

and his son Mauricius lost their lives fighting against the Goths in Dalmatia. This circumstance enabled the Romans to explain an oracle which said that, when Africa was in the hands of the Romans, the world (*mundus*) and its offspring would perish. Procopius gave the oracle in its original Latin: but the scribe, not understanding it, in part has substituted Greek letters for the Latin characters, and in part has attempted a rough facsimile. See Obsopoen, *Sibyllina Oracula*, p. 431. Maltretus in his edition of Procopius, 1662, reads the Latin sentence as *Africa capta, Mundus cum nato peribit*: and Cobet, in *Mnemosyne* v 364, gives, independently and confidently, the same interpretation. But (1), as Comparetti has perceived, the last nine characters look more like *peribunt* than *peribit*, and (2) the word ἀδόμεινον, which Procopius uses of the oracle, suggests that the Latin original was a verse. Read then, not AFRICA CAPTA MUNDUS CUM NATO PERIBIT, but AFRICA CAPTA SEDET MD' NAT'Q PERIBUNT, i.e. *Africa capta sedet: Mundus natusque peribunt*. For *Africa capta sedet*, compare Roman coins which, with the legend IUDAEA CAPTA, show a female figure seated at the foot of a trophy or a palm tree. See Madden's *Jewish Coinage*, p. 185 ff.

IV. Mr HICKS read a note on Aristotle *de anima* i ii § 3, 403 b 31—404 a 9. He examined the various grounds on which Rodier pronounces the entire passage almost unintelligible, and the proposals of Madvig and Diels to omit certain clauses. He admitted that the Greek commentators have failed to explain satisfactorily the illustration from ξύσματα, but he contended that they had missed the point of the comparison. It is not minuteness or partial invisibility which constitutes the resemblance; for, in so far as they are visible at all, ξύσματα are unlike atoms, which are at all times and under all conditions imperceptible to sense. The real likeness is in restless mobility (404 a 19, 406 b 20) and endless multitude: in Milton's phrase, the atoms are

‘shapes as thick and numberless
As the gay motes that people the sunbeams.’

MICHAELMAS TERM, 1905.

FIRST MEETING¹.

At a Meeting of the Society held in Mr Nixon's rooms in King's on Thursday, October 26, 1905, at 4.15 p.m., the President (Mr BURKITT) in the Chair:

I. Dr CONWAY read a paper on the well-known difficulties in the text of Livy's description of the Roman army in the Latin

¹ Reported in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, November 7, 1905.

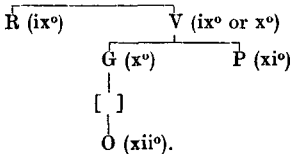
War, proposing a restoration based on certain indications of the Medicean codex. He referred to the conclusions obtained in a previous paper¹ (*Proceedings*, 1902, p. 10), and pointed out that this part of Book VIII was written in M by the scribe of Quaternions 14-21, whom he had called Tertius, who was intermediate, both in age and excellence, between the other two scribes employed. Tertius could be shown to be not less conscientious than Leo Diaconus, the best of the three, in the minute fidelity with which he reproduced what he found in his exemplar, copying it carefully not merely word for word but in peculiar² forms of letters, in the marginalia³—for a large number of these in M

¹ A question which had then been unanswered Dr Conway had now determined by looking through the Althorp collection of Editions of Livy in the Rylands Library; namely that the division into chapters was first made by Gruter (see the preface to his Frankfurt edition of 1628, published after his death).

² Such a degree of faithfulness in M did not seem yet to have been recognised, but it was often important. Thus in 5. 16. 6 M reads rightly *et receptis*, but P *ex receptis* (*corr.* P²). Now here in M the *t* has an unusually long final stroke, rising through the head of the *r* (*tte*), and it was this sign in some earlier codex which was mistaken by the scribe of P; it is of course well-known that P and M are entirely independent of one another. Other examples of peculiarities in letters faithfully copied in M but giving rise to corruptions elsewhere (or mis-read by modern editors) were: 5. 18. 6 (*declaratus* M, *-ata* P); 5. 21. 2 (*delendam* M, *dol-* P); 5. 43. 1 (*facere* M, *-eret* P); 4. 17. 4 (*clusus* M, *clusus* P); 4. 26. 7 M appears to have *terribitiosa*, but the *s* is merely the scribe's faithful rendering of a 9th century *r* with a high curl (*r*). In 5. 34. 9 M reads *Haduorum* for *Haeduorum* but the *a* has a heavy point after it (*a'*), and is merely the scribe's rendering of a faint or careless *ae* (*â*). All the five examples just cited from Book v are in Tertius' work.

Mr Burkitt adds a parallel case:

[The *stemma codicum* in the Liber Regularum of Tyconius (*Texts and Studies* III i, ed. Burkitt) is



The relations are quite clear. Thus R and V are independent authorities, while G, P and O are descendants of V itself. V has been much corrected, apparently at various times; sometimes G (and P) follow V*, more often V^{corr}.

In p. 6, line 26 of my edition, we find *ostenderat*. This is in R and V, but in V it is written *ostenderæt*, the form *æt* for "at" not being noted elsewhere. The cast of the sentence renders "ostenderet" plausible, so we find in P (not

ostenderat
or ostenderet)
but ostendera.

i.e. *ostenderæt* [? a barbarous spelling of *ostenderet*]. In any case *a* looked to me like an imitation of the *æt* of V, which (though a correct way of writing "at") is uncommon in this particular ms. F. C. B.]

³ Two of these old marginalia were of special interest as proving directly what had been inferred from textual considerations in Dr Conway's previous paper. In a summary of 9. 3 init. which appears in the margin of Quatern. 23

were written in the same hand and ink as the text—and in marks of punctuation.

Passing to the particular passage (8. 8. 3—8) Dr Conway pointed out that all editors were agreed in holding the text to be corrupt, though the difficult readings were given by all the Nicomachean codices, the only authorities for this Book, without variation. As the text stood in §§ 7, 8 Livy was made to say (1) that each of the three divisions of each of the fifteen *ordines* of the third division was called 'primum pilum'—so that each legion had 45 of these! (2) that each of these *ordines* had—on a strict interpretation 9 *uexilla*, or by straining the order,—3 *uexilla*, but that in either case a *uexillum* consisted of 186 men, which would give a total of over 8100 for this part of the legion alone. But besides these difficulties felt by all editors § 3 also was obscure; Madvig¹ found so much difficulty (3) in giving any meaning to *ordo* and *ordines* that he wished to excise the whole sentence. Further (4) if *ordo* meant either *centuria* or *cohors* (so Weissenborn-Müller, Ed. 5) or *manipulus* (so Luterbacher), it was very difficult indeed to know what epoch was denoted by *postremo*. Luterbacher's interpretation of this section was on the whole the most plausible yet advanced, but it assumed that *in plures ordines* was put, for no assignable reason, instead of *in triginta manipulos*; that Livy then (§ 5) returned to the word *manipulus*; and that in § 8 he used *ordo* in a totally different sense. And even so neither editor could make sense of § 8. All editions since Lipsius had expelled *uexillum*, without critical justification; and nearly all since Gronow read *primam quamque* instead of *unam quamque primum*, a less violent change, but still one which implied a separate corruption. The true reading here he believed was *unam quamque primam*, which appeared without being referred to any author in Weissenborn's text of 1864; the meaning being that each of the front sections of the triple hinder rank, i.e. each *uexillum* of *triarii*, was called *pilum*.

Livy 8. 8. 3—8 (according to MSS)

3 Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanges

p. 6, col. i the name of the Caudine Forks is spelt *Pfurculus Caudinas*, where the *pf* was a mistake only possible to a German writer. The hand and ink of this gloss were in every respect the same as that of the text of the body of the page, and were therefore copied in along with the text. And in a comment on 5. 44. 4, where Camillus describes the weakness of the Gauls, the margin has *qualis erat forma gallorum, huiuscemodi est alamannorum*, which suggested that Prof. Ridgeway's view of the similarity of Gauls and Germans was not unknown in the 9th century, and at all events, showed that M's exemplar contained notes from some one familiar with 'Alamanni.' This evidence demonstrated that at some stage the text of M was drawn at least in part from a Northern codex.

¹ *Livius*, Madvig and Ussing, Ed. 3 Praef.

similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: **postremo** in plures ordines instruebantur. **ordo sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, uexillarium unum habebat.** prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, distantes 5 inter se modicum spatium. manipulus leues uicenos milites, aliam turbam scutatorum habebat; leues autem, qui hastam tantum gaesaque gererent, uocabantur. haec prima frons in acie florem 6 iuuenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat. robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis. hoc triginta 7 manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat—earum unamquamque **primum** pilum uocabant. tribus ex uexillis constabat. **uexillum** centum octo- 8 ginta sex homines erant. primum uexillum triarios ducebat, ueteranum militem spectatae uirtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium accensos, minimae fiduciae manum: eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur.

The same in the restoration proposed

Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea **phalanx** similis Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: **postremi** in plures ordines instruebantur. prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, distantes inter se modicum spatium. manipulus leues uicenos milites, aliam turbam scutatorum habebat; leues autem, qui hastam tantum gaesaque gererent, uocabantur. haec prima frons in acie florem iuuenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat. robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis. hoc triginta manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat—earum unamquamque **primam** pilum uocabant. tribus ex uexillis constabat **ordo; sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, uexillarium unum habebat** uexillum; centum octoginta sex homines erant. primum uexillum triarios ducebat, ueteranum militem spectatae uirtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium accensos, minimae fiduciae manum: eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur.

In attempting to construct a satisfactory text Dr Conway reported that Luterbacher's emendation *phalanx similis* and the older suggestion *postremi* seemed to his eyes, almost certainly, to have been the earliest reading of M. All remaining difficulties, he contended, were removed by simply transposing the words *ordo...habebat* to § 8 and changing the punctuation (see above). He conjectured that they had fallen out of their proper place

through the homoeoteleuton *constabat, habebat*, and then had been wrongly re-inserted from the margin. Of this there seemed to be positive evidence in M, where there had been a mark of punctuation erased after *ordo*, and one still remained, in the first ink, after *uexillum*. Further the scribe seemed to have fallen into some confusion at the point (possibly through some marks of omission in his exemplar which he failed to understand); for *constabat* he wrote *coñssabat* and then inserted a *t* behind the first *a*; and *-bat* and *uex-* had been written over erasures.

The result was to give *ordo*, when used as a technical term, the same meaning throughout, and to produce a description closely parallel to that of Polybius, though not identical; Polybius' legion (6. 21. 9, and 6. 24. 1-5) had 30 units and 4000 men, Livy's 45 units and 5000. The apparent discrepancy of 186 men in 3 *uexilla*, when each *uexillum* apparently had 63, was removed on reference to Polybius' statement (6. 24. 6) that the standard-bearer was one of the maniples, not, like the two centurions, appointed before the maniple was formed.

The difference between Livy and Polybius could not be removed by emendation; nor did the proposed change make good Livy's silence as to the number of men in the maniple, though it removed the hopeless confusion caused by the supposed mention of the number of men in an "*ordo*" before it was stated what an *ordo* was. Madvig's view that Livy had erroneously taken 30 maniples as belonging to the Hastati and Principes together instead of to the whole legion, and 20 light-armed men as belonging to the maniple instead of to the century or half-maniple, seemed very probable; the result was that Livy found himself unable to determine the number of a *manipulus* and honestly confined himself, so far as concrete numbers were concerned, to certain details which he found definitely stated, and which in themselves offered no difficulty to him, namely the number of light-armed soldiers attached to a maniple, and the constitution of each *uexillum* of triarii. We had no other evidence for the numbers of *rorarii* and *accensi*, but Livy's account here was detailed and had every appearance of truth. We should expect a decline in the number of skirmishers between the 4th and 2nd century, just as between the 2nd and 1st;—after Marius they had vanished from the legion altogether. He conjectured therefore that the army which Livy set out to describe contained, apart from officers, 20 maniples of 120 + 40 men and 10 *ordines* of 180 men apiece, which gave exactly 5000, Livy's total.

II. Mr BURKITT read a paper on the double birth of Dionysus.

The explanation of what underlies several of the leading tales in Greek Mythology is fairly well made out, details apart. Thus the cult of Ceres-Demeter and Proserpine represents the annual phenomena of the corn-harvest. The Seed-Corn is the daughter

of the Earth-Mother. It falls into the ground, where also the dead go, but it comes up again in the spring. The Corn is altogether the child of Earth and the Underworld; for unlike a permanent tree, of which the stock or trunk is always visible, it disappears from human view altogether for several months in the year.

Now it appears that Semele, the mother of Dionysus, also means the Earth (see e.g. Macrobius, *Sat.* i 12): the Vine comes out of the Earth, as does the Corn.

There is, however, a difference between the characteristic gifts of Ceres and of Bacchus. The Grain is gathered and is immediately ready for use; there is no further mystery about it. But the fruit of the Vine, the Grape, is not the characteristic gift of Bacchus, except by a metaphor. The characteristic gift of Bacchus is Wine, and the fruit of the Vine has to undergo a new birth before it becomes Wine that maketh glad the heart of man.

The powers of heaven, Zeus, act upon the earth, Semele, and produce the grape. At the vintage the fruit is torn from the Vine, but it is not yet the perfect product. The juice is collected and undergoes a further natural process, not underground but *sub Diuo*. The process by which the grape-juice becomes wine is what we call a *natural* fermentation, as opposed to *artificial* manufacture; and what we call Natural the ancients called Divine, the work of the Gods.

What makes Wine and Beer and all the fermented liquors differ from other natural products of the earth is just this, that they appear to have a new life, a second birth, which comes to them after they have been gathered from the ground. It seems possible that this idea lies at the base of the tale of Semele and Dionysus, and of his second birth from Zeus.

SECOND MEETING¹.

At a meeting held on Thursday, November 9, 1905, at 4.15, in Mr Nixon's rooms in King's, the President (Mr BURKITT) in the chair:

I. It was agreed to accept the invitation of the Oxford Philological Society to a joint conference on the pronunciation of Latin in universities and schools.

II. Mr ANGUS read notes on the following passages:

(i) Euripides *Hippolytus* 385: αἰδώς τ'.

Why do we leave the good which we see to follow the worse?

¹ Reported in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, November 14, 1905.