LANGUAGE AND CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE

Language and Character of the Roman People

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

OSCAR WEISE

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND REFERENCES FOR ENGLISH READERS

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FROM THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE knowledge of any language must necessarily remain superficial, unless the student of the language in question has a clear conception of the various forms which make up its construction. The ordinary grammars give us little light on this point. School text-books regard such information as beside the mark, and, unfortunately, scientific works are content with a few scanty precepts. It is, however, to be regretted that our methods of teaching language should alone lag in the wake of other studies, and refuse to follow the spirit of the nineteenth century, probing and noting every fact and tracing them in their historical development. It passes comprehension why teachers cannot dispense with the routine methods of exercising their pupils' memory at the expense of their intelligence. They might surely choose some way of stimulating the thought and reflection of their pupils. This small treatise may serve, it is hoped, as a stepping-stone to this end.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE Second Edition of this work might, strictly speaking, be called the third. For the French work, based upon my own, by Ferdinand Antoine, Professor of Classic Philology in the University of Toulouse (1896), contains a large number of improvements and additions, which, at his request, I placed at his service. The new edition differs in many respects from Antoine's translation. A fifth chapter has been added on the Latinity of Cicero and Caesar respectively, so that, after passing in review the style of Poetry and that of the popular dialect, I might do justice to Classic Prose as well: an Index has been added, and a collection has been appended of researches and treatises which have appeared during the last few years in German literature.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE Third Edition differs from the second by the addition of a chapter on the Civilization and Vocabulary of the Romans: it contains also a large number of additions and amplifications most of which are to be found in the notes. I am indebted to M. Graziatos, Director of the Gymnasium at Argostoli in Cephallenia, for some suggestions: his translation into modern Greek appears contemporaneously with this edition.

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PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATORS

IT is hoped that this translation of the suggestive work of Professor Weise may prove useful to Classical Students in Britain and America. We have endeavoured to render it so by adding references to English works on the subjects dealt with in the text and notes, and by a few additions and suggestions, particularly with regard to the etymology of certain words, for which we are mainly indebted to the full and scholarly work of Professor Walde of Innsbruck. The notes at the end will be found to contain many valuable references to the literature published in Germany in recent treatises dealing with the subject matter of the text. To the Bibliography at the end of the Appendix should be added the valuable work of Mr. Duff, "A Literary History of Rome," Fisher Unwin, 1909.

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I

THE mental activities of any given individual fall roughly into two categories—those of cognition and those of emotion.

The proportions in which these psychical elements are mingled are responsible for the great differences in the mental endowment of mankind: in some individuals we see the feelings developed at the expense of the intellect, while in others the intellect preponderates at the expense of the feelings. In some cases the understanding and the will, in other cases the emotions and the heart assert their predominance. And as it is with the individual, so it is with nations as a whole. Few, indeed, are the individuals, and few the nations that nature has evenly favoured with all mental endowments. Among the nations of antiquity, however, the Greeks stand pre-eminent in respect of this general endowment, while in the Romans, reason and will power were unmistakably developed at the expense of the other mental faculties. "The taste of the Romans," says Herder, "was for History, or for solemn legal oratory, in a word for *Action*." Thus Sallust says (Cat. 8, 5):

"Optimus quisque facere quam dicere malebat," and Livy puts these words into the mouth of Mucius Scaevola: "Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est." The most striking traits in the character of the Romans were their stately and impressive demeanour, their unflinching perseverance and constancy, their firm and imperturbable courage: or, to cite Cicero's expressions, their *gravitas* (see note [1] at end) *continentia*, and *animi magnitudo* (Tusc. i, 1, 2). The beau ideal of a genuine Roman of the old stock is summed up in the old-world formula *vir fortis atque strenuus* (Cato *ap.* Festum, p. 201, A. Gell. xvii, 13, 3) which, at a later period in the time of the Scipios, was under Greek influence restated (as we find it on the tomb of Barbatus) in the form *fortis vir sapiensque*. The valour of Roman citizens qualified them in an eminent degree for soldiers, their intelligence and practical understanding made them statesmen and lawyers, their calm and unruffled common sense and their clear apprehension fitted them for oratory of every kind. The words applied by Cato the elder to the Gauls, "Duas potissimum res Gallia sequitur, rem militarem et argute loqui"(2), hold good in a measure of his own countrymen. It was to the special capacity of her sons for war and politics that Rome owed her rise from an unimportant state to a world-power of the first order.

2. As the mental endowments of the Romans were severely practical, and such as inclined them to take a sober view of the circumstances of life, we cannot be surprised to find that they had no special taste

for either Art or Science. Their imagination could not soar to the height of either. Vergil confesses as much in his melancholy reflexions contained in the lines (Aen. vi, 847 *sqq.*):

> Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
> Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore voltus,
> Orabunt causas melius caelique meatus
> Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent,

and Cicero confesses "Doctrina Graecia nos et omni litterarum genere superavit: (Tusc. i, 1, 3), nay, he actually goes so far as to say "Nos, qui rudes harum rerum sumus" (Verr. ii, 87). In like manner the greatest Roman epic poet confesses that even as a she-bear brings forth awkward and mis-shapen cubs, which she has to lick into shape, even so are the offspring of his brain raw and imperfect, and he can only impart to them the features they should wear by long and toilsome labour. The inhabitants of Latium care to occupy themselves with such pursuits only as far as may serve some practical advantage, more especially the good of the state; for, from a Roman point of view, as Tacitus says (Dial. 5): "ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque dirigenda." We cannot wonder that the unremunerative arts are designated by the significant appellations *studia leviora* (Cic. De Or. i, 49, 212, De Sen. 14, 50), *studia minora* (Cic. Brut. 18, 70), *artes leviores* (Cic. Brut. 1, 3), or *artes mediocres* (Cic. De Or. i, 2, 6), and that it was only by a slow process, and after a long struggle, that under the influence of the Hellenic spirit they were enabled to attain a higher level and to claim more respect.

What is more, the Romans possessed in a very moderate degree the gift of sympathizing with the beauties of nature and penetrating into her secrets. The joy of wood and field, of rambles on wide moorlands, of scaling lofty mountains, of all, in short, that has charms for chivalrous races like the Celts and the Greeks, has no voice for them, and while the Greeks enliven their heaven and their earth with a throng of gods of fair form and dazzling beauty, the Romans cannot rise above the idea of endowing certain abstract powers of nature with divine attributes. They are unable to create myths, or to people seas, rivers, mountains, and moorlands with the fair figures of graceful nymphs.

3. Now let us consider how these national characteristics of the Romans have stamped their features on the Latin language (3). It has long been recognized that the vocabulary of Latin is poorer than that of Greece (4), and it is equally certain that a large portion of this vocabulary had to be recruited from foreign countries. Now when a nation borrows a large number of words from a foreign tongue, it proves itself to have been deeply susceptible to the influence of the nation from whom it borrows; it proves, moreover, that the borrowing nation possesses a less active mental activity and less power of imagination. It is notorious that while the number of Greek interlopers into Latin may be reckoned by the thousand (5), the Greek language, in spite of the mighty tide of Orientalism which flooded all Hellas, can point to scarcely a few hundred words of Asiatic origin. The

imaginative disciples of the Phoenicians have impressed the stamp of the Greek spirit on most of the gains for which they are indebted to their Eastern neighbours. They have suited their borrowings to their needs and have renamed them in their own style. Thus we could hardly guess from language that the potter's wheel (τρόχος from τρέχειν), that frankincense (θύος from θύειν) and the gourd (πέπων from πέσσειν) are natives of Asia, or that ὕαινα from ὗς (the hyena), the ichneumon (from ἰχνεύειν, to track, *i.e.*, crocodile's eggs), and δρομάς, the dromedary (from δραμεῖν, to run) are words of foreign origin (⁶).

4. The Roman methods were very different. With them the traces of such creative linguistic activity are small indeed. It is true that they made some efforts in this direction; for instance, they invented some names of their own coinage for the pomegranate (*malum granatum*), the arbutus, the litter (*lectica*), letters of the alphabet (*littera*), the cloister (*porticus*), the amulet (*amuletum* from *amoliri*, a translation of φυλακτήριον,* see, too, Weise's essay in the "Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft," xiii, 244). But they never advanced very far in this direction; indeed, in many cases they actually gave up genuine Latin expressions already in use in favour of foreign ones, as in the case of elephas for *bos Luca*, and the chestnut (*nux mollusca* or *calva*), etc. In cases where the origin and the derivation of a

* More probably from *amoliri*, as an averter of evil; and if so, a genuine Latin word. See Walde, "Etymologisches Wörterbuch," *s.v.*

Greek word were obvious to their apprehension, they certainly rose to the height of translating it, more particularly from the middle of the first century B.C. There are many departments in which their efforts in this sense were perfectly successful (7), but their proceeding was, as a rule, to avail themselves of the Greek expressions for art. Can we therefore be surprised at Cicero thus expressing himself (De Nat. Deor. i, 4, 8): "Complures enim Graecis institutionibus eruditi ea, quae didicerant, cum civibus suis communicare non poterant, quod illa, quae a Graecis accepissent, Latine dici posse diffiderent," and (De Fin. iii, 15, 51): "Quod nobis in hac inopi lingua non conceditur"; or that Seneca (Ep. 6 1), thus laments: "Quanta nobis verborum paupertas, immo egestas sit, nunquam magis quam hodierno die intellexi. Mille res inciderunt, cum forte de Platone loqueremur, quae nomina desiderarent nec haberent, quaedam vero, cum habuissent, fastidio nostro perdidissent"?

5. Another cogent reason for the large scale on which the Romans borrowed foreign words is to be found in the incapacity of their own tongue for the manufacture of compounds, a peculiarity which has descended also to its Romance daughters (8). The poet Lucretius (De Rerum Natura, i, 830) dwells on this fault in his own tongue in the following words:

> Nunc et Anaxagorae scrutemur homoeomerian
> Quam Graii memorant nec nostra dicere lingua
> Concedit nobis patriae sermonis egestas,
> Sed tamen ipsam rem facile est exponere verbis

and Livy makes a similar remark when referring to the word *androgynus*; he writes in terms significant indeed, but intended to spare the national self-respect: "quos androgynos vulgus ut pleraque faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone appellat." Cicero expresses himself in the same sense (De Fin. iii, 4, 15): "Equidem soleo etiam quod uno Graeci, si aliter non possum, idem pluribus verbis exponere. Et tamen puto concedi nobis oportere, ut Graeco verbo utamur, si quando minus occurrat Latinum, ne hoc ephippiis et acratophoris potius quam proegmenis et apoproegmenis concedatur"; and Gellius writes in the same spirit (Noct. Att. xi, 16, 1) when touching on the topic of the borrowing and translation of Greek words like πολυπραγμοσύνη, πολυφιλία, πολυτροπία: "Adjecimus saepe animum ad vocabula rerum non paucissima, quae neque singulis verbis, ut a Graecis, neque si maxime pluribus eas res verbis dicamus, tam dilucide tamque apte demonstrari Latina oratione possunt, quam Graeci ea dicunt privis vocibus"; and further: "in me igitur infecundia, qui ne pluribus quidem verbis potuerim obscurissime dicere, quod a Graecis perfectissime uno verbo et planissime dicitur." As we may gather from the passages cited, the Romans eked out their resources by simply borrowing words from the Greek, or else they preferred to employ periphrases.

6. The poverty of the Roman imagination is also evidenced by the fact that they lack native expressions for many phenomena of the material world around them. Hence Fronto admitted, on some

occasion when the lack of Latin words to express different shades of colour was commented on, the superiority of the Greek language in this respect* (A. Gell. Noct. Att. ii, 27, 5), and it cannot be denied that in Roman literature very few names for mountains, valleys, springs, and moors have descended to us, a fact which considerably increases the labour of the geographer of ancient Rome. Of course this statement must not be taken absolutely: some localities had special names, as the spring of Bandusia and the mountain of Lucretilis: but the territory of Latium cannot pretend to vie with Greece in this respect. Indeed, Lucan's remark about the Trojan territory, "Nullum sine nomine saxum," is more or less true of all Greek-speaking regions, but less so of Latin countries. Again, the number of genuine Latin terms for flowers and weeds which adorn our meadows and woodlands is very small: *e.g.*, *bellis*, the white daisy,† and *feniculum* (μάραθρον), fennel: indeed many which look like genuine Latin words are merely literal translations of the Greek, like *ranunculus*, from βατράχιον.

Again, while Greeks and Germans alike, to aid their designations of remarkable products of nature, especially in the case of plants and trees, borrow the

* See Geiger, "Lectures and Dissertations" (1880), on colour sense. Both Romans and Greeks confounded blue and violet, especially with gray and brown. The Romance languages found no word for *blue* in Latin, and were obliged to borrow one from the Germans; cf. *bleu* and old Italian *biavo*, from *blau*, which itself originally meant *black*.

† Probably connected with English *bale* in bale-fire, and with Russian *bielie*, white.

names of the most striking domestic animals, the Romans lack all sense for such comparisons. They have therefore no words which can challenge comparison with the Greek ἱπποσέλινον, ἵππουρις, βούγλωσσος, or with the English horse radish, horse chestnut,* or the German Rosskastanie or Ochsenzunge, etc.: for words like *Equisetum* (horse's tail) betray at once that they are mere importations from Greece.

Further, we find in Greek literature many more graceful adjectives which testify to a keen observation of nature on the part of those who used them. In Homer all is light and colour: epithets such as shining, glittering, radiant, and again picturesque touches, like trailing-footed, crumpled-horned oxen meet us at every turn and become to our fancy an indispensable accessory to the Homeric poems. The Roman imagination, on the other hand, receives such faint impressions from nature that it is unable to impart them in any high degree to its poetry.

Latin again lays in many cases a greater stress on number and magnitude, where we commonly emphasize the quality or effect of a substantive. Thus the word *magnus* is combined with the following words: *argumentum* (a convincing proof), *exemplum* (a striking example), *suspicio* (a strong suspicion), *preces* (fervent prayers), *vox* (a loud voice), *hiems* (a violent storm), *occasio* (a lucky chance), *coniunctio* (a close alliance), *usus* (a lively intercourse), *officium* (a sacred duty). The adjectives which we attach to such words are less vague and general, and denote rather some

* Cf. mare's tail; also such words as ladies-fingers, catkins, larkspur, henbane, cowslip, oxlip, etc.

quality which, as it were, individualizes the substantive in each case. Again, how poor is Latin in such words as the particles which serve to express different shades of our mental attitude, and to bring into bold relief the object of our thoughts! We have only to compare such Greek words as ἄν, ἄρα, γε, τοι, δή, etc., which from Homer down serve to enliven and adorn the language of the Greeks, with the very meagre resources provided by Roman literature, and we shall find that the Greek language is far more flexible, and far more capable of expressing the finer nuances of thought than its Italian sister.

7. We find greater activity in the process of word-creation in Latin in places where the peculiar Roman characteristics most assert themselves. C. Abel, in his "Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen," p. 25, says with perfect truth: "A nation which possesses many words for any conception, be it material or spiritual, must be much concerned in the object of that conception, must have dwelt on it, developed it, and refined upon it." *

Examples are not far to seek: to bear pain with patience was not merely a trait of Stoicism, but an essentially Roman characteristic. From Mucius Scaevola, who thrust his right hand into the burning fire before the eyes of the Tuscan King Porsena, Roman history has furnished us with plenty of instances of this national virtue. The Romans accepted bodily

* See Heine, Reisebilder: Reise von München nach Genua. "The Arab has a thousand words for a sword, the Frenchman for love, the Englishman for hanging, the German for drinking."

pain without a murmur of complaint: the most that pain could wring from them was a short cry, the reflex of their agony. Hence it comes to pass that the interjections expressive of painful feelings are more numerous than those of any other nature, and they bear a more national and truly Roman stamp than interjections expressive of joy, which latter, it may be remarked, are mostly borrowed from Greece. To the distinctively Roman utterances belong *o*, *heu*, *eheu*, *pro*, *vae*, *ah*, *hei*, *ohe*, *au*: while among those borrowed from the Greek we may mention *io*, *euoe*, *euax*, *eu*, *euge*, *eia*. Again, the Roman has a large number of expressions for slaves: without slaves his life was impossible: he required their services at every turn and for every purpose: thus *servus* is to the Roman a slave looked at as a social inferior: *famulus*, as one of the *familia* or household (Oscan *fama*, a house): *mancipium*, as a marketable commodity: *verna*, as born in the household: *puer*, with reference to his age: *minister* and *ancilla*, with reference to his or her capacity for service. But it would take us too far to ransack the entire vocabulary of the Latin tongue for instances of this kind: two more may suffice. We are purposely setting aside the peculiar department of knowledge which the Roman from the earliest times proudly proclaimed his own, that of Law and Politics, or Statecraft. The terms in which these two sciences express themselves permeate the whole Latin language, and cannot here be referred to more particularly. But it may be interesting to cite in favour of what we have advanced a few facts referring to the words which

carry the signification of relationship, and to articles of food.

8. The Romans had a warmer feeling and sympathy for family and its ties than the Greeks. The entire contents of a single household were regarded as a single large unity, ruled by the *pater familias*, duly organized, and each member knowing accurately his position in respect to the rest; in fact, the family was in its constitution an exact counterpart of the Roman State. They reverenced and venerated their forefathers: the virtue of such reverence was called *pietas*: it was one of their chief delights to compose genealogical trees, and they loved to connect the origin of their own *gens* with the Fall of Troy and the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. Thus we need not be surprised to find that they had a rich store of names expressive of family relationships. We speak of uncles and aunts; the Romans mark the difference such between maternal and paternal relatives; *avunculus* and *patruus*; *matertera* and *amita*: their lineage extends back from *avus*, *abavus*, *proavus* to *tritavus*: *patruelis* denotes the brother's child, *consobrinus* the child of the sister. They actually possess a word to denote the relationship of two women married to two brothers: *ianitrices*.*

The favourite animal food of the Romans was pork. Pliny tells us that they knew no less than fifty different ways of preparing it for the table (Nat. Hist. viii, 209; cf. Friedländer, "Sittengeschichte," iii, 28). The very term *caro suilla*, a diminutive

* So *glos* is a husband's sister.

form, shows the weakness of the Romans for their national dish.* In the ancient compound *suovetaurilia* (= *sus* + *ovis* + *taurus*) it is the sow that takes precedence of the sheep and the ox. It is therefore natural to expect to meet in Latin with more terms to express "swine" than any other animal. Besides *sus* we find *porcus*, *porca*, *verres*, *aper*, *scrofa*, *maialis*, *nefrens*. In Roman farces the swine appears as a constant object of diversion: the writer of Atellanes, Pomponius, named no less than four pieces after this animal: *Porcetra* (a young sow which has once farrowed); *Maialis* (a fat hog); *Verres aegrotus* (the sick boar); and *Verres salvus* (the boar convalescent). We may regret that it was not usual in Roman times to christen the chief actors in the national farces with the name of one of the national tastes or failings. In that case he would probably have been called some name like Jack Porker, as the Germans call their chief figure in their farces Hans Wurst, the French Jean Potage, and the English Jack Pudding. Besides, the weakness for this dish gave rise to a number of popular proverbs. The German talks of roasted pigeons flying into his mouth: the Greek makes roasted fieldfares (ὀπταὶ κίχλαι) perform the same kind office: the Roman people uses *cocti porci* in a similar sense (cf. Petron. 45, 4).

Indeed Cato, quoted by Cicero (De Sen. 15, 56) declares that peasants call their gardens, "a second flitch of bacon"; "jam hortum ipsum agricolae succidiam alteram appellant." To act harshly and

* It is noteworthy that one of the reasons which made the Jews unpopular at Rome was their aversion to pork.

without reflection is expressed by the proverb "apros immittere liquidis fontibus"; to kill two birds with one stone, "duos apros capere"; I shoot the game and another eats it, "ego semper apros occido, sed alter semper utitur pulpamento." All of these are convincing proofs that the "animal propter convivia natum" was the delicacy most prized by the Roman palate.*

9. Metaphors are one of the main factors in the development of language, and they accurately reflect the spirit of the nation which employs them. We may therefore expect to find in the metaphorical expressions of the Romans a faithful mirror of their popular beliefs and predilections. It is only natural that when the speaker casts about for a fit comparison, he should seize on the subject of his predilection: † and mankind is only too prone to extend his own circumstances and qualities to the external world. Hence it happens that in the similitudes he

* Cf. Cels., lib. iii, 9, "Protinus suillam assam et vinum homini dabant."

† Mr. Keble in his "Praelectiones Academicae," Oxonii, 1844, p. 150, describes the Homeric metaphors and similes. They will be found to show that Homer was a keen observer of nature, Il. viii, 553; iii, 10; conversant with the sea, iv, 274; with agricultural occupations, xxi, 343; xii, 451; xiii, 701, etc. The metaphors in Aeschylus are very often taken from the customs of animals wild and tame. Cf. Agam. 11, *ibid.*, 35; Eum. 1; Suppl. 354, *et saepe*. Pindar's are mostly taken from Public Games, cf. Isthm. 5, 1. The metaphors in Lucretius indicate a great love of nature (De Rerum Natura, iv, 1). The English reader may consult Minto's "Manual of Prose Literature," p. 15; he also gives the sources whence the greatest English writers draw their figures of speech.

employs he presents us with a view of his intellectual impulses, his feelings, his emotions. In Lessing's works the commonest metaphors are those taken from combat, and this harmonizes with the writer's fondness for disputes and feuds.* If certain metaphors are found to colour a language not merely in special periods, but in all its stages; when, in fact, they are the common property of all the writers and speakers in that language, we are justified in concluding that they comprise the favourite conceptions of an entire people. And it is indeed true that agriculture and military life, the two main columns on which the Roman state rested, are called, in Latin, to do service as metaphors with surprising frequency.

10. When we find a nation insisting on its members being addressed in their civil and political capacity as "*Quirites*," *i.e.*, "Spearmen" or "warriors," and investing its politically emancipated citizens and its armed reserves with a similar name; when, in short, we find military service and military privileges regarded as identical with civic service and civic privileges, we cannot be surprised to find that such a nation scatters military metaphors broadcast through its literature. It has been well said by D. Wollner ("Landauer Programm," 1886), "When the Romans have to express any circumstance in which two opposing forces meet, they immediately

* English readers will remember that few writers can be said to have shown their complete philosophy by their choice of metaphors so much as Omar Khayyam.

employ some metaphor which indicates their warlike propensity"; and S. von Raumer lays stress on the fact that of all metaphors those which have reference to war are the commonest ("Die Metapher bei Lukrez," Erlangen, 1893, p. 121). Indeed, war is the very life and soul of the Roman. Thus Dio Cassius (xxxviii) makes Caesar at Vesontio address his soldiers inclined to mutiny from terror of Ariovistus and his Germans, Ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ τις, ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο φησὶν ἢ ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πλουτεῖν, οὐ χρὴ ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρους, οὐ Ῥωμαίους εἶναι; and Livy (xxii, 12, 4) puts these words into the mouth of Hannibal: "Victos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis"; while Cicero (Tusc. ii, 16, 37) says: "Nam scutum, gladium, galeam in onere nostri milites non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus; arma enim membra militis esse dicunt."

Expressions like *spoliare* are of ancient date: it signifies strictly to strip a conquered foe of his arms: then, generally, to despoil.

Intervallum means strictly the open space within the mound or breastwork of a camp, the space between two palisades (*inter vallos*) and then comes to be used of any interval.

Praemium (*prae* and *emere*, to get or take before another) means in the first place profit derived from booty (cf. also *praeda*) and then, generally speaking, reward or recompense.

Princeps originally = *qui primum capit*, he who is the first to seize booty (cf. *particeps* = *partem capiens*): then the first or most prominent in rank.

Excellere applies in the first instance to the shoot-

ing of weapons over a mark, and so means "to surpass" generally.

In the case of these words the original signification has almost entirely disappeared. There are other words used in a tropical sense, in which the metaphor is more apparent: for instance, *sub hasta vendere*, which means to sell at auction, but which refers to the custom of selling captured foes beneath the spear (German *subhastiren*). Substantives again like *tiro* (*bonus homo semper tiro est*), *tirocinium*, *commilito*, *acies*, *telum*, *arx*, *stipendium*, *signifer*, *militia*, *bellum*, *castra*, *clipeus*, etc., are frequently employed metaphorically. Fabius was nicknamed *scutum*; Marcellus, *gladius Romanorum*: the discoverer of a trick is in Plautus often called "General": "to outwit" is military strategy or a siege; the object of the trick is an enemy's town, more especially Troy. Novius says to a wordy poetaster, "Ut sol crescit, cerea castra crebro catapulta impulit," and Cicero calls the *lex Aelia et Fufia*, "propugnacula tranquillitatis." Varro begins his treatise on agriculture with the words, "Annus octogesimus admonet me, ut sarcinas colligam, antequam proficiscar e vita," and in Pliny the Elder we find the tropical use of such words as *excubare*, *infestare*, *rebellare*, *occupare*, quite an ordinary occurrence (J. Müller, "Der Stil des älteren Plinius," Innsbruck, 1883, p. 119). Ovid makes the morning star (Met. ii, 115) who occupies the last rank in the army of the stars ("quarum agmina claudit Lucifer") leave, last of the soldiers, his post in Heaven ("novissimus caeli statione exit"). Our proverb, "to make a mountain

out of a mole-hill" is rendered in Latin by "arcem ex cloaca facere." To risk much for nothing is "hastis trium nummorum causa sub falas subire"; to burn one's boats, "abicere hastam, scutum"; to abscond safely, "tecto latere, abscedere": all these are proverbial expressions drawn from military life.*

11. Agriculture and cattle-breeding are as fruitful a field for metaphors as the last. The inclination of the Latins was for agriculture, and they carry its stamp. Horace calls his countrymen (Carm. iii, 6): "rusticorum mascula militum proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus versare glebas." "Roman life depended wholly on agriculture, and maintained its moral force as long as this branch of social activity existed in its simple purity."

The pursuit of agriculture remained even in the period of refined luxury the ideal life of the noblest and most honoured Romans, the life most respected after that of the statesman and the soldier, so that Horace can reckon the man happy, "qui procul negotiis Ut prisca gens mortalium Paterna rura bobus exercet suis" (Epod. ii, 1 *sqq.*; cf. Verg. Georg. "divini gloria ruris"). The plough was used to draw the furrow round the enclave of a town about to be founded, to mark the circumference of the future walls, and the division into *gentes*, and indeed the constitution itself was based during republican times on the possession of land. It thus happens

* Cf. Macrob. Sat. ii, 8, "Congrediendum igitur et tamquam in acie quadam cum vini licentia cominus decernendum."

that Latin displays a large store of expressions borrowed from agriculture and used in a new sense.

Delirare, lit. to go out of the furrow: then to act like a madman (cf. delirious).

Tribulare, to thrash with a *tribulum*: then to plague.

Praevaricari, to plough in crooked lines: then said of a counsel who plays into the hands of an opponent.

Emolumentum, what is ground out (*e-molere*): then gain or profit.

Calamitas, a plague, destructive to crops, such as fire or hailstorm: then calamity [the derivation from *calamus* is doubtful. See Walde, *s.v.*].

Adoria, glory in war [connected by popular etymology with *ador*, spelt].*

Rivalis, a rival, connected by popular etymology with *rivus* as if it were "the neighbour on the bank."

Acervus [possibly] from *acus*, *aceris*, chaff.

Saeculum [probably] "sowing season" (cf. *saison* from *satio*): then a century (cf. *Saëturnus*, *Saturnus* from the root of *serere*).

Cohors, the hedge of a field or garden: then a cohort.

Manipulus, an arm-filling bundle.

Inanis, empty [possibly] from *acna*, a measure of land (with *in privativum*).

* *Copiae*, plenty, is specially applied to *troops* or *forces*, and *copiae marinae* is used for the fish supply. Cf. Macrob. Sat. ii, x, *ad init.*

Felix, originally "fruit bearing" (cf. *fe-cundus*, *fetus*, *fenus*): then "happy."*

Who would think of connecting *pecunia* with *pecus* [cf. fee], *egregius* with *grex*, *septentrio* with the three oxen for treading out corn, as the people called the seven stars in the constellation of the Bear?

In the language of the poets we find in common use such expressions as *vada carina sulcare*, *cerea prata sulcare*, *aequor arare*, *librum exarare*, *proelia serere*, *barbam metere*, *viam carpere* [*horam carpere*] *polus sidera pascit*, *uber glebae*, *mare mugit*, etc. Then we find proverbial expressions like *arare bove et asino* to manage awkwardly; *arare litus* (to plough the sands); *adhuc tua messis in herba est*, 'tis too soon to begin: and Ἀκράγας is by popular etymology converted into *Agri-gentum*. Similarly measures of space like *jugerum* from *jugum*, *actus* from *agere* [*in quo boves aguntur, cum aratur, cum impetu justo.*—Plin. 18, 59], *vorsus* from *vertere* (the turning of the plough), and such words as *campus*, *flos*, *ager*, *seges*, *fructus*, *trisulcus*, give material for many metaphors: *e.g.*, Cicero calls Clodius *segetem* (field or soil) *ac materiem gloriae Milonis*.

12. The signification of Latin words affords us a profound appreciation of the moral and intellectual views of the Romans; indeed, it is not too much to assert that in no other way are they so faithfully mirrored. Their wishes, their sentiments, their thoughts and their poetry all stand revealed through

* Cf. *fructus*, *cultura*, *peculium*, *evincere*, *protelare*.

this medium. Language, as we know, never expresses any notion in its entirety. A curt denomination cannot possibly denote all the characteristics or qualities of any subject:* but only the most striking, or those which appear so to the speaker or writer. Lessing's maxim was true to life when he stated that the poet should not bring into prominence more than a single feature of a subject at one time. "The etymological meaning of a word never exhausts the full meaning; it is impossible that it should do so: all elements of language are merely representative [and not full pictures] (Steinthal, "Klassif." 281). And it is precisely for this reason that personal views and personal feelings are no small factor in the growth and spread of words. It may happen that one people may hold one feature as the essential characteristic of the word: another people may hold another feature as more truly so. Thus it is that etymology enables us to realize every corner of the intellectual storehouse of any given people. It is no doubt true that by its aid we are able to catch merely the earliest phase of the meaning of any given word; we can only state with absolute certainty the sense attached to the word by those who coined it, and what they considered the principal characteristic of the object denoted. But if we study the semasiology, the development of the signification of any given word, the restrictions and expansions of its meaning caused by the feelings and impressions which have attached themselves to it in the course of its existence, we shall

* See Whitney, p. 409 *sqq.*

be enlightened as to many psychological processes in the human mind, and shall obtain many a glimpse into the spirit of those who used the word as well as of those who coined it. The essential lesson for the Roman student (*discipulus*) to learn (*discere*) was discipline (*disciplina*).* This word corresponds in form to the Greek μαθηματική, but how far apart have the words drifted!

The father of a Roman family rules his household with autocratic rigour: and just as the father's authority over his son is unquestioned (as it is indeed over his son's kin) so is that of the *patronus* over the *cliens*: that of the *patricii* over the *plebeii*: that of the *patres* "elders" over other citizens: the idea of paternal authority is felt throughout. The very name for "country" is "fatherland" (*patria*): that for mother-tongue, *patrius sermo*. We call our language the "mother-tongue"—and think with more sentiment of the loving care with which she taught us to lisp our first sounds. It is significant that whereas Homer introduces his hero Odysseus by the epithet δῖος, Vergil presents us his Æneas with the title of *pater*.

13. Woman is in the Roman's parlance, *mulier* (probably connected with *mollis*), the soft creature who needs men's protection: he calls a boy *puer*, but employs the diminutive *puella* for a girl: so *ancus*, and *ancilla*. The Germans, according to Tacitus, in

* *Discipulus* is derived by Walde from *dis-capio*, I receive men and teach, its opposite being *praecipere*, to undertake something with pupils.

the remotest times regarded the woman as "sanctum aliquid et providum": the word *weib* [wife] denotes something inspired [so Kluge; Skeat says it is thought to come from a root signifying *to tremble*]: hence the awe and veneration with which the priestesses were regarded. At a later period the Germans exalt their woman into *Frau* (O.H.G., *frouwa*, M.H.G., *vrouwe*), *i.e.*, house-mistress, wife of the house-master: this word is connected with the Gothic *frauja*, Lord, and with the H.G. *Fron* (seen in *Frondienst*, *Frohnleichnamsfest*, and *frönen* [to labour for a master]). Comparing the mental attitude of Roman and German toward the gentler sex, we find that in Latin the word *fratres* denotes brother and sister, and *sponsus* and *sponsa* are used for two spouses. The Germans use the terms *Geschwister* and *Brautpaar* respectively, denoting, it must be admitted, a greater feeling of reverence towards the *ewig weibliche*. On the other hand it must be conceded that language seems to indicate that woman stood higher in the estimation of the Roman than of the Greek. The Greeks say τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες, the Romans say, *conjuges liberique*, when they would express what they hold dearest, and *mulieres puerique*, when they would dwell on their helplessness: and in this they agree with our method of expression.

Love is to the Roman more an impulse of the intellect than of the heart. *Diligere* signifies in the first instance simply to discriminate.* The idea of

* Or it may be from the same root as ἀλέγω, "to trouble oneself about." See Walde, *s.v.*

dutiful affection attending on certain situations conditioned by relationships or other outside circumstances is genuinely Roman: *caritas* denotes affection for one's own flesh and blood or for a friend (cf. *charité*): *pietas* dutiful respect towards the gods or parents, and to the mother country as the lasting benefactor of each man: *studium* denotes an affection based on political or personal obligations, and aiming at merely worldly ends.* Here we have the picture of the Roman, his life and his love: he took full advantage of the closest natural relations, but he respected them as well, and he utilized them for his own purpose, while regarding them with honest goodwill. He turned his affections to the quarter whence came his needs, and he held it his sacred duty to requite those who aided him (C. Abel, "Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen," Leipzig, 1885, p. 88 *sqq.*). Even the love which flows from the depths of his heart, the love which the Latins call *amor*, was regarded by the Roman people not from its spiritual side: *amor* was to the Roman a malady, a consuming fire, a fatal wound.† With the exception perhaps of Tibullus, the poets seized on the strongest possible expressions, which indeed they could not heighten, to express the power of such love (cf. Weidner on Verg. Aen. i, 660). How different is the Teutonic conception! Luther betrays a profound knowledge of his own mother-tongue when he says in a letter on interpretation:

* *Adfectus* is the nearest Latin word for an emotional love.

† This is most noticeable in the well-known passage of Lucretius (De Rerum Natura, iv), the most Roman of poets.

"I hardly know whether it be possible to translate the word *lieb*, dear, into Latin or any other language so as to express its tenderness, so that it may call such a responsive echo from our hearts as it does in German." The tenderness of love in the case of Teutonic nations depends on faith and mutual confidence: hence it is that such words as the German *Glaube* (*ge-loube*) and *Liebe*, and in Gothic indeed the word *lubains* (hope) come from the same stem.

The Teutonic conception of love is that it rests on the emotions: and our emotional nature, irradiated and warmed by the quickening sun of Christianity, is a flower which never came to its perfection on Roman soil. Indeed neither Latin nor the Romance languages possess any expression which exactly renders *Gemüt*: and the derivatives of *animus* point rather to a source of wrath and passion than to one of what the Germans call *Gemütlichkeit* (a term lacking in English as well).

14. Again, the conception of marriage in Latin is based on no deeper insight into nature. Betrothal (*nuptiae*) is simply "taking the veil" (*nubere alicui*, to veil oneself before the bridegroom):* or again it is a *matrimonium* or "mothering," *i.e.*, an arrangement for the continuation of the race: or again a common sacrifice of a cake of spelt (*confarreatio* from *far*). In the eyes of the German, marriage is a lasting contract, a legal agreement and bond between husband and wife, voidable only by death

* *Nubere* is derived, however, by Walde from a root *snu*, signifying in Slavonic (O. Bulgarian) "to love."

(*ewig* and *Ehe*, originally *êwa*, are from the same stem as *aevum* [cf. to wed, from A.S. *weddian*, to pledge]). The Teutonic conception of marriage is a *Hoch Zeit*, a sublime and glorious day, or an event depending on mutual confidence; a betrothal. His consort stands so high in his estimation that he regards her as entitled to the same rights and privileges as himself, and calls her in fact his "Ehehälfte" (cf. our "better-half").*

The Roman regarded school not as a place for intellectual exertion, but as a "sport" (*ludus*). Accordingly we are not surprised to find that Latin takes over the Greek word σχολή, leisure, and employs it in the signification of *school*, nor that it attaches to the word *otium* the connotation of intellectual occupation: such occupation serves as a refreshing rest after effort. It is significant, too, that Cicero represents most of his dialogues as spoken in the holidays (cf. De Or. ii, 13; i, 102; and Seyffert-Müller on "Laelius," p. 93) [and Wilkins' edit. of De Or., p. 6]. Literary activity in primitive times hardly goes beyond letter-writing: *litterae* signifies in the first instance what is committed to writing, especially a letter: and only at a later stage science in general. In the Greek language the words ποιεῖν, πράττειν, and ἄγειν, to act or do, which have developed a vague and colourless meaning, manifest in the substantives derived from them three essential characteristics of the Greek popular character—ποίησις, πρᾶξις (Homer), ἀγών: the taste for poetry and art in general, for trade and for contests. The

* *Uxor* is now supposed to mean "the woman carried home."

Roman derivatives answering to the Greek assume a political, or, at any rate, a practical signification, far removed from any notions of literary or artistic taste. The religious side of the Roman character comes out in such ancient derivations as *agere*, as *axamenta*, and *indigitamenta* [but both these words are now connected with *aio*; *acta diurna* would be a better instance].

15. The Roman holds pleasures to be mere temptations (*deliciae* and *delectare* from *delicere*),* and we may gather his ideas of dancing from Cicero's utterance: "Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit" † (Pro Mur. 13). An honest man may indeed allow himself to thaw a trifle over his meals: *convivium* is, according to the Roman, "a living together" in the literal sense: a favourable opportunity for exchange of thought, not for a carouse, as with Teutonic nations, with whom it might be more correctly described as a *convinium*, just as the Greeks call it a *symposium*. Cicero is fully justified in putting into the mouth of the elder Cato the words: "Bene maiores accubitionem epularum amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur."

Of the good gifts of life Glory is the noblest.

* More probably connected with *laqueus*, a snare.

† Macrobius, Sat. ii, 10, devotes a chapter to proving that the ancient Romans saw no harm in dancing or singing.

Hence to be ignored (*ignominia*) is the greatest dishonour. "Apex autem senectutis auctoritas est" (Cic. De Sen. 17, 60). *Virtus* is the essence of all that shows man in his best and noblest light; and it brings into special prominence his bravery ("melius est virtute jus; nam saepe virtutem mali nanciscuntur," Enn. Fr. 223, v). Later it comes to mean uprightness in general. The Romance languages have adopted only the latter meaning (Fr. *la vertu*, It. *virtù*, Span. *virtud*). The Greek, on the other hand, held moderation, or σωφροσύνη, as the highest virtue. The maxim μηδὲν ἄγαν was attributed to one of the seven wise men; and it appeared in the Pronaos of the temple of Apollo at Delphi side by side with the caution "know thyself" (γνῶθι σεαυτόν).

The corresponding Roman word [*modestia*] has received its colouring from Roman ideas and has come to signify political loyalty, while in its military usage it means a sense of discipline. *Bonus* denotes in a legal sense a man of honour, and in a political sense a patriot; *fortis* unites in old Latin the two meanings of brave and noble (cf. Plaut. Trin. v, 2, 9, and O. Hey, "Semasiolog. Studien," Leipzig, 1891, p. 114); *mollis* has a more or less depreciatory connotation, for constancy and rigour are the qualities prized. The Romans call an impudent person a novelty, or, as we should say, a *freak* (*insolens*). It is significant too that Cicero renders the Greek word καλόν, beautiful, or morally good, by *honestum*, honourable (cf. Cic. De Off. *ed. Heine*, p. 23).

The Greeks, then, look at morality from an aes-

thetic point of view, and thereby betray their artistic appreciation of this virtue. The Romans, on the other hand, think first and foremost of the impression likely to be made on others by moral actions, and they show their full sense of the value of such impression: Honour brings honourable posts ("Honestum fert honores").

The temples of Virtus and of Honos stood side by side in Rome, and in fact after the victory over the Cimbri the two deities were united in one temple.

16. The pride of self-consciousness is manifested in the Roman denomination of the Mediterranean as *mare nostrum*. And indeed the sea which had once been swayed by Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Etrurians, and which had assumed Greek names even for the portions adjoining Italy (such as Tyrrhenean and Ionic Sea), had passed into Roman possession from Cyprus to the pillars of Hercules. The British, who rule the Ocean and despise other European nations, express the Latin *ego* by I, always expressed in capital letters: can we then grudge the Roman this mark of his self-complacency?

The pious Israelite in sign of greeting cries "Peace be with thee!" the merry Greek shouts Χαῖρε, rejoice! The Roman regards health and strength as the prime necessities of life: hence his greeting is *vale!* and *salve!* "Bide ye strong and bide ye healthy!"

Names of measures of length, which in Greek are often taken from recreation grounds and from

sports (cf. στάδιον, δόλιχος, ἱππικόν, etc.), are formed in a much less imaginative fashion by the Romans, who reproduce in language merely the number of the feet (*duo millia*, i.e., *passuum*, etc.). Similarly Roman coins are named according to the sum of the *asses* which they contain: thus *sestertius* = *sem-is-tertius*, lit. the third half of an *as*, *i.e.*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses, *denarius* = *deni asses*. We may contrast with these names such Greek words as ὄβολος [probably = copper nails used as money] δραχμή, lit. a handful, τάλαντον, a weight.

17. We may now consider the methods used by the Roman to denominate the months of year. Many of them he simply denotes numerically, as *September*, *October*, *November*; and we know that in addition to these there were originally a *Quintilis* and a *Sextilis*, whose names were changed in honour of Julius Caesar and Augustus. A significant contrast to such names is seen in the old German and Greek nomenclatures. The Roman method reminds us of the American's method of simply numbering the streets of his towns instead of naming them after distinguished persons or accidents of situation.

We need not be surprised at finding that the Romans apply the same numerical method of nomenclature to their system of proper names, with the result that many of these remind us of a numbered exhibition catalogue, *e.g.*, *Quintus*, *Sextus*, *Septimus*, *Octavus*, *Decimus*, and again the names *Sextius*, *Septimius*, *Octavius*, *Nonius*, *Decius*.

There are yet other conclusions to be drawn from a scrutiny of Roman proper names. Originally they

were appellatives, and they bring out some marked taste on the part of the parents who conferred the name, more commonly a wish expressed by these for the future of their child. And, indeed, it seems quite natural that parents should wish to endow their offspring with some name expressive of the quality which would be most useful to them throughout their whole life. Our Teutonic ancestors, who combined passionate love for quarrels and fighting with a deeply religious spirit, manifested in the names which they gave their children the feelings which animated their own hearts: hence a large proportion of German [and of English] names recall memories of war cries and bellicose sounds; others again reveal what our forefathers regarded as the ideals of life, such as Prudence, Force, Wealth, Constancy, Courage, and Daring [cf. in English such names as Wise, Good, Strong, Richard, Steel, Dare, etc.]. Greek names likewise denote such noble and sublime qualities as youth may fitly imitate; they contain ideas of Glory, Valour, skill in wielding weapons, or again, of political influence: most of these end in -κλῆς, *i.e.*, κλέος, glory, or begin with Κλυτο-, Κλεο-. Names of this kind are comparatively rare among the Romans: on the other hand their taste for agriculture and for cattle-breeding comes out strongly in their nomenclature. Pliny the Elder has remarked (Nat. Hist. xviii, 3) that *Fabius* means Beanman, *Lentulus*, Lentilman, *Piso* and *Cicero*, Peaman (from *pisum* and *cicer* respectively), and the gentile names of the *Porcii*, *Asinii*, *Vitellii*, *Caninii*, *Caprarii*, *Ovidii*, *Ovinii* (cf. also *Taurus*,

Asellio, Bubulcus, etc.), all seem taken from the names of domestic animals.* Besides this, there are in Latin many more proper names derived from bodily peculiarities, such as infirmities of any kind, or the colour of the hair, than we find to be the case with either Greeks or Teutons. A whole series of *gentes* or clans bears the names of colours: *Albii, Rufii, Rutilii, Flavii, Livii, Caesii, Fulvii, Nigidii*, etc.: then there are proper names like *Plancus* (Broadfoot), *Plotus, Pedo, Peducaeus* (Flat foot), *Scaurus, Varus, Varro, Valgius* (Crooked leg), *Claudius* (Lame), *Flaccus* (Slack), *Sulla* from *sura, surula* (Small calf), *Capito* (Great head), *Fronto* (Great brow), *Mento* (Chin-man), *Naso* (Nosey), *Silo* (Snub nose), *Labeo* (Big lip), *Bucco* (Big mouth), *Dentio* (Big tooth), *Barbo* (Big beard), *Balbus* (Stutterer), *Turpio* (Ugly man),† *Lurco* (Glutton), *Strabo, Paetus* (Squinter), *Calvus* and *Glabrio* (Bald head), *Crispus* (Curly head), *Crassus* (Thickman), *Tubero* (Crookback), *Naevius* (Warty), *Stolo*‡ (Dullman), etc. [so too *Brutus*] (cf. Horace, Sat. i, 3, 44). Such names as these (and more might be added) show the delight manifested by the Romans in marking and pillorying bodily defects, and how they loved twitting each other and holding each other up to ridicule. All the proper names cited above are, in

* Macrobius, Sat. i, 6, *ad fin.*, explains the origin of the Roman names *Scrofa* and *Asina*.

† Plautus, Most. 4, 2, 1, coins a nickname *Restio*—rope-man, *i.e.*, gallow's-bird—a parody on such names.

‡ *Stolo* is properly "a stock," and Varro (R. R. i, 2, 9) plays upon his name.

fact, nicknames, and exemplify the "Italum acetum" (Horace, Sat. i, 7, 32). The Romans were, in fact, at once *coloni* and "clowns," like the English of old.*

We conceive a higher idea of the Roman imagination as evinced in its nomenclature when we turn to the list of stately *agnomina* conferred on victorious generals, *Africanus*, *Asiaticus*, *Numantinus*, *Numidicus*, *Creticus*, etc. The names were, of course, taken from the name of the country in which they had gained their renown. They testify at once to the deep gratitude borne by the Romans to those who had succeeded in bringing great wars to a happy conclusion, and to the pride and respect with which they uttered the names of such heroes. And this custom harmonizes with the Roman habit of selecting the most impressive method possible of celebrating great occasions in Roman national life, methods which could not fail to strike the imagination of the beholders, such as the triumphal processions, and the ceremonies observed in a declaration of war. With the Greeks, whose highest ambition was to win an olive crown in the Olympic games, we find nothing of the kind. Modern civilized nations have, however, in many cases copied the Roman usage: cf. Blücher von Wahlstatt, York von Wartenburg, Lannes, duc de Montebello, Masséna, duc de Rivoli, Diebitsch Sabalkansky, Pasjewitsch Eriwansky [Lord Napier of Magdala, Lord Dufferin of Ava, Lord Kitchener of Khartoum].

* *Coloni* and clowns are not etymologically connected; the latter word is probably of Scandinavian origin. See Skeat, *s.v.*

18. What do we learn from the names of the gods? For they, too, throw light on the thoughts and genius of the people who worship them. Mythology is the product of popular imagination; it is closely bound up with the spirit of the people, and thus serves as an index to their profoundest thoughts. In the legends of the Hellenic deities do we not see mirrored the brightness of the Greek skies, and the graceful charm that was the prerogative of the Hellenic nation? In old German myths do we not see a reproduction of the seriousness and the melancholy of Northern races? But besides these general traits, our interest is further challenged by the changes undergone by separate ancient deities, as modified by the character of each nation among whom their cult has prevailed. It is highly characteristic of the mental attitude of our Teutonic forefathers that they should have taken the highest deity of the Indo-Germanic primitive epoch—the Ζεύς of the Greeks and *Jovis-pater* = *Jupiter* of the Romans, and, under the name of *Tiu* connected him with war, and made him their war god. Side by side with him, the Franks first, and shortly after them the other German tribes, revered Wotan, the wind god, the representative of the cloud-covered Heavens, and of the raging storms (O.H.G. *Wuotan* is connected with N.H.G. *Wut* = wrath). Thus the dispenser of the radiant light which spread over Italy and Greece had to give place to the god of the northern cloudy sky: but at his side sat his sister and spouse, Freia, the loving and kindly mother of the gods. Thus the names of Tiu and of Freia

represent the twofold aspect of the Teutonic nature: the mood for battle and the mood for profundity and earnestness; the two moods which we have already observed to be denoted by their personal names.

In primitive times the Romans held their most important deities to be the agricultural god Saturnus, protector of crops (*sata*) and the war god Mars [Sabine *Mamers*]. A number of Italian names of tribes and places were taken from *Mars*: such as the Marsi, Marrucini, Mamertini, Marruvium, etc. The first month in the Roman year, the *mensis Martius*, takes its name from this god: and Mars is dignified with the same honourable title as Jove himself (Marspiter), in fact, his name is in common metonymic use for *bellum*, as in the phrases *aequo Marte*, *suo Marte*, etc. Originally, like most of the Aryan deities, a god of light* he was metamorphosed into a war god by a warlike people. Saturn was not identified with Κρόνος until the influence of Greek culture began to make itself felt in Italy. After this identification he is revered as the father of Jupiter, now raised again to the highest seat of power: Mars, on the other hand, appears as his son, just as Tiu appears as the son of Wotan and Freia. Saturnus owns Ops as his consort, the goddess of agricultural prosperity and agricultural industry (cf. *opus*,† whence too the *Osci* = *Opsci*, rural workers, take their name). Side by side with these we find

* Cf. μαρμαίρω. Very probably, however, the name Mars is connected with μάρναμαι. See Walde, *s.v.* Mars.

† *Opus* is, however, probably unconnected with *ops*: *opus* = Sanskrit *ápnas*, wealth; *ops* = Sanskrit *ápas*, worth.

in earliest antiquity a numerous company of other agricultural deities, such as Ceres, the deity who presides over Cerealia; Flora, the flower goddess; Maia, deity of the Spring to whom the barrow-pig (*Maialis*) was consecrated and sacrificed,* Tellus, the god of the fruit-bearing earth, Faunus (the favouring deity, from *favere*), the protector of herds, worshipped as the wolf-scarer under the name of Lupercus (*lupos arcens*), Pales, the tutelary deity of shepherds and cattle, Terminus, the god of boundaries, and Pomona, who produces fruit in its season. But when we look for ancient Roman gods of the sea and of rivers, we look in vain. The sea and all its wonders have no attraction for the Romans, and hence it comes to pass that the deities of the river and sea are of Grecian or Etrurian origin, or at any rate they have taken their rise under the influence of these nations. Neptunus, the ancient Roman cloud-god, suffered his transformation under Hellenic influences.†

The Greeks, then, by the aid of their lively imagination and their refined aesthetic sense, created tangible and palpable images of their own deities. The soberer imagination of the Romans contented itself with mere abstractions, and their creations were lifeless by comparison.‡ On the other hand,

* *Maia* and *maialis* are, however, only connected by popular etymology. See Macrob. Sat. i, 12.

† Macrobius, Sat. i, 17, tells us that Neptune was called both *ἐνοσίχθων* and *ἀσφαλίων*—at once earth's shaker and pacifier—epithets more appropriate to a deity of the sky than of the sea.

‡ Cf. Macrob. Sat. i, 7. "*Antevorta* et *Postvorta* apud Romanos coluntur." So *Porrima*, Ov. Fast. i, 633.

they feel it their bounden duty, owing to their conscientious scrupulousness in religious observances, to set apart special divinities to preside over every possible manifestation of human activity. The countryman, on first ploughing up the soil, invoked the *Vervactor*: at his second ploughing, the *Redarator*: on drawing the furrows, the *Imporcitor*: on sowing, the *Insitor*: on commencing to cross plough, the *Obarator*: to harrow, the *Occator*: to weed, the *Sarritor*: to trench, the *Subruncator*: to mow, the *Messor*: to bind the sheaves, the *Connector*: to store in granaries, the *Conditor*, and so on. The Roman people impressed even on their deified virtues and qualities that practical character which appears in their moral views.

19. Another important criterion of the connection between language and national character consists in proverbial expressions and "winged words." Goethe said: "Proverbs mark nations, but these nations must have been their home." And it is a fact that none can appreciate the close relationship between a nation's humour and its proverbs but one who has had his finger on that nation's pulse, and is sufficiently familiar with its thoughts and feelings. Proverbs touch every side of popular humour: they disclose to us its attitude towards the animal world, to nature, and to all objects which recall primitive times and the childish simplicity of view of primitive people. They give us a purview of a nation's process in culture, and enable us to realize how it judges of its neighbours and of its progenitors. Thus it is

interesting to observe how prone the Romans were to hold up to ridicule the prominent characteristics and the disagreeable traits of foreign nationalities, with whom commercial or other dealings brought them into contact. It is equally instructive to note how eager these same Romans were to magnify the glorious deeds of their own ancestors.* If we take proverbial phrases (for such they have become) like *Punica fides* (treachery), *Gallorum credulitas, Campanorum arrogantia*,† we are able to recognize not merely that the bad qualities referred to were believed by the Romans to be inherent in those nations,‡ but further that the nations thus stigmatized were from the earliest times strangers to the Romans, and were regarded by them with little sympathy. In contrast to such phrases stands "more Romano" or "Latine loqui" (cf. Cic. Phil. 8, 6, and Wölfflin's "Archiv.," iii, 376A). This phrase signifies to speak out truly and plainly, and it is not hard to parallel in modern times. In German and English alike, if we desire to insist on an unpalatable truth, we commonly say, "to speak in good plain German" or "English" as the case may be.§

Again, we know that the Greeks used to drink out of larger wine-cups than the Romans. Accord-

* Cf. Macrob. Sat. ii, x, "Vetustas quidem nobis semper, si sapimus, adoranda est. Illa quippe saecula sunt, quae hoc imperium vel sanguine vel sudore pepererunt."

† Cf. Cic. In Pisonem, 11, "buccae dignae Capua."

‡ Cf. Macrob. Sat. i, Introd. "'Sum' inquit, 'homo Romanus, natus in Latio, et eloquium Graecum a nobis alienissimum est.'"

§ Other such popular maxims were, "crassa Minerva"; "hoc age"; "leges bonae ex malis moribus procreantur."

ingly we find not merely the expressions *Graeco more bibere, pergraecari* (*i.e.*, "maioribus poculis bibere"), but we have the Latin expression for "between the lip and the cup"—"Inter os et offam" (Gell. xiii, 18. 1), as contrasted with the Greek πολλὰ μεταξὺ πέλει κύλικος καὶ χείλεος ἄκρου. And where the Germans say of a person of whom nothing can ever be made, "All the hops and malt in the world can make nothing of him," the Romans say "operam et oleum perdidi,"* a metaphor taken from the gladiatorial schools. Moreover, in the spirit with which the Romans mention disastrous episodes in their country's history, and the names of their national heroes, we may note a great difference from that of the Greeks. The Romans take such events as the *pugna Osculana*, *Cannensis*, etc., as stepping-stones in their history, and for their national heroes they adopt Romulus † and Remus, Camillus, [Cethegus], Curius Dentatus, Fabricius, the rigorous moralist Cato, and Fabius Maximus, the hero who "*Cunctando* restituit rem." The Hellenes prefer to cite the names of those of their countrymen who have distinguished themselves in science and art, as stock examples of those whom it is their delight to remember with honour. Perhaps it has also some significance that, among all the Roman gods and heroes, none enters so frequently into proverbial expressions as the puissant figure of Hercules [*Ex*

* "'Tis labour lost," or, as the vulgar proverb has it, "You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."

† Cf. Macrob. Sat. ii, 17 "(Romuli) vita virtutes nunquam deseruit."

pede Herculem, mehercule, Herculi quaestum conterere, Plaut. Most. 4, 2, 68].

20. And now for the "winged words" or *dicta* which have passed into maxims. We may for our purpose disregard all such as owe their origin to Greek culture and passed from the mouths of educated and influential families into the speech of the people, such as *Circaeum poculum, Alcinoi dapes*, etc. ["Epicuri porcus"].* There remains a large remnant of regular Roman *dicta* which were the genuine output of Roman feeling simply because they were the expression of the heart of the people. This holds true not merely of the characteristic utterances of old Cato, and of the still more ancient Appius Claudius, but of many epigrammatic sayings of later authors. What phrase reflects more accurately the genuine view of a Roman than the well-known "Fortes fortuna adiuvat"? And hence it comes to pass that no phrase in all Roman literature occurs, with its variants, so frequently as this. From Ennius and Terence down to Lucan and Claudian, we find Roman authors ringing the same changes.† And could any words more truly reflect the complacent haughtiness of the Roman character than the exclamation of Atreus in Accius (203 Ribbeck), "Oderint, dum metuant!" We are not surprised to find that it is so often harped on and cited. We

* Cf. "Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum," Hor. Ep. i, 17, 36.

† Cf. "Romani audendo, et fallendo, et bella ex bellis serendo, magni facti," Tac. Hist. ii, 71.

meet with it no less than three times in Cicero (Phil. i, 14, 34; De Off. i, 28-97; Pro Sestio, 48, 102); Caligula frequently quoted it, as we are told by his biographer (Suet. Calig. 30); and we may gather from the pages of the gentle, nay almost Christian, Seneca, that the phrase had, even in later times, not lost its power of fanning the glow of martial ardour in Roman hearts. That philosopher employs it several times (De Ira, i, 20, 4; De Clementia, i, 12, 3, and ii, 2, 2), and he couples it with the remark: "Illud mecum considero multas voces magnas sed detestabiles in vitam humanam pervenisse celebresque vulgo ferri, ut illam: oderint, dum metuant." Again, Cicero's remark "Silent leges inter arma" notoriously passed into the common stock of the entire nation: Quintilian (v, 14, 17) and Lucan (i, 277) refer to it in their works.

21. We can hardly be surprised that a nation in whom intelligence was so strongly developed as it was in the Romans should have manifested a great predilection for playing upon words. This tendency shows itself at every period of Roman literature, more particularly in the comic poets and orators, but also in the epic and lyric poets. Plautus, Cicero, and Ovid are inexhaustible in their store of puns.* Each writer seizes on any occasion for introducing such: indeed, not infrequently, the same pun is employed to satiety. We may remember the

* Macrobius has six chapters on Roman jokes and puns, Sat. ii, cap. 1 *sqq*. Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was particularly noted for her smart sayings.

laborious frequency of play on the word *Verres* in Cicero's Verrine orations,* and his tedious juggling with the double meanings of such names as Brutus, Balbus, Lepidus, etc., in his letters to Atticus [cf. "aureum nomen Chrysogoni"]. It may be, too, that many verbal quips occur in literature which have escaped our notice from insufficient knowledge of historical occurrences.† Cicero, in his orations, strains after this method of producing effect, that he may tickle the jaded ears of his audience. In this respect he forms a decided contrast to the Greek orator Demosthenes, with whom verbal echoes like ῥᾴσας—ῥᾳθυμεῖν (Ol. i, 13) are comparatively rare. Besides this we hear from Plutarch and Quintilian that Cicero employed witticisms in his ordinary conversation to an even greater extent than in his writings (cf. Herwig, "Das Wortspiel in Cicero's Reden," Attendorn, 1889).

22. The syntax of a language, no less than the signification of the words, carries the mark of the spirit of the people. A masculine and vigorous tone characterizes the construction of Latin sentences—an energizing breath of logical consecution—which marks the Latin language as a fit vehicle for oratory, more particularly for speeches spoken by the accusing counsel, and for the historian of campaigns, but as a less suitable medium for lyrical expression. No one was more conscious of this

* Cf. In Verr. iii, § 46, *ad fin.*

† Tibullus calls his first love Delia, from δῆλος, her real name being *Plania*. See Postgate's "Tibullus," Introduction, p. xx.

defect than the Romans themselves. Quintilian, for example, declares his conviction that it is impossible for Latin writers to attain to Hellenic grace and attractiveness (xii, 10, 36). "Non possumus esse tam graciles, simus fortiores: subtilitate vincimur, valeamus pondere." And if it be granted that Cicero succeeded in rendering the Latin language more flexible, by modelling it on the Greek, it must also be noted that such transformation was only partially possible: a complete revolution in the genius of the language would only have been possible by an absolutely new creation and a radical revolution in the genius of the people. Cicero's followers, too, lag behind their master in grace of style. The truth was, that in order to ensure the growth of the new graft by which Cicero wished to improve the stock of the mother tongue, one necessary condition was absent: the Roman remained always a Roman, and could never belie his nature: "Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret."

23. The first feature that strikes us in the arrangement of the Latin sentence is the energy and decision, the virility and the dignity which radiate from its very form. There is hardly any trace of affectation or literary refinement. The periods succeed each other with dignity and in well marked cadence—spirited and irresistible like the Roman legionary. Their entire colouring recalls to us the picture of his weather-beaten face, and their stately march reminds us of his proud and masterful bearing. In fact, this well-matched pair, warrior and language,

have stepped forth from their home in the full consciousness of victory, and have overcome the world between them.

Where pathos is demanded, the style of the Romans corresponds with their love of rhetorical colouring. In consonance with their love of oratory, expressions are unnaturally inflated in places where, according to our taste, simplicity and precision would have been preferred. We cannot then be surprised to find that the language employed often produces the effect of artificial measurement rather than that of simple and unconstrained movement, nor that the phrase, "poets and prose-writers," should be represented in Latin by "poetae et oratores." The superlative degree plays an important *rôle* in the Latin language, not merely in addresses like "viri nobilissimi, amplissimi, ornatissimi," but also when placed in apposition to proper names, *e.g.*, "Corinthus, urbs opulentissima."* Not infrequently we find the "Futurum exactum" taking the place of the simple future. The standard-bearer of the tenth legion, on the occasion of Caesar's landing in Britain, exclaims (Caes. B. G. iv, 25): "Desilite milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum reipublicae atque imperatori officium praestitero." The plural is employed instead of the singular to express emphatically and distinctly the strength of any emotion.† This is particularly remarkable in the case of abstract words.

* Cf. "vir fortissimus, Piso Aquitanus," Cic. Verr. 4, 16.

† Cf. *inimicitiae*, repeated acts of unfriendliness; so *furiae*, etc. Cf. also such uses as *esuritiones*, etc., *siccitates* and *domesticae forti-*

24. Another distinctive Roman trait reflected in Latin style is the careful and strict principle of subordination. That force of will, which is so prominent in the Roman character, gives rise to a certain stiffness and inflexibility which we admire in T. Manlius Torquatus, and many others of his countrymen; hence the uncompromising discipline, the stout soldierly spirit, and the unequalled obedience to orders, which characterize the Romans. It is not without significance that Cicero employs the word *velle* to express the views and opinions of his ancestors with respect to what they deemed the welfare of the State (*e.g.*, Cic. De Off. iii, 31, iii; Pro Lege Man. 11, 39). Here again the Roman attitude is in strong contrast with the Greek, an attitude which Mommsen characterizes as follows: "The Greek sacrificed the whole to the individual: the nation to the commune: the commune to the individual burgess. The Greek's first proceeding, dictated by his religious views, was to create human beings out of his gods; he then proceeded to deny their existence: the Roman kept his son in the awe of the father: the citizen in the awe of the ruler, and kept every one in the fear of the gods. To the Roman the State was all in all, and the only lofty idea not proscribed to him was the enlargement of the State. The will of the all-powerful capital decided the destinies of the provinces: every one in the Empire who desired a wide culture, a political post, or fame and distinction, turned his gaze on

tudines, cases of heroism in civil life, Cic. De Off. i, 78: *conscientiae* = pricks of conscience; *spumae*, masses of foam.

Rome. Centralization was carried out as completely under the sway of Rome as under our neighbours, the French. In the same way, it was Rome which was responsible for the formation of the literary language: the capital of the empire was also the central point of literary activity."

The principle of subordination runs through all the arrangement of sentences and words in classical Latin, and is applied much more widely and completely than in any other of the Indo-Germanic languages.* Even the Latin poets are not averse to long sentences, *e.g.*, Lucretius, i, 930-50; and Catullus, in the commencement of his poem on Berenice, employs a lengthy and unbroken period.

The Roman writer likes to make his main thought stand out in relief by duly subordinating the less important clauses of the sentence; and this not infrequently in cases where the Greek, the German, and the Englishman would prefer to employ co-ordinate sentences. In the place of such particles as "indeed . . . but," "and so," "and hence," and the Greek μὲν . . . δὲ, we find, as a rule, subordinate clauses, denoting time, cause, concession. F. A. Krummacher has engaged in some rather recondite speculations on the words "and," "but," as used by the Hebrews and Greeks respectively, and has endeavoured to show the relations of these words to the intellectual life of those two nations. No doubt he pushes these speculations too far, and he reads into these two little words more than they really contain; but it can hardly be disputed that they are characteristic

* Cf. Zielinski, "Our Debt to Antiquity," lecture 1, *ad fin.*

of the genius of the two races. The emotional and sensitive Hebrew thought as a child and acted as a child, and his language, with its quaint and naïve expressions, was the language of childhood. The imaginative Greek held it his first duty to render his language plastic and the mirror of his thoughts. But the Latin is of another cast. In every trait of that language we catch the tendency to subordination. The method of connecting sentences by means of relative clauses (and this method occurs no less than three hundred and eighty times in Caesar's "De Bello Gallico" and "De Bello Civili") gives expression to this tendency, and the Latin disposal of its moods does so in a yet higher degree. The Latin usage contrasts with that of German, Greek, and English, in the fact that it has developed gradually, in place of the Indicative usual in assertions, the dependent method of speech (conjunctive) simply with the idea of bringing the subordination of such dependent clauses more into prominence, and to show by this method that the subordinate clause represents the thought of the speaker, who is regarded as the subject.

In sentences denoting sequence, and in sentences with the historic, or causal, or concessive *cum*, which in older stages of Latinity are not uncommonly employed to denote a fact as having actually occurred, in ordinary Latin, the dependent form of the sentence has come to be the usual type. This usage is still seen in the case of *quoniam* = quom iam = cum iam: as, indeed, it is still seen after the Greek conjunctions ὥστε and ἐπεί, and after such German copu-

lative words as *so dass* and *als* (cf. English "so that"). These conjunctions can all be used to introduce actual facts. The same holds good of indirect interrogative sentences. Indeed, after Livy's time, this usage took a wider range and spread even to such words as *priusquam* and to *dum*, *quamquam*, etc.; strictly speaking, words introducing simple narration, without any clear reason appearing in the sentences for the point of such usage. Again, *cum* iterative is, before Livy's time, seldom connected with the conjunctive mood, but by him it is frequently so connected. Cf. xxi, 28, 10; xxxiii, 3, 10.

25. This unmistakable note of discipline and subordination manifests itself in the orderly way in which the Romans carry out the sequence of their tenses, all dependent tenses being subordinated to the main clause: and it again comes out in the preference shown by Latin for dependent speech (*oratio obliqua*), in which sentence after sentence, and clause after clause, are set under the strict *régime* of a single governing verb (*dixit*, *respondit*, etc.), as soldiers under that of a general. Here, again, we have a contrast between Latin and Greek. Just as soldiers in a regiment keep their eyes fixed on their commander, all the pronouns in *oratio obliqua* which have reference to the speaker look back to him. Add to this the marked and energetic accent which doubtless aided to invest Latin with its virile and almost defiant qualities, and we shall understand what Heine said: "The language of the Romans can never belie

its origin." It is the language for commanders in the field, for administrators in their decretals, the legal language for usurers, the language for the inscriptions on the adamantine Roman people (Heine, "Gesammelte Werke," v, 144).

Again, in the management of the Latin accent, the law of subordination is well marked. In classical Latin we must suppose that the main stress-accent fell on the verb. As the verb was in most cases shifted to the end of the sentence this accent too gradually passed to the end of the sentence, and the series of unaccented or weakly accented words prepared the way for the accented or stressed expression, as effectually as the lictors who preceded him prepared the way for consul or dictator.

26. Another sign of the practical turn of mind, and clear mental vision of the Romans, is found in their marked preference for concrete expression. The Germans (and, in a lesser degree, the English) prefer to soar in abstractions. The Roman, on the contrary, is a realist: he prefers to take a positive and actual instance to a general conception. We have only to think of such expressions as "urbe capta," after the taking of the city; "prudentis est," one needs prudence; "alicui hortanti parere," to obey some one's exhortations: "verum dicere," to speak the truth; "ex aliquo quaerere quid sentiat," to ask some one's opinion; "clamor admirantium," a shout of admiration—and we shall find ample confirmation of this statement (cf. also such expressions as "interfectus Caesar" for "the murder of Caesar"; "stans

Caesar"—Lucan, for "Caesar brought to a halt"). The liveliness of representation and of feeling which comes out of such Greek constructions as φθονοῦμαι (cf. φθονεῖν τινι and ἀποτέμνεται τὴν κεφαλήν) or again in the preference shown in Greek for the Active as against the Passive (*e.g.*, βαίνουσιν = *itur*) is quite alien to the Latin spirit.

27. The sound judgment of the Romans enabled them to discriminate ideas with exactitude, and furthered lucidity alike in description and in language. Needless to say, this observation does not apply to the language of the ordinary man, who is habitually careless in his utterances, but it does apply to classic prose with its studied perfection, which in these points may challenge comparison with the style of the best Greek and German writers. The educated Roman is scrupulously careful in the tenses which he employs: "I will come if I can" is expressed by "Veniam si potero" [as in French and other Romance languages at the present day, "je viendrai si je pourrai"] "As thou sowest, so shalt thou reap," "ut sementem feceris, ita metes"; "as often as he fell he got up," "cum ceciderat surgebat." Moreover, in the Latin use of degrees of comparison and of numbers, we shall find that classic usage is more exact than ours. We often hear "which of you two is the eldest?" but in Latin the rendering of this is "uter vestrum maior natu est?" "Hither Gaul" is "Gallia Citerior," so "pestilentia minacior quam perniciosior," a plague more alarming than destructive. The Plural in Latin takes the place of the Singular in

cases where the idea of plurality is with us denoted but not expressed, as *ligna* = wood, *nives* = a snow-storm, or drift; "pedibus ire" = to go on foot; "adulatoribus aures praebere" = to lend one's ear to flattery. Delicate distinctions may be noticed in the syntax of mood and case. Latin is the first to teach us that we cannot, strictly speaking, give such a command as "Be ashamed of yourself," or "Be happy!" but "te pudeat!" "sis felix!" and we often find that a distinction is drawn between animate and inanimate objects, and between proper and transferred signification in the construction of words; we know that in the former case prepositions, such as *per*, *cum*, *ab*, etc., are employed, but in the latter alternative the mere case is used.*

Again, the Romans are able to employ their case system in connection with their present participle so as to discriminate between a lasting characteristic and a transitory action or feeling: cf. "patriae amans," "patriam amans." We note, too, that the neuter form of the pronoun is preserved in the nominative and accusative cases ("studium aliquid legendi"), while in the oblique cases the word *res* is added ("studium alicuius rei"), because in this instance obscurity might result if the bare pronoun were used, which might possibly be taken to refer to another case. The Romans avoid placing two nouns in the same case in juxtaposition, as this arrangement might lead to misunderstanding, and in any

* *Eg.*, "fastiditur ab illis," but "versatur aratro"; and things are personified by the use of *ab*, as "animus bene informatus a Natura."

case is inharmonious; thus we get "bos cervi figura," not "figurae"—"laudatos fore," not "futuros esse" —"ad imitandum propositus," not "imitandus": hence, again, we find that forms such as "interfectus existimatus es," for "you were thought dead" are not used in Latin: nor can two prepositions be placed in immediate juxtaposition as, for instance, "de cum Persis gestis bellis," where the German language allows "über mit den Persern geführte Kriege."

28. The Latin method of employing the ablative betokens a clear and intelligent apprehension of circumstances as they are. The German (and Englishman) hardly penetrates in thought beneath the mere surface, and records merely the superficial impressions made by the outer world on his consciousness. The scrutinizing eye of the Roman sees deeper. For him it seems essential to fathom the true connection of ideas: and hence, he in many cases expresses the relation of causality, where we deem it sufficient to express merely the relation of place. For instance, we say "to lean *upon* something": the Romans said "aliqua re niti": and more commonly again, the Latin ablative of the instrument represents in English merely the relations of place: *e.g.*, where we say to receive some one in a town, the Romans said "recipere aliquem oppido": to conceal oneself in a wood, "se occultare silva": to maintain oneself in the camp, "se castris tenere": to be conquered in battle, "praelio vinci": to march in a square, "quadrato agmine proficisci": to swim

in blood, "redundare sanguine": to carry in a litter, "lectica ferre": to hold in one's hand, "manu tenere": to bathe in cold water, "frigida (aqua) lavari": to go so far in recklessness, "tantum audacia progredi": to be initiated into a ritual, "initiari sacris": to keep in memory, "memoria tenere": to confuse oneself in error, "erroribus implicari": views expressed in admirable language, "sententiae optimis verbis expressae": to seek safety in flight, "fuga salutem quaerere": to surpass any one in speed, "celeritate alicui praestare": to lead any one by the hand, "manu ducere aliquem": to tremble in every limb, "omnibus artibus contremiscere": to accustom any one to cold, or to accustom oneself to cold, "aliquem frigore assuefacere," or "frigori assuefacere": to abound in, "abundare aliqua re": to travel by carriage, on shipboard, etc., "curru, navi vehi": to transport corn up a river, "frumentum flumine subvehere": to carry on one's shoulders, "sustinere humeris": to transport across in boats, "ratibus traicere": to travel on the Appian way, "Appia via proficisci": to go on foot, "pedibus proficisci": by sea and land, "terra marique": to serve in the cavalry, "equo merere": to challenge any one to combat, "praelio lacessere aliquem": to condemn any one to death, "aliquem capite damnare": to condemn to a fine of ten talents, "decem talentis damnare": to transport troops over the Rhine to Gaul, "copias Rheno in Galliam traducere": to enter Rome by the Porta Capena, "porta Capena Romam intrare": to live on meat, "carne vivere" or "carne vesci": to drop blood, "sanguine manare."

Such examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but those mentioned may suffice to show that our way of expression betrays a more superficial view than that of the Romans, for we record merely the impression made on our senses: while the Roman with profounder reflection apprehends logical relations more critically and exactly.

29. It is the same principle which inspires the Romans to balance their sentences by a twofold division. Lessing's style may serve as an example of how far intelligibility, perspicuity, and easy apprehension are aided by this method. [The beginning of Macaulay's Essay on Byron is a good instance of how a series of antitheses produces an effect of perfect lucidity. Mr. Swinburne's prose style, which, though often subtly allusive, is never obscure, owes much of its perspicuity to combinations of antitheses.] Lessing, more than any other German author, has adopted this method for the formation of his sentences, and it is to this that we owe the lucidity of style which is his peculiar claim to admiration. In the periods of Latin writers—whether prose-writers or poets—we constantly meet with antitheses and parallel clauses. Indeed, these may be looked on as the main pivots on which the construction of Latin sentences turns. The fondness for the corresponding conjunctions *et . . . et, aut . . . aut, non solum . . . sed etiam*, etc., and of the correlatives *quot . . . tot, quantus . . . tantus, ita . . . ut, cum . . . tum*, is based on the same principle. Indeed, this same antithetical principle manifests itself not infrequently when the second

notion alone presents itself to the sense, as in "dexter" (the *ter* being in fact a comparative termination equivalent to the Greek -τερος): and similarly in *Germania inferior*. The reflection of a single thought in two words closely akin, yet unconnected by a copula, as *velitis iubeatis*, *optimus maximus*, *purus putus*, *semel saepius*, *voce vultu*, etc., dates from very ancient literary times (cf. S. Preuss "De bimembris dissoluti apud Scriptores Romanos usu sollemni," Edenkoben, 1881), and the figure known as hendiadys developed itself gradually, and became of frequent occurrence.

From what has been said it may be gathered that the most weighty law in Roman style is logical consecution and discrimination. Thus O. Willman is correct in assuming an inherent Logic as the main characteristic of the Latin language and grammar. Intelligence dictates the words, beauty of form is merely a secondary consideration, or indeed of no account at all; style is treated with cruel neglect. In Greece, on the other hand, the demands for harmony in the construction of sentences play an important part. The language of the Hellenes holds a happy medium between the intuitive naturalism of the simple populace and the severely intellectual methods of cool-thinking savants. Good humour and understanding, an easy carelessness displayed in graceful forms, and strict, consecutive accuracy in thought, show their effects side by side, produce variety and manysidedness of expression, and stamp their unique beauty on the linguistic representation of Greek thought. Attraction, formation by analogy,

and other psychological processes, which meet us so often in Greek authors, poets and prose-writers alike, do not appear in anything like so large a proportion among Roman writers. For "such a lively movement of thought as is presented us in the syntactic assimilation, assumes a great wealth of grammatical forms and a lively popular imagination; and this is precisely what we find among the Greeks. Where the main purpose is to express meaning, as with the Romans; where the process of thought is ever more abstract and sharply defined, and maintains a scientific precision, or, in other words, a logical form, as in the case of German and still more in French; where the exactitude of word formation passed away, as with all modern nations; in all such cases, these syntactical processes tend more and more to disappear and the language flows on confined in the iron rut of forms more or less immovable."

30. We have still to glance at the inflexional system of the Latin language.

Latin, in its word-inflexion, lacks the richness, flexibility, and rhythmical movement of the Greek. The more sensitive Greek has retained far more of the primitive store of forms of the Indo-Germanic original language than the more practically-minded Roman. The latter, disinclined to luxury of any kind, even to superfluities in language, dispensed with all he could, and used what he did retain with the greatest economy. This can be readily seen in the conjugations, in which the Roman has fused the optative with the conjunctive, and the aorist with

the perfect [cf. sim = si-em with εἶην and dix-i with ἔ-δειξ-α]. In Latin, again, the number of the participles is greatly reduced, and we look in vain for the store of Greek tense forms. Consider the wealth of forms evidenced by a word like τρέπω with its six aorists as against the Latin *lego*! The gradations and mutations of the stem have almost disappeared; the differentiation of verbs in -μι and -ω, as of thematic and non-thematic verbs, is laid aside: nay, even the augment as the mark of differentiation between primary and historic tenses is not maintained. Even reduplication and *Ablaut* appear only in scanty survivals. This was not always so: the old speakers of the Latin tongue had obviously much more sense of the picturesque, like all primitive people. Also the Oscan and Umbrian dialects exhibit a stately series of verb and noun forms, whose Latin equivalents show no trace of reduplication [*e.g.*, *mamers*, *deded*, *fefure*, *fefaced*].

With the sole exception of the few so-called neutral-passives [*e.g.*, *gaudeo*, *fido*, *soleo*] the Latin verbs have lost their faculty of forming their tenses as either active or middle: μανθάνω, μαθήσομαι has no analogue in classical Latin. In other respects Latin lacks flexibility: its elements are congealed and receive once for all the lasting stamp they are to bear. Classical Latin was averse to the creation of compounds: yet when such were once created, the unification of the component parts of the compound was so strictly maintained, and the interpenetration of the two members was felt to be so complete, that all thought of separation was excluded. The independ-

ence of the parts disappears, as often as ever the composition is realized.* Such phenomena as the Greek Tmesis meet us only occasionally, and principally in the poets [And what Tmeses! "Saxo cere —comminuit—brum" (Ennius)]† to suit the exigences of metre. The freer usage of prepositions with which we are familiar in German [and in a less degree in English] is unknown to the Latin. For instance, in the German words *vorsagen*, *einsehen*, etc., the first syllable is separable, and appears in the present as "ich sage vor," "ich sehe ein" [sometimes in English a shade of meaning is conveyed by the shifting of such prepositions; as outspoken, spoken out: the outlook, the look out, etc.]. Moreover, the intrusion of the reduplication between the preposition and stem of the perfect is felt to be irregular, and is commonly omitted, as in *contigit* as against *tetigit*.

31. Noun forms in Latin which have once been petrified into adverbs, retain their form perennially, like lava which has hardened into immovable rock. In this Latin contrasts with German, in which language conceptions of time, place, etc., can be immediately re-transformed, by means of flexional terminations, into living and declinable nouns. Take such instances as "die einstigen Gewohnheiten," "die damaligen Verhältnisse," "die dortigen Behörden,"

* Probably the coalescence of the parts is least felt in the case of the composition of an adverb with a verb as *circumdare*, *satisfacere*, etc.

† Cf. too "septem subjecta trioni," Verg.

"das jenseitige Ufer." We may again contrast this immovability with the Greek usage, where the article when prefixed suffices to recall the adverb again into life, as in οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ὁ τότε βασιλεύς, ἡ ἄνω πόλις. [It is probable that the English usage of such phrases as "the then king" came straight from the classical usage.]

In its impersonal verbs, again, Latin presents some peculiarities which distinguish it from the other cognate languages mentioned. For instance, it possesses a certain number of verbs signifying feeling, which have become fixed and unchangeable in impersonal use: compare *pudet* with αἰσχύνομαι and with "I am ashamed" [though in English we can still say, "it shames me, it behoves, it irks," etc.].

We must also mark the difference in the treatment of diminutives in Greek and in Latin. Greek and German have the power of transforming diminutives, by changing the gender, into new significations, *e.g.*, "der Mann," "das Männchen," "das Männlein," "die Frau," "das Frauchen," "das Fräulein": παῖς, παιδίον: χρυσός, χρυσίον. These diminutives have more or less divested themselves of their nature, and their diminished vitality is shown in the neuter gender. Latin, on the contrary, exhibits neither the same freedom in its treatment of gender, nor the same delicacy of discrimination, for it passes on the gender of the original noun to its derivative diminutive, as *liber*, *libellus*; *silva*, *silvula*.

32. Finally, we must briefly examine the vowel conditions of Latin. W. von Humboldt long since

insisted on the fact that the vowel system in any language must stand in close relationship to the trend of the national taste of those who speak it, reflecting, as it does, the mental power of the human organism in its entirety.* This principle comes out very clearly in a comparison of the modern North and South European languages. In the German and, more particularly, in the Slavic sound-system, the consonants play a much more prominent part than in the Romance languages, which, however, are distinguished by greater variety in their vowel sounds. Thanks to this cause, Italian, for instance, is endowed with its incomparable grace and delicacy (cf. Byron, "Beppo," 44). The language viewed as the artistic creation of an entire people reflects the fact that the Italians possess a remarkable sense of form, a sense which stands adequately revealed in other directions, such as the fine arts, painting and music, poetry and architecture.

No one can deny that the northern nations stand in this respect far behind their southern neighbours.

Latin holds a middle position between the rich vowel system and liquid sweetness of the Italian, and the consonantal agglomerations of the Russian language. In its position with regard to these it resembles rather the German written language than the Greek, and indeed it shares with German certain peculiarities in its sound-changes. Friedrich August Wolf said long since: "The Latin language is far

* See Byrne, "Principles and Structure of Language" vol. i, p. 12.

from possessing the harmony of the Greek. It is military, stern, and stately. Its numerous consonants, and the paucity of its vowels, give it a hard repellent look, and are indeed characteristic of the nation"; and Fr. Scerbo gives as his opinion ("Caratteristiche del Greco e del Latino," Firenze, 1893, p. 1): "Il vocalismo greco è più ricco, più delicato e vario, ritraente più la freschezza e l'agilità dei suoni primitivi; il vocalismo latino ci appare meno armonioso e snello od integro ed un po più incerto." Lastly, W. von Humboldt gives as his opinion ("Uber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaus, herausgegeben v. Pott," ii, 232, Berlin, 1876) that "in the language of the Romans no luxuriant variety, no freedom of imagination, has been wasted in the formation of sounds; the virile, earnest sense of that people which regarded rather the truth of things as they are, and craved only so much of things intellectual as consorted with such truth, had no room for any such luxuriance or any such free upgrowth of sounds." Just as the Greeks were the masters of the Romans in sculpture, architecture, painting, and music, in short, in all arts, so they display in their language, full as it is of the magic of their harmony, more feeling for formal beauty, and for pleasing and melodious tone effects. Hence it is that the Greeks possess such a strong taste for assonance and the correspondence of vowel sounds, while the ear and heart of the Romans were far more open to impressions from consonantal alliteration. This alliteration gives the verse a characteristic ring of its own, rather than a melody; it

renders it not indeed more graceful, but stronger and more forceful.* The Romans, like our own ancestors, ranked character above beauty, essence above form. Old Roman versification—the Saturnian, for example—was full of alliteration,† and there are many old formulas, depending on this trick of language, which have maintained themselves through all the life of the Latin tongue; such as "purus putus," "sane sarteque" ‡ ["locutio ex auguralibus sumpta"]. Such go to confirm the idea that the Romans regarded alliteration as an ancient national trait of the technique of their poetry; and thus it is that Vergil in his "Æneid," that sustained eulogium of the national virtues of the Romans, has employed it to so large an extent.

33. We have exhausted our remarks on this subject. We trust that it has been made plain that Latin contrasts with Greek in many essential points, and that this contrast depends for the most part on the difference in the national character of the two races. As they differ in thought and in action, so do they markedly differ in diction and in style. If it were necessary to cite in support of our conten-

* It is well known that the most salient feature in Anglo-Saxon literature was its regular alliteration, and this holds good generally of the old Northern or Icelandic. Cf. Marsh, "Student's English Literature," p. 389 *sqq.*, who gives many instances of its use by modern English poets. It may be worth noticing that Milton and the Classic School of poets generally avoid alliteration altogether; cf. "Alliterative Poems," Morris and Skeat, Part II, xiii.

† *E.g.*, "eorum sectam sequontur multi mortales" (Naevius).

‡ Cf. our kith and kin, health and happiness, etc.

tion that where the contrary cause holds good the contrary effect follows, we might easily show that peoples which share many prominent traits of character, manifest also a great resemblance in their speech. We might cite as an instance of this the intellectual relationship between the Spartans and the Romans. Of all the Grecian stock, none was in this respect so nearly related to the Romans as the Spartans. Both nations were alike adepts at manual labour, and proud of their powers. Both were strict disciplinarians; both were weak in cavalry, and both alike had an aversion to a sea-faring life. On the other hand, both had a genius for jurisprudence and political activity; in both we find two characteristics strongly brought out—great reverence for old age, and the lofty position assigned to woman. On the other hand, in artistic capability and in scientific attainments, both nations alike stand behind the other Greek races. We find, accordingly, in the languages of the two nations a number of similar traits: a lack of flexibility in the formation of compounds, a poverty of words, a stiff and formal rhythm, a logical acuteness, an endeavour after pregnancy of utterance (Cic. Ad Fam. ii, 25, 2), a taste for brief and neat witticisms (O. Müller, "Dorians," ii, 385 *sqq.*), especially for puns, a taste which comes from a fortunate trait of whimsical humour common to both: we also find in both less mobility in their vowel sounds, and a greater adherence to the old traditional form of the terminations of verbs.

The traits and features of the language on which

we have touched are, in themselves no doubt, unimportant enough, but "straws show how the wind blows." Just as we are enabled to understand the real character of a man through the trifling incidents of daily life, so the tiny stones that we have set together form, in their entirety, a faithful mosaic of old Roman action and deeds, poetry and thought. They thus permit us to appreciate more than superficially the salient traits of the Roman character; and, what is more, they enable us to take an intelligent view of the monuments of Roman art and of outstanding events in Roman history. Rückert then is right when he says "the science of language is the subject which of all the circle of the Sciences affords us the most satisfactory revelations about human thought and methods of apprehension."

II

ROMAN STYLE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN CULTURE

34

LANGUAGE is the most faithful companion of man on his earthly pilgrimage. The impressions of his journey stamp ineffaceable marks in the shape of language, like the annual rings in trees, and thus these recorded impressions indicate to future generations many facts in their past history.* How their ancestors lived and suffered, what they thought and what they felt, their aims and ambitions, all this is revealed by language in eloquent accents to those who can understand. Thus it is that in language we have a real history, and more especially a history of civilization or of culture. The views and prejudices of his time are apt to fasten indelibly on each individual. It falls to none but to a few privileged souls to free themselves more or less perfectly from such prejudices. But even this chosen few, whose names are written in gold on the pages of history, cannot fully escape the influence of the

* Cf. Geiger, "Language and its importance in the History of the Development of the Human Race," Trübner, 1880; but more especially Marsh, "Student's English Language," pp. 155 *sqq*. On the influence of words on thought see Max Müller, "Lectures on the Science of Language," vol. ii, pp. 622 *sqq*.

moral outlook of their age. The mental products even of such giants as these bear, to some degree at least, the mark of their epoch. They think they are the propelling force, but they are in fact propelled themselves: they would fain strike out a new path for the moral course of their age to pursue: but they are forced to run on confined in the old rut of the spirit of their time. Use and wont is a tyrant, whether in things intellectual or things material. Just as the architecture of any given age reflects the conceptions of the generation of its builders, so the style of different authors sharply and clearly exhibits the traits of contemporary thought. It is no uninteresting task to follow the reciprocal relations between style and moral outlook by watching the development of the Latin language for several centuries.

35. Quintilian says of Ennius: "Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora jam non tantam habent speciem, quantam religionem." His remark holds true of all the more ancient Roman literature. Indeed, the style of the old Roman writers does resemble the oak in its tough exterior. Simple, downright, and straightforward was the life and character of the "prisci Latini," and their expression is accordingly. Affectation and tricks of style are completely absent from their writings, and there is no symptom of straining after effect. Whether they speak, or whether they write, they do either with a definite purpose, and they have little regard to form. Of all the maxims given by the old Cato, the genuine pattern of a genuine Roman, to

his son, at his start in life, perhaps the most telling is that contained in the well-known saying: "Rem tene, verba sequentur." Those words of blame are indeed unsparing which the aged Consul Appius addressed to the Senators; and they were totally unfettered by what are to-day known as parliamentary conventions. "Whither has your sense, so sound and firm of old, senselessly strayed from the straight path?" (Ennius *ap.* Cic. De Sen. ix, 16). Thus it was that he controlled his people, a king among assembled kings, and the honourable counsellor gave way to the words of the most honourable speaker. Thus was it that he celebrated the highest triumph to be obtained by oratory, an oratory energetic and forceful, yet far enough removed from any artificial claims to embellishment, nor indeed was there any public at that time capable of welcoming and criticizing any such claims.

36. It is almost impossible to think of two more wide contrasts than those which we witness in the early stages of Greek and Roman literature respectively. The oldest Greek work is the Homeric poems: the oldest Roman work, the Laws of the Twelve Tables. Differing as these do in the matter which formed the object of instruction of the youth of Greece and Rome, their linguistic contrast is not less striking. Liveliness and perspicuity on the one hand are confronted with sobriety on the other. To take another point of contrast, the old Roman heroes make dry speeches: the words of the old Homeric heroes run glibly from their mouths, fresh as morn-

ing dew. It is not without reason that the aged Nestor is described as a λιγὺς ἀγορητής, a clear-voiced orator: not without reason that the utterances of the Trojan graybeards are likened to the tuneful song of the Cicada, so loved by antiquity (Il. iii, 151). Modulation and emphasis must at that time have produced the effect afterwards produced by the artificial structure of (rhythmical) periods. In consonance with this we find in Homer the speeches introduced by words like αὐδᾶν, φωνεῖν, φθέγγεσθαι, etc., which fitly represent the full sounding melody of the old recitations: while in Latin the correlative words *loqui*, *dicere*, *fari*, have no such delicate connotation.

37. True to the maxim "Naturalia non sunt turpia," the simple apprehension of primitive Rome took no offence at what was natural. "To the pure all things are pure," and thus Sisenna, and after him Ennius and Plautus [Livy, Cicero, etc.], say without any misgiving, "concubia nocte." [Thus again *venter* is commonly used for *appetite*.] In fact the practice was to adopt the Stoic principle: "suo quamque rem nomine appellare: nihil esse obscoenum, nihil turpe dictu" (Cic. Ad Fam. ix, 22).

38. In these old times the difference between the diction of poetry and prose was not yet very marked. The cadence of the old Arval song and that of the "Carmina Saliorum" consorted well with the slow and measured march of the Saturnian measure, as did that of the trampling paces of the Roman legions in Naevius' "Bellum Punicum." Alliteration and

word-repetition, the main factors in poetical technique, were not unknown to prose. Alliteration, which pervades both the Hymns and the tables of the Laws, lent energy and strength to the language, forcing the thews and sinews of its structure to stand out in bold relief, especially in the arrangement of its consonants.

This particular device is a very old Indo-Germanic method of emphasizing and quickening language, especially in compressed style. In magic formulae the threefold repetition of a word plays a great part,* and in the popular songs of Germany the refrain is a regular feature. Thus in the song of the Arval brothers every sentence is pronounced with a like number of words, from *Enos, Lases, iuvate*, down to the concluding word *triumpe*.

Ornamental adjectives are conspicuously lacking to the poetry of that age. The writers have no apprehension of tenderer feelings, finer thoughts, or captivating pictures. The structure of the sentence is forceful and compressed, reminding us of the Indian Vedas; but it is clumsy and without grace. The Latin Odyssey of Livius Andronicus is compared by Cicero to a stiff piece of wood-carving by Daedalus; and it is true that the most ancient style of Latin poetry contrasts as strongly with its Greek model as an awkward wooden statue with a masterpiece in marble. The prose of Cato, again, in the beginning of the third century B.C., is straightforward and simple, lacking grace and art. We find

* See the collection of Triads by Kuno Meyer in the Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series, vol. xiii, pp. 12 *sqq*.

pleasure in his brief but pregnant sentences: they reflect so completely the character of the man, and indeed of the Romans generally; and they were noticed with approval by Cicero (De Or. ii, 12, 53) and by Sallust (Fr. i, 2) for their "magna verborum gravitas et sententiarum." No one could have written more strongly, no one more energetically. The structure of his periods and of his rhythm have not gone beyond the first stages of literature. The sentences know no subordination: they are set paratactically. The language of feeling and sensibility does not, like that of careful and reflective intelligence, move in lengthy periods, artificially divided and balanced. Each several expression stands apart and is complete in itself; it is blunt enough to serve its purpose: it needs no rounding off, no gradation due to the orderly arrangement of a scrutinizing intelligence.

39. The expression is often obscure through the frequent change of subject. Asyndeton, too, which meets us in ancient formulae such as "velitis jubeatis," "patres conscripti," etc., is very common in Cato.* In Fragment 108 he says: "multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire: anni, aestas, vox, vires, senectus"; Fr. 101: "exercitum suum pransum, paratum, cohortatum eduxit foras atque instruxit." One may compare with this utterance passages from the old poets, as, for instance, that of Nævius [Bell. Pun. lib. iv, ii, Müller]: "The Roman goes to Malta—he burns the whole

* We find asyndeton mounting to climax in later writers, *e.g.*, Pliny, Ep. 9, 22, "in litteris veteres aemulatur exprimit reddit."

island, the coast—ravages, lays waste, plunders—foes, property." He has recourse to the "Figura etymologica," *e.g.* Fr. 105: "cognobiliorem cognitionem," and Orat., p. 73, 10: "vecticulariam vitam vivere" [to live from hand to mouth, lit., to live the life of one who uses a *vectis*, a robber's instrument].* Then certain turns in his sentences recur frequently, reminding us of the "versus iterati" of the Homeric Epos: *e.g.*, he uses the three adjectives *magnus*, *pulcher*, and *pisculentus* in speaking of the Ebro (Fr. 110) and also of the Nar (Fr. 97). At the same time he has no objection to massing words on words in order to obtain a particular effect: *e.g.*, in Fr. 95a, a sentence of his "Oratio Rhodiensis" is reported, in which he brings out several conceptions in this way. "Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere atque superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere."

This peculiarity was noticed even by A. Gellius (Noct. Att. xiii, 25, 13). The passage cited shows also the predilection of the author for the emphatic word *atque* [=and what is more], and it is Cato's way to employ such emphatic particles (*e.g.*, *verum*, *enim*, *vero*).

Further, he is at pains to interlard his diction with such archaic words as *tuburchinabundus*, "greedily swallowing," and *lurchinabundus*, "devouring" (cf. Quintilian, i, 6, 42). Fronto calls these expressions

* Asyndeton was common in later writers in animated narration of events happening contemporaneously, as Liv. 3, 37, 7, "hi ferre agere plebem," "These worried and harassed the commons."

"iligneae nuces"; they invest Cato's style with a primitive and archaic air. It is no wonder, then, as he so ostentatiously avoids any attempt to copy Greek rhetoric by any graces of style, that Cicero calls his speeches *horridulae* (Orat. 45, 152).

40. From what has been said we may gather that Cato did not seek to impress either his readers or his hearers with rhetorical embellishments or orthodox methods of emphasizing his statements, but relied on the force and vigour of their contents.*

He wrote on agriculture and the right conduct of life, and sketched the outline of speeches made by himself, thereby responding to the needs and requirements of his time. And his Latinity was in the main the Latinity of his contemporaries: it was the lapidary style of the old inscriptions, unadorned by art and plain to a degree, but full of energy and of old-world strength. "A good man, my son Marcus, can command his speech" ("vir bonus dicendi peritus"; cf. Quintilian, xii, 1, 1) were the words of Cato to his son. He meant that a Roman had no need of Greek rhetoric to speak well.

41. For Greek rhetoric had at that time taken deep root in Rome, and had fallen upon no unfertile soil. Indeed, the influence of the Greek spirit had

* See Macrob. Sat. 1, Praef. for Cato's *scomma* against Albinus. "Ne tu, inquit, Aule, nimium nugator es, cum maluisti culpam deprecari, quam culpa vacare. Nam petere veniam solemus aut cum imprudentes erravimus, aut cum noxam imperio compellentes admisimus. Te, inquit, oro, quis perpulit ut id committeres, quod priusquam faceres, peteres uti ignosceretur?"

shown itself increasingly strong since the time of Livius Andronicus, that is to say since the Tarentine war; for it was in the agony of this war that Roman literature entered on its life. Pliny the Elder said several centuries later: "Ingeniorum Graeciae flatu impellimur," and this saying had been already verified. The contact of the Romans with the Greek colonial settlements of Lower Italy, brought about long before by commerce, entered now, thanks to this war, on a new stage of closer intercourse. The movement which began in the Tarentine war continued in the Punic war. "Bello Punico secundo Musa pinnato gradu Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram" (Porcinus Licinus *apud* Gell., Noct. Att. xvii, 21). And hence we find Ennius in the beginning of his annals invoking the Greek Muses, and not the native Latin *Camenae*, to inspire his song. The symptoms of the influence of this Hellenic culture were notably manifested in all the departments of life, in art and in science, in trade and in commerce: and they were not slow to manifest themselves likewise in literature. For the literature of Rome was—as is commonly the case in the early development of letters—exposed to great variations not merely in its scheme of sounds and flexions, but in that of its periods as well; and if it be true that the idiom of the Capital had for many centuries differed from that of the adjacent communes—as, for instance, from that of Praeneste—still the language in any case needed a ripening and a confirming process. A simple example may serve to show our meaning. When Ennius in his "Annals" cites the

names of Rome's twelve supreme deities in the two Hexameters:

> Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
> Mercurius, Jovi(s), Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo,

we can gather from the varying rhythmical power allotted to the final *s*, the doubtful pronunciation of the sibilant in his day. In the rest of the words *s* maintains its normal power of making *position*: but in *Jovis* it is not recognized at all,* so that the word has to be scanned as a pyrrich. Even in Lucretius the traces of this shifting value of many terminal sounds may be seen: indeed, the elision of final *m* before the following vowel has maintained its position triumphantly through all periods of Roman poetry. We may, however, gather from the words of Cicero that the recognition of the existence of these final consonants grew stronger with time. He says (Orat. 48, 161) that the elision of the *s* in "omnibu(s) princeps" is "iam subrusticum," but he adds "olim autem politius."

42. Naturally enough this process was very gradual in its development. "Language is the offspring of need and the foster child of social feeling: its growth and its enrichment are the effect of time: its beautification is the work of taste, and we must look to the union of all the Muses for its perfection. The written language of a great nation which rises by slow degrees (and this merely by imitating other stages of culture alien to its own) from the mere level

* Cf. "tempŭs fert" (Plautus), "magĭs stetisse" (Terence).

of Nature, passing through every stage of barbarism —such written language requires a series of centuries before it can attain even a moderate degree of perfection. Such development presupposes the concurrence of numerous favourable circumstances. But of all these circumstances one especially must be insisted on: that the learned class of any nation, and chief of these the writers of genius and taste, the poets, orators, historians and popular philosophers, always contribute most to its enrichment, development and refinement" (Wieland, 1872).

Luther, we know, had, as a Central German, a specially keen ear for dialectic peculiarities, seeing that he listened simultaneously to the dialects of Higher and Lower Germany, and thus seemed chosen by Providence to ensure for the written language of the High German chancelleries, by his translation of the Bible, the wide distribution which it enjoyed. In the same way the written language of Rome was influenced by Greeks, half-Greeks, Oscans, Umbrians, and Celts, for these had to learn Latin and to adapt it to their circumstances.

43. As a matter of fact, the taste of the old Roman poets was far from refined, and the Public made no great demands, because it was destitute of all profound aesthetic culture. Their very poems aimed at exciting interest rather by their subject than by their grace. The appeal of Ennius to the Muses in the Proemium to the "Annals," "Musae, quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum," might be as effectually addressed to trampling steeds: and the childish

pleasure which the poet finds in imitating by onomatopoeia the braying of martial trumpets, "At tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit" (Ann. 452, v), draws from us an involuntary smile. The mutilation of such words as *gaudium* into *gau* ("laetificum gau," Ann. 451) is harsh and violent, and the junction of such forms as *quicquam*, *quisquam*, *cuiquam* in one drama (Trag. 448) is unclassical not to say un-Roman. The violent separation of words into two parts depends upon a complete misapprehension of so-called Tmesis, which completely jars with the genius of the Latin language. Such are "cere—comminuit—brum" (Ann. 586) and "Massili—portabant iuvenes ad litora—tanas" (Ann. 605). In their vocabulary the writers of this time were not delicate. Expressions which were at a later date banned and barred from classical usage, and consigned to the language of the people, are, at this time, regular and normal: indeed, whole groups of words bearing the popular stamp, such as adverbs in *-iter* formed from adjectives of the second declension, substantives in *-ēla*, *-monium*, *-tudo*, are remarkably prevalent. Sometimes we alight on whole Greek sentences: and the anomaly of the formation of hybrid compounds of Greek and Latin, such as *thermo-potare*, *ante-logium*, *ra-pacida*, is seen in its infancy; indeed it may be paralleled by the recasting of several Greek dramas to make one Roman play, and by the mixture of Greek and Roman local colour that we often see in the process. Again, most of the old Roman poets acted and wrote as though each one of them was equally able to compose

comedies or tragedies, for following the example of the Greeks, Plautus was the first to adopt a systematic separation of the two. Thus the characteristic of this period is its lack of finish. The writers are animated with the best intentions, but the words of Horace, "Versate diu, quid ferre recusent, Quid valeant humeri," had not yet been written—still less his maxim "nonum prematur in annum"—and we must remember the proverb "ultra posse nemo obligatur." The Romans of that time thought differently on this subject; indeed, even in later times there were found persons to admire and patronize those *prisci*, and *casci viri*, who, misled by a prejudice for old Roman simplicity and *naïveté*, possessed, from our point of view, but little critical faculty. For instance, the inscription on the tomb of the poet Naevius, most likely composed by Varro, celebrates in Saturnian verse the high merits of the poet: "Were it seemly that immortals should weep for mortals, the divine Camenae would weep for the poet Naevius. And so, since he has been made over to the place of death, Rome has forgotten to speak in the Latin tongue," *i.e.* in old Latin, in national Roman: and Aelius Stilo's view was that if the Muses had wished to speak in Latin, they would unquestionably have chosen the diction of Plautus: a verdict which did not quite meet with the approbation of Quintilian. He, the arch-Ciceronian, fully appreciated the difference between the language of a classical author with its fine gradations and exquisite style, and the straightforward diction of a Plautus, created to suit the demands of the popular

taste. What Quintilian says about Accius and Pacuvius, "Nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse," is far more true of their predecessors.

44. Yet, with all their defects, those works contained the germ of a new phase of life in both literature and language. Ennius was the first to take a bold and decisive step in the direction of progress—Ennius, who in Lucretius' judgment was the first to bear the evergreen chaplet from Helicon. The Saturnian verse had to give way to the Greek Hexameter, *i.e.*, the accentual rhythm to the quantitative.*

Syllables, after a long period of uncertainty and fluctuation, now for the first time received a certain fixed quantity, and terminal sounds acquired a greater steadiness. The stiff lapidary form was gradually given up, and the "broken-winded congeries of lanky limbs" was replaced by flesh and blood and more pleasing harmonies, and, following the Hellenic model, the vocabulary was enriched by a stately train of newly-minted compounds. Foreign words were added. Till now Greek expressions had

* There are, however, two main theories as to the character of Saturnian verse, the quantitative and the accentual. Those who hold the former theory regard the Saturnian verse as a verse of six feet with an anacrusis, and a break after the fourth, or more rarely after the third thesis; cf. The Quéen was in her párlour, éating bréad and hóney. According to the second theory, this verse was an accentual one, no regard being paid to quantity. Lindsay holds that the first hemistich has three accents and the second two, as dabúnt málum Metélli || Naévio poétae. See Lane's Lat. Gr. § 2553.

found their way into Latin merely as the result of long commercial intercourse, but now came the reception of other expressions due to distinct literary influence. Such were *daedalus* (δαίδαλος), *malacus* (μαλακός, mollis), *cumatilis* (from κῦμα, sea-green), *dia dearum* (δῖα θεάων), *pelagus* (πέλαγος), *termo* (τέρμων, terminus), *ephebus* (ἔφηβος), *poema* (ποίημα), *poeta* (ποιητής), *pontus* (πόντος), *campsare* (κάμπτειν), etc. Such words, found in great numbers in the oldest Latin poets, especially in Ennius, are a proof of the influence of Greek poetry. It became more and more the custom to enliven style by epithets coined after Greek models, and conforming to the exigences of the Hexameter. Similes and metaphors, formerly rare in verse, appear with increased frequency, though these in many cases were either translated or imitated directly from Homer. Side by side with metaphors taken from agriculture and war, tropes taken from the sea and the chase played a great part. The comparison of the people restlessly stirring to and fro in the assembly, with the sea, seemed to the Roman Senate in the year 189 B.C. new and striking (Polybius, xxi, 31, cf. xi, 29, 9, Hultsch), but by the time of Cicero it was trite, and in Livy's day hackneyed. It was possibly at this time that the transition of *percontari* (from *contus* = κόντος) properly "to sound with a steering pole" [and allied by popular etymology with *percunctor*] was applied to research in general, and such expressions appear as "verborum fluctus—animus fluctuat" (Plaut. Merc. v, 2, 49), "praeda undat" (Enn. Trag. 520), "iacturam facere," to jettison and then to lose. Of like character are

indagare, to track out, properly to hunt into a net (cf. *vestigium*, a track), a meaning which was subsequently transferred to all possible acts of pursuit: indeed, Ennius introduces the simile: "Sicut si quando vinclis venatica velox Apta solet canis forte feram sei nare sagaci Sensit voce sua nictit ululatque ibi acute," etc.

While admitting that much of the metaphorical colouring of the early Latin poets was due to Hellenic influence, we must nevertheless remember that at the time to which we are now referring, ocean travel and the chase were fairly popular in Rome, otherwise the poets would scarcely have adopted so freely metaphors taken from such pursuits. It is a generally admitted truth, that a nation's metaphors and similes reflect the contemporary culture of that nation. The language of Homer gives us information relative to the manners and customs of Homeric times. "The poet borrows the majority of his similes from elementary natural phenomena, the occupations of simple uncivilized men, hunters, the fishermen, cattle-herds, rustics, smiths, carpenters, tanners, etc." The ship seldom occurs in these early tropes because ocean travel was at that time but little developed. But we are able to follow the progress of the Greeks in sea-faring matters by the metaphors in use in their later poets. In Pindar we find already seventeen such metaphors: in Aeschylus thirty, in Sophocles eleven, in Euripides no less than thirty-six. Thus Pecz ("Beiträge zur vergleichenden Tropik der Poesie," 1 Teil, Berlin, 1886) is perfectly right in maintaining that in the metaphors of Aeschylus we

see reflected the times of the Persian war: in those of Sophocles the age of Pericles, and in those of Euripides the period of Demagogy. Thus the figures of speech of old Latin poetry teach us that the Romans of that time, after an intermission of centuries, entered into maritime commerce with spirit and energy, and that, after the Punic Wars, it was the custom to devote much time to the chase, after the Oriental fashion.

45. Generally speaking, poetry and poets alike stood in that age in no great repute. Cato says "Poeticae artis honos non erat." In the circle of the Scipios we meet with the most aesthetic taste and the highest scientific culture. This great family found pleasure in appreciating the poets of their own circle, not, it must be admitted, without an eye to their own advantage. In fact, just as they began by forming a *cohors praetoria* in order to increase, in the eyes of subject nations, the prestige of the greatest power in the world, they were eager to encourage in every way the singers of their exploits, and probably also to influence the language of their race. At all events A. Gellius (Noct. Att. ii, 20, 5) states the tradition that "Scipionem omnium aetatis suae purissime locutum." The *scribae*, to whom had been assigned till now a chamber intended for meetings situated on the Aventine in the Plebeian quarter, were summoned from their dark corner and invited to bask in the glory of their *Imperatores*. Cato brought Ennius with him to Rome, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, on his Aetolian campaign, kept him in his

entourage: others followed his example, and it became the fashion, especially after the days of Africanus the younger, for generals to take poets in their escort. The influence of the Scipionic circle is particularly noticeable in Terence. The language of the plays of Terence is purer and more refined, and generally more correct, than that of Plautus. But how little such virtues of style were prized at that time is plain from the judgments of his mistrustful colleagues, who called his "oratio" *tenuis*, and his "scriptura" *levis* (pale and expressionless) in comparison with that of Caecilius. It was with Terence, too, that rhetoric began to force its way even more and more into poetry: indeed, rhetoric raised itself in no long time to a power of the first rank, and spread itself gradually over all Roman literature. In the first half of the second century before Christ, the impulse given to literature by Greek philosophers and rhetors in Rome was so great, that all the efforts of the "national" party in Rome to stay the current proved unavailing.* The Epicureans Alcaeus and Philiscus, who were exiled in 173 B.C., and especially the grammarian Crates of Mallus [who in 157 B.C. was sent by Attalus as an ambassador to Rome, where he introduced for the first time the study of grammar], and further, the historian Polybius, with all the numerous other Achaeans who were detained for years in captivity at Rome as hostages, and lastly, the Athenian Embassy

* For the effects of Greek culture on Roman thought, see Mayor's "Ancient Philosophy" (Cambridge University Press), pp. 209 *sqq*.

sent to Rome under the superintendence of the Academic philosopher, Carneades, made such a strong impression on the youth of Rome, that henceforth grammatical and rhetorical studies entered into the daily necessities of a Roman's life. They were greedily caught at by every one, "quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens" (Cic. De Sen. viii, 26). For rhetoric aided the Roman taste for lucidity of thought and logical definiteness of representation. Soon Latin rhetoricians, too, opened their schools. Thus it came to pass that in Pacuvius and Ennius the results of rhetorical studies were even more apparent than in their predecessors. The antitheses and the parallelism observable in the construction of the sentences, and the better rounded and fuller periods of their style, stand out in sharp contrast to that of the ordinary language of the day, which contains many vulgarisms.

46. But the orators reaped the main advantage of the new rhetoric. The art of persuasion alike in the Senate, in the popular assembly, and in the Law Courts, had been practised from the earliest times, and it is sufficiently remarkable that the first prose work published by a Roman author contains a speech of the blind Censor, Appius Claudius. The opportunity now presented itself of learning the principles of a correct training, and these principles were eagerly hailed as offering a greater chance of success in oratory. Especially did M. Antonius and L. Licinius distinguish themselves—the only orators whom Cicero considers worthy (as he

says in his De Or.) to serve as the interpreters of his ideas and reflections on rhetoric. According to him (De Or. i, 26, 178) they especially avoided the "barbaries forensis," and endeavoured to employ a correct language. That they attained to this correctness by means of strict academical training appears, not merely from the surviving fragments of their speeches, but, at least in the case of Crassus, from a hexameter of Lucilius (*Fr. inc.* xxxiii). "Crassum habeo generum, ne rhetoricoteros tu sis" [quoted by Cic. De Or. iii, 33, 171]; and when the same poet says: "Crassi pater huius panaethi" = splendidi, it seems probable that he refers to the same orator. Thus oratorical grace of form may be dated from Licinius Crassus. His style of expression was carefully chosen and lucid, clever, and sparkling with wit. He aimed also at pregnancy of exposition, and strictly limited his periods. He employed, too, parallelism in the division of his sentences, which materially contributes to clearness of style. In contrast to him, M. Antonius,* in his quality of zealous disciple of the great master, Cato, strove to attain a simpler and less ornate style of expression. But he had the art of marshalling every clause in every sentence so that each fell into its appropriate place, with the result that his periods resembled a skilfully arranged army in battle array. Considerations not of beauty,

* A full account of the oratory of Crassus and of M. Antonius is given in Prof. Wilkins' "De Oratore," p. 12. Antonius always tried to avoid the appearance of undue elaboration, though, as a matter of fact, he prepared his speeches very carefully. Brut. 37, 139.

but of utility directed his impulses. Sallust, too, followed close on Cato's footsteps and set himself deliberately to seek out archaic forms. But in Hortensius the turgid style of Asiatic oratory seemed to gain new ground.

47. Not till the time of Cicero did the elegance and grace of Hellenic form ally itself with Roman earnestness and dignity. Cicero was the first who enabled the Latin language to become what fate intended it should become, the means whereby classic culture—in fact, it may be said all the culture of antiquity—became known to the northern barbarians. Thus Velleius Paterculus has good grounds for his assertion (i, 17, 3): "At oratio ac vis forensis perfectumque prosae eloquentiae decus, pace P. Crassi Scipionisque et Laeli et Gracchorum et Fanni et Servi Galbae dixerim, ita universa sub principium operis sui erupit Tullio, ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari neminem possis." On this ground, too, Tacitus, Dial. c. 18, was justified in maintaining "Mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi; sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et uberior et altior Cicero." Of him it may be said more truly than of any Roman that he was δεινὸς λέγειν—as far as any Roman could merit this high praise; he, more than any other orator, was a supreme master of language. Doubtless Cicero's efforts were not always received with favour: opposition to them manifested itself from more than one quarter. Thus

he was opposed by the Roman Atticists under the guidance of C. Licinius Calvus, and these criticized him sharply and bitterly (Quint. xii, 10, 12).* Besides this, he was met by a set of critics of inflexible and defiant national pride, who actually piqued themselves on speaking in the highest degree *inusitate* and *inquinate*, affecting as they did to believe that *correctly* and *unusually* were convertible terms. The improvement of style was proceeding rapidly, and was not to be checked: but still there were men of the old school who would have nothing to do with the new Hellenism, and expressed their decided preference for the old Roman style. Of course their efforts were fruitless. On the other hand, Cicero had no lack of admirers and disciples. Caesar gave him the most remarkable testimony when he wrote on dedicating to the orator his work, "De Analogia": "You have discovered all the treasures of oratory, and have been the first to employ them. Thereby you have laid the Roman people under a mighty obligation, and you honour your fatherland. You have gained the brightest glory, and a triumph which is to be preferred to the triumph of the greatest generals: for it is a nobler thing to enlarge the boundaries of the intelligence than those of the empire."

48. In any case it is true that with Cicero the "parens facundiae Latinarumque litterarum" (Plin. Nat. Hist. vii, 30), oratorical and philosophical prose had attained its high water mark. No one,

* [Cf. also Cic. Orator, § 76 *sqq.*: and especially Tac. Dial. 18.]

either of his predecessors or of his successors, has approached him in lucidity and appropriate expression, in delicate exposition, in rhythm, in harmony, in the just accentuation of syllables, and in the careful balancing of his sentences, and of their periods. The orator might easily have been betrayed into a too implicit trust in his own oratory: and in this confidence he might have set himself to conquer even in a bad cause, and deliberately have tried to deceive the people: and certainly Cicero has not altogether escaped this danger. His style, together with his vacillating political views, worked deleteriously on his character. What Cato once dreaded for the young men of Rome, on the occasion of the visit of the three Greek philosophers—that they might be tempted to rate the glory of words higher than that of deeds, and that in the glamour of Greek dialectics they might find it hard to see the truth (Plut. Cato, 22; Plin. Nat. Hist. vii, 31, 111)—followed as a natural sequel of the new methods of rhetorical training.

49. We have been engaged on the features of style which reflected and forwarded the improvement and the ennoblement of the Latin tongue; it is now time to turn to those which reflect more particularly the influence of growing culture on language. We get a good idea of these from the figures of speech, and especially from the metaphors, employed by Cicero. Side by side with the old and favourite figures borrowed from agriculture, war, and jurisprudence, we find a series of new metaphorical

expressions: the technical terms of horse-racing and gladiatorial shows came into fashion. Then the stage, medicine, arts, and sciences contributed their colouring, and references to Greek literature, and especially to Homer, became common. The language, too, was enriched by the study, the translation, and the editing of philosophical writings and other scientific Greek works: hence new terminations were formed, and the number of abstract terms was materially increased: conceptions of species, too, the lack of which had not made itself felt in a primitive stage of culture, were more defined. Still this process was but slow: for instance, the word "pardon" had to be expressed by "ignoscendi ratio" (Cic. Rosc. Am. i, 3): for "being," τὸ ὄν, even Seneca had no expression: he wrote (Ep. 58, 6): "τὸ ὄν dico 'quod est'; cogor verbum pro vocabulo ponere"; at a later period *essentia* and *ens* were formed after Greek analogy.

50. The number of borrowed words multiplied in all branches of life, and more especially in intellectual conceptions. However successful Cicero's authority, and his endeavour to call into being a philosophical terminology, might be deemed, and however much encouragement he received in his efforts to supersede Greek artistic expressions by those of Latin origin, still, as a rule, the Greek word was taken over in its simplicity. Even such a genial poet as Lucretius, who solved the difficult problem of representing a philosophical system in verse, had to confess (i, 136 *sqq.*):

> Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta
> difficile illustrare Latinis versibus esse,
> multa novis verbis praesertim cum sit agendum
> propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem;

and again, in iii, 259 *sqq.*:

> Rationem reddere aventem
> abstrahit invitum patrii sermonis egestas.

and others found themselves in the same difficulty. Hence the number of foreign words in Latin increased amazingly, and Roman writers grew more and more to employ Greek as a neat auxiliary to round off their phrases, much as the Germans, especially since the time of Louis XIV, employed French: only with this difference, that the Germans kept their poetry as far as possible free from foreign elements, while in Rome the poets, more than any other class of writers, had recourse to them. The Germans feel a profound conviction that poetry, as the expression of man's deepest feelings, of all that moves and stirs his heart most powerfully, must be before all things *national*: the Romans, on the other hand, acted on the principle that the ear of the hearers must be captivated by melodious harmonies and pleasing form: "Non satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunto" [Horace, Ars Poet. 99].

51. A further sign of growing refinement in culture appeared in the endeavour manifested by the authors of the period to avoid or to veil words and ideas which suggested coarseness.

Writers in the first instance abstained from using such words, replacing them by harmless, colourless

expressions. But through frequent usage, even these came to be more and more connected with increasingly unpleasant associations, so that they in their turn began to be banned, and finally disappeared from use in cultured circles. Several vulgar words which had been in general use in Latin literature went out of usage and were employed by satirists only, and merely for the purpose of emphasizing the dark side of Roman civilization. Cicero writes in a letter to Paetus (Ad Fam. ix, 22): "Ego servo et servabo—sic enim assuevi—Platonis verecundiam. Itaque tectis verbis ea ad te scripsi, quae apertissimis Stoici. Sed illi etiam crepitus aiunt aeque liberos ac ructus esse oportere," and in a similar spirit he says (De Or. iii, 164): "Fugienda est omnis turpitudo . . . nolo dici morte Africani castratam esse rempublicam; nolo stercus curiae dici Glauciam." It thus appears that literary men knew the coarse terms, but avoided mentioning them, and preferred to cloak them with a decent veil.

As a counterfoil to this process it was unavoidable that at this period perfectly innocent words and ideas received in some cases an ironical connotation, and were degraded into expressions of contempt. For the civil war, so long protracted, and especially the degrading influence of the *delatores*, had spoiled the character of the people. The period of childish artlessness, self-complacency, and simplicity, had passed away. Malice and evil of every kind had become so much a matter of course, that it became an involuntary factor in the pessimistic colouring given to the signification of words. Thucydides mentions (iii, 82) the

influence of the Peloponnesian war on the language of Greece: "Proper shame is now termed sheer stupidity: shamelessness, on the other hand, is called manliness: voluptuousness passes for good tone: haughtiness for good education: lawlessness for freedom: honourable dealing is dubbed hypocrisy, and dishonesty, good fortune." Sallust has a similar utterance with regard to his era. He puts into the mouth of the younger Cato, the tribune designate, the words (Catil. 52, 11): "Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat! Jam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus: quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo respublica in extremo sita est?" And he represents Licinius as uttering the same thought (Hist. fr. iii, 82, 13, Kritz): "Quod ego vos moneo quaesoque, ut animum advortatis neu nomina rerum adignaviam mutantes* otium pro servitio appelletis?"

52. As soon as Augustus mounted the Imperial throne, a new chapter of Roman literature was opened. Poetry now rose to the zenith of its brilliancy. Rome was warmed into new life by the gentle air of peace: the rays from the sun of His Imperial Majesty sent a glow through men's hearts and expanded them. A spring-tide of song succeeded, such as Latium had never before witnessed: wine, woman and song were celebrated by singers of genius. And the ruler earnestly wished his people to devote themselves with increasing interest to art and science: he wished to divert their thoughts from politics.

* Cf. too Hor. "at vos virtutes ipsas invertitis," etc., Sat. i, 3, 55.

Hence, in conjunction with Maecenas, he made it his object to give poetry the greatest possible encouragement: he drew the most celebrated poets of the day into his circle and honoured them with his society: he expended vast sums on shows and spectacles, more especially on pantomimes and mimic naval battles. Oratory, which had hitherto won its laurels in the Forum, found itself, under the depressing influence of political restraint, now relegated to the schools of declamation: more than ever young and old flocked to the rhetoricians' schools to take their part in the Controversiae and Suasoriae which were held in these institutions, to learn the method whereby a given theme is treated from every side with all kinds of subtleties and refinements of argument. Unquestionably poetry was the gainer by this method "That firm and sure technique of arrangement and representation, that plastic of the word, which gives the stamp of classicism even to mediocre writings, dates from this school, through which every poet passed" (Ribbeck, "Geschichte der römischen Dichtung," ii, p. 7). But since it is true that such rhetorical methods belong rather to prose than to poetry, we cannot help feeling, even while perusing the most important productions of that time, that they were to some extent the creations of sober intelligence: we often feel the lack of the warm breath of inspiration which comes directly from the heart, and goes straight to the heart in turn. And we are supported in our view by the inclination of the Roman poets to masquerade in the guise of superior erudition. Following the precedent of the Alexandrian poets, whom

it was the fashion to take more and more as models, it became increasingly the fashion to unpack the treasury of knowledge before the patient hearers or readers of the poets of this day. It is a genuine pleasure to Ovid to recite in his Metamorphoses the names of all the rivers and mountains which had to suffer the heat of the sun on the occasion of Phaethon's wild drive.

Propertius, in his elegies, overwhelms us with references to Greek mythology;* Horace, too, likes to make a brave show with his Greek names; and Vergil not unfrequently breaks the calm flow of epic poetry by learned reflections, or again, by such phrases as that of Aen. vi, 173: "si credere dignum est." Such phrases are not the natural language of poetry, which, as Schiller has well remarked, has to make its way not through the cold region of the intelligence, and ought not to summon erudition as interpreter, but, as it springs from the heart, so to the heart should it appeal. Besides this, no one hesitated to grovel before the mighty emperor with the utmost self-abasement, and, indeed, to pay him homage with almost oriental servility.

53. The thorough education which Augustus had enjoyed, had given him a fine appreciation of form: the brilliancy of contemporary literature rendered him unsympathetic to the simplicity and roughness of the old literature of Rome. He reproved his step-

* See Postgate, "Propertius, Select Elegies," cap. v. "The ambition of Propertius was to be the 'Roman Callimachus'" (v. 1, 64).

son, the future Emperor Tiberius, for his taste for archaisms, and actually spoke of the "foetores reconditorum verborum" (Sueton. Aug. 86). With the sole exception of Vergil, who made it his object to attain the solemn dignity and earnest note of antiquity, scarcely one of the Augustan poets permitted himself the scanty licence allowed by Horace in his "Ars Poetica," with respect to antique precedents (lines 48 *sqq.*). On the other hand, authors never ceased their endeavours to render their language pliable and flexible after Greek models, whence Tacitus speaks of "calamistri Maecenatii" (Or. c. 25).

In some cases Greek constructions were simply taken over, as: "gaudet potitus": in other cases genuine old Roman constructions were employed more freely than before, and made to follow Greek analogy; these constructions were used with words of similar signification. We may instance the objective genitive after the adjective (as in the case of *dives*, which follows the construction of *plenus*, and is influenced by such Greek constructions as πλούσιός τινος): and again the simple infinitive [used instead of *ut* with the subjunctive] after *impellere*, which is made to follow the analogy of *iubere*, but was influenced by ἐπιτρέπειν: such constructions were much favoured. Again, following the example given by Greek poets, certain figures of speech came into general vogue, *e.g.*, the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ,* the usage of which increased to such an extent that we find it in

* Cf. Horace, Odes, i, 3, 6, and ii, xi, 11, "Quid aeternis minorem consiliis animum fatigas," and ii, xvii, 22, "impio tutela Saturno."

Catullus nine times, in Tibullus twenty-three, in Propertius fifty-seven, in Horace a hundred and eighty-eight (Aken. "De figurae ἀπὸ κοινοῦ usu apud Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium. Schweriner Progr." 1884; "Zeitschrift für Gymnasialw." xxxi, 337 *seq.*).

But Greek inflexional forms also took root in Latin; this usage was remarked in Accius, and criticized in his case, but was afterwards regarded as not unusual. In older Latin, writers adopting foreign words had been careful to give them a Latin stamp, and with this view had Latinized their terminations: but now an opposite tendency set in. Greek case-forms were held to be more melodious and graceful than those of Latin, and more suitable for the higher flights of Lyric poetry; thus they came into more constant use. Propertius is full of them, Horace employs them more sparingly. In the Satires he writes *Europam* and *Penelopam*: in the Odes *Europen* and *Penelopen*. More particularly in the case of proper names the Greek form is maintained, and thus we commonly meet with formations of the first declension in *e*, *es*, *en*, and *an*: in the second in *os* and *on*: besides these we find accusatives of the third in *in*, *yn*, *a*, and *as*: genitives in *os*, and dative plurals in *sin*. With this Censorinus'* remark tallies (De Die Nat. c. 24) "Stella quam Plautus Vesperuginem, Ennius Vesperam, Vergilius Hesperon appellat."

54. Prose could not but follow in the wake of poetry; but its progress marked decadence. The language of prose should stand midway between the

* *Circ.* A.D. 238.

diction of the people and that of poetry, and should maintain itself at an equal distance from each; if it approaches either extreme too closely, it loses its balance. Old Latin prose writers inclined too much to the vulgar style. Silver Latinity fell into the other extreme; under Vergil's influence it simulated originality by the poetical colouring of its style. Tacitus admits in the Dialogue about illustrious orators (20) "Exigitur iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor," and Quintilian enlarges on his precepts by adding "A corruptissimo quoque poetarum figuras ac translationes mutuamur"; generally speaking the principle, "Historia quasi solutum carmen," was challenged.*

But the declamations so popular at that time "necessaria deserunt, dum speciosa sectantur" (Seneca, Controv. 9, praef. 2). If the periods of the ancient writers may be compared to temples constructed "rudi caemento et informibus tegulis," the periods of these later writers resemble more nearly such as "marmore nitent et auro radiantur" (Tacitus, *loc. citat.*).

Doubtless it may be objected that prose writing in Germany was mainly brought to perfection by poets, but these were at the same time masters of a good prose style. Indeed, it is open to discussion whether Lessing and Goethe, the former thanks to his shrewd insight, the latter owing to his realistic appreciation of all his surroundings, were not intended by Nature for prose writers, and for holding the mirror up to

* Cicero's views on the language of poetry may be seen in the Orator, 20, § 66 *sqq.*

Nature with marvellous exactitude. Should it, however, be maintained that a good prose writer must perforce be a poet, this were to mistake the essence of prose, as indeed the writers of the Silver Latinity actually did. Still these were the children of their age; they were obliged, if they counted on any response to their writings, to reckon with the spirit of that age.

55. The Romans of that epoch were sunk in luxury and debauchery. With evil morals, evil words found their way into the language, "Tuncque primum" (says Tacitus, Ann. vi, 1) "ignota antea vocabula reperta sunt sellariorum et spintriarum ex foeditate loci ac multiplici patentia." In Cicero's time, perhaps, too much obvious attention was paid to masking indecencies. But now speakers and readers went so far as to suspect improprieties as lurking behind good, honest, innocent expressions. No doubt Sallust used the phrases "ductare exercitus" and "patrare bellum" without any sinister connotation; but ordinary modesty had by Quintilian's time sunk so much in common estimation, that these expressions conveyed to the minds of readers or hearers some unpleasant or sinister significance. Expressions, harmless in themselves, were thus classed as improper, because the generation of readers was morally depraved. The generation was called κακόφατον, and exemplified the dictum of Quintilian, viii, 3: "Si mala consuetudine in obscoenum intellectum sermo detortus est."

The graceful old custom of beginning letters with

the formula "si vales, bene est; ego valeo," which had begun even in Cicero's age to fall into disuse, now completely ceased. Hence Seneca could say (Ep. 15): "Mos antiquus fuit usque ad meam servatus aetatem primis epistulae verbis adicere: si vales bene est." And Pliny (Ep. i, 11, i) confirms this with the words: "Scribe solum illud, unde incipere priores solebant: 'si vales, bene est, ego valeo.' Hoc mihi sufficit; est enim maximum."

As with the beginning of letters, so was it with the opening of speeches. In olden times the custom was to open every speech with an invocation to the gods. Servius on Vergil (Aen. ii, 301) says: "Maiores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant sicut omnes orationes Catonis et Gracchi; nam generale caput in omnibus legimus." But by Cicero's time this pleasant old custom had completely died out: there is no trace of any such thing in Cicero's speeches; nay, he actually treats with derision (Servius, *loc. cit.* "per irrisionem") this custom in the words: "Et si quid ex vetere aliqua oratione 'Iovem ego Optimum Maximum,' aut aliquid eiusmodo ediscere potueris, praeclare te paratum in iudicium venturum arbitraris" (in Caecil. 13, 43) [cf. also Livy, I, chap. i].

56. The enrolment of many foreigners speaking Gaulish, or some other non-Latin language, in the ranks of Roman citizenship or of Roman communities, and, further, the gradual extinction of the old gentes of the nobility, who had kept jealous watch and ward over the purity and propriety of the lan-

guage; the boundless selfishness, which reflected itself in the language owing to the increasingly personal and subjective standpoint of authors—these and other causes contributed to hasten the downfall of Latin. The sentences became as ill-constructed as the buildings of the time; Livy's periods often transcend the limits of the beautiful by their lengthiness, those of later writers by their brevity and terseness. Cicero always studied neatness and balance in the structure of his sentences; but it was now the fashion to avoid such balancing. Instead of "alii . . . alii" they wrote "alii . . . magna pars," etc.; ablatives were made to correspond with participles (Tac. Ann. i, 23; *fletu* and *verberans*, ii, i, *metu* and *diffusus*), so again adverb is balanced against noun (Tac. Ann. xv, 45, "prospere aut in metu"); or, again, different cases are balanced against each other (Tac. Ann. xiv, 19, "ut par ingenio ita morum diversus," Ann. vi, 30, "effusae clementia, modicus severitate"). Sentences which in classical Latin were carefully connected were often placed asyndetically in juxtaposition. Asyndeton and parenthesis were very much in favour (examples may be found in Dräger, "Einleitung zu Tac. Ann.," § 70, 75, 120). Words grew into a most unwieldy length—adjectives of seven syllables ending in *-ilis* and *-bilis* came to predominate: clumsy superlative forms, which had hitherto been avoided, occurred now with increasing frequency.

57. As material extravagance increased, style grew more bombastic and pointed, more showy

and pompous, more affected and artificial, and withal less attractive and more obscure in its expressions. It became overloaded with figures of speech, similes, and other poetical accessories intended to tickle the ear of *blasé* readers to the greatest possible degree. In old Latin, matter was the first consideration and form was of secondary consequence: the case was now reversed. Fawning and servility were on the increase, especially since the tyrannical *régime* of Nero and Domitian; men's last utterances were those of flattery, "Talis hominibus fuit oratio, qualis vita" (Seneca, Ep. 114, 1). Thus the style of this period corresponded strongly with that of the Germans in the commencement of the seventeenth century.* Stiff and *manieré* as the Spanish fashions in dress of that century, high-flown and affected was the style of both Germans and Romans; the aim was to appear witty and to make a brave show of striking and unfamiliar phrases; in both cases language was laden with daring metaphors and similes, far-fetched points and commonplaces of every kind. The writers hoped to carry off their intrinsic emptiness and lack of thought by high-flown phraseology. To this must be added a fawning politeness and cringing attitude towards the court and all high officials, the natural result of absolute government. The learned, at the Reformation, chose Cicero and the other classic authors as their models:—those of the following century lend themselves to the attrac-

* Cf. Euphuism in English, and such tricks of style as annomination. See Marsh, pp. 404 *sqq.*; see also Minto's commentaries on the style of Fuller, p. 307.

tions of their intellectual kinsmen, the late Latin authors, and are anxious to outdo these in their pompous and florid style.

58. But extremes meet. In Rome a reaction set in. Quintilian and the younger Pliny are the pair of writers who, more than any others, turned their eyes on antiquity and chose Cicero as their model. The classic written language had gradually died out, and seemed a strange tongue to its own people; the fact that the idiom employed in literature, and learnt in the school, began to be imperfectly understood by their contemporaries compelled authors to form their style on older models. But they found few imitators. Their efforts were a brief spring, followed by no summer; a nerveless struggle against the ever increasing self-consciousness of the age, itself the fruit of a period of tyrannical enslavement.

The whole generation was, as Pliny himself (Ep. viii, 14, 9) appositely remarked, "hebetata, fracta, contusa." It was unable, under the pressure of that stifling atmosphere, to rise into intellectual freedom. The flight of poetic genius was crippled; the only notable poet of the time was, significantly enough, a satirist—Juvenal. Prose advanced further on the downward path on which it had entered after the commencement of the Empire. Even finer natures, such as Nerva and Trajan, were unable, from the Imperial throne, to effect any change. Only strong characters, such as Tacitus, raised themselves by sheer strength of will and personality above the great mass, and went their own ways. Steeled by

misfortune, he created that pithy, weighty, compressed, concise style, which compels from us involuntary admiration for the man who could write it. "It is the gloomy flare of a devouring fire, wrath repressed, and prophetic melancholy, which finds its issue in the construction of these sentences. This sullen brevity, these swift lights and shades of thought and of irony, these volcanic oscillations of language, recall the symbols of a Cassandra who stands pensively on the verge of the destruction of the old world" (Mundt, "Deutsche Prosa," p. 58). Tacitus remarked with absolute clearness the moral degeneration of his people, and just as the Greeks held up the Hyperboreans, who, according to their conception, were in a state of childish simplicity and innocence, as their ideal, the great historian painted our forefathers, the old Germans, as the ideals of primeval force and virility, and as creatures of healthy frame and sound spirit. "Through all the narrative of Tacitus one seems to feel something of the spirit of bucolic poetry, with which civilized man appeases the longings of his fancy for primitive innocence" (Scherer, "Literaturgeschichte," p. 5). Tacitus paved the way for the literature to follow; the literature of Hadrian and the Antonines;—the hall-mark of this period is regret for the good old times that are past and gone;—this regret has left less traces on the morals of the period than on the literature. Quintilian indeed harked back to Cicero, but the authors of his day went further; Cato and his times were to rise anew. His style now came into favour, challenged imitation, and gained admiration. Favorinus,

the philosopher, twitted a young man with employing old-fashioned expressions as though he were holding converse with the mother of Evander (Gellius, Noct. Att. i, 10, 1). The Africans Fronto and Apuleius, whose glowing imagination, like their fatherland, produced monsters, outdid all in their affected archaisms (cf. A. Ebert, "De Syntaxi Frontoniana, acta semin. phil." Erlangen, ii, 311 *sqq.*; H. Koziol, "Der Stil des L. Apuleius," Vienna, 1872, p. 354; Kretschmann, "De Latinitate L. Apulei Madaurensis," Königsberg, 1865); Gellius was less pretentious and terser in style. That arch-dilettante, the Emperor Hadrian himself, favoured this tendency. The archaisms employed by these authors to place their language in singular and bold relief, remind one of old spots on a new garment. In short, the Renascence due to Quintilian was a marvellous rococo epoch ("Multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba: duodecim tabulas loquuntur. Gracchus illis et Crassus et Curio nimis culti et recentes sunt; ad Appium usque et ad Coruncanium redeunt"—Sen. Ep. 114, 13). The tide of foreign influence set in more vigorously than ever in the Capital, a natural consequence of the admission to full political privileges of those Roman subjects who now refused to recognize the literary supremacy of Rome, and presented themselves shamelessly with all their Provincialisms ("Unaquaeque gens facta Romanorum cum suis opibus vitia quoque et verborum et morum Romam transmisit"—Isid. Orig. i, 31). This sealed the fate of correct Latinity; numerous vulgarisms crept into the written language; caprice and

lawlessness ran riot, until finally literary and popular language began to coincide, and, as soon as the Germans had broken up the Roman kingdom, found a new life in the Romance languages.

59. It thus appears that it stands with the language and literature of the Romans as with their art, in fact, as with all art. Indeed, as Winckelmann has pointed out in one of his letters, art reflects, in the first instance the Necessary, then the Beautiful, finally the Superfluous. In the oldest period of literature, material interest took precedence, thought influenced form; in the classic period the two stood side by side with equal rights; the fair body demanded a fair dress; in Silver Latinity predominance was granted to *Form*.

It will be seen, then, that the last period contained already the germ of death. There was no substance beneath the surface, no truth underlying the style. It is true that the language contained enough force to serve as the expression of the new spirit of Christendom; but this was an expiring flare, and, what is more, in the Latin of the Church Fathers Greek influence is so evident that patristic literature may be described as half Hellenized.

III

THE LANGUAGE OF THE POETS

60

AT all times, and among all peoples whom the Muses have deigned to patronize, we find a broad distinction between the creations of prose and poetry.* The lofty attitude of the singer, himself too far removed from the views of ordinary life, demands in its language a loftier tone. All that, in his hour of melancholy, comes from his heart is sacred, and can therefore only appear clothed in dignified and stately language. It is the task of the poet to describe the beautiful, to lull the heart by his sweet melodies and by his utterances of divine sublimity; hence he must ever be careful to clothe these sublime thoughts in a fair dress, to delight at once eye and ear, heart and sense; the highest law of his diction is in fact *Beauty*.

61. The poet's art is in fact nearly allied with music. Singers and poets occupy common ground in popular estimation, and frequently meet in the language which they employ. The notes of the

* Cf. Abbot and Seeley's "English Lessons for English People: the Diction of Poetry," pp. 54 *sqq*. "The prose writer, in his choice of a word, will prefer that which conveys his meaning most successfully; the poet will prefer that which gives most pleasure," etc.

harp accompanied the lays of the rhapsodists of old, uttered by the lips of the Maeonian bard, and even at the present day many an utterance of the lyric poets is converted by the art of the composer into a melodious song.

Sweet and soft sound the rhythms whereby the poet's thoughts are wafted lightly as on wings; indeed, as Freytag in his "Technik des Dramas," p. 275, remarks: "In the rhythmic harmony of verse, feeling and emotion, divorced from the realities of life, become, as it were, transfigured, and enchant the spirit of the listener."

The technique of Indo-Germanic poetry was straightforward and simple. The long line moved in stately cadence, its principle reposed on the rise and fall of the pitch accent. From it were developed the Indian Sloka and the German metre of the "Niebelungenlied," as well as the Hexameter of the Greeks, and the Saturnian of the old Romans. Each nation, in the course of centuries, recast into a new form its ancient hereditary heirloom; as national peculiarities developed, the ancient long line of each nation's poetry took a new colour; the light gliding movement of the Hexameter suited the versatility of the Greeks; the serious and dignified demeanour of the ancient Romans was satisfied by their development of the Saturnian, with its accentual stress, its alliteration, its progression in sober and measured time. Horace calls this metre "numerus horridus" (Epist. ii, 1, 157); he dislikes it, in fact, as much as he dislikes the uncultured language of that period. But the eyes of the singer who was commonly

occupied with the rules of Greek rhythm, were partially blinded—he could no longer look with an unprejudiced and impartial view upon the creations of his ancestors.

62. In old Ionic Greek, with its plastic and melodious forms and its great flexibility, the Hexameter was in its right place, more especially in the descriptions of details suited to epic poetry, for the Hexameter is not merely the natural vehicle for simple narration, but it suits the regular construction of the sentence, and it favours generally a current of language which is lively in tone and moves confidently onwards. But it was less fitted to suit the exigences of Latin. When, however, it had been once introduced and cordially welcomed by the Hellenized portion of the better classes, the Romans had to reckon with it and bring it into harmony with their national character. Hence it was that Latin poets departed from Greek usage by intercalating the more weighty and impressive spondee, and this is also the reason why they preferred to employ the masculine *caesura*, with its more rigid delimitations, strongly marking the divisions into which the line naturally falls, particularly in the third foot (*caesura semiquinaria*, τομὴ πενθημιμερής). Again they disliked lengthy words of four syllables (Horace's *sesquipedalia verba*) at the end of the Hexameter, which the Greeks preferred as giving the verse a soft and melodious ending ("gracili mollem pede claudere versum," Verg. Cir. 20). It was for this reason, too, that they had such a strong objection to spondaic

lines in the penultimate foot of the Hexameter (*versus spondiaci*) which, as we know, fell mostly on quadrisyllabic words (cf. Quintilian, ix, 4, 65). Though Ennius, and following him Lucretius, employed soft verse terminations like *naturai*, we may look in vain for such in classical Latin; the only exception to this rule is to be found in the fact that writers of the latter period allowed certain exceptions in the case of Greek words (cf. "lenissimus Onchesmites," Cic. Ad Att. vii, 2).

63. As in the case of the Hexameter, so the lyric metres which made their way more freely into Roman poetry had to yield to the levelling influence of the Roman linguistic spirit. Thus, for instance, it is notorious that Horace in his Alcaics and Sapphics replaces, where the verse admits, a trochee or an iambus by a spondee, just as in his Odes he has carried through the long syllable in the anacrusis; these are mere tricks of style, aiming at bringing the metres which took their origin on foreign soil into harmony with the peculiarities of the Latin tongue.

64. It was, however, the sense of beauty which dictated not merely the new shape of the metres, but also the choice of words. There is indeed no doubt that the tone and the expression of the Satires and Epistles approach much more nearly the language of the people than the more refined diction of the Odes and Elegies, and that many words are admitted into the former which are banned by the latter. But speaking generally we must admit that

the poet has not merely in his expressions, but particularly in his choice of words, kept the ideal of beauty before his eyes. His one irrefragable law is to avoid sullying his style with common words. The motto on his ensign is "Odi profanum vulgus (verborum) et arceo."*

Hackneyed and vulgar expressions, far from setting off poetry, rob it of its charm and therefore are in place only when the poet wishes to attain a certain definite end.† Vulgar expressions like *agaso*, *balatro*, *caupo*, *nebulo*, *popino* certainly occur in Horace, but in his more or less popular works, the Satires‡ and the Epistles; the portals of lyric poetry are closed to them; we may look for them in vain in the Odes and Epodes. A genuinely inspired poet, in whom the true poetic fire burns bright and clear, will permeate his diction with harmony, stateliness, and purity; and noble as his mind and intellect will be the words which issue from his mouth:

> Audebit, quaecumque parum splendoris habebunt
> Et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna ferentur
> Verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant
> Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestae.
> (Hor. Ep. ii, 2, 111.)

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* Cf. Mackail, "Latin Literature," p. 114. "In his measured epithets, his curious fondness for a number of very simple and abstract words, and the studious simplicity of effect in his most elaborately designed lyrics, he reminds one of the method of Greek bas-reliefs or . . . of the sculptured work of Mino of Fiesole."

† Such as characterization, or, again, it may be bathos.

‡ The first book of the Satires shows, to quote Mr. Mackail, "a vein of artistic vulgarity" which is wanting in his later work.

65. In every Literature there occur a large number of expressions which are exclusively, or almost exclusively, confined to poetic use. These expressions were either the actual creations of the poets, as many ornamental adjectives certainly were; or else they came in course of time to be specially favoured for the purposes of poetry, and were thereby maintained as living factors in the language of the poets, while they disappeared from the popular language; such are for instance *latices* and *lympha*, for "water." It were an interesting task to trace accurately the conceptions to which different nations, in their poetical vocabulary, apply such special words; such a quest would throw many an interesting sidelight on national peculiarities. It is characteristic of German that the words *Maid* and *Ross* are contrasted with *Mädchen* and *Pferd*;* we recognize in this distinction a testimony to the high admiration for woman and for the noblest of the brute creation entertained by Teutonic peoples. It is not less significant that the Hebrew in his poetic style possesses special words to express the name of *God*. The lifework of Israel lay, in fact, in religion; the main current of the Semitic spirit set not towards the world with its manifold external phenomena, but looked beyond this, to the Godhead itself. Thus again, the Roman possesses two words for the sword, the prosaic *gladius* and poetical *ensis*. It would thus appear that ideas which appeal most to the popular imagination tend to lose by time the definiteness of

* Much as "wench" and "nag" may be contrasted with "girl" and "horse" in English.

their meaning, and are the first to suffer from the differentiation between the diction of poetry and prose.

It frequently happens that the difference between poetical and prose diction consists merely in the employment of a different suffix as *pauperies* = *paupertas*; *iuventa* = *iuventus*; *contagium* = *contagio*; *oblivium* = *oblivio*; *Graii* = *Graeci*; *rabidus* = *rabiosus*; or again it may be in a newly formed plural such as *sibila* = *sibili*; which last, as it could find no place in a Hexameter, may be due to metrical exigences.

66. Besides this, foreign influences must be taken into account. As the German looks on everything which comes from "near here" as less valuable than what comes from a distance, the Roman resembles him in the preference shown by Latin authors for Greek snippets rather than for good old Latin words. For instance, the names *Tartarus* and *carbasus*, whose usage instead of *inferi* and *velum* is reserved almost exclusively for the language of poetry, hail from Greece. Besides, Greek expressions fell in most cases more agreeably on the ears than sounds of home origin. Indeed, Quintilian expressly remarks (xii, 10, 33): "Tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior ut nostri poetae, quoties dulce carmen esse voluerunt illorum id nominibus exornarent." How could the harmony of the words *diota*, *barbitos*, *philyra*, *amystis*, and the varied lights and shades of their liquid vowels, escape the notice of a writer like Horace?

67. The second main requirement of the poet is Vividness and Perspicuity.* "For poetical representation, keen and sharp-cut outlines and subtlety of reasoning are of less account than the impression produced on the mind of the reader and the fascination produced by figurative expression. The poet appeals in the first instance to the heart; his creations appeal to the feelings rather than to the understanding; and from the feelings they challenge a lively response. The prose writer, on the other hand, appeals first and foremost to intelligence; his productions challenge careful and well-considered reflection. It follows that the prose writer must choose words appropriate to the subject, such as represent the subject of the discourse in proper perspective;—he must express himself clearly and logically, for his object is to produce conviction. The poet, on the other hand, must write gracefully and suit his style to his subject. He must write with liveliness and observation, and the form of his discourse must be graceful and must appeal to the heart, for his aim is to give pleasure.† But, we may ask, how does a poet attain this vividness and perspicuity? It may be that he brings objects directly before our view by means of picturesque expression

* The German term *Anschaulichkeit* has no exact English equivalent. It means the property of standing out boldly before the eye or mind of the reader, so that he cannot fail to visualize the conception.

† Poetry should be "simple, sensuous, and passionate" (Milton). By "sensuous" is meant that which appeals readily to the senses, and hence poetry prefers picturesque images to the enumeration of dry facts. (Abbot and Seeley, p. 56.)

or action dramatically quickened into life, or it may be by means of rhetorical exaggeration and the effects produced by contrast."

68. Forcible pictures are gained in poetry by the use of picturesque side-touches. Much that in prose would be omitted as superfluous is often an indispensable element for the poet. Thus we find, *e.g.* in Vergil (Aen. i, 614), "ore locuta est"; i, 94, "voce refert"; i, 579, "animum arrecti," and in other places words like *manu*, *oculis*, etc., which appear for the sense of the passage superfluous. We may add to this the ornamental adjectives characteristic of poetry, which resemble dewdrops sparkling like diamonds under the sun's rays. They lend a marvellous charm to poetic language and appeal powerfully to the imagination, for by bringing out the most marked characteristics of different objects they force them on our attention in the most striking way.* If they are new and original they produce a greater effect still. In this respect it must be admitted that the Roman poets are somewhat unfortunate; they frequently mutilate what they have found in their old Greek models, and thus it is that they often fall short of the fine observation and grace of the corresponding Greek expression. How commonplace and ineffective appears the rendering of πτερόεις by *celer*; of νῆες ἀμφιέλισσαι by *curvae naves*; of καλλιῤῥόῳ ποτάμῳ by *flumine pulchro*; of εἰνοσίφυλλος by *silvis*

* Cf. such instances as "the dog with *ivory* teeth" (Cowper); "the thunder winged with *red* lightning" (Milton); "reaped in *iron* harvests of the field" (Pope). (Abbot and Seeley, p. 58.)

coruscis [or by *frondosum* as in Catullus]: or again the attributes of the Homeric heroes [as κορυθαίολος (of Hector) and Ares] are poorly rendered by *cristatus*, and καλλιπάρῃος and καλλιπλόκαμος by *pulcher*! And how different the effect produced by ἠὼς ἠριγένεια from Ovid's imitation in "Aurora vigil" (Met. ii, 112)!

The incomparable beauty of the Homeric epithets, however, depends not merely upon their individualizing power, but upon their comprehension of several traits in a terse and pregnant form. Homer's composite epithets are as a rule more graceful than his simple ones, and the skill of the master-poet displays itself in the formation of such compounds. In his happiest moments it falls to the creative spirit of the singer to give life and being to many a brilliant union of ideas, embodied in a word found in no dictionary, and as yet unconsecrated by the usage of language. Lessing spoke in high approval of Wieland's happy power of coining words; and when Schiller speaks of the "giftgeschwollene Bäuche" [venom-puffed bellies] of serpents, or of "leichtgeschürzte Horae" (gossamer-kirtled Hours), and Goethe of "feuchtverklärtes Blau" (mist-transfigured blue), or of the "wellenatmende Mond" (the wave-panting moon), we can at once in such epithets as these recognize the genius of the true poet,* "ex ungue leonem." Now beyond all question such compounds are more

* Cf.:

> The always-wind-obeying deep
> With rocks unscaleable, and roaring waters.
> The multitudinous seas.
>
> SHAKESPEARE.

striking and give a truer picture than tactless periphrases, and they are certainly terser and more easily intelligible. A single word is surely more effective than a series of several words; for instance, ῥοδοδάκτυλος is more striking and powerful than "plena rosarum" (Ovid, Met. ii, 113). We cannot then wonder that the Roman poets from the earliest times directed their efforts to the task of rendering their stiff Latin more flexible and more manageable. Following the lead of Homer, that inexhaustible source whence all the epic poets of Rome have drunk deep, even the oldest Roman poets created a series of new terminations, and from that time the Romans painfully and steadfastly set themselves to attain what the unfortunate nature of their language denied them:

> Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
> Graeco fonte cadent, parce detorta.
>
> Hor. Ars Poet. 52 *sqq.*

The epic poets since Ennius had a particular fancy for formations which owe their origin to the influence of dactylic rhythm, *i.e.*, words which in the second half of the compound began with a short syllable, and were mainly derivatives of verbs with a short stem-syllable, as for instance *magniloquus*;—in such a case we can see that a dactyl is produced by the process of composition, when a trochaic precedes it as the first member of the compound.

69. In cases where the poet finds that a mere epithet fails to touch our fancy he likes to avail himself of a fuller presentation of the idea, *e.g.*, of

the figure called "Distributio" or division of the parts of the statement. Thus when Vergil wishes to insist on the fact that something in his mind will last for ever, he expresses himself (Aen. i, 567) in these words:

> In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
> Lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
> Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,

and Ovid (Met. xv, 871) repeats the same thought: "Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis Nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas."* As we know from Lessing's "Laocöon," it was a fine artistic touch of Homer's to translate the description of objects into action, in fact to change co-existence into sequence.

Writers like Goethe in the same spirit (*e.g.*, in the description of the host in "Hermann und Dorothea") followed this example. Now the old Romans were completely lacking in apprehension of this fine trait of epic technique, and although they read Homer as well as we do, they devoted their utmost efforts to dry descriptions of objects. What a feeble reproduction of the famous picture of Achilles' shield is the corresponding episode of the eighth book of the "Aeneid" (607-731) with its ever-recurring "here is" and "there is"!

Homer presents us with the picture of Hephaestus, and we see by the aid of his master-hand the shield

* Cf.:

> Thou mass of honour, thou King Richard's tomb,
> And not King Richard: thou most beauteous inn, etc.
>
> SHAKESPEARE, K. Rich. II.

ordered by Thetis composed and welded together. Vergil tells us how one picture after another is seen on the work of art he is describing. It is worth while to compare the representation given by the same poet of the door of the Temple of Apollo at Cumae (Aen. vi, 20 *sqq.*), and the description of the pictures in the temple of Juno at Carthage (Aen. i, 465 *sqq.*), or the sketch of the sun-god given by Ovid (Met. ii, 1 *sqq.*): and we shall speedily be in a position to judge how inferior were the Romans to the Greeks in such pictures.

70. Effective expression is, however, sometimes secured by figures of speech. At one time the poet appeals to the imagination of the reader or hearer by putting a part for the whole: as *puppis*, *carina*, or it may be *velum*, for an entire ship. In this case he appeals to the reader to widen by his own efforts the conception presented to him.* Sometimes again the poet causes the hearer to apprehend, say, the idea of an elephant under an elephant's tooth, while the oak tree shrinks in his description down to an oak leaf. He gives us the ash for the spear, the gold for the golden vessels, or *flamma* for heat, *lux* for day; that is to say he changes the agent and the object acted upon. Just as Schiller speaks of stones as feeling, of nature as devout, of flight as hurrying, so the Roman poet endows ears and arms with

* This very effort produces a sense of surprise on the mind of the reader, and a series of new impressions is part of the technique of poetry in general. See Herbert Spencer's "Philosophy of Rhetoric."

feeling and receptivity when he sings "Auriculae gaudent praenomine" or "brachia gaudentia loris." Inanimate nature assumes life before his mind's eye: he breathes the breath of life into all that surrounds him.*

71. It is true that even in their treatment of these figures of speech, the Romans must be ranked far behind their kinsmen the Greeks. They are most independent and most original in the employment of Synecdoche,† a form of trope employed by all poets more frequently than any other. There was nothing more to do in this case than to interchange two conceptions which, as a rule, stand spatially connected, and thus suggest each other. Those next in frequency are metonymy and antonomasia, the tropes most applicable to attributes and apposition. In these the relation of the conceptions to each other is somewhat harder to gather, as it does not present itself immediately to the mind. Now the employment of metonymy must be admitted to be a little monotonous, and the frequent recurrence of *Mars* for *bellum*, of *Ceres* for *frumentum*, of *Liber* or *Bacchus* for *vinum*, of *Vulcanus* for *ignis*, of *Phoebus* for *Sol*, of *Nereus* for *mare*, and of all the rest of the deities who have to be marshalled in procession whenever their products are mentioned, is not calculated to

* The English reader may consult Blair's "Lectures on Rhetoric" (xiv), "on the origin and nature of figurative language," and Campbell's "Rhetoric," and Whateley's "Rhetoric."

† See Bain's "English Composition," p. 22, for numerous instances of these figures of speech.

give us an exalted idea of the imagination of the Roman poets.* The violence of the change is still more felt in the case of antonomasia. The Greek patronymics are extremely useful in such cases (*e.g.*, *Pelides* = *Achilles*): we may set against these *satus*, *editus*, *natus* (*e.g.*, *Maia natus* = *Mercurius*), *genus* (*Iapeti genus* = *Prometheus*), *senex Pylius* = *Nestor*, *filius Anchisae* = *Aeneas*, *fratres Helenae* = *Castor and Pollux*, etc.

72. The invention of the Roman poets appears poorer than ever in its attempts at metaphors and similes. Setting aside the cases of such transferences of signification as it shares with prose, it possesses but a scanty stock of metaphors; certainly such cases as Aen. vi, 1 *sqq.*, where they are regularly packed together, must be considered rarities; much that we find in the poets of the Augustan age takes its origin from the Alexandrine poets. The similes, too, are in many cases borrowed directly from the Greek, and Father Homer, above all others, has been ransacked for the purpose: *e.g.*, passages like Aen. i, 589 *sqq.*, and i, 498, point straight to Odyssey, vi, 232 *sqq.*, and vi, 102 *sqq.* But we cannot describe the imitation as particularly happy: it appears rather artificial and forced. How far more graceful is the comparison of Nausicaa sporting cheerfully in the circle of her playmates, with Artemis and her train of hunters and huntresses, than that of Dido, who, mid a circle of men, proceeds to the temple of Justice, with the Huntress-

* See Bain, p. 20, "Figures of contiguity."

Goddess! When the Roman poets stand on their own ground they do not shrink from repeating themselves. The comparison of human activity with the restless activity of the bees, which we find in Aen. i, 430 *sqq.*, is repeated by the poet almost word for word from Georg. iv, 162, 169. Certain similes, as, for instance, where a hard heart is likened to a rock, or to iron, occur quite frequently. As early as Ennius we meet with (Fr. 101) "quasi ferrum aut lapis durat," and (Fr. 174) "lapideo corde": possibly after the pattern of the Greek tragedians (Eurip. Medea, 29, 1279; Andr. 537). Ovid offers similar examples: Met. ix, 613; vii, 32; xiv, 712. Heroid. 7, 37; Trist. i, 8, 41; iii, 11, 3; iv, 12, 31. In like manner we mark the recurrence of a comparison of an unfeeling person with some monster of the sea such as Scylla or Charybdis, or with some beast such as a lion or a tiger; such are frequently met with (cf. Catull. 60, 1, 64, 154. Ovid, Met. viii, 120; ix, 613; vii, 32). Besides this the poets fall not unfrequently into the fault of heaping simile on simile in a single passage; and they not seldom run the risk of wearying their readers by citing strings of examples.

73. In one class of figures of speech the Romans surpass their Greek masters, namely, in allegory, and in the personification of emotions such as Terror, Desire, Wrath. Such personifications are much in favour with authors. Indeed, Herder goes so far as to assign to Horace as a special virtue his personification of abstract, and especially

of moral, ideals: *e.g.*, Odes, iii, 1, 14 "Necessitas sortitur" ("this is a master trait of his genius, and one of the ornaments of his odes"). But surely such personifications were not peculiar to Horace: other writers afford in a greater or less degree examples of the same use of this figure. In Tibullus *Spes*, *Pax*, *Mors*, *Poena*, etc., in Ovid *Cura*, *Amor*, etc., appear as personified beings: and the more closely we scrutinize Roman literature from its origin downwards, the more we find the propensity developed for dead abstraction and cold allegory. Doubt, Hunger, Age, Illness, etc., find full play in Silius, Italicus, Claudius, and his contemporaries. The Italian too often peoples his Pantheon with bloodless and colourless figures, and similar figures compose a good portion of his poetry.

From what has been said it is evident that the Roman poets were not endowed with the vigorous imagination or the versatility and cleverness of the Greeks, but that they devoted themselves to the purely intellectual mental processes of reflection and abstraction. Greek poetry is a delightful garden provided with an abundance of Flora's choicest products, with many-hued and joyous nymphs sporting around. Roman poetry resembles rather a well-tended, tastefully laid out, and carefully parcelled vegetable garden.

74. If *Plastic** in language serves to bring an

* There is no word in English which exactly renders the German *Plastik*. Perhaps the nearest is visualization. It means the

object nearer to our view, figures of augmentation and contrast are employed by the poets to magnify such object, and to render it more sensible to our view. Repetitio (Anaphora), Epizeuxis or Epanalepsis, Gradatio (Climax), Litotes, Hendiadys, Pleonasm, Hyperbole, Polysyndeton, Antithesis, Chiasmus, Oxymoron, and many other figures, all tend to the same end. Where the prose writer says "ubi secuit, in membra redegit," it is open to the poet, in order to bring out the speedy sequence of the actions described, to use the pleonastic expression, "secuit sectamque in membra redegit" (Ovid, Met. i, 33). Again, Vergil, with characteristically epic redundance, writes "cavae cavernae" (Aen. ii, 53), "rursus relegens" (Aen. ii, 690), etc.* This kind of pleonasm is not, it is true, specifically Latin, but it is a prominent characteristic of Roman poetry, and can easily be explained as that of a people who have from the earliest times busied themselves with the study of jurisprudence, and who have accordingly accustomed themselves to exact and lucid methods of expression.

The same purpose of "raising" is served by the frequent use of concrete nouns in the plural instead of in the singular, which is very common with parts of the human body, such as *colla*, *corda*, *pectora*, etc.; objects serving for traffic, such as *currus*, *arcus*, *iuga*, *carinae*, and designations of localities, such as *litora*,

power of presenting an image so that it shall stand out in just perspective and bold relief.

* Cf. the *figura etymologica* so often met with in Plautus; *e.g.*, "Venus venusta."

rura, sedes, tecta (cf. P. Maas, "Studien zum poetischen Plural," Wölfflin's "Archiv f. lat. Lex." xii, 479 *sqq.*; Ed. Hailer, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des poet. Plur. bei den röm. Elegikern, Freisinger Progr.," 1902, and above, § 27), and similarly the employments of *mille, centum*, etc., for a number however small. Ordinary mortals may find it necessary to reckon with accuracy the sum of certain figures; the singer does not worry himself about such prosaic trifles. He prefers to speak in round numbers in order to increase his impressiveness: *mille lacer spargēre locis* is the prophecy uttered to Pentheus in Ovid's "Metamorphoses" (iii, 522), and to the rainbow a thousand hues are ascribed (Aen. iv, 701). No scholar will take exception to such exaggerations on the score of his more exact information, for the store of colours in the broken sunrays can hardly be expressed in a single word more gracefully than it is here.

The figure called *Litotes* was a very favourite one with the classical poets: it occurs frequently in formulae which have passed from generation to generation; *e.g.*, "non dissimulator amoris," Ov. Met. v, 61; "cura non levis," Hor. Carm. i, 14, 18 (cf. C. Weymann, "Studien über die Figur der Litotes," Jahrb. f. Phil., Supplem. xv, 1887, pp. 453-556). The Hyperbole is more effective still; we find it in Vergil employed on a far more extensive scale than in Homer. Sometimes the number or the size is exaggerated, as in the case of mountains, rocks, trees, vessels; sometimes the qualities of human beings or of beasts—their strength or swiftness—

sometimes the power of emotion (cf. R. Hunziger, "Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils," Berlin, 1896).

75. We meet very frequently with allusions to natural monstrosities. Such allusions depend on the Roman taste for strong contrasts and their effects. This taste appears strongly developed as early as the Alexandrian poets, and in composers of idylls, like Theocritus; but it occurs also, though more rarely, in Archilochus (Fr. 76); Euripides (Medea, 410, etc.). The Romans must have borrowed from these models, as is clear from their frequently using identical phraseology. Thus Naevius (Bell. Pun. fr. inc. 11) says: "prius locusta pariet Lucam bovem." In Plautus we read amongst other passages, Poen. iii, 5, 31: "lupo agnum eripere postulant," Asin. 99: "iubeas me piscari in aëre," and Asin. 79: "nudo detrahere vestimenta": in Lucretius (v, 128 [and 878]): "sicut in aethere non arbor, non aequore salso Nubes esse queunt neque pisces vivere in arvis Nec cruor in lignis neque saxis succus inesse.* This conception appears again and again in varying forms. The other figures of speech also had become part and parcel of the stock phraseology of the Roman people. Their genius for rhetoric and their forensic training alike rendered such figures indispensable adjuncts even to their poetry. A striking turn for

* Cf. also for such pictures Hor. Ars Poetica, 1-5, which seems itself to have been borrowed from Plato's "Phaedr." p. 246 (Jowett's translation). Cf. also Vergil's picture of Scylla, Aen. iii, 426, and of the Triton, Aen. x, 211.

oratorical and declamatory pathos manifested itself even in the Roman poets of the first rank, and only too often hollow phrases and empty verbiage took the place of warm and genuine feeling: they strove to mask their shallow thoughts and their lack of profundity by pompous pretentiousness and meretricious ornament.

76. Of course different writers have their own peculiarities: Vergil and Propertius display a marked tendency towards parallelism,* resembling that found in Hebrew poetry, and they thus enable us to approach an idea from different sides: no one surpasses Propertius in rhetorical questions and in the figure of Apostrophe: the Hendiadys, of which we meet but a single example in Propertius (iii, 4, 9), meets us often in the poems of Vergil. We find the figure ἀπὸ κοινοῦ more frequently in Horace than in other poets. The effective dismemberment of a conception into its parts, or of an occurrence into its separate stages is a characteristic of the technique of Tibullus:† Ovid—not to mention the comic poets—is fond of plays upon words.‡

Naturally all these rhetorical accessories give the

* Cf. Postgate's "Propertius, Select Elegies," p. lxxi. An instance is: "sive illam Hesperiis sive illam ostendet Eois, Uret et Eoös, uret et Hesperios."

† A peculiarity of Tibullus is that an epithet which belongs to each of a group of nouns is sometimes expressed once only, and then with the last noun, as i, 1, 32, "messes et bona vina date," *i.e.*, "messes bonas et vina bona." See Postgate, *ad loc.*

‡ Cf. Met. xiii, "Non oblita animorum, annorum oblita suorum" = "forgetting her age but not her rage," as Simmons renders it. Other instances are Tristia, i, 16; ii, 16; and iv, 5, 7.

language the appearance of artificiality. The expression seems too often cold and affected: the verve that springs from the heart in Greek poetry is felt to be lacking. Just as the Romans fell below the Greeks in their power of creating life-like figures out of blocks of marble, so did they miss the secret of drawing living harmonies from language.

77. The third main law of the diction of poetry is Naturalness. The poet may be as childishly simple as Homer, or he may awake pathos as Horace has done in his Odes: in no case should his language suggest the result of deep thought or appeal to the intellect alone. No one in periods of high emotion thinks of speaking in orderly and artificially grouped periods: and in the language of the poet, the logic which marshals facts, the care which disposes them, the intellect which weighs them and calculates their consequences, should remain unseen. The tendency to employ simple and uncomplicated constructions corresponds with the effort after easiness of comprehension and plainness of expression. The language of poets moves by preference in main sentences (cf. Aen. i, 402: "Dixit et avertens rosea cervice refulsit"; i, 438: "Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis"). The free use of adjectives (*e.g.*, Aen. i, 208: "curisque ingentibus aeger" = "quamquam curis ingentibus aeger erat")* and the preference for par-

* For a more striking instance still see Lucan "Pharsalia," ii, 231 *sqq.*: "Neuter civilia bella moveret *Contentus* quo Sulla fuit": "Neither Caesar nor Pompey would begin Civil War *if* they were content with what contented Sulla."

ticiples instead of subordinate sentences lends their phrases an impressive terseness: clumsy gerundial constructions are avoided where possible, and final sentences have a tendency to be replaced by an infinitive. Co-ordination in their sentences is sometimes used instead of subordination; the connections of the sentences therefore resemble a long-drawn chain, in which link is joined to link: while the rhetorical and historical periods remind us rather of a closely welded ring which fastens all parts, great or small, in orderly and precise sequence in a single and well-arranged whole. Where the prose-writer would say "ubi corripuere, ruunt," Vergil says (Aen. v, 145): "corripuere ruuntque" (cf. ix, 410: "dixerat et . . . conicit"): and instead of "cum inversum" we often find *ecce* (*e.g.*, "certum est dare lintea retro; ecce autem," Aen. iii, 686).* Sometimes we meet with a simple parataxis as "iam Lucifer surgebat: cessi," Aen. ii, 801 *sqq.* (cf. also vii, 621; viii, 83; ix, 432). A lengthy period of *oratio obliqua* is suitable enough for the historian, but for the poet it is too ponderous.

78. Though it is, generally speaking, true that the Roman poets have held by the principles mentioned, there are still many passages in their works which might seem to support the contrary view. Too frequently they succumb to the innate weakness of the Roman writers, the habit of moralizing (cf. Aen. iii, 496; iv, 14). The Odes of Horace leave the impression of being constructed to order

* Where we should expect some such expression as "When suddenly."

from a turner's workshop. Thus we find these are written with due regard paid to the method of joining sentences in prose: even such conjunctions as are usual in the case of syllogisms, such as *ergo* and *quodsi*,* are not rarely found in these compositions.

Dovetailing his sentences again is a characteristic trait of Horace: we often find all kinds of parenthetical insertions just as in the artistically constructed periods of the historian, so that the poet seems to have written his Strophes rather for the eye than the ear. Of all the Augustan poets Horace stands in his language nearest to the prose-writers. In Vergil's poetry we often find long periods, especially in the speeches of the persons introduced as actors; and the elegiac poets have unintermittently striven, in order to meet the requirements of the distich, to render their language more and more flexible. Propertius was the first to achieve a fair success in closing the thought with the close of the pentameter.†

* Cf. Lucretius, who abounds with such conjunctions as *igitur*, *quandoquidem*, *proinde*. He, at any rate, never strives to conceal "the logic which marshals facts"; and he is wont to recapitulate the results of long passages in a few short lines—a rhetorical trait. His scrupulous endeavour to be circumstantial, causing him to repeat such phrases as *ut docui*, *quod quoniam docui*, sometimes reminds one of a legal document; another aspect in which he is typically Roman.

† Cf. Postgate, "Select Elegies," chap. iv. "Propertius' general superiority in vigour and variety to Tibullus appears in their versification. That of Tibullus is hardly ever impressive, and is apt sometimes to become monotonous. Both in hexameter

79. The fourth and last quality peculiar to poetry consists in its greater freedom from the restrictions which rule the composition of prose. In the first place the poet enjoys a greater licence in the position of his words than the prose-writer. In the case of modern languages this holds true in certain cases only, but in ancient languages, in which the retention of the full terminations aided quick apprehension of the meaning, and in which the close relationship of the several clauses could, without trouble, be discovered, the greatest licence prevailed. To emphasize very strongly two connected conceptions, the poets not uncommonly inserted words so that the adjectival attribute formed the commencement and the substantive the end of the verse: indeed, they even postponed the subject, when particular stress was to be laid upon it, to the end of the sentence, and at the same time to the beginning of a verse. For instance in Ovid's Met. ii, 818, the three words *stemus isto pacto* are parted by the words introducing the *oratio recta* so that the verse runs: "*Stemus*" *ait* "*pacto*" *velox Cyllenius* "*isto.*" Again, by placing monosyllabic words at the end of the hexameter the impression of contrast is insisted upon, or some artificial aim attained, *e.g.*, "parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus." * In short the poet, by the freedom granted him in the arrangement of his words, has the privi-

and pentameter Propertius shows a freer structure than Tibullus, and, we need not add, than Ovid."

* "Procumbit humi bos." Cf. also Verg. Aen. i, 105, "Praeruptus aquae mons."

lege of a method whereby he attains marvellous effects, assuming that he is capable of employing them artistically.

80. The poet enjoys one further privilege; he can employ archaisms much more widely than the prose-writer; he can overleap many barriers which from a linguistic point of view divide different ages. The historian, the orator, the prose-writer generally, are fairly circumscribed by these. Just as at the present day we seek by every means to maintain and to protect against wind and weather ruins hoary with age and rich in story, which rise from the smiling landscape silent witnesses of ages long past and gone: so do poets, more or less in their degree, aim at rescuing from oblivion the waifs and strays of language which linger in the diction of the ancient singers. The diction of poets is conservative: it cherishes and loves antique forms from a feeling of piety and discipline, especially as such forms generally possess a fuller and more powerful sonority and lend a romantic flavour to the vehicle of verse. Many obsolete words, many forms which in prose are superannuated, and have passed out of use, are again introduced to language from an older period and restored to life. Klopstock has the merit of having introduced anew into the German language, under English influence, words from older stages of German, as *Halle*, *Hain*, *Elf*, *Heim*, *Harm*: and Uhland has quickened words like *Gadem*, balcony, *Ferge*, ferryman, *pirschen*, to stalk game, *Wat*, garment, *Bracke*, hound, *fahen = fangen*, to

catch, *lobesam*, laudable, *gemachsam*, comfortable, into new, though artificial, life.

81. Horace, true to his maxim: "Multa renascentur, quae jam cecidere" (Ars Poet. 70), recalls old words like *altercari* (Sat. ii, 7, 57) and *indecorare* (Od. iv, 4, 36). Again, words like *divus*, *civicus*, and *hosticus*, which occur again and again in the Augustan poets, had, except in certain combinations such as *divi manes*, *corona civica*, *in hostico*, almost fallen into disuse. Well-known words meet us again with meanings which had long disappeared from the living language:* such as *templum* (Aen. iv, 484) = τέμενος: *aptus*, Aen. iv, 482 = fitted on to, armed: *quiescere* in Aen. iv, 523, and in other places, is used inchoatively after the analogy of other verbs in *-sco*: *orare* stands in its original meaning "to speak," Aen. x, 96; vii, 446, etc.

Old forms of words, too, are saved from total disappearance by the language of the poet. In German the use of certain such words is allowed to poets, but not to prose-writers. Such words are *zurücke*, *geschwinde*, *Herze* = M.H.G. *zerucke*, (*ge*)

* For several instances of such words see Heerdegen, "Ueber historische Entwicklung lateinischer Wortbedeutungen," Erlangen, 1881. He shows, Part III, p. 18, that the use of *orare* was already in Plautus' time an archaism, and that the way in which it came to mean to "beg" or "pray" was the fact that *orare* in the sense of "to speak"[1] was commonly joined with *jus* and *aequum*. Cf. Livy, 39, 40, 12, "ipse pro se oraverit scripseritque," referring to Cato the Elder.

[1] The older sense remains, of course, in *orator*.

swinde, hërze: they prefer such forms as *woḃ* and *ward* to *webte* and *warde*, and they employ the forms *Bande* and *Lande* side by side with *Bänder* and *Länder*.* In the same way it is a favourite device with Horace to use words which in their form affect an archaic look: such are *cupressus, intumus, optumus, proxumus, lacrumosus, formonsus, thensaurus, lavere, sectarier, gnatus, mi = mihi, caldior = calidior, surpite = surripite, surrexe = surrexisse*; and Vergil commits himself to such forms as *olli = illi, quis = quibus, impete = impetu, faxo, accestis, accingier, fervĕre, ceu, ast*, etc., all with the view of investing his epic with an old-world colouring. Then the poets use simple instead of compound forms, to excite the imagination of the reader, who has accordingly to puzzle out for himself what is ordinarily expressed by the preposition: thus words like *piare, solari, tabere, temnere, linquere, suescere, tendere*, etc., have maintained themselves.

[In late Latin grammarians, such as the one who calls himself Vergilius Maro, we actually find forms like *sidera = considera*.] Active verbs again appear taking the place of the more ordinary deponents: thus *populant* (Aen. iv, 403): on which Servius remarks "Populant antique dixit; nam hoc verbum apud ueteres activum fuit, nunc autem deponens

* See Abbot and Seeley, "The Diction of Poetry," p. 55. "The antique and venerable associations which connect themselves with everything that is ancient, contain in themselves sufficient reason why archaic words should linger in elevated poetry. From such considerations as these Spenser employed throughout the whole of his 'Faery Queene' a diction which was almost as archaic to his contemporaries as it is to us."

est"; and who can deny that the old imperfect forms *mollibat* (Ovid, Met. viii, 199), *nutribat* (Aen. vii, 485), *lenibat* (Aen. vi, 468), and that such forms as *saecla, vincla, oracla*, with *u* slurred and omitted, are stronger and more effective, and hence more fitted to heroic Epic poetry than the corresponding forms common in prose: *saecula, vincula, oracula*?

Who can deny that the genitive in *-ûm* in the first and second declension, the accusative in *-is* in the third declension, and the perfect form in *-re* instead of *-runt* give the language a more stately stamp?

82. Often considerations of metre come into play. In German* the unrelenting bond of rhyme has protected and preserved many an old formation which would otherwise have fallen into oblivion. Roman poetry, however, which makes but spare use of rhyme, has preserved many forms from the fact that they fitted into the strict framework of the dactylic metre. Thus we find that in many cases the long vowels are maintained in verbal and nominal terminations. For the same reason Vergil forms the genitive plurals of participial and other noun forms in *-ns* exclusively in *-um* instead of *-ium*, as *moderantum, legentum*; and thus, under the stress of the demands of metre, he selects the old consonantal stems. But the demands of metre suggested other expedients as well: for as Cicero has said, Or. 202: "Poetae in numeris quasi necessitati parere coguntur." Cf. Quintil. i, 6, 2; viii, 6, 17. Vowels again are shortened, lengthened, or suppressed; for instance

* And in a less degree in English, *e.g.*, abideth, guideth.

we read in Vergil *constitĕrunt* (Aen. iii, 681) for *constitērunt*, *relligio* for *rĕligio* (Aen. xii, 182), *aspris* for *asperis* (Aen. ii, 379). The forms *imperator* and *imperare* are brought into verse by Ennius [Juvenal and others] by the employment of *induperator* and *induperare*; by Accius and Lucretius by that of *imperitare*: for *magnitudo* Accius writes *magnitas*, Lucretius *maximitas* [and Auct. Carm. de Phoenic. 145, *magnities*]: for *beneficia* Catullus writes *benefacta*; for *ēlŏquentia* Horace (Ars Poet. 217) writes *ēlŏquium* as did Vergil (Aen. xi, 383); for *supervacaneum* Horace (Od. ii, 20, 24) writes *supervacuum* (so again Ars Poet. 337; Epist. i, 15, 3); so for the oblique cases of *adulter* those of *moechus* are substituted (cf. "Archiv für lat. Lexicogr." xii, 435). Then there are certain typical and standing phrases or collocations of words which are handed down from generation to generation, and become current coin: indeed, it may well be doubted whether the Roman poets have not plundered the stores of their predecessors more effectually than those of any other country. Forms found in Ennius like *Caerula caeli* recur in Lucretius, Vergil, and others, and frequently in the very part of the verse which they occupied in the original. Thus the words "haec ubi dicta dedit," which Vergil borrowed from Ennius, open a verse in Vergil, and have even passed into Livy's prose, in which they open a sentence (xxii, 50). Thus Statius (Silv. iii, 1, 15) takes over Vergil's formula "Cernere erat" (ἦν ἰδεῖν) and uses it at the opening of a verse: thus again there occurs an Epic formula conditioned by the metre, in the case of the perfect participle

passive coupled with the oblique case of a word of two syllables occurring at the end of a verse, as "dilecta sorori" (Verg. Aen. iv, 31), "obsessa colono" (Tibul. iv, 1, 139), "Exterrita somno," "concita cursu," etc. Thus Valerius Flaccus, after the model of Aen. vi, 273, "primis in faucibus Orci," writes "primis stant faucibus Orci," i, 784; after Aen. viii, 25, "summique ferit laquearia tecti," v, 243 "per summi fulgor laquearia tecti" (cf. A. Grüneberg, "De Valerio Flacco imitatore," Berlin, 1893, p. 52, *sqq.*). Few nations feel the influence of tradition and imitation so strongly as the Romans; in few is individualism so feebly developed.

83. Finally we have to range under this head syntactical archaisms. As such are to be counted the use of the simple accusative and ablative in answer to the questions whither and whence, in the case of words which are not names of towns; and again the dative of the direction whither ["It clamor caelo" Verg.], which has maintained itself in the language of the poets, especially in the case of such common conceptions as Heaven, Orcus, earth, sea, Olympus, etc.

84. On the other hand *innovations*, or neologisms, appear in the language of the poets. These new turns given to language manifest themselves in the formation, the signification, and the syntax alike of words. We remember that Horace proudly claims the right of the poet to enrich his native language, "Ego cur, acquirere pauca Si possum, invideor,

cum lingua Catonis et Enni Sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum Nomina protulerit? Licuit semperque licebit Signatum praesente nota producere nomen" (Ars Poet. 55), and "adsciscet nova, quae genitor produxerit usus" (Ep. ii, 2, 119). And without a doubt most of the Latin poets have availed themselves of this right. As has been remarked before, the Latin writer felt the lack of compound adjectives, those almost indispensable auxiliaries to the poet for the embellishment of his diction. Hence since Ennius it was the aim of poets to supply this need as best they could. It is not unlikely that *altitonans* was a word coined by Ennius, *arcitenens* by Naevius, *magnisonus* by Accius, *frugiferens* by Lucretius, *suaveolens* by Catullus, *blandiloquens* by Laberius, *auricomans* by Vergil, *centimanus* by Horace, *racemifer* by Ovid: these words appear for the first time in their respective works. But it would take us too far were we to attempt to submit all such expressions to close scrutiny: so we content ourselves with pointing out a list of such similar formations as Ennius himself offers us. We find besides *altitonans* mentioned above: *velivolis* A. 381, *saxifragis* A. 564, *altisonus* A. 561, *bellicrepa* A. 105, *caelicolum* A. 483, *doctiloqui* A. 568, *dulciferae* A. 71, *flammiferam* Tr. 50, *mortiferum* Tr. 363, *opiferam* Tr. 165, *lanigerum* Sat. 42, *belligerantes* A. 201, *altivolans* A. 84, *bellipotentes*, *Sapientipotentes* A. 188, *omnipotens* Tr. 202, *bipatentibus* A. 62, *blandiloquentia* Tr. 305, *signitenentibus* Tr. 132, *velivolantibus* Tr. 89. On the other hand, we must not pass over the final portions of the composite words most

frequently in use, especially as they lend the words their typical stamp, and set the stereotyped patterns of word-formation to which the following generations of Roman poets conform: for the latter made it their object not so much to find new derivative syllables, as to connect these with new word-stems. The following are the principal of these: *sonus*, *loquus*, *volus*, *genus*, *fragus*, *comus*, *ficus*, *dicus*, *sequus*, *rapus*, *capus*, *legus*, *fugus*, *petus*, *parus*, *gradus*, *spicus*, *vagus*, *premus*, *vomus*, *iugus*, *terus*, *crepus*, *fer*, *ger*, *canens*, *potens*, *parens*, *volans*, *manus*, *color*, *modus*, etc. The poets of the Augustan and of the post-Augustan periods followed the precedent of the older poets, so that a large number of new formations arose, modelled on the pattern of those already in use.

Thus, to quote a single example, Latin literature displays about 170 compounds ending in *fer*, and about 80 in *ger*, of which the following make their first appearance in the Aeneid: *calli-*, *coni-*, *fati-*, *fumi-*, *legi-*, *mali-*, *olivi-*, *paci-*, *somni-*, *sopori-fer*; *ali-*, *turri-ger*; while Ovid shows 29 new formations in *fer*, and 9 in *ger*, which the following words seem to be employed by him alone: *aerifer*, *alifer*, *arundifer*, *bipennifer*, *caducifer*, *chimaerifer*, *corymbifer*, *cupressifer*, *gramifer*, *herbifer*, *papyrifer*, *populifer*, *racemifer*, *sacrifer*, *securifer*, *taedifer*, *tridentifer*, *turrifer*; *bicorniger*, *penatiger*, *tridentiger*.

85. Composition was not, however, the only process whereby new words were created; derivation played its part as well. In this process also Cicero

assigns greater liberty to the poets than to the orators. He writes, Or. 20, 68: "Ego autem, etiamsi quorundam grandis et ornata vox est poetarum, tamen in ea . . . licentiam statuo maiorem esse quam in nobis faciendorum iungendorumque verborum." Thus Horace forms from *cinctus* the adjective *cinctutus* (Ars Poet. 50), from *iuvenis* the verb *iuvenari* (Ars Poet. 246), from *ampulla*, *ampullari* (Ep. i, 3, 14); Vergil among others *gestamen*, *affatus*, *latrator*, *nimbosus*, *fumeus*, *cristatus*, *crinalis*, *stridulus*, *sternax*, *acervare*; Ovid is particularly fond of coining new adjectives in *-alis*, *-abilis*, *-eus*, *-osus*, and verbal substantives in *us* of the fourth declension, as well as in *-amen* and *-imen*, which lend themselves better to the exigences of metre than those in *-atio* and *-itio*, *e.g.*, *pacalis*, *agitabilis*, *dubitabilis*, *narratus*, *simulamen*: Martial has *celebrator*, *dormitor*, *esuritor*, *panariolum*. Greek terminations, too, are attached to Latin stems, and in this way hybrid stems were created as *Scīpĭădes* (Lucr. iii, 1032, etc.), *Memmĭădae* (Lucr. i, 26), *Stoĭcĭdae* (Juv. ii, 65).

86. Further, the poet possesses an inexhaustible source of novelties in the domain of word-signification. In this process he may give free rein to his fancy: he may exhibit his poetical genius in the most brilliant way, "Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum Reddiderit iunctura novum" (Ars Poet. 47). Horace himself gives in the same Ars Poetica, verse 49, an example of this maxim in the use of *indicium*. Again, such terms as *corripere*

viam (Verg. Aen. i, 418) are new, as are *exigere* "to beg news" (Aen. i, 309), *memorare* (Aen. i, 631), *resequi* (Ov. Met. vi, 36) "to answer": the important question of metaphors, too, comes into consideration in this connection.

87. Side by side with these changes, the syntax of the poets was enriched by a larger number of new constructions. They often seem purposely to make a new departure from the methods of prose-writers: otherwise what reason was there for changing the moods followed respectively by *quamquam* and *quamvis*, and connecting the latter with the indicative, and the former with the conjunctive? For what other possible reason could Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Horace have purposely avoided *utrum . . . an*, and have substituted *an . . . an, ne . . . ne*, or Vergil have written *seu . . . seu* (Aen. i, 287, etc.), *requirunt . . . seu vivere credent, sive extrema pati*? In most cases such novel methods of expression are analogical formations after ancient Roman or Greek models, though it is often hard to trace the exact source of the thought that inspired the innovation. It was once the fashion to explain these new phenomena in language as due solely to Greek influence; at present there is an inclination to fall into the opposite mistake, of referring these wherever possible to old Roman methods of speech. Probably the right path lies mid-way. There can be no doubt that the Greek language in many cases gave the impulse, and there can be no doubt either that this impulse

was followed more readily when old Roman forms of language were at hand to support it: in other words when the "feeling for language" was not outraged.

The fact that verbs expressive of willing admitted a simple infinitive to follow them [as in Romance] is explained by the analogy of *iubere*, *vetare*, and other verbs which admitted of such constructions from the earliest times: at the same time it is probable that Greek influence was a factor in this construction. Less doubtful still is it that Greek influence was at work in combinations like *maior videri* "more stately to behold," *niveus videri*, "white to look at" = μείζων, λευκὸς ἰδέσθαι [cf. "vultus nimium lubricus adspici," Hor. Od. i, 19, 8]: "cernere erat," *e.g.*, in Aen. vii, 596, reminds us of ἦν ἰδεῖν: "quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri Tibia sumis celebrare Clio?" of αἱρεῖσθαι, διδόναι with the infinitive: "Pelidae cedere nescii," "puer dignus cantari," remind us of ἱκανός and ἄξιος with the infinitive. More manifest still is foreign influence in places like Catullus, iv, 2: "phaselus ille . . . ait fuisse navium celerrimus," or Vergil, Aen. iv, 305: "dissimulare sperasti"; in these cases the true Latin feeling for language would lead us to expect the accusative and infinitive. In the same way constructions like "sensit delapsus" (Aen. ii, 377), or "gaudent scribentes" in Horace, Ep. ii, 2, 107, remind us of Greek constructions like χαίρω ἀκούσας: but more than all the infinitive of the perfect used in the sense of the present infinitive—as in Propertius, i, 1, 15: "ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam": and in Tibullus, i, 10, 61:

"sit satis . . . rescindere vestem, Sit satis ornatus dissoluisse comae," cf. i, 1, 29, 45, and M. Haupt in Belger's "Biographie," p. 233.

The treatment of cases is not unlike that of the treatment of moods. The so-called Greek accusative and dative, which belongs chiefly to Roman poetry, and, as its name indicates, was referred exclusively to a Greek origin, existed even in old Latin. This fact could not but encourage later poets to employ on a larger scale the construction which was so much favoured in Greek. Hence Ovid employs this dative more commonly than the ablative with *ab*, and it occurs in Silius Italicus about a hundred and fifty times as against twenty cases of the ablative employed with *ab*. On the other hand certain phrases appear to be direct copies of Greek idioms: such are *desinere querelarum* (Hor. Od. ii, 9, 18), *desistere pugnae* (Aen. x, 441) = ἀφίστασθαί τινος, *solvere operum* (Hor. Od. iii, 17, 16) = ἀπολύειν τινός, *mirari laborum* (Aen. xi, 126) = θαυμάζειν τινά τινος, and again *regnare populorum* (Hor. Od. iii, 30, 12), and *cupere alicuius* in Plautus (Mil. 964) may be formed on the analogy of ἄρχειν, ἐπιθυμεῖν; though the construction *regem, cupidum esse*, may have suggested them: cf. *eius videndi cupidus* in Terence, Hec. iii, 3, 12. And when Horace, in the passage quoted from the Ars Poetica in § 86, in speaking of the enrichment of language by the poet [Ars Poet. 56] writes *invideor* for *mihi invidetur*, it is obvious that he is copying the Greek φθονοῦμαι (from φθονεῖν τινι). [Of course the exigences of metre had here to be considered. Cf. too the construction of

imperor, Epp. i, 5, 21, and in Verg. Aen. ii, 247, "non unquam *credita* Teucris"].

88. These, then, are the main features of the diction of the Roman poets as exhibited in their works. They convince us that these poets have worked with plenty of goodwill and honest effort, but that their strength was no match for that of the Greeks, and their language again could not compare in elegance with that of their Hellenic teachers. The assertion may fairly be made about the Roman poets which Lessing, at the end of his "Hamburgische Dramaturgie," makes about himself: viz., that these poets have no eye for the living source which by its innate power springs upwards with rich, fresh, and clear rays: but that they find themselves constrained to squeeze their outpourings from themselves by dint of water-pipes and pressure. Even the most honoured bards of the grand era of Augustus were in the main gifted with talent rather than genius. While Horace says: "Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo Musa loqui," it must be admitted that the nation which called even the set form in which war was declared a "Carmen" was by nature rather intended for prose than verse, and that it has indeed attained to a high pitch of eloquence in oratory. But it is not alone in the bent of the Latin national poets that we have to look for the faultiness of their expression, but in the essence of the Latin language itself. This language was a hard metal, only to be worked by dint of much toil and pains, and it justified the complaint

made in "the legend of Pilate" regarding the German language*: its toughness renders it an unfit instrument for poetry, but it must be treated like steel which is hammered on the anvil till soft; it requires toil and labour to render it malleable.

* For "the Legend of Pilatus," see "Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters," Zweiter Teil, "Die Legenden und die Deutsche Ordensdichtung," bearbeitet von Prof. Dr. Paul Piper, Berlin, Spemann, p. 24.

IV

The Language of the Latin People

89

ONLY a few years ago the conviction was prevalent in Germany that the language of the people had, by a process of mutilation and decay, developed out of the language of the educated classes. This view is at the present day superseded, mainly owing to the works of Klaus Groth, who has shown by irresistible proofs that dialect is not a caricature of cultivated language, but is in fact the marble block out of which the language of culture is hewn. The views of scholars have come to a similar conclusion with regard to the popular dialect of the Romans.

The conviction is forced upon us that the relationship of daughter and mother, by which it was customary to illustrate that of vulgar to cultured Latin, is in this case inapplicable. Vulgar Latin cannot indeed have taken its rise by the simple process of vulgarizing the idiom of the better educated classes; rather are both idioms to be regarded as the children of a common mother, viz., Old Latin.* They

* "What we call Vulgar Latin is the speech of the middle classes as it grew out of Early Classic Latin. It is not an independent offshoot of old Latin; it continues the Classic, not the primitive, vowel system. Neither is it the dialect of the slums or of the fields; grammarians tell us of not a few urban and rustic

thus are related collaterally, and neither preceded the other, but they lived side by side. At the same time it remains doubtful whether they were locally separate, *i.e.*, whether one idiom was prevalent in Rome, while another was spoken in the Latin districts (cf. B. Maurenbrecher, "Jahrbücher f. Philol.," 1892, p. 204), or whether we are justified in supposing with Schuchardt that the degree of education professed by the speaker or writer was responsible for his linguistic usage. Between the two extremes —the written language and the popular—stands the language of conversation, for which we may regard Cicero's Letters and the Epistles and Satires of Horace as our main authorities. Just as Quintilian, the erudite professor of rhetoric, loved to discard the stately stiffness of the language of the professorial chair (xii, 10, 40) and employed that of the *sermo cotidianus* (*consuetudo*), so does Cicero express himself "Quid tibi ego videor in epistulis? Nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum? Epistulas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus" (Ad Fam. ix, 21, 1). One of the most characteristic examples of this familiar conversational language is to be found in Cicero's letter to Atticus (i, 16), with its loose connection of sentences, its terse and sketchy style: its ellipses, puns, and proverbial turns, its exaggerations and its frequent emphatic asseverations. How-

vulgarisms that are not perpetuated in the Romance tongues. It is distinct from the consciously polite utterance of cultivated society, from the brogue of the country, and from the slang of the lowest quarters of the city, though affected by all of these."—(Grandgent, "Vulgar Latin," § 3; cf. also Olcott, "Studies in the word formation of Latin inscriptions," Rome, 1898, p. xi, § 1.)

ever, the most important sources of vulgar Latin are the writings of the Patristic Fathers, the Romances, the Comedies; and also writers on special subjects, like Vitruvius and the later Jurists, the writings of Petronius, the "Bellum Hispaniense," the "Bellum Africum," etc.

90. At the time when Roman literature came into life, the popular dialect had already suffered considerable losses in respect of its sounds. The terminal sounds of words were particularly exposed to such atrophy: the *d* of the singular in the terminations *âd*, *ōd*, *ēd*, *id*, etc., had fallen away, *m*, *s*, and *t* were in process of disappearing (*see* Corssen, "Vocalismus," i, 294): Vowels were abbreviated or cast off, in medial syllables they were syncopated, or again were inserted to avoid harsh sounds. All these changes owed their origin mainly to the conditions of the pitch accent. For the more strongly the accentuated syllable was uttered, the less power of articulation remained for the unaccented syllable which followed it, and this was accordingly more or less mutilated.

Other readjustments followed: *m* and *n*, when they preceded their kindred labial or dental sounds, lost their ancient force and were sometimes not pronounced at all, sometimes pronounced less forcibly. In the same way the contraction of diphthongs into simple sounds was noticeable. The sounds *ei*, *eu*, *ou*, *ai*, *oi* had already, in the "Prisca Latinitas," shrunk to *î*, *û*, *ae*, and *oe*, but now *ae* sunk to *ê*, and *au* to *ô* (*e.g.*, *sôdes* = *si audes*). It is to this sound-change that

the gens Plotia and gens Clodia, which hived off from the Plautii and the Claudii, owe the form of their name. In certain cases this weakening process has spread even to the classic language, *e.g.*, in *explodo* compared with *applaudo*, and in *lôtus* with *lautus*. The uncertainty which even educated Romans attached to the pronunciation of the *au* in Cicero's time is well shown by the illegitimate intrusion of this sound in the word *origa* (from *oreae*, *i.e.*, *habenae*: the bridle which drags at the mouth). For even assuming that the form *auriga* owes its form to popular etymology which refers it to *aureus* or to *auris*, still when used by the educated Roman it makes on us the same impression as the form *Kauscher* for *Koscher* in the mouth of the half-educated German [there was the same tendency to pronounce *osculum*, *ausculum*]. Both changes are referable to the efforts made to avoid plebeian pronunciation, and to ignorance of etymology.

91. From the beginning of the first century onwards the confusion spread ever wider and identified the pronunciation of *v* and *b* (hence the French *avoir* = *habere*), of *s* and *x* (hence O. Fr. *samit*, velvet = ἑξάμιτον, from ἕξ and μίτος, six-threaded stuff), of *i* and *e*, of *u* and *o*, while *ct*, *pt*, *sc*, in medial syllables, are often reduced to *tt* and *ss*, and in the case of words commencing with *s* and consonant, the opening sound, or anlaut, was preserved by the substitution of an inserted vowel (hence French *était*, O. Fr. *estait* = *stabat*, and *épée* = *espee* = *spatha*).

In most of these changes it is obvious that a dis-

position to ease pronunciation and a desire to spare trouble assert themselves. The masses like to save their breath; they are shy of long words, and where they meet with sound groups hard to pronounce, which they cannot manage to employ off-hand and with ease, they simplify them, and thus suit them to their articulation.

92. This trait is also markedly prominent in verbal inflexion. Ordinary persons are not prone to prolonged reflexion: they do not trouble to master the variety and multiplicity of inflexional forms; they are averse to a multitude of nominal and verbal endings. They are content with the differentiation of the word-stem comprising the meaning of the word, and they drop the terminations as soon as possible; these are, after all, of merely secondary importance. Nowhere has analogy such large and wide play as in the language of the people; nowhere is the tendency towards a certain definite uniform model so marked. Thus the strong (*i.e.*, consonantal) conjugation has suffered considerable losses at the cost of the denominatival in *-are*, *-ere*, and *-ire*. Not merely is the future in most of the verbs formed in *-abo*, *-ebo*, and *-ibo*, but many verbs pass wholesale into the vowel conjugation: instead of *fodere*, *consternere*, *spernere*, we find *fodare*, *consternare*, *spernare*: the form *moriri* so common in Plautus (= Fr. *mourir*),* for the classical form *mori*, has even found its way into the Metamorphoses of Ovid, xiv, 215. Reduplication, so seldom found in

* Ital. *morire*.

classical Latin, almost disappears, so that *curri* takes the place of *cucurri*.

93. Similar phenomena are also to be seen in the case of the declensions. A large number of consonantal stems have passed into the first or second declension by the addition of *a* or *o*. This holds good of foreign words also, *e.g.*, *Crotona* = *Croton*, *Troezena* = *Troezen*, *Hellada* = *Hellas*, *lampada* = *lampas*, *aulona* = *aulon*, *onycha* = *onyx*, as well as of genuine Latin words; *e.g.*, of *Cassida* = *Cassis*, *retium* = *rete*, etc. The Greek neuters in *-ma*, and neuter *-s* stems in *-us* were treated more simply still by analogy with the termination of the nominative case; they were treated as feminine nouns of the first, or sometimes as masculine nouns of the second; *diadema*, *diademae*; *plasma*, *plasmae*; *tempus*, *tempi*; *corpus*, *corpi*; hence we get Italian plural forms like *tempi*, *e.g.*, in the proverb *tempi passati*. In other cases the genitive case gives the impulse to the change: hence we find nominatives like *lactis* and *falcis* substituted for *lac* and *falx*. A remarkable uniformity established itself in the proper names belonging to the masculine as well as the feminine gender: most of these assumed the metaplastic forms in *-tis* and *-nis*; more particularly *nomina propria* in *-es*, *-as*, *-is*, *-os*, *-e*, and *-a*; *Agathoclenis* (nom. *Agathocles*); *Niceronis* (nom. *Niceros*); *Hermionetis* (nom. *Hermione*); *Felicianetis* (nom. *Feliciana*).

Irregular case-forms, such as those in *-ius* and *-i*—the genitive and dative of the pronominal second declension—were for the most part discarded and

replaced by "regular" forms; *e.g.*, *totae* = *totius*, *nullo* = *nulli*. Generally speaking, exceptions in every form were banned from use: thus the masculines of the third declension in *-is*, such as *finis* and *pulvis*, became feminine under the influence of this termination, which is mainly characteristic of feminines: hence the French *la fin* and *la poudre*—neuters crumbled away in large numbers: they were mostly converted into substantives of the masculine or feminine gender, a circumstance which has led to the almost complete disappearance of the neuter in the Romance languages. It is easy to understand that this concentration of the genders was greatly helped by the disappearance of the terminal consonants; if *-us* and *-um* in the second declension were pronounced in the same way, it was not a difficult process to reduce the words of the second declension to uniformity in gender also; in which process the stronger masculine gained the day.

94. As in its inflexions, so in its word formations, vulgar Latin exhibits a strong tendency to uniformity. Thus the adverbial termination, *-iter*, which in classical Latin is almost exclusively employed for derivatives of adjectives of the third declension, spreads to those of the second declension, as *aequiter*, *amoeniter*, *amiciter* (cf. Osthoff, "Archiv für Lexikographie," iv, 455 and 99), Neue, "Formenlehre," ii, 2, 653 *sqq*.

The following terminations were much favoured: *-monia*, *-monium* (*tristimonia*, *miserimonium*), *-ina* (*collina*, *calcina*, *lapsina*), *-mentum* (*lustramentum*,

odoramentum, *decoramentum*), *-ela* (*fugela*, *luela*), *-ntia* (*nascentia*, *crescentia*, *resonantia*); and again, personal names ending in *-o* and *-onis* are in constant use, such as *agaso*, *balatro*, *caupo*. Adjectives in *-ilis*, *-bilis*, *-eus*, *-aster* are as plentiful as leaves in Vallombrosa, cf. Wölfflin, "Archiv für Lexikographie," xii, 419): *-idus* is also a very common termination: and we find many so-called *factitive* words, especially such as come from adjectives in *-ficus*, such as *magnificare* and *pacificare*, and *-idus*, such as *frigidare*, *candidare*. Inchoative verbs are also extraordinarily popular in vulgar Latin (see K. Sittl. "De Latinae Linguae Verbi Inchoativis," "Archiv für Lexikogr." i, 465-532); and these have multiplied with interest in the Romance languages, and notably in Italian. Verbs in *-illare* are also favourites (cf. A. Funck, *loc. citat.* N. 68, 223 *sqq.*), as are desideratives in *-urio*, which it may be noted are avoided by Quintilian, Tacitus, the younger Pliny, and also by Livy (who has only the form *parturio*); but such forms occur with great frequency in comedy, satire, letters, in Petronius, Martial, and Apuleius, while they have almost disappeared from the Romance languages (vide *loc. citat.*, i, 408 *sqq.*). Finally there are certain verbs derived from superlatives like *approximare*, *ultimare*, *infimare*, which seem to be a special characteristic of African Latin (vide *loc. citat.*, ii, 355 *sqq.*). It may be argued that these features of vulgar Latin seem to imply a certain monotony and uniformity; still, we cannot overlook the fact that the luxuriant prodigality and the ultimate triumph of such new formations are evidence

of a vitality and propelling force of language quite foreign to the genius of classical Latin which, like other literary dialects, remains artificially barricaded against outside influences. At the same time, the terminations mentioned testify that vulgar Latin prefers strength and weight to weakness and lack of energy: *tristimonia* is fuller toned and more effective than *tristitia*, *miserimonium* than *miseria*, *duriter* than *dure*. It is also worth while remarking that these forms, like others, seem to have developed differently in different localities, *e.g.*, the abstract-suffix *-itia* (*-ezza*) was much used in Italy, while Spain prefers *-ura*, and France, at least in early times, *-tas* (*santé* = *sanitatem*). (Cf. Meyer-Lubke, "Archiv für Lexikogr." viii, 313-338, especially p. 336).*

95. We may naturally expect that the syntax of vulgar Latin will in its turn afford plenty of examples of a tendency towards uniformity in the shaping of constructions. The vulgar dialect manifests a clear effort to simplify the existing relations of a complex sentence. The ablative absolute gains ground at the expense of the verb with the conjunctive particle, and, in the place of the accusative and infinitive, sentences with *quod* appear with increasing frequency.

As early as Petronius and the author of the "Bellum Hispanicum" we find traces of this change: at a later period it manifests itself very strongly in

* See Olcott, "Word Formation," pp. 75, 80, and Grandgent, "Introduction to Vulgar Latin," p. 20.

the writings of the African Fathers, especially of Tertullian: of the poets, Commodian was the first to adopt it. In French *quod* (in the shape of *que*, "that") has almost completely displaced the old construction (cf. G. Mayen, "De Particulis Quod &c. . . . positis," Kiel, 1889, and "Archiv für Lexikogr." viii, 148). It also happens that *verba sentiendi et declarandi* are parenthetically inserted or merely connected paratactically, according to the usage in modern languages, "You are ill, I fear," "Tu es malade, je le crois." As early as Plautus, and also among other old Latin authors, we find this usage attached to the following words *obsecro* = *amabo* (cf. Lindskog, "Quaestiones de Parataxi et Hypotaxi apud Priscos Latinos," Lund, 1897, pp. 7 *sqq.*). The so-called dubitative subjunctive gives place more and more to the indicative: "cui dono hunc librum?" takes the place of the classically regular "cui donem?" Many impersonal verbs are treated like personal ones: *paenites* stands instead of *te paenitet*. In the speech of the educated, where the words *alter*, *quisque*, *unus*, *uterque* are employed, the substantive is commonly attached in the same case; so in the *lingua vulgaris* with *maxima pars* (*homines*), etc. As early as Cato we meet with accusatives like *id genus*, *hoc genus*, *omne genus*, instead of an attributive genitive with a substantive, *e.g.*, "libri huius generis," "libri eius modi" (see Schmalz "Lat. Syntax," in J. Müller's "Handbuch," ii, 274).

96. Even in the matter of word signification, the

tendency to consult convenience is clearly to be seen. There are certain wide receptacles into which everything possible is packed. Such receptacles are words of quite ordinary signification, which are in every one's mouth, and which come ready to hand at a moment's notice. Such is the word *machen* in German. Whoever wants to travel to Berlin *macht* (is making) for it: commercial travellers *make* (are dealing) in cigars: a common greeting is "Was machst du?" For "to open" and "to shut," the German idiom is "to make open" and "to make shut": for to blame "to make lower," for to split wood "to make wood," etc.* Similarly in Latin, *facere* in the vulgar idiom signifies (1) *aestimare*: (2) to travel, *se facere Romam*: (3) as a medical term *curare*: again (4) *cacare* and (5) *coire*: (6) *sero facit*—the French *il se fait tard*: † (7) *nunquam facit tale frigus* (L. Augustin, serm. 25, 3)—*il n'a jamais fait aussi froid.* But it is particularly used in connection with an infinitive, *e.g.*, *stomachari me fecisti*,‡ or in connecting words like *lique-facere* so as to form factitive words, in which Latin is somewhat defective.

From Lucretius to Ovid this usage is rare, but in Tertullian, Cyprian, and their contemporaries, it is very common (cf. Ph. Thielmann, "*Facere* mit Infinitiv"; "Archiv für Lexikogr." iii, 117 ff.; Deecke,

* Cf. the uses of the English "to do" in "How do you do?" "do you see?" "to do up," "to do honour to," "to do away with," etc.

† So *facit se hora quinta*, Bechtel, 126, quoted by Grandgent, § 114.

‡ Cf. "ecce Pater fecit Filium nasci de vergine," *ib.*, § 117.

"*Facere* und *fieri* in ihrer Komposition mit anderen Verben," Strassburg, 1873). The same tendency is manifest in the treatment of substantives. Many conceptions occurring in the daily life of the ordinary man form the starting-point of new terms which are, in fact, simply adjectival attributes used as substantives. Thus there were different kinds of *vestes*, such as *alba*, *nigra*, *dalmatica*: and each of these epithets was used as a new substantive. As the connection in which these words were used excluded any possible misunderstanding, and as, in addition, the meaning and gender of the adjective indicate the way in which the word is intended to be understood, the substantive was for convenience' sake merely dropped. In this way arose the numerous ellipses in which the vulgar idiom delights, *e.g.*, *ferina*, *porcina* (*caro*), *tertiana*, *quartana* (*febris*), *decuma* (*pars*).

97. Finally we have to remember the borrowed words in Latin, for in these the popular desire for convenience and ease appears in a very marked way. The educated portion of a nation frequently imitates with elaborate conscientiousness the pronunciation of a foreign word introduced into their language, and faithfully reproduces all its sounds. Not so the masses: they follow the promptings of their own mind. For the plain man, no peculiar sanctity attaches to these strange words; no law of the Medes and Persians forbids his remodelling them or changing them at his caprice. In their sounds and combinations of sounds no two lan-

guages are exactly similar; sounds assume different characters to suit each nation's idiosyncrasy. Hence it is often a matter of difficulty for the borrowing nation to reproduce the borrowed expressions in their correct pronunciation. But the people have no great scruple in shaping anew, to suit the requirements of their own language, what occurs to them as harsh; in some cases by dropping certain sounds, in others by modifying unmanageable sounds into more familiar ones. It follows as a matter of course that those words suffer the most mutilation in which the phonetic differences of the two idioms are most marked. "All languages," says Jacob Grimm in the Introduction to his German Dictionary, p. xxvi, "if they are in a natural and healthy state, possess an innate tendency to exclude foreign elements, and if these persist in intruding, to oust them again, or else to identify them with native elements. No single language is capable of giving expression to all possible sounds, and all languages reject such as are unnecessary, finding them a mere incumbrance. If by any chance a foreign word falls into the current of a language, it is tossed and pitched till it takes the same hue, and, in defiance of its alien stock, looks like a native product."

98. The terminations of words like *Ulixes* = Ὀδυσσεύς, and *Perses* = Περσεύς, are explained by the want of the diphthong *eu* in old Latin: the lack of sounds exactly answering to the Greek aspirates, including ζ, accounts for their representation in Latin by the tenues *p*, *c*, *t*, and the spirant *s*, *ss*:

hence *purpura* = πορφύρα, *tus* = θύος, *malacisso* = μαλακίζω, etc. It is true that classical Latin did take over the words which had established themselves in archaic Latin, accepting them in their established form; in the case of new borrowings, however, it permitted no such transformations, but clung with servile care to the original, and rendered sound for sound. Jacob Grimm is completely wrong when in his treatise on the pedantic element in the German language ("Kleine Schriften," i, 344) he regards this trait of pedantry as specifically German: rather is it characteristic of all written languages as contrasted with the language of the people. The names of towns which found their way into German owing to commercial and other intercourse before the rise of the High German written language, plainly show the stamp of popular handling. Milan is called not Milano but Mailand: Venezia is called Venedig: Paris is called París: Brussels is not called Bruxelles, but Brüssel. On the other hand, the Germans of the present day affect such pronunciations for Niagara as would be rendered in German Neiāgārā.* And it is much the same in Latin—*Paestum* = Ποσειδωνία, *Carthago* = *keret chadeschet* (Newtown), *Sipontum* = Σιποῦς, *Massilia* = Μασσαλία, etc. And we may contrast with these the names of most o the towns in European and Asiatic Greece, which came to be known in Rome through literary channels only. But the procedure was the same in other words, and not merely with place names: for in-

* Just so we talk of Leghorn, and sailors speak of the Bellerophon as the Billy Ruffian.

stance, in German we have the popular form *ordnen* by the side of the literary form *ordinieren*, both borrowed from *ordinare*; *schreiben* as against *reskribieren*, to write back; *opfern* as against *offeriren*, *dichten* as against *diktieren*, *trumpfen* as against *triumphieren*.*

In Latin the old form *massa* represented μᾶζα, but the later literary Latin preferred the form *maza*. In Plautus we find *exanclare* = ἐξαντλεῖν: the later form *antlia* represents the Greek ἀντλία.†

99. But the people went even a step farther. Not content with merely transforming the sounds to suit their own convenience, they endeavoured in many cases to read into the borrowed word a similarity of meaning with some word in their own vocabulary. Here we come to a new kind of transformation. In the former process the people merely consulted their own convenience in pronunciation, but the new process manifests a wish to render the language clear and perfectly intelligible.

The popular ear catches sometimes in foreign idioms what seem to be echoes of native words, and the result is not unfrequently a complete change and reconstruction of the word. The uneducated man feels unconsciously and without reflection that the expressions which he employs are no empty sound: the name of a thing cannot be a mere dead "sign" because (to use Steinthal's words, "Geschichte der

* We may compare in English, order ordination and ordain; trump and triumph; proctor and procurator.

† "A pump"; used by Martial, 9, 19.

Sprachwissenschaft bei Griechen und Römern," p. 5) for him the fact of hearing a name implies its existence: he thinks of the thing implied in the word, and hence it happens that to his mind word and thing are one —but he has no idea of worrying himself about the real origin of the word or of groping after its etymology; in fact, owing to his ignorance of the historical development of language he is in no position to elucidate such points. His transformations of words are instinctive,* and wholly unscientific. Of course it may well seem in such cases that the sound of words thus created does not tally with the conception intended. In practice, however, we all know from daily experience what the words do actually denote: it is the power of usage which stamps on them the hall mark of propriety, and the sound of the word rings true. It has been said of the German language (O. Jaenicke, "Zeitschrift für Gymnasialwesen," xxv, p. 753): "The people treat foreign words, both with regard to their accentuation and to their capricious transformations, almost as casually as they did a thousand years ago." This judgement holds good of all languages and of all times. At all times and in all places the people have accommo-

* "The nation always thinks that the word must have an idea behind it. So what it does not understand it converts into what it does; it transforms the word until it can understand it. Thus, words and names have their forms altered, *e.g.* the French *écrevisse* becomes in English *crawfish*, and the heathen god Svantevit was changed by the Christian Slavs into St. Vitus, and the Parisians converted Mons Martis into Mont-martre."—(Steinthal, in Goldzihers' "Mythology among the Hebrews," quoted by A. S. Palmer, "Introduction to Folk Etymology," p. xix.)

dated foreign sound-groups to their own usages. And it follows that Förstemann was emphatically right when he spoke of this linguistic proceeding as "popular etymology." A few examples may serve to illustrate our meaning.

100. The lower Italian-Greek town Μαλόϝεις (from the Doric μᾶλον, Attic μῆλον, apple, hence signifying Apple-town) was in the first instance converted in the mouth of the Roman into *Maleventum*. This was commonly understood by the Latins as a word compounded of *malus* and *ventus*, and it came to be regarded as the name of a town of bad weather.* But no sooner was Pyrrhus defeated here, and good fortune set in, than it seemed only fitting to change the ill-omened name to Beneventum.† So ὀρείχαλκον (tin) influenced by *aurum* became *aurichalcum*: κηρύκειον (Dorian form καρύκειον) under the influence of *cadere* [*caducus*] *caduceus*; Ἀκράγας, *Agrigentum*, fancifully connected with *ager*‡; Περσεφόνη was turned into *Proserpina*, for she favoured the growth of plants from the earth (*pro-serpere*); Πολυδεύκης was conceived of as the bright star from *pollucere*.§

* Storm town; but may it not have been popularly connected with *male ventum*, from *venio*?

† Cf. the change of Ἄξεινος into Euxinus.

‡ We may compare the transformation of Bocage Walk into Birdcage Walk, and of L'Enfant en Castille into Elephant and Castle.

§ This word means "to bring as an offering," and the derivation from *luceo* is not certain. The meaning may in the first instance have been understood as the "favouring" or "appeased" deity.

From *Celeddôn*, brushwood, the native Celtic name of Scotland, was made the name Caledonia, as if from *calidus* = "warm-land"; and out of the neighbouring Ireland (Celtic *Erin*, Greek Ἰέρνη) by association with *Ivernia*, was made *Hibernia*, "the winter land." The Pennine Alps (from Celtic *pen*, a head) were connected with the *Poeni*, and the name was said to bear witness to the passage of the Carthaginians over this part of the Alps. We know, too, that the Graian Alps were alleged to bear their name in memory of Greeks who were supposed to have settled there. *Regium* (strictly speaking *Rhegium* = ῥήγιον, a cleft) suggested a connection with *regius*, "Royal town": *percontari*, from *contus* a pole, to explore the depth of water, was perverted into *percunctari*, and connected with *cunctus*: and if *palma*, the palm, is borrowed from the Phœnician *tamar*, *tomer*,* with anlaut as in *pavo* = ταώς,† the notion of the flat hand contained in *palma* may have contributed to this result. "The game of Troy," so popular in Rome from Sulla's time down to that of Nero, which seems to have derived its name from the word *troare* or *truare* = σαλεῦσαι [properly to move with a *trua* or trowel], was in the time of Augustus fancifully connected with the town Troja, whence the Julian dynasty drew their origin.‡

The name of the aborigines of Italy is probably

* Or Padmar; cf. Palmyra, Tadmor.

† Both Oriental loanwords.

‡ Cf. the derivation of the French *truie*, a sow, from Troja = the pregnant sow, suggesting the Trojan house full of armed warriors.

a mere transformation of a word less understood, *Aurunci* = *Ausonici*.*

The construction of the Tullianum, the well-known subterranean state prison of the Romans, was ascribed by the Roman legend to Servius Tullius. As a matter of fact the word comes from *Tullius*, a spring or source, and it indicates, originally, the spring of water in that prison. The quarter of Rome called *Argiletum*, mentioned in Aen. viii, 345, was commonly alleged by the ancients to have received its title from the fact that a certain *Argos* had found his death there (*Argi-letum*); but there is no doubt whatever that it takes its name from the clay pans in the vicinity, *Argiletum* from *argilla*.† We are expressly told that the names of the towns Nequinum and Epidamnus, owing to the ill-omened suggestions of *nequam* and *damnum*, were changed into Narnia (Nar-town) and Dyrrhachium.

The myth of the nursing of the twins Romulus and Remus by a wolf is to be explained not by the fact that the wolf was sacred to Mars, but solely by the similarity of the two words *ruma*, *rumis*, *rumen* (udder), and *Rumo*, the oldest name of the Tiber and of the city of Rome (*Rumo* = stream, cf. ῥεῖν; *Roma* = Streamtown), with Romulus = son of Streamtown. By this means the origin of the stubborn spirit and the unbridled strength of the Roman people are at once symbolically denoted.‡

* Fredegar renders the German proper name Wintrio by Quintio.

† Cf. the name Tuileries.

‡ Diez thinks that the mid-Latin *cecinus*, a swan, got its name

101. To the tendency towards clearness and ease of apprehension we may further ascribe many other properties of vulgar Latin. The masses prefer indirect expressions and high-sounding, even strongly exaggerated words. The man of the people loves to fill his mouth with such expressions (cf. J. Egli, "Die Hyperbel in den Komödien des Plautus und in Ciceros Briefen an Atticus, drei Gymnasial-programme von Zug," 1891-1893). Every kind of exaggeration in language, such as pleonasms, adverbial expressions, derivations, intensives, and composition of words with particles of augmentative force, enter into his utterances: *coepi*, with the infinitive, replaced the so-called ingressive Aorist, as "clamare coepit," "he burst into a cry"; for *simul* and *nunquam* they preferred to say *uno tempore*, and *nullo tempore*; also instead of *noctu* and *mane*, *nocturno* and *matutino tempore*; for *non*, *nullus* was often preferred, *e.g.*, "is nullus venit."

For *emere*, the word *comparare* (Italian *comprare*) came into use as early as Plautus, and *adcaptare* (French *acheter*) at a later period; instead of *discere* they preferred to say *apprehendere* and *imparare*. The periphrastic phrases with *dare* and *facere cum adiectivo*, in place of the simple verb, were favourite methods of expression.

A tendency to pleonasm is also manifested by the usage of *fui*, *fueram*, *fuero*, for *sum*, *eram*, *ero* in the passive composite moods; and in the connection of the present participle with *esse*, *e.g.*, *amans*

from *cicer*, with reference to the excrescences on its bill. See Palmer, p. 238.

est instead of simple verb, *amat*. The regular addition of the personal pronouns *ego*, *tu*, *nos*, *vos*, to the verbs, even in unemphatic positions, gives a greater fullness to the language; while the strengthening genitives, *gentium*, *loci*, *locorum*, *terrarum*, etc., where places are defined, as in *ubi gentium*, lend greater force to the language employed. Needless to say, such drastic expressions as *fac abeas*, instead of the simple word *abi*, the more circumstantial *nescio quis* for *aliquis*, and the more emphatic *tamen-etsi* = *etsi* are in perfect accord with the tendency of the ordinary man to express himself with emphasis.

102. The strength of exaggeration manifests itself with peculiar frequency in Latin negations. It is incredible how many changes it is possible to ring on this theme; how many variations the fancy of the common people can bring into play. In classical Latin, as we all know, two negatives cancel each other, or, it may be, result in making an affirmation stronger; but in popular Latin, as indeed in the common German idiom, in old English, and in Greek, the multiplication of negatives is conceived solely as a method of strengthening an affirmation. And is there any possible object so insignificant as not to have been utilized for the purpose of denoting absolute nothingness?

The German, to emphasize his negations, can say "not a hair," "not a farthing," "not a rush," "not a copper," "not an idea," "not a bean," "not a try," "not a trace." The Frenchman can say *ne . . . pas*,

"not a step"; *ne . . . point*, "not a point" (*punctum*), and *néant* (*non ens*), etc.* Thus we cannot object to the Roman if, besides *nihil* = *ne-hilum*, "not a thread," he employs ideas such as *non nauci*, *flocci*, *pili*, *assis*, *teruncii*, *hettae*, etc., after *facere*, in the sense of "valuing at so much." Besides these, we read in Plautus, *Ciccum non interduim*, Rud. 580; *granum tritici*, Stich. IV, i, 52; *pluma*, Most. II, i, 60; *nux*, Mil. II, iii, 45; *digitus*, Aul. I, i, 17; *triobolus*, Rud. V, iii, 11, all employed in this sense. We meet with the repetition of one and the same substantive (especially with the relative pronoun) in all periods of the popular dialect of Plautus, down to that of late Latin, especially with *locus*, *dies*, and *res*. And when an English peasant says "Your father, he was my friend," why should it not be permitted to the Roman peasant to say: "Pater tuus is erat patruelis meus," or "pone aedem Castoris ibi sunt homines"?

103. Frequentative and intensive verbs in vulgar Latin often take the place of their primitives. For instance, *agitare*, *pulsare* (Fr. *pousser*), *iactare* (Fr. *jeter*), *cantare* (Fr. *chanter*), *quassare* (Fr. *casser*) are used where classic writers are commonly content to employ the simple verbs *agere*, *pellere*, *iacere*, etc., just as in German, where similar idioms are confined mainly or exclusively to the language of the people, such as *lungern* (to loaf), *rankern* (to plot), *drängeln* (to press—as we should say, to squash),

* Also *ne mie* = *non mica*. In English we say not a bit, not a rap, not a scrap, not at all, not a fig, etc.

etc.* Just as these verbal components were weakened in their signification, so did the comparative and the superlative frequently subside into simple positives; hence, in order to express degrees of comparison, the addition of suffixes denoting a higher degree or the prefixing of augmentative adverbs was found necessary. These peculiarities made their earliest appearance in the cases of superlatives in *-mus*. In this way such forms arose as *proximior*, *postremior*, *minimissimus*, *postremissimus*, *praeclarissimus*, *perpaucissimi* [cf. our Most Highest].† On the other hand, instead of comparison made by means of suffixes, we find the custom of using periphrases with adverbs such as *valde*, *bene*, *plane*, *satis*, *adeo*, *tam*, *sane*, *vehementer*, *fortiter*, *abunde*, *nimium*, *affatim*, *multum*. Such combinations as *turpiter malevolus*, *insanum magnus*, *immaniter arrogans*, *crudeliter inimicus*, are characteristic of these pleonasms.‡ Again, both methods of gradation are found connected, *e.g.*, *maxime dignissimus*, *magis utilior* (Colum. viii, 5, 5); and we must notice such exaggerations as *immortaliter gaudeo* (Cic. Ad Quintum Fr. iii, 1, 9), *immortales gratias* (Planc. in Cic. Ad Fam. x, 11), and pleonastic combinations such as *mox deinde* (Colum. ii, 1, 5), *admodum nimius* (*loc. cit.* iv, 21, 2).§

* Cf. such English expressions as to pitch away, to chuck, to smash, etc.

† This usage was very common in Elizabethan English; cf. Abbot's "Shakesperean Grammar," § 11.

‡ With which we might compare such English conversational exaggerations as awfully pretty, dreadfully ugly, terribly small, etc.

§ Plautus has "mollior magis," "more tenderer," Aul. 422.