. 1, 2, and
Moser on de Div. i. 17, 32, ii. 4, 11. Unfortunately the appa-
ratus criticus in Baiter and Halm rarely notices the variation of
form. Where I have been able to test the references in Nizolius,
the better MSS. seem generally, but not always, to give arcess-.

In Suetonius Roth (against Casaubon's note on Jul. 2) reads
ad accersendam (Jul. 2), ad accersendas (Jul. 58), following as
he says (praef. p. xxxvi) 'fidissimum ducem' in the Codex
Memmianus.

In Ovid Riese reads accersite in Met. vi. 652 (arcessite L),
accersitur Amor. iii. 13, 21, but arcessite (following, I suppose,

¹ Wagner (Orthogr. Verg. p. 417) writes [Kritzium] 'equidem malim ex
paucis codd. accersere, quam ex multis
accersere Sallustio restituisse,' but is
not this one of the instances in which,
as Mr Munro says (Luer. i. 31), 'he
has chosen to abandon the safe ground
of evidence and experience'?
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H) in Met. xv. 640, and in Fast. iv. 263 (accersite V); arcessere in Amor. iii. 2, 37. Merkel has accersite in both passages of the Met.

On Livy ii. 29, Drakenborch writes 'Stat fere apud eruditos accersere verbum nihil esse, posteriori aevo ex librariorum ignorantia natum, ejusque loco semper optimo seculo scriptum fuisset arcessere'. He repeats the opinion on iii. 45, 3; ix. 9, 12; xxiv. 2, 4, and quotes J. F. Gronovius to the same effect on xxxvi. 7, 17. But in all cases he has apparently some MSS. against him. Madvig always (I believe) reads arcess-

On Caesar, B. G. i. 31, Oudendorp writes: 'arcesserentur ita fide optimarum et plurimarum membranarum semper in Caesare...exhiberi pro accers. curavi'. But Dinter in his edition of the Bellum Gallicum (Teubner's series) writes (Praef. p. xv. on i. xxxi. 1) 'accerserentur, non arcesserentur sim. scribendum putavi ubique, quia hic codd. Ma intermedium scripturam, cap. xxxviii. 2 omnes accersitum habent, v. xi. 3 C Q a accersi(vi), vii. vi. 3 plerique accerseret.'

On Lucan, Phars. iv. 484, Burmann rejects accersere, adding 'vellem doceri unde hoc verbum derivare potuerit' [Curtius]. But Weise retains it.


In Quinctilian the word arcessere seems to be used in twelve places, and in only one of them (ii. 4, 31) does Halm notice any various form: there A has accersunt.

In Tacit., Med. i. has accerserentur in Ann. iv. 29, but arcessebat in ii. 50; Med. ii. has accersiri in Hist. i. 14, accersit ib. 38.

This survey does not profess to be exhaustive: but we may see from it at least this much, that there is plenty of MS. authority to support the old grammarians in their assertion of the coexistence of the two forms. What then is the relation between them? To this several different answers have been given, all of them so far from satisfactory that some of our best authorities content themselves with stating the existence of the two forms, without any attempt to explain them (Roby, Madvig, Kennedy, Zumpt, &c.). In the first place the derivation of arcesso is far from certain. Is it to be explained as a
frequentative or intensive from ad-ci-o (Key, p. 88, Roby, § 625, Kennedy, P. S. G. p. 221), like lcesso from lacio, facesso from facio, capesso from capio? But it does not seem a matter of indifference whether the i be an element of the root, or simply a suffix of the present stem. Dr Kennedy recognizes this, in writing ‘arcess- for acci-ess-’; but is there any analogy for such a suppression of the radical vowel? Incesso does not help us much; for we can hardly separate its etymology from that of arcesso. It may be that arcesso, as Vaniček (Etym. Wört. p. 30), following the suggestion of Bopp, Comp. Gramm. § 775, holds, is for ar-ced-e-esso, and that incesso is similarly for in-ced-e-esso (Mr Roby accepts the latter derivation, but not the former). Or is it best to compare arcesso with forms like levasso, assuming that the radical i has been, not dropped before -esso, but changed into e as in dede-ro for dedi-so (Schleich. Comp. p. 810), the s being doubled, as Mr Roby holds, in order to mark the place of the accent, or by a false analogy? Dr Donaldson has probably few followers (except Mr Parry, l.c.) in supposing from the perfect and supine that we have here a compound of sino (arcesso = ad-ced-sino Varro); Schweizer-Sidler (Formenlehre § 199) derives all the verba meditativa from abstract substantives in -d%s, but in no case do these seem actually to occur; and it is hard even to imagine a form which would be a satisfactory bridge between cieo and arcesso. Whichever of these etymologies we adopt for arcesso, it does not seem to me that we get a satisfactory explanation of accerso. It is true that there are numerous instances of an r arising out of a d (Corssen 1°. 238—240), but in no case does the r precede an s, and the combination rs seems to have been avoided as much as possible by assimilation (ib. p. 242). We have instances in abundance of the loss or assimilation of a d before s: but no parallel (I believe) for its change into r. Nor will it do to say, with Mr Papillon on Ter. Andr. 299, 'for the change of one s into r we may compare the forms rursus, prorsus, quorsum with the Plautine forms russum, prossum, quossum'. For firstly, the true Plautine forms are rusum, etc. (Ritschel Proll. Trin. p. civ. Opusc. II. 544; cp. Corssen 1°. 243 Beitr. 396), and secondly the change of rs into ss surely does not give
us the faintest reason for supposing the change of ss into rs: no one can deny that rursum (for reversum) is older than russum; and it would be bold to maintain that accerso gave rise to arcesso, that is, that a word, in which the preposition retains a form, which if not primitive (Corssen l.c.) is at least archaic, came from one in which it was already assimilated. Others assert that there has been a metathesis (Umspringen) of the r. Thus Kühner in his last (larger) edition of the Tusc. Disp. writes (on iv. 1, 2), ‘Accerso ex transpositione litterae r et geminatione litterae c natum est. [Similarly Kritz, ad Sall. Cat. xl. 6.] Orellius comparat Toscanorum frebbe pro febre, interpretre pro interprete’. But, to say nothing of the fact that both the Tuscan forms seem easier to pronounce than the words of which they are corruptions, it is rarely safe to argue from phenomena in the later development of the Romance languages to the pronunciation of early Latin (cp. Wagner, Introduction to the Aulularia, p. xxxiv note 2, Ritschl, Proll. Trin. clv.). Besides, this assumes a priority in date for arcesso as compared with accerso, which our authorities, notably the Ambrosian in Plautus and the Bembine in Terence, do not allow us to lay down with certainty.

May not the true solution be that the two forms have no connexion with each other? In Ferrar’s Comparative Grammar, Vol. i. p. 30, among the illustrations of the operation of Grimm’s Law, the Skt. root karsh is compared with accersere, and with hearse and harrow. The latter part of this comparison cannot well be right. Hearse or herse carries us back to the low Latin hercia, and this possibly to Varro’s hirpex [cp. Brachet and Diez, s.v.], while harrow is akin to the O. H. German harke [cp. Grimm, Wörterb. iv. 2, 478]; it does not seem improbable indeed that hercia (considering its identity of meaning) should have been borrowed from the Teutonic word:

1 The same comparison is given in Dr R. Morris’s Historical Outlines of English Accidence, p. 21, and as the writer does not quote Mr Ferrar’s book among his authorities, both have probably derived it from some common source: but I have not been able to trace it further.

2 The distinction of the two meanings by a difference of spelling seems to be observed only for the sake of convenience, and to have no philological significance. Indeed it is neglected by our older writers.
but anyhow the k is an obstacle to considering the comparison with karsh entirely sound. But I do not see why the former part of it should not be allowed to hold good; so that accerso would be a compound of a lost simple verb, formed from a primitive root kars, retained in Sanskrit as karsh, draw, tear, plough¹. Corssen, it is true, finds the Latin correlative of this root in a very different form (Beitr. p. 403). Following Pott (E. F. i. 229) he derives from it verrere for *eversere; while Curtius, No. 647 b, holds that it appears in Greek in the Homeric substantive τέλξω-ο-ν. Vaniček (Etym. Worterb. p. 38) adds rus (for *crus) to the list of its derivatives, and Sonne (Ztschr. x. 103) uses the root in the sense of ‘plough’ to explain κοπισίος [cp. however Curtius in Studien 1 a. 255]. But it does not follow that because one or more of these etymologies may be sound—and the first two are the only ones which seem to me probable—that therefore the root cannot also appear in Latin in another and a more primitive guise: who would have thought, a priori, that the root of condere and conficere was the same as that of ἐθηκα (Schleicher, Comp. 3 725, Curtius, Etym. i. p. 79 [E. T.])? Nor need we wonder that the form -cerso was preserved only in a compound, when we remember how nearly -apiio and -lacio have shared the same fate, and how completely -oleo (grow), -perio and -cello have perished. If this etymology be admitted, so that we have in arcesso and accerso a pair of words of totally different origin, but habitually confounded with each other, there is a striking analogy in the case of permities and pernicies. It was long thought that of the former no satisfactory explanation could be given (cp. Mr Frost’s Introduction to the Annals of Tacitus, ad fin., and Dr Wagner’s note on Plaut. Aul. 605), and those who gave it a place in the text of Tacitus—did so simply from a desire not to tamper with MS. evidence. But recently Schweizer has shown that permities is a legitimate derivative from the root mi-perire (Monier Williams, Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 780), an explanation which, as Corssen (Beiträge, ¹ The last meaning seems to be derived from the notion of drawing a furrow: it is expressed, however, by a different inflexion of the root: kar-
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p. 67) justly says, has everything in its favour which can establish an etymology (cp. Munro, Lucr. 1ª. p. 364).

A parallel, much less close but worth noting, is afforded by mollis. It hardly admits of doubt that this word was regarded by the Latin poets as a contraction of mobilis, and sometimes used accordingly: op. Lucr. IV. 790, mollia mobiliter cum alternis bracchia mittunt (though in some of the parallel passages quoted by Mr Munro it seems to have its more usual force): Verg. Georg. II. 389 mollia oscilla, III. 76 mollia crura; and especially Cic. de Div. I. 9, 15, mollipedesque boves, perhaps = ρηποδες βοες, although in Aratus, whom Cicero is here translating, βοες has no epithet. Yet there is not the slightest etymological connexion between mollis and mobilis (Curt. Etym. I. 406).

A. S. WILKINS.
NOTE ON PLAT. SOPH. 262 D.

Mr Arblaster's substitution of γράμματα for πράγματα in Plato Soph. 262 D is plausible at first sight, but on further consideration appears less convincing.

1. The antithesis between the letters and significant sounds is false and confusing, whereas the opposition of things to their vocal signs has the ring of true language.

2. In the same passage in which it was shown that some ideas and some letters had communion with each other and some had not, it was also shown, and was made the pivot of the argument, that those were mistaken who denied the combination of "one and many" in concrete reality: p. 251, οὐκ ἐῶντες ἀγαθῶν λέγειν ἀνθρωπον κ.τ.λ. Cp. Phileb. 14 D, E.

3. In strictness, no doubt (and hence comes the plausibility of Mr Arblaster's conjecture), this combination should be spoken of as the union of πράγμα and πράξεις,—see below, 262 E, συνθεῖς πράγμα πράξει δι’ ὀνόματος καὶ ῥήματος. But that Plato's language is not tied to this degree of accuracy is shown by his use of ὀνόματα in 261 D to include both nouns and verbs, which are distinguished immediately afterwards as ὀνόματα and ῥήματα: 262 A. It is probably because this distinction has now been made, that the phrase τὰ τῆς φωνῆς σημεῖα is used in the passage under discussion, so as to include both noun and verb in one expression.

4. It follows that πράγματα here may mean things or objects (including letters, musical notes, &c.: p. 253 B) as distinguished alike from words and from ideas. Now it is precisely in this sense that πράγματα is used in Polit. 278 D (where the illustration of the letters or στοιχεῖα again occurs) μετατιθέμενα.
5. This direct appeal to reality and to the verdict of common sense occurs frequently in these later dialogues even in the midst of dialectical arguments. It is Plato's short method with the unideal, on his losing patience with them, and may also be regarded, in common with several other traits, as an approximation to the manner of Aristotle. Other instances are Soph. 263 (the passage immediately following this), and Phileb. 62 b. See also Theæt. 201 a.

Those who care enough for the Sophistes to read these remarks may be glad to have their attention called to three lines of the Divina Commedia, in which the main doctrine of this dialogue is expressed with admirable succinctness: Paradiso XIII:—

Chè quegli è tra gli stolti bene abbasso,
Che senza distinzion afferma o niega,
Così nell' un, come nell' altro passo.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.
GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY.

[Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, 17 April, 1872.]

We may contribute to Greek lexicography in three ways.

I. By posting up, carrying forward, what has been already collected. Those who are accustomed to study historically, know how seldom this is done; how much material, hidden in older books, is entirely unknown to later writers. In a lexicographer one would suppose such carelessness to be impossible, as his predecessors' labours lie before him in alphabetical order: but we cannot go far without finding a very large amount of matter ready to hand in the older lexicons, which would greatly enrich the new.

II. We may correct the positive errors of standard lexicons.

III. We may procure new materials.

I. Certain lexicons should be treated as standard authorities, which we desire to supplement, and not to quarry in them for material; e.g. in England Stephanus, Liddell and Scott, Sophocles, Ducange's gloss. Gr.; Maltby's Morell; the lexicons to LXX. and N. T., the lexicon of proper names by Pape and Benseler. Of these Ducange deserves to be re-edited; (as do Suicer and Porson's favorite Budé;) we may safely assume of all that they will be in reach of all serious students of Greek. The other lexicons may be freely used as materials, and if any

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1 Several years ago Mr (now Bishop) Goodwin read to the Cambridge Philosophical Society a proof, by Mr R. L. Ellis, of a proposition in spherical trigonometry. All present admired its novelty no less than its ingenuity.
concerted action can be resolved upon, it would be well that some one contributor should make himself responsible for exhausting their supplies. The principal of these are the lexicons of Phavorinus, Scapula with the supplement, Constantine, the glosses of Cyril and Philoxenus¹, Rost-Palm, the second editions of Pape and of Jacobitz-Seiler. Each of these last three contains a large amount of valuable citations not to be found in L. and S. Perhaps even the lexicons of Dunbar and Donnegan should be examined partially, before it is decided that they can add nothing to our knowledge. Again the special lexicons to individual authors must be ransacked; a certain number were used by L. & S., and are named in their original preface. But they omitted many, as the lexicon tacticum of Rigalt, the lexicon graeco-barbarum of Meursius, with the supplements of Critopulus. Many school lexicons to the authors most read have lately appeared in Germany and should be rifled. The most important recent contribution to special lexicography is the exhaustive Aristotelian index of Bonitz. Teubner promises lexicons to each of the dramatists, and that to Sophocles, by Dindorf, has already appeared. A less pretentious and complete, but still valuable, lexicon to Sophocles, by Ebeling, has been lately published by the firm Ebeling², which has also issued some parts of a full Homeric lexicon by La Roche and a number of other known scholars; Döderlein's glossary, Sauppe's lexicon to Xenophon, and the admirable indices to Krüger's Xen., Thuc., Arr., are of great service for the grammatical part of lexicography. Every one of these books ought to be carefully compared with our standard lexicons, before we can say that we have carried forward all that already lies before us in plain alphabetical order. We should endeavour to diminish the ἄπαξ λέγομενα, to supply synonyms, references to cognate forms, older examples, and exx. from different authors, to select the most striking passages in which by contrast or construction the force of the word most clearly appears, to investigate etymologies.

II. Our second business is to correct the existing lexicons.

¹ Teubner promises a critical edition of these glossaries 1876.
² The publications of this firm have now passed into Teubner's hands.

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For this purpose we should invite cooperation from the many corners of the world in which Cambridge scholarship is doing its minute work; private tutors and schoolmasters and undergraduates, who, like Dobree, are accustomed to ‘postil’ their lexicons, should be informed that there is a central body prepared to receive and digest their contributions. Often too annotated lexicons may be purchased at the sales of scholars’ libraries; many such copies probably lurk in our universities and colleges.

III. New materials, i.e. materials not already digested into alphabetical order. These must be procured:

(a) By reading authors, esp. the less usual authors, fragments, anecdotes, fathers, scholiasts, lexicographers, musicians, mathematicians, tacticians, grammarians, inscriptions, coins.

(b) By reading the great collectors as Gataker, Küster, Hemsterhuis, Wesseling, Valckenaer, Ruhnken, Wytenbach, Hermann, Schäfer, Porson, Elmsley, Blomfield, Dobree, Heindorf, Lobeck, Krüger, Cobet, Madvig; the scholarlike commentators, grammarians, and lexicographers on the N. T., LXX and fathers, as Grotius, Wetstein, Bleek, Lücke, Fritzsche, Meyer, Lightfoot; the collections in illustration of the N. T. grammar and lexicography by Kypke, Krebs, Bos, Elsner, Loesner, Winer.

(c) By ransacking the philological journals and programmes which treat often of separate words; also grammars e.g. Westphal, Fischer, Matthiä, Kühner, Krüger, and other ancient or modern treatises on the language, history, philosophy, literature, music, metrology, metres, natural science, mathematics, law, physic, politics, naval and military affairs, archaeology and architecture of the ancients.

Such are some of the materials available for completing our Greek lexicons. I think it worthy of the consideration of the society whether we might not here imitate the London Philosophical Society and undertake, not a complete Greek or Latin lexicon, but a supplement to both. In Bentley’s time Cambridge gave to the world perhaps the largest literary works which have ever appeared from her press, Küster’s Suidas and the Lat. lexicon of Rob. Stephanus by Law and Taylor. Many
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civilised nations are now forming really national lexicons by the combined labours of many collectors; so Italy, Holland, Germany, England. Why should not we combine in a λειτουργία to the commonwealth of scholars? Even if we went no further than to collect some thousands of new citations, we should do good service, and the work would not be wholly lost; it might be printed at any time, for it could never be complete, and therefore there would be no reason for delay; or if unprinted, it might be deposited in a library, and serve our successors. If the society thinks these suggestions worthy of attention, I would suggest that a set of rules should be drawn out to guide collectors; that all citations should be in full and on paper of one uniform size; and that steps should be taken to ascertain what collections exist in public or private libraries in England.

The following list of books¹ is taken at random from copies that came to hand; it would be easy to enlarge it a hundredfold, but enough is given to shew the abundant resources at the command of Greek lexicographers. Great as the services of Doctors Liddell and Scott have been (and I cheerfully endorse Dindorf’s commendation of their lexicon), a little study of bibliography would have enabled them to avoid not a few errors and to fill up many gaps.

G. T. A. Krüger de formula τὰ λαξίνα ἐν καὶ αἰφίνσισμα κομματιαρυμνον. Brunsw. 1834. 4to.
Rührmund über die Partikeln κέν und ἄν. Potsdam 1863. 4to.
N. A. Weichert de discrimine pronominum αὐτοῦ et αὐτοῦ. Breslau 1838. 4to.
A. Wellauer additamenta ad Vechneri Hellenolexian. Breslau 1828. 4to.
E. Wentzel über μὴ ἀπ' mit dem Participium und mit dem Infinitiv. Glogau 1843. 4to.

¹ Considerable additions have been made in 1876, as this paper is passing through the press.

19—2
Göttling de soloecismo logico rhetorico grammatico. Jena 1866. 4to.
Nesselmann die Algebra der Griechen. Berl. 1842.
Grasberger über ἄσκωλιαζειν und ἄσκωλιασμός Eos II 329—333.
H. L. Ahrens δρος und seine Sippe. Berlin 1866. 8vo.
M. Hoch lexicalische Bemerkungen über den homerischen Sprachgebrauch. Münstereifel 1865. 4to.
Bindseil concordantiae Pindari. Berl. 1875. 4to.
Hainebach die Wurzeln FEΣ und EΣ mit ihren Ableitungen. Giessen 1860. 4to.
G. Dzialas rhetorum antiquorum de figuris doctrina. Pars prior. Breslau 1869. 4to.
Geo. Curtius de adiectivis graecis et lat. L litterae ope formatis. Lips. 1870. 4to.
Jul. Caesar de nonnullis artis metricae apud veteres vocabulis. Marburg 1867. 4to.
— de versibus asynartetis. ib. 1864. 4to.
Brandstätter de paronymis graecis in ἵνας. I II Progr. gymn. Gedan. 1852 etc. 4to.
Aken commentatio historica et grammatica de particula ἄν. Gustrovi 1854. 4to.
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H. Ebert de numeralibus graecis. Spandau 1858. 4to.


Ahlwardt Beitrag zu Schneider's Wörterbuch i ii. Oldenburg 1808, Greifswald 1813. 4to.

J. F. Lobeck Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Dialekts des Hippokrates (Philologus vol. 8).


Seidel de comparativis et superlativis apud poetas graecorum epicos. Brandenburg 1862. 4to.

P. Tzschirner graeca nomina in Ω exequantia. i. Breslau 1851. 4to.

Schrader etymologica. Stendal 1845. 4to.

Janson de Graeci sermonis vocibus in ου trisyllabis. Gum- binnen 1840. 4to.

W. F. Palmblad supplementa ad lexica Graeca recentiora i—x. Upsala 1845—51. 4to. (already in 1851 the printer Palmblad published supplem. qu. ad lex. gr. as an exercise for his degree).

C. E. Finekh, Nachträges und Berichtigungen zu Pape's Handwörterbuch. Heilbronn 1851. 4to.

O. Band de diopoliorum sacro Atheniens. Halle 1873.

Richter de particular. πρίν et πάρος usu Homeric. Leipz. 1874.

Nicomachi Geraseni introductionis arithmeticæ libri ii. rec. Ri. Hoche (Teubner 1866) has a complete index of all but the commonest words.

J. U. Fäsi, Berichtigungen und Zusätze zu Passow's griechischem Wörterbuch. i ii. Zürich 1834—8. 4to. Part ii contains detailed discussions of words and phrases already contained in Passow, e.g. ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπικείσθαι (Herodot.) and ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ (Polyb.). Has not been employed by L and S.

Appendix to Jacobitz and Seiler first ed. Leipz. 1843.
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(Specimen).

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\[ \text{άκρος ἀρος and τὸ ἀκρόν an extreme in proportion. Eutoc. comm. in Archim.; ἡ ἀκρα (εὐθεία) the straight line which is such an extreme Eucl.} \]

Geometrical sense of \[ \text{ἄναγράφω, ἀνάγω, ἀναλογία, ἀνάλογον.} \]

\[ \text{ἄνακολοθέω Sext. Emp. math. i 215.} \]

\[ \text{ἄναλόγως with dat. Eucl. opt. 8.} \]

\[ \text{ἄνταναβάλλω Sext. Emp. math. x 130.} \]

Mathem. sense of \[ \text{ἀντιπάσχω.} \]

Tausend griechische Wörter, welche in den Wörterbüchern von J. G. Schneider und F. W. Riemer fehlen. Aus griechischen Schriftstellern gesammelt von Friedr. Wilh. Val. Schmidt. Berlin 1817. 4to. (cites e.g. \[ \text{ἀγρύπνως Eustath. Erot. 177 = 208, which is wanting in Didot’s Stephanus, though the editors used the tract).} \]

I add a few words taken from my own collections. I may add that I possess copies of Schneider’s lexicon annotated by Klotz and others, on which I have not here drawn.

\[ \text{ἄβουλευτος Hippos. c. Noët. c. 10 p. 61.} \]

\[ \text{ἄβροκόμος Sibyll. xiv 67.} \]

\[ \text{ἀβροσία schol. Eur. Or. 350.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια Hdt. ix 122. τ. π. ὀμέων Hippocr. de aere 33 = 24.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγγειίδου Eustath. II. xviii 352.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγγελομήνης παρθενίας καὶ ἀγνεῖς Method. sympos. tit.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγεννητογένης Theodoret. h. e. i 5.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγιοκαρήτης Cedren, p. 690.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγιομηλίτης (falsa lect. -οκλίτης) neue Jahrb. 1870. pp. 748, 821.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγιοθεοδωρίτης Nicet. Chon. 74 1, 77 13, Georg. Pachym. Mich. Palaeol. 71.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγιοπρεπῶς Polyc. ep. Philip. 1.} \]

\[ \text{ἀγια ἀγίων of the Eucharist Fabric. cod. apocr. V. T. 566.} \]
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άγλαωεδραν την λαμπρών καθέδραν gloss.

άγχωνη i.q. άγχώνη Ion. cod. Townl. ad II. Γ 296 άγγελησ ὡς

άγχωνης θάνατος ἀρθής (Cramer MS. penes me).


rat. gr. gr. p. 448.

άδελφοθεος Thilo acta Thomae notit. x sq. Phot. cod. 112.


άδιαφρωτέρως caten. in Matt. 166 22 (Cramer).

άθελής Apollinaris in Mai nova coll. vii (i) 16.

άθεμμοφαγεῖν Eus. praep. vi 10 § 8.

αἰτύνοος βασιλέως said of Κρόνος in a hymn to Isis (Ross

inscr. gr. π 4 l. 19).

αἰρεσιώτης const. apost. vi 26.

άκαθαρτομεζία Arethas in apocal. c. 5 p. 669 ἐκ τῇ ἄκαθαρτῳ

μίξει see cod. Barocc. 3 εν τῇ ἄκαθαρτομεζίᾳ (Cramer).

άκριβόλεκτος Amnon. in cat. act. apost. 368 19 ἐκ τῆς ἔξωθεν

ἀκριβολέκτου κυρίοτητος (Cramer).

άλληγόρως poët. in schol. Aesch. P. V. 418.


ἀμετάδοτος 'Basil.' Oecum. on Jac. 5 3.

ἀμησικάκος 'eccl.' Clem. ep. i 2.

ἀμφιπόρφυρος schol. Eur. Or. 1457.

ἀμφοτερίζω to be ambiguous Clem. hom. iii 25.


ἀναδιπλασιάζω 'gramm.' Bachmann's anec. π 15 l. 2, 5, 8;

p. 14 l. 31.

ἀναδιπλασιασμὸς 'gramm.' ib. π 14 l. 28.

ἀνακαωποιόω 'eccl.' Test. xii patr. Levi 10, 16, 17.

ἀνακαμπτικός Eust. II. P 297 ὀ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀ. διανυσμός.

ἀνάστημα resurrection Test. xii patr. Levi 16.

ἀνδροληψία 'seizure of men.' Conceptio gloss.

ἀνδροπρεπής 'eccl.' Cyr. ap. Suid. σπάδων.

ἀνθρωποποιώτος Barn. ep. 2 § 6.


ἀντενεργέω 'Diosc.' Barn. ep. 2.

ὁ ἀντικείμενος Satan. Clem. ep. 1 51 in.

v p. 1532 17 (Poppo, who has added many other words from Eust.).

άπαρτίζω schol. Eur. Or. 352 ἀπηρτισμένος ἄριθμός a round number, e.g. the thousand ships of the Greek fleet.


τὸ ἀγλώμα the veil of the temple test. XII patriarch. Benj. 9.

ἀπόκριμα fable Suid. s. v. Αἰσθανός λογοποιός.

ἀπομακτέων Eur. Cyc. 561 according to the certain restoration of Cobet v. 1. 578. Dele ἀπομακτέων.


ἀποσκορακίσματα Hesych. πάκη.

ἀρειανσμός Phot. cod. 113.

ἀρκουθός Steph. Byz. s. v. Δέρβη.

ἀρμενίζω to sail 'gloss.' test. XII patriarch. Nephth. 6.

ἀρύος nom. 'only in Aesop' (L. & S.) schol. Eur. Or. 812 p. 211 18, 212 1, 15.

ἀρρύταρος Oecum. on Jac. 3 17.

ἀρχω. Κυλικής ὡρξε became ruler of Hdt. i 107 § 2.

ἀσαρκα σπέρματα Epiphan. haer. lxiv 44 p. 570.


ἀστασιάστως Chrys. on Hebr. 4 2.

ἀστρογλίνος a sparrow Boissonade anec. nova 334.

αὐτός betw. art. and reflexive pron. is noticed in L. & S. but not e.g. Aesch. P. V. 762 πρὸς αὐτός αὐτοῦ κενοφρόνων βουλωμάτων. 921 ἐπ’ αὐτός αὐτῷ.


αὐτοφθαλμέω Bachmann anec. II 4 1. 29.


ἀχρηστομάθεια Eus. praep. xiv 2 § 5. 13 § 7. xv 1 § 8. One of many words marked in Heinichen's index as unknown to lexicons.


βαίου. βαία φοινίκων test. XII patriarch. Nephth. 5 and N. T.
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βαρυβρίμμενος Boissonade anec. nova 377 ver. 175.
βασίλειον kingdom Lightf. on Clem. ep. Π 6.
βαστακτέων we must endure schol. Eur. Or. 769.
βιστικός a layman Bingham Ι 5 § 5.
βλεφαρικός Αισλ. Αυρ. tard. Π § 17.
βολυμακός Theod. Prisc. Π chron. § 16 praeter consuetudinem edaeibus, hoc est βολυμακός.
βραχυπλεθρος Boissonade anec. nova 376 ver. 153.
βραχύς τὴν διάνοιαν Joseph. ant. ΧΠ 4 § 1 p. 83 21 Bekker (Sophocles has ΧΠ 4 § 1, where the word does not occur).
γαλακτώδης. met. λόγωις Eus. h. e. ΙV 23 § 8.
γαμεκός. sibyll. VII 5 γαμικής ποτε κίμα θαλάσσης (cf. Ηορ. νιχορίοι amnis).
γειτόνισσα Syntipas 39 19 Eberhard.
γέματος full (γέμω with Lat. ending) ibid. 91 18. 101 25. cf. τρέχατος (Zeitschr. f. oesterr. Gymn. 1875 341).
γερφικός ‘scapi κανόνες γερμικοί καὶ χάρτον τόμοι’ gl.
γνωματευτής schol. Η. Κ 31 cod. Par. 2681 (Cramer).
γοργός active Lightf. on Clem. ep. Ι 48.
γυναικόκράτητος schol. Eur. Or. 743, where also -τέομαι.
δακτύλιθρον Themist. or. 21 253 a (Steph. and Λ. & Σ. -ρα).
δαμαστικός schol. Pind. Ο. ΧΠΙ 89 fn.
δε = Germ. sondern, after a negation Aesch. Π. Β. 206, 512, 631, 1075.
δεί it is fated Hdt. ΙΧ 109 § 1. ΙV 79. Κρ. ad Ι 8 § 1.
δεί. Lieberkühn über das Demosthenische οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεί.
δεκάδυο N. T. Barn. ep. Ε. 8 § 3 bis. const. apost. ΒΙ 14. ΧΠΙ 4. Eus. h. e. ΙΙΙ 15.
Sexamröxt ann. inst. 1864 97.

SéiTa. Demokritos in Bekker anecd. 781 has the gen. Sennen
(Oberdick in Zeitschr. f. d. oesterr. Gymnasien 1868 879).

δή. H. Heller epist. ad Max. Dunkerum de particulis ἡδή et δή
(Philologus viii 254—308).

διαξώνυμι to undergird a ship App. b. c. v 91.

diakekauménēn (ζώνη).

διακόνισσα const. apost. viii 19.

διαστικέω ‘Suid.’ s. v. βαστάσας.

διάφαναι protevangel. Jac. 23 fin. Tischendorf in his n. cites
diafaúsi.

δύγαμος married a second time ‘eccl.’ Hippol. haer. ix 12 p. 290.


διᾶςκαλικότατα adv. Clem. Al. paied. iii 8.

διδύρου γραμματείον a consular diptych Liban. ep. 941.

δικρώς. Expel this word from Steph. ‘leg. cum cod. Bodl. Roe
22 f. 536 διπρώτα’ (Cramer).

αἱ Βακτριαναί κάμηλοι (Cramer).

tῆς παρθένου when the sun has traversed § of the sign Virgin.

*διάκορον. In the passage of Dionys. Thr. (Bekker anec. 783 3) cited by Steph. ‘διάκονον leg. e cod. mus. Brit. 51118
add.’ (Cramer).

διπαράλογος Choerob. schol. in Theodos. anec. Cramer iv 414
10 (Cramer).


diographically ib. 890.


διψυχέω ‘eccl.’ Clem. ep. i 23.

διψυχία ‘Byz.’ Herm. ii mand. 9.

δογματογράφος inscr. Lesb. in Hermes vii 408.

δορυτέχνησις Hes. s. v. ἔργανη.

δουκυνάριος Eus. h. e. vii 30 § 8.

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δοχμίδων schol. Eur. Or. 140.
δρομαῖος ibid. 1416.
δυνανδρικὸς corp. inscr. gr. 3979. ann. inst. 1852 156.
23 (ὁ φῶνες) τραχύς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνάντης καὶ δυσανδευτὸς (Cramer).
δυσμικώτατος Ptolem. geogr. π 3 § 18.
δωδεκακόδων scriptor apocryph. pro pontificis tunica talari hyacinthina. Jacobson on Clem. ep. i 55. This is the reading of some mss. in the protevang. Jac. 8, but Tischendorf's text has τὸ δωδεκακόδων.
τὸ δωδεκαπρόφητον Epiphan. de mens. et pond. 4.
ἐγερτὶ Heraklit. in philosophum. 283.
ἐλενοφώνης ib. 1140.
Ἐλιοῦν 'the Most High' Sanchon. in Eus. praep. i 10 § 14.
ἐμβαχῦν aneccl. Cramer IV 309 26 ἐτὶ καὶ τὰ παράλογα σημειώσθαι χρῆ, ὡς τὸ ἐμβαχῦν (Cramer).
ἐνδεκαγράμματος Ath. 455b. Dele δεκαγρ. Cobet v. 12 221.
ἐνθέσμων Theodoret. h. e. v 9.
ἐνακισχίλιοι DS. xviι 66 p. 597a.
ἐξαέδνων κολλύριων Boissonade aneccl. nova 370.
ἐξήματα τοῦ βορείου πόλου elevations of the N. pole Hipparch.
in Ptol. i geogr. 4.
ἐξαιπντέλω Hesych. s. v. ἐξηντ[Α]ηκέναι.
ἐξειαντίζω schol. Eur. Or. 1645, where also the act. ἐναιαντίζω.
For τῶν κατεχομένων ἐπιλύσει read τ. κ. ἐπιλύσει.
ἐξυποστρέφω Socr. h. e. π 17 6.
ἐπανοκλίσανος schol. Theocr. xiv 64.
ἐπηρμένος schol. Eur. Or. 809.
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ἐπιπεμπτέων Alexand. de fig. 1 (Spengel rhet. III 10 18).
ἐπισυνλλυγίζομαι Theodoret. on Hebr. 4 3.
ἐπιτομικῶς Theon Smyrn. 183.
ἐρωτομώραιωπλοκοσύνθετος Syntip. 40 18 Eberh.
ἐτηρικός Syncell. an. 215 p. 358.
ἐτυμόδρος schol. Theokr. id. ix 19 (in neue Jahrbb. xCVIII 102).
ἐνοδότερον πορευθώσι Julian. ep. 43.
Εὐσταθιανόι Sozom. III 20 4.
ἐφανδησ Polemon in Ath. 436d.
Ἐφεσίς a work of Aischrion cited by Tzetz. on Lykophr. 588.
ἐχω. ἐχει ὑποψίαν to be suspected Hdt. ix 99 § 2.
ἐλασσόν ἐχειν ib. 102 § 1 ) πλέον ib. 70 § 1.
Hdt. ix 84 ἐχει δέ τινα φάτων Διονυσοφάνης θάψαι Μαρδόνιον.
 cf. viii 94. v 66 Κλεισθένης λόγου ἐχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀνα-
πείται. cf. vii 3.
Also φάτως ἐχει τινά. Krüger on Hdt. v 66.
ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἐχειντο Hdt. ix 98 § 1. cf. 37 § 2. viii 135 § 3. iv
131 § 1.
ἐχει ζείς to refer to. Hdt. vii 143 § 1. ix 43.
ἐχεσθοι ἐργον only one ex. in L. & S.
πανθάνω a bold candidate for public favour, strong in the

The following words, or special exx. of them, are wanting in
L. and S. but I struck them out of the list on discovering them
in Stephanus or Sophocles. ἀβάναυς and - ναύς, ἀβροτέρως,
ἀγελάς, ἀγέλασμα, ἄγελοτρόφος, ἄγρικος, ἄγρια, ἄγχιβαφίς,
ἄδιατράνωτος, ἄδυσώπητος, ἄθλιότατος, ἄνικος, ἀκατασφηστός,
ἀκαυχηθία, ἀκεραιοσύνη, ἀκρούρια, ἀλαζόνω, ἀνάφασις, ἄνδρο-
κόμος, ἀπειχαρις, ἀντιπαλάομαι, ὁ ἀπειράστος, ἀρεινίξω,


GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY.

Ταυροπρόσωπος (ναύς) is not (L. & S.) 'bull-faced, front-de-boeuf,' but 'with the figure head of a bull,' so κριοπρόσωπος in the place cited. Under κυνηγέτης read κυνηγήτης for κυνηγένης. Under παρά C 17 for 'schol. Ap. Rh. 158' read Schäfer on schol. Ap. Rh. III 158. So under μολίνω the reference should be to Schäfer, not to the scholiast; under καταίβατις to schol. on III 533 (not 553). For εὐαντέω read εὐαντάω. Under νόστος in Od. v 334 read νόστου, as it is rightly given s. v. επιμαίομαι. Under ἐπὶ B 1 d read ἐχεῖ in Eur. Med. 694 for ἐχεῖς. Under χηλὸς ad fin. χῇλη should be oxymone. The barbarism connection occurs several times, yet under ἀνίκελαις the true form reflection. 'At Athens' is given as 'Ἀθήνησιν, 'at Thebes' correctly as Ὀνήσιον. Under αὐταῖρω and other compounds of αἱρω the a of the fut. is marked short; see Cobet v. l.² 606—7. ὑπόφονος 'unnatural murder;' this interpretation is very doubtful; see Hermann. ἄρα 2 fin. for 'Soph. Ant. 268' read 628. δείκη for 'Hdt. 7 176' read (as under ὁψία) 7 167. εὔνοος in Xen. Cyrop. I 4 23 is followed by τοξεύματος. θελκτικός for 'schol. Eur.' read schol. Eur. Or. θυγατρογόνος for Nonn. D. '12 74' read 12 47. κακόθυρος 'to explain δύσθυρος Eur. Or. 1492,' where ἄθυρος is the reading of all mss. and edd. κάλως for ἐξίωσι read ἐξίασι. κατατρίχω πι DCass. LXI 10 is cited (after Stephanus) as an example of the construction with the dative: Cobet v. l.² 629 by citing the words τῶν συνόντων τούς δυνάστασις κατατρίχων has exposed this error. κλίνω πι 4 for 'Soph. Fr.' read 'Soph. Tr.' i.e. Trach. κούριμον joined with κάρα, not with σίδηρων (in Eur. Or. 966) by Elmsley and all later editors. μεταβάλλω πι 1 fin. the emendation μεταλαβεῖν (Cobet v. l.² 572) commends itself, and should probably be adopted also in the passage of Plato cited. μετέρχομαι IV 2 fin. for 'Eur. Cycl. 820' read Eur. Cycl. 280.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.
By way of welcome to Dr Kennedy’s Virgil, which in a small compass contains a vast amount of teaching suitable for students of every age, I have copied out my notes jotted down from time to time on the Bucolics and Georgics. Most of them trace the influence of Virgil on later Latin writers, and may serve as supplements to the collection contributed by W. Ribbeck to his brother’s edition. Others illustrate the poet’s language; a few deal with some of the ‘vulgar errors’ in natural history or magic, which, partly under the sanction of so revered a name, remained current in Europe until or after the renaissance. There is pressing need of a Bochartus rediuitus—of a complete account of the mythology as well as the history of plants, animals, minerals in antiquity. Sir G. C. Lewis contemplated such a work and made some contributions to it in *Notes and Queries*; few Englishmen could have brought wider reading to the task.

Dr Kennedy in his preface speaks of the *sortes Vergilianae*; on these see a book now too much neglected, Hofmanni lexicon s.v. *sortes*, Fabricius-Schaffhausen bibliogr. antiqu. 610—1, Sir T. Browne vulgar errors v 21 § 21, Greg. Tur. hist. Fr. ii 37, Becker-Marquardt röm. Alterth. iv 112, Du Resnel in mém. de l’acad. xix 287 seq. Fleury hist. eccl. b. xx c. 45 fin. Burckhardt Kultur der Renaissance 528. In that strange book, the life of Lackington the bookseller 53 seq., may be seen the Methodist form of the superstition.

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**BUCOLICS.**

Translated by Beattie. [The translations which I notice below, are, I think, all collected in the British Poets of Chal-
mers. Most of them, no doubt, are worthless, but it is desirable to have a complete list in order that a selection may be published. Many scholars would welcome such a book critically edited.]

Ecl. I 1 Ambr. hexaëm. III 31 § 4 quam patulae fagi.

„ 84 ib. IV 9 § 34 sed iam cauendum ne nobis in sermone dies quartus occidat.Cadunt enim umbrae maiores de montibus, lumen minutur, umbra cumulatur.


III 45 Prop. IV = III 9 14 at Myos exiguum flectit acanthus iter.


IV Translated by Beaumont. Cf. Tillemont mém. eccl. IV 331.

IV 46 Symm. laud. in Gratian. 9 si mihi nunc altius euagari poetico liceret eloquio, totum de nouo saeculo Maronis excursum uati similis in tuum nomen exscriberem. dicerem de caelo rediisse Iustitiam et ultro uberes fetus iam grauidam spondere naturam. nunc mihi in patentibus campis sponte seges matura flauesceret, in sentibus uua turgeret, de quernis frondibus rorantia mella sudarent. quis haec sub te negaret esse credenda, cuius indoles multa iam praestitit et adhuc spes plura promissit? et uere, si fas est praesagio futura conciere, iamduudum aureum saeculum currerent fusa (sic) Parcarum. In the old edd. of Tac. Agr. 1 fin. was the reading cursaturus tempora.


VI translated by Roscommon.

VI 2 Martian. Capella I § 28 Kopp.

„, 15 Ruhnken on Rutil. Lup. II § 7 cuivs uenae non san-guine sed uino sunt repletae.

VII 4 anth. Pal. VI 96 2 Ἀρκάδες ἀμφότεροι.
VII 33 Prud. c. Symm. i 111—4 hic deus e patrio praenobilis Hellesponto | ...sinum lactis et haec uotorum liba quotannis accipit.

,, 36 Stat. Th. x 229 cui fetura gregem pecoroso uere nouavit.

VIII anth. Pal. v 205. Lines 17—61 are translated by Walsh.

,, 35 Hor. s. i 5 101.


,, 108 Aus. epist. 24 132 credimus? an qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?

IX 29 Sir T. Browne vulgar errors iii 25.

,, 47 DIONAEI PROCESSIT CAESARIS ASTRVM Aug. doctr. Chr. ii § 32 sidus, quod appellemus Luciferum, honorì et nomini Caesaris Romani dicare conati sunt. et fortasse factum esset atque isset in uetustatem, nisi auia eius Venus praecoccupasset hoc nominis praedium.

,, 54 Browne vulgar errors iii 8.


GEORGICS.


,, 17—18 Stat. s. i 2 18 ‘et de Maenalia uolucer Tegeaticus umbra.

,, 45 Amb. cited on 299.

,, 100 Aug. de ordine ii § 15 alii autem piì et boni atque splendido ingenio praediti, qui neque nos deserì a summo Deo possunt in animum inducere et tamen rerum tanta quasi caligine atque commixtione turbati nullum ordinem uident, volentes sibi nudari abditissimas causas, errores suos saepe etiam carminibus conqueruntur. qui si hoc solum interrogent, cur Itali semper serenas hiemes orent et item semper Gaetulia nostra misera sitiat; quis eis facile respondebit?
NOTES ON VIRGIL.

1 126 Bentl. Hor. s. II 3 262.
,, 209 Synes. epigr. I 5—6 (Brunck anal. II 449)
σκέπτετο τείρεα πάντα πρὸς ἀντυγ, τῆς ἐπὶ Τιταν
νύκτα ταλαντεύει καὶ φῶς ἑρχομένως.
,, 299 (cf. 45) Ambr. hexaëm. IV 4 § 19 impiger depresso
aratro terram scindit agricola, nudus arat, nudus serit, nudus
sole feruente tostas aestu in area terit fruges.
,, 357 Quintil. VIII 3 § 47 sensu plerique obscene intellegere,
nisi cauéris, cupiunt...et ex uerbis, quae longissime ab obscenitate
absunt, occasionem turpitudinis raperent. siquidem Celsus κακέμφα-
tov apud Vergilium putat: incipiunt agitata tumescre.
quod si recipias, nihil loqui tutum est. See Rhein. Mus. III 575.
,, 361—4 Ambr. hexaëm. v 13 § 43 nec vos praeteribo, mergi,
quibus ab assiduitate mergendi nomen hoc haesit; quomodo saepe
mergentes aurarum signa colligitis et praevidentes tempestatem
futuram propere medio reuolatis ex aequore et ad litorum
tuta cum clamore contenditis. quomodo etiam fulicae refugi-
entes quam prae senseritis commotionem maris in uado luditis.
ipsa arenae, quae paludibus inhaerere consuevit, notas deserit
sedes imbresque formidans supra nubes uolat.
,, 363 Prop. IV = III 10 6 ponat et in sicco molliter unda
minas.
,, 378 Ambr. hexaëm. III 1 § 4 ex omni igitur palude, ubi quasi
ranae ueterem querellam canebant, congregata est fides.
Π 64 Bentl. Hor. c. II 15 5.
,, 76 77 Symm. laud. Gratiani 6 uirentibus ramis artifex
rusticandi alienum germen includit, ut nouella praesegmina
coagulo libri uuidi inolescant.
,, 94 Sen. ep. 83 § 27 (of the sage) si temptantur pedes,
lingua non constat: quid est, quare illum existimes in parte
sobrium esse, in parte ebrium?
,, 121 Ambros. hexaëm. v 23 § 77 where he is speaking of
the silkworm ex his foliis mollia illa Seres depectunt
uellerat, quae ad usus sibi proprios diuities uindicarunt.
,, 146 Verg. catal. VI 7 8 corniger haud aries humilis, sed
maxima taurus | uictima sacratos sparget honore focos.
,, 173 Tertull. apol. 10 Saturnum itaque, si quantum litterae
docent, neque Diodorus Graecus aut Thallus neque Cassius
Journal of Philology. Vol. VI.

II 212 Philox. gl. glarea τόπος χέρσος λιθώδης ὁπορος ἐν τῷ β' τῶν γεωργικῶν. When Löwe gives us his promised edition of the glossaries, we shall learn whether this gloss is due to antiquity or to the renaissance.

,, 220 cf. Ruhnken on Ov. her. II 90.
,, 223 Ambr. hexaëm. I 8 § 28 etiam nunc palustri uligine terra inhorre consuevit, nec patiens est uomeris, ubi infusus terris umor exundat.
,, 224 Prop. IV = III 5 5 nec mihi mille iugis Campania pinguis aretur.
,, 242 gl. cola ῥαγολόγον (Rudorff ῥαγολόγον) ἐργαλείων πιεστήρος ληνοῦ ἐν β' γεωργικῶν.
,, 250 VF. vi 174 quam nec dea lassat habendo.
,, 284—7 Quintil. viii 3 § 9 nullusne ergo etiam frugiferis adhibendus est decor? quis negat? nam et in ordinem certaque interualla redigam meas arbores. quid illo quincunque speciosius, qui in quamcunque partem spectaueris, rectus est? sed protinus in id quoque prodest, ut terrae sucum aequaliter trahat.

,, 314 Aug. c. Acad. III 11 § 26 Non enim video quomodo refellat Academicus eum qui dicit: 'hoc mihi candidum uideri scio; hoc mihi iucunde olere scio; hoc mihi sapere dulciter scio; hoc mihi esse frigidum scio.' Dic potius, utrum per se amarae sint oleastri frondes, quas caper tam pertinaciter appellat. O hominem improbum! nonne est caper ipse modestior? nescio quales pecori sint, mihi tamen amarae sunt. quid quaeam amplius? Sed est fortasse aliquis etiam hominin, cui non sint amarae. Tendisne in molestiam? num quidnam ego amaras esse omnibus dixi? mihi dixi, et hoc non semper affirmo. quid si

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enim alias alia causa nunc dulce quidpiam nunc amarum in ore sentiatur?

II 323—345 translated by Crashaw.

„ 325 326 Varr. l. l. v § 67 Iovis Iuno coniux et is caelum haec terra, quae eadem Tellus. Aug. c. D. iv 10 tempus igitur colunt, qui Saturnum colunt, et rex deorum Iuppiter insinuatur natus ex tempore. quid enim indignum dicitur, cum Iuppiter et Iuno nati dicuntur ex tempore, si caelum est ille et illa terra, cum facta sint utique caelum et terra? nam hoc quoque in libris suis habent eorum docti atque sapientes: neque de figmentis poetici sed de philosophorum libris a Vergilio dictum est tum pater...descendit, id est in gremium telluris aut terrae.

„ 411 Cic. Brut. § 287 orationes autem...ego laudare soleo; imitari neque possim, si uelim, nec uelim ?fortasse, si possim.

„ 437 Theophr. h. pl. III 15 § 5, schol. Ap. Rh. II 942. Vib. Seq. p. 28 Oberl. All edd. should cite the prov. (apparently a comic fragment wanting in Meineke) πτυχου εις Κυ-τωρον ἃγγας (Eust. ii I 206 p. 88 3). I have found it in Cerda, but not in Forbiger. VFl. v 106 pallentemque Cytoron. Cf. the comm. on Steph. Byz.

„ 458 seq. translated by Cowley. Ambr. hexaém. III 9 § 41 diuero munere fulcit agricolas, quibus Deus, si bona sua norint, universa donavit. v 8 § 23 beata est, si bona sua nuerint, cum veritate paupertas.

„ 462 Ambr. hexaém. III 5 § 23 bene mari plerumque comp- paratur ecclesia, quae primo ingredientis populi agmine totis vestibulis undas uomit. Compare Cicero’s complaint Att. II 14 § 2 basilicam habeo, non villam, frequentia Formianorum ...sed omitto vulgus: post horam quartam molesti ceteri non sunt.


„ 506 Paulin. ep. 36 ad Macarium (bibl. max. patr. vi 225a) qui purpura fulgent, qui gemmas (read gemma) bibunt, toga fulciuntur palmataque pinguntur.
Plin. ep. v 8 § 3 diebus ac noctibus cogito, si quam quoque possim tollere humo: id enim uoto meo sufficit, illud supra uotum uictorque uirum uolitare per ora.

Ov. Pont. iv 8 31 32 nec tibi de Pario statuam, Germanice, templum | marmore.

Quintil. viii § 8 sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulnum et uberes oleas praecoptauerim? § 10 surgentia in altum cacumina oleae ferro coercerio: in orbem se formosius fundet et protinus fructum ramis pluribus feret.

Theophr. char. 21 p. 187 Ast.

Bentl. Hor. s. i 7 28.


Macar. ii 5 (in paroemiogr. ii 166 Leutsch) 'Epideairios ἵπποι καὶ Ἐρετριακὸς κῦν' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄξιων ἐπαλοῦν.

Prud. c. Symm. i 96—98 aduena quos (deos) profugus gignens et equina libido | intulit Italiae. Tuscis namque ille puellis | primus adhinniuit simulato numine moechus.

proelia Apul. met. ii 16 17.


Aus. 208 Aus. lud. vii sap. pr. 9 10 nouit equus plausae sonitum ceruicis amare; | nouit et intrepidus uerbera lenta pati.


Apul. apol. 57 f. est quidem Crassus iste summus helluo et omnis fumi non imperitus, sed profecto pro studio bibendi, quo solo censetur, facilius ad eum Alexandriam uini aura quam fumi perueniret.

Ov. her. v 136 quaesiérunt.

Ambr. hexaëm. v 22 § 76 quam dulcis etiam in exiguo cicadis gutture cantilena, quorum cantibus medio aestu arbusta rumpuntur, eo quod magis canorae meridianis
caloribus, quo puriorem aerem id temporis attrahunt spiritu, eo cantus resonant clariores.


,, 347 [Quintil.] decl. 3 § 16 nemo nostrum recusat itinerum laborem nec in iustum super arma fascem.


,, 405 Theophr. char. 21 p. 185 Ast.

,, 550 Prop. II 1 60 Phoenicis Chiron lumina Phillyrides. IV translated by Addison, except the episode of Aristaeus.

,, 19 Ambr. hexaëm. V 21 § 69 ubi fugiens riuss per gramina.

,, 116—148 translated by Hamilton.

,, 153—218 quoted by Ioan. Sarisb. pol. VI 21.

,, 158 Ambr. hexaëm. V 21 § 69 cernas omnes certare de munere, alias inuuigilare quaerendo uictum.

,, 159—161 ibid. illic ludus alacris iuventutis, illic campestre exercitium, illic curarum remissio. opus ipsum suaque; de floribus, de herbis dulcis fundamina castrorum prima ponuntur. quid enim aliud est fauus, nisi quaedam castrorum species?

,, 161—164 ibid. quis architectus eas docuit hexagonia illa cellularum indiscreta laterum aequalitate componere ac tenues (tenaces?) inter domorum tecta ceras suspendere, stipare melia, et intexta floribus horrea nectarare quodam distendere?

,, 165 166 ibid. (cernas) alias sollicitam castris adhibere custodiam, alias futuros explorare imbræ et speculari concursus nubium.

,, 179 anth. Pal. VI 239 5 6 θείης δ’ εσμοτόκον χορὸν ἀπελευ- του, ει δὲ μελεχρων | νέκταρος ἐμπλήσας κηροταγεῖς θαλάμας.

,, 191—196 [Quintil.] decl. 13 § 17 praecidere tempesta-
tes nec dubio se caelo tradere nec ultra uiciniam nubilo tendere. iam si leues iniquior aura rapuit, ad dirigendos in destinata cursus modico lapilli pondere librare pennas. Philes de anim. propr. 578—581.

IV 197 seq. spontaneous generation of bees Ambr. hexaëm. v 21 § 67 neque inter se ullo concubitu miscentur nec libidine resoluantur nec partus quatiuntur doloribus et subito maximum filiorum examen emittunt, e foliis et herbis ore suo prolem legentes. Aug. gen. ad litt. IX § 18 Creator ...apibus donavit, ut sic operentur generationem filiorum, quemadmodum cerae speciem liquoremque mellis. Rufin. in symb. apost. 11 col. 350b Migne apes certe nescire coniugia nec fetus nixibus edere omnibus palam est. Saluian. gub. D. IV p. 73 (Par. 1684) apes, cum fundamina fauis ponunt (Verg. ver. 161), uel cum e floribus natos legunt, qua causa uel thymum iam nisi studio et cupiditate mellis, uel flosculos quosdam nisi futurae sobolis caritate sectantur? [Quintil.] decl. 13 § 16 iam primum futurae laudabilis uitae digna principia; non illas libido progenerat domitrixque omnium animalium Venus ... solae omnium non edunt fetus, sed faciunt. This declaration is full of reminiscences of the fourth Georgic, and deserves to be compared with it in detail.

" 210 on the queen* (or king) bee see Bas. hexaëm. hom. VIII 4.

" 212—218 Ambr. § 71 regem suum summa protectione defendunt et perire pro eo pulchrum putant. incolumi rege nesciunt mutare iudicium, mentem inflectere: amisso fidem seruandi muneriis derelinquunt atque ipsae sua mella diripiunt.

" 225 Vell. II 123 § 3 of Augustus mox cum omnem curam futa uincerent, in sua resolutus initia...animam caelestem caelo reddidit. See Ruhnken ad loc. Burm. on VFl. III 380. Barth on Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 109.

" 237 238 Ambr. hexaëm. v 21 § 69 fin. habent tamen spicula sua et inter mella fundunt uenenum, si fuerint lacesitae, animasque ponunt in uulnere ardore uindictae.

" 281—5 Plut. Cleom. 39 § 2 μελιττας μὲν βόες, σφήκας
NOTES ON VIRGIL.

AENEID.

A few places in the Aeneid have gained much in perspicuity and force by an improved punctuation.

1 321—324 In 1859 Madvig published in the Danish Journal of Philology a note on this passage, which now appears with some additions in his kl. philol. Schr. Leibz. 1875 414—7. With two good mss. he reads maculoso and omits the comma after lyncis, thus avoiding the absurdity of dressing a huntress in a wild-beast’s skin, relieving Virgil (with quidam in Priscian) from the illogical alternative errantem aut prementem, and bringing together what sense and rhythm require to be joined ‘the track of spotted lynx or foaming boar.’
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III 389—392

cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam
litoreis ingens inuentis sub ilicibus sus
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.

Nauck (Zeitschr. f. Gymn. XXIX 76) omits the comma after alba. For solo recubans, taken by itself, is superfluous after iacebit, and cannot serve as a third 'sign.' How greatly the rhythm is improved by the change, is evident.

" 433 434

praeterea aliqua est Heleno prudentia, vati
quia fides, animum si veris implet Apollo.

By removing the comma after prudentia to the end of the line Nauck (ibid. 75) greatly adds to the force of the passage.

IV 416 417

Anna, uides toto properari litore, circum
undique conuenere. uocat iam carbasus aurias.

It is true that Gellius several times joins circum undique, but Nauck (ibid. cl. x 118 portis circum omnibus instant) here reads litore circum.

V 289 290

circus erat; quo se multis cum milibus heros
consessum medium tulit exstructoque resedit.

Nauck (ibid. 76 cl. Suet. Caes. 34 sessum transiiit) reads consessum supine, and interprets exstructo 'auf einer errichteten Erhöhung.' Gossrau had before conjectured consessum, citing the reading of some mss. consessu in medium.

VI 122 123 quid Thesea, magnum quid memorem Al-
ciden?

Nauck (ibid. 75) again pushes the comma forward to the end of the line. So also Dr Kennedy, Forbiger, Wagner, but not Haupt.

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