

STUDIES IN THE STYLE OF PHAEDRUS

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By

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ABSTRACT

These at times somewhat mathematical studies are not intended as a complete survey of the style of Phaedrus' Fables, but represent, it is hoped, a useful contribution to our knowledge of the work of an otherwise rather obscure figure.

I. Phaedrus seems often to have used heterodyne ("ictus"-accent clash) affectively to convey agitation, surprise, speed, and the like, and homodyne to convey the opposite, though there is no good evidence of patterning like that Knight thought to have found in the Aeneid. (The predominance of heterodyne in the mock-tragic 4.7.6-16 is, however, probably due to factors of genre.)

II. (There is less variation in protagonists in the second part of book 1 than in the first--this is a field for further investigation.)

Verse-endings are repeated less and less in the later books in a fairly smooth progression which supports the present order.

III. Words occurring only once in Phaedrus' work are relatively rare in book 1 and in prologues and epilogues. Poems high in such "once-words" tend not to be beast-fables and are on average longer, while poems low in these words, when not prologues or epilogues, are beast-fables or jokes.

IV. Phaedrus' use of Greek words increases with time, but this may largely be due to a change in the type of poems. Possible particular occasions for using Greek words (apart from unavoidable

instances, such as the names of certain animals) seem to be insincerity/deceit, riches, glorification, hyperbole, Greek settings, and possibly alliteration. Phaedrus introduced few new Greek words, if any, and the overall proportion of Greek words in his vocabulary is low in comparison with other poets.

V. Phaedrus uses "unpoetic" words to a fairly high degree, though less frequently in narrative than in direct speech and personal material. He also has some words characteristic of poetry and shows sensitivity to certain "rules" of poetic speech, and his vocabulary could not be confused with that of a prose-author. Not unexpectedly, he is closer in vocabulary to "low" poetry (such as satire) than to "high" poetry (such as epic).

VI. Phaedrus seems to have been conscious of certain rhyming effects or homoeoteleuta, notably between the final words of successive verses (a type he cultivated in book 4 especially, but seems to have avoided in book 5).

VII. Alliteration is generally used sparingly by Phaedrus, who seems to have avoided extreme concentration of alliterative verses. It occurs with slightly greater frequency in narrative, and also appears to have been employed somewhat less in Phaedrus' middle work generally. There is some indication of preference for particular alliterative patterns (e.g. avoidance of the concentric pattern).

VIII. Only tentative observations are possible on the structure, if any, of the books. The numerical approach seems somewhat more promising than the thematic (book 5 in its present form is numerically

balanced).

IX. About one eighth of Phaedrus' poems are exactly seven verses long, and this may have represented for him an ideal minimum length. Babrius, on the other hand, does not favour this length, but shows instead a strong preference for even numbers of verses. Avienus' poems do not vary greatly in length, but do not favour any exact figure.

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INTRODUCTION

This work is not intended in any way to answer the lack, alluded to by Morten Nøjgaard (La fable antique =København: 1964-7=, vol. II, p. 138), of an "analyse stylistique d'ensemble" for Phaedrus, even though I had originally thought that this might be possible. The fact is that too much work remains to be done before we can expect anyone to publish a complete survey of Phaedrus' style.¹ I hope, however, that the various contributions that make up this thesis will prove useful towards that end. If some are put off by its at times rather mathematical approach, there is, I feel, no better defence than to quote from a previous contributor to our knowledge of Phaedrus, Louis Havet:

Id etiam, quod nonnumquam ad rationes arithmeticas descendimus, neque exempla tantummodo computavimus, verum etiam quas nunc vocant mathematici "probabilitates", vereor ne aliquos offendat. Anne tu in operibus mentis humanae aggredieris metiri probabilitatis decimas partes? Sane ita est, neque me paenitet, si verum hic et illic probabilitas mea recuperavit, quod pessumderat certitudo aliena

(Phaedri Augusti liberti fabulae aesoniae =Paris: 1895=, p. 148).

¹For example, word-order in Phaedrus seems scarcely to have been touched upon (apart from a few incidental remarks, such as those of C. Causeret, De Phaedri sermone grammaticae observationes =Paris: 1886=, pp. 7-8, 14, and 98, and H. von Sassen, De Phaedri sermone =Marburg: 1911=, p. 9). The need for a more complete vocabulary study is noted in chapters II and III below.

With the exception of the chapter on words found only once in Phaedrus (chapter III), the text used has been that of Ben Edwin Perry in the Loeb series (1965), though that of A. Guaglianone (Phaedri Augusti liberti liber fabularum =Paravia, 1969=) has been of considerable value on specific points.²

Regarding Phaedrus' life, I shall try to avoid the two extremes

²I have been chary of adopting Guaglianone's text as the basis for my work because of certain metrical irregularities. For example, at 4.prol.1, where the manuscripts have the obviously incorrect

- - / ~ - / - // - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ - ~

cum destinassem termin(un) operis habere,

and where Scheffer's emendation "operi statuere", printed by Perry, restores the metre, Guaglianone, apparently intent on preserving the wording, gives Bongars'

- - / ~ - / ~ ~ ~ ~ - / ~ - / ~ ~

cum destinassem operis habere terminum,

which, in order to be scanned as a senarius, requires either hiatus in caesura plus a fourth-foot proceleusmatic and a split resolution or no caesura at all and a foot consisting of a tribrachic word.

(Phaedrus' metre is discussed further on pp. 18-20 below.)

Nøjgaard (Gnomon 44 =1972=, 569-75) has generally high praise for Guaglianone, while admitting that Perry "a produit un texte solide avec un appareil critique aisément variable", but points out the rather glaring error of not noticing that the "Romulus" (see pp. 13-4 below) is divided into books with its fables normally numbered accordingly.

Goodyear (CR NS 22 =1972=, 50-2) is, on the other hand, almost entirely hostile, pointing to, among other things, Guaglianone's confusing use of symbols and rejection of good conjectures. "This edition," he states, "may quite safely be ignored, for it contributes virtually nothing of importance."

of assuming intimate acquaintance on the part of the reader and of constructing an elaborate biographical plasma on the model of Attilio de Lorenzi (Fedro =Firenze: =1955=).

It is by now a commonplace of Phaedrian scholarship that virtually all that we know of Phaedrus is derived from personal references in his work (so, for example, Perry, Loeb ed., p. lxxiii), and that is little enough. The chief manuscript tradition (PR) labels his work "FEDRI AUGUSTI LIBERTI LIBER FABULARUM". If the Augustus referred to is the emperor commonly known by that name, this ascription puts Phaedrus in that ambiguous period, during which Roman letters were clouded over if not eclipsed, between the Golden and the Silver Ages of Latin literature, and makes him the approximate contemporary of Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, and Marcus Manilius. The historical personages to whom he refers seem to bear this out. The latest of these are the emperor Tiberius and Sejanus. The former Phaedrus refers to as "tanta maiestas ducis" and relates an anecdote about how he put down an over-eager slave (2.5). Phaedrus seems not to have been in the good graces of the latter, however; for Sejanus' having been accuser, witness, and judge is given as the reason why Phaedrus must grieve over some unspecified ills that have befallen him (3.prol.41-2, part of a much-vexed passage).

Yet Seneca, addressing a consolatio to the freedman Polybius sometime during Seneca's exile in Corsica (41-49 A.D.), refers to the weaving together of Aesopic fables--Phaedrus' precise line of endeavour--as "intemptatum Romanis ingeniis opus" (Ad Polyb. 8.3). This seems to indicate that Seneca was not aware even of Phaedrus' first book of fables at this time, though the exact import of the passage is much disputed.

But indeed Phaedrus is mentioned by scarcely any writer before Perotti in the Fifteenth Century. (The strange idea that Perotti himself wrote Phaedrus' fables³ has, however, long since been discredited.) The rather obscure Latin fabulist Avienus, who flourished perhaps around 400 A.D., mentions that Phaedrus "partem aliquam =of the fables of Aesop= quinque in libellos resolvit" (Epist. ad Theodosium); and Avienus appears to have avoided reproducing any fable already versified by Phaedrus⁴.

³Perhaps the most important, and among the more recent (!), expositions of this theory are those of I.F. Christius (Christ): De Phaedro ejusque fabulis prolusio (Leipzig: 1746) and Ad eruditos quosdam de nominis et tituli de Phaedro ejusque fabulis uberior expositio. Accessit actusque fabularum antiquarum Phaedri hoc Phaedri (Leipzig: 1747). Its origins and history are traced by L. Hervieux, Les fabulistes latins I (Paris: 1893), pp. 143-60.

⁴Avienus 37 is virtually the same as Phaedrus 3.7, but the wolf of the Phaedrian and Babrian (100) versions becomes a lion in Avienus.

Martial (3.20.5) mentions "inprobi iocos Phaedri", and it seems most likely (though not certain) that this refers to the fables of Phaedrus the freedman of Augustus. In addition, Guaglianone, the most recent editor of Phaedrus (see p. 2 above), has been able to unearth a single reference to our poet from the Middle Ages, in a summary of books belonging to an abbot Isghter about 850 A.D. (ed., p. 118). There are a number of inscriptions from the Roman period with the name "Phaeder" or "Phaedrus" (CIL 3.suppl.2.7358, 6.9958, 6.2081, 8.8377, 9.466, 9.5227, 10.128, 14.124, 14,1232, 14.3956), but it cannot be said with assurance that any relates to the fabulist.

Otherwise, silence. Not only does Seneca fail to mention Phaedrus, but none of the grammarians who discuss the fable seems to be aware of his existence⁵. Quintilian, it is true, has a reference to a poeta, whose meaning pupils must keep intact when reworking Aesopic fables (1.9.2). But: a. this may be a slip, especially if Quintilian had in mind similar exercises in other genres; b. the poet referred to may equally well not have been Phaedrus⁶; c. the

⁵Among the Romans, see: Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, 2.29; Macrobius, Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis, 1.2; Priscianus, Præ-exercitationes, 1(1-4) (vol. 3, pp. 430-1, Keil); Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, 5.11.17-21 and 1.9. For further testimonia on the ancient fable, consult B.E. Perry, Aesopica I (Urbana: 1952), pp. 211-41.

⁶Ausonius (Epist. 12.74-81) mentions a certain Titianus in connection with "Aesopic trimeters", and Phaedrus himself hints at imitators who steal his material (3.13).

word $\pi\omicron\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ could also mean the writer of a prose work (see LSJ, s.v., II.2), and the Romans lacked an exact word for a writer of prose fiction (scriptor and auctor tending to be used of a recorder of actual events).

The echo of one of Phaedrus' lines by Prudentius (Cathemerinon 7.115, "alvi capacis vivus hauritur specu"; cf. Phaedrus 4.6.10, "capacis alvi mersit tartareo specu") is, I believe, more likely due to imitation of a common source, now lost, than to any knowledge of the fabulist on the part of the Christian poet. Apparent quotations from Phaedrus have been reported on two inscriptions, at least one of which is now considered to be fraudulent.⁷

⁷The last two lines of the gravestone of the brothers Maximus and Lascius at Peltuinum Vestinum (CIL 9.3473) read:

MENTEM HABERE QVOD LECERIS QVARE VITA
MORTI PROPRIOR FIT COT TI DI AE VALE

Compare Phaedrus 3.epil.10, "nam vita morti propior est cotidie".

In 1593, Zamosius reported the following as appearing on a gravestone at "Alba Iulia" (Apulum):

nisi utile est quod faciamus
stulta est gloria

(CIL 3.58*). Compare Phaedrus 3.17.12, "nisi utile est quod facimus stulta est gloria". According to Havet (ed. 1895, on 3.17.12), the line was probably taken from Perotti's Cornu copiae (on which, see p. 13 below).

For details of Phaedrus' life we must fall back on his own words. Here we are faced with a frustrating series of half-revelations and allusions. Phaedrus does state, apparently quite seriously, that he was born in the Pierian range (3.prol.17), and implies that his ancestry is Thracian (3.prol.51-9); otherwise, though, there is no solid evidence about his origin, apart from the puzzling information that he was almost born in school (3.prol.20)⁸. He must have learned Latin early; for there is almost no trace of the foreigner in his use of the language⁹, and he mentions a verse from Ennius' Telephus as having been read by him as a boy (3.epil.33-5). His last three books at least seem to have been addressed to influential patrons, perhaps in the Imperial service--Eutychus (a busy man =3.prol.1-16 and 3.epil.2-3=, from whom Phaedrus seems to be requesting a favourable decision of some sort in order to clear his name =3.epil.9-35=), Particulo (one of a number of litterati who made copies for themselves of Phaedrus' poems =4.prol.7-20= and who is addressed

⁸Interpreted by von Sassen (p. 14) as meaning that Phaedrus was nearly born in Greece, to give merely one example of how this passage may be taken other than literally.

⁹Havet (Phèdre, affranchi de l'empereur Auguste: fables ésoquies =second ed.; Paris: 1917=, p. 245) detected a Hellenism in Phaedrus' use of "latens" at 5.5.31; but this is an isolated instance, and commentators have remarked again and again on the relative purity of Phaedrus' Latin (e.g., Causeret, p. 91).

as "vir sanctissime" (=4.epil.4⇒), and Philetus (who may have encouraged Phaedrus to write one more book in his old age =5.10⇒).

Phaedrus' work is full of references of varying degrees of opaqueness to his enemies, literary or otherwise; he refuses to name any but Sejanus (presumably already passed from the scene), on the grounds that a humble man ought not to speak openly (3.epil.29-33). The critic of his efforts becomes "lector Cato" (4.7.21) or, still more abstractly, "Livor" (2.epil.10, 3.prol.60, 4.22.1); or he speaks of one or another of his fables as directed against "those people" or "certain people" (1.1.14-5, 1.22.10-2, 2.5.1-6, 2.9.15-7 =if "illis" be read⇒, 3.10.60, 3.12.8). He may address the object of his attack directly (4.7.1-2, 4.22.1, 4.24.3-4), but the identification remains vague. A couple of times he even has recourse to the formulation "if anyone . . ." (1.prol.5, 3.prol.45-6), and once to a code name drawn from the fable itself (3.13.16-7). Phaedrus also refers to a coetus of some sort, into which he has been accepted only with difficulty (3.prol.23).

It is obvious from his words about the origin of the fable (3.prol.33-40) that Phaedrus pursued this type of obscurity intentionally; the plebeius, like the servus, had to tread carefully in the presence of the powerful. Even when apparently referring to himself alone,

the fabulist prefers the veiled allusion (3.1.7, 5.10.10).

One thing Phaedrus does tell us clearly about himself: he has "scraped the desire for possession right off his heart" (3.prol.21) and has "always avoided dangerous profits" (5.4.8). Unfortunately, however, even this is the sort of information that may be taken more than one way. Poverty, after all, is relative; and even the richest may have praise for it (the case of Seneca being notorious).

It is naturally possible to make all sorts of conjectures about Phaedrus' life based on the content and treatment of the stories that he relates, but this requires a work in itself.¹⁰ It is probably also better to try to approach the fables without prejudice.

A brief note on the material may be in order. Beginning as a versifier of Aesop (1.prol.1-2), Phaedrus soon began to insert some of his own material, at first on the grounds of variety (2.prol.5-12), but later with the claim of having vastly increased the scope of the fable (3.prol.38-9). He continued to call his poems Aesopic, however, with the justification that he was continuing to write in the same genre (4.prol.11-3); and Aesop continued to be pointed

¹⁰ Those interested in how this method has been applied to date are referred especially to: de Lorenzi, Fedro (see p. 3); H. Vandaele, Qua mente Phaeder fabellas scripserit (Paris: 1897); W. A.M. Peters, Phaedrus: een studie (Nijmegen: 1946), pp. 1-29; and Havet, ed. 1895, pp. 259-70. See also Perry, Loeb ed., pp. lxxiii-xcvi.

to as the inventor whom Phaedrus was following (4.22.7-8). But, by the end of his career, Phaedrus felt sufficient confidence to admit that he had long been using Aesop's name merely to lend authority to his poetry (5.prol.1-7). It is certainly true that none of the poems in book 5 corresponds to any of the traditional Aesopic fables, but there are a fair number in book 4 that can be so classified. As early as book 2, however, Phaedrus had begun to insert anecdotes --and other material--of a quite un-Aesopic nature in his work (e.g., 2.5). Almost all his poems do contain a moral lesson, usually expressed in an affabulatio¹¹, and so may be thought of as maintaining the spirit at least of Aesop's tales; yet, in his later work, Phaedrus gives at least two aetiologies that seem to be totally without moral content (4.16 and 4.19)¹². He also tells several stories about Aesop in which Aesop does not relate a fable, but merely shows his wisdom by some remark or action (3.5, 3.14, 3.19, 4.5, app.9, app.13, app.17, app.20) (this type of story is sometimes known as a chreia).

Phaedrus was apparently the first ancient writer to collect Aesopic fables in verse: he himself mentions no predecessors save

¹¹Affabulatio is the term used for the statement of the moral by the fabulist himself. When this precedes the fable, it is known as the promythium; when it follows, as the epimythium.

¹²In other cases, he goes to great lengths to point out morals that would otherwise be missed (e.g., in 4.11).

Aesop (2.epil.1-6). Before Phaedrus, fables were used in poetry only as incidental ornament¹³ (notably by Horace; e.g., Sermones 2.3.314-20 and 2.6.79-117) and collected only in rhetorical handbooks (such as that compiled by Demetrius of Phaleron =Diog.Laert. 5.580-1=)¹⁴. The poetic fabular collection did not become a flourishing literary form after him either. Among ancient Latin writers, only Avienus survives; among Greek, only Babrius. The former excuses his writing of fables on the grounds that higher genres are beyond his ability (Epist. ad Theodosium), while the latter seems to have intended his work for schoolboys (note especially prol.2, ὦ βράγχε τέκνον, and beginning of part 2, verse 1, ὦ παῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου).

The manuscripts of Phaedrus may be divided into a main tradition (P, R, and D) and an indirect tradition (N and V). The main tradition covers what is regularly printed as books 1 to 5 of the fables, with the exception of 5.1.18 and 5.2.1-2. The manuscript P (the Pithoeanus, so called from its first editor, Pierre Pithou, and first published in 1596) still survives in toto and is presently in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City (M. 906). The manuscript R (the Remensis, once at Rheims and first brought to light in 1608 by the Jesuit

¹³Socrates supposedly tried versifying certain fables of Aesop (Plato, Phaedo, 60d-61b; Diog.Laert., 2.5.42), but no collection of these poems is known.

¹⁴Hausrath believed that there were strong indications of the existence of a Volksbuch interweaving fables with details from the life of Aesop and drawn on by Phaedrus (Neue Jahrbücher 1 =1898=, 307-8), but this would still be far from being a collection of Aesopic fables in verse.

Sirmond) appears to have been destroyed by fire in 1774 and is known only through desultory collations by various editors; its readings were by all accounts very close to those of P. Both P and R were written without distinction of verses. D (the Danielensis, once the property of Pierre Daniel, who obtained it from the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, perhaps at the time of its sack by the Huguenots in 1562) is a fragment covering only 1.11.2-1.13.12 and 1.17.1-1.21.12; it is presently lodged in the Vatican Library (Codex Reginensis Latinus 1616). Its readings differ considerably from those of PR; most notably, it gives us the commonly accepted reading "utilia mihi quam fuerint" at 1.12.14 (rather than PR's "ut illa mihi profuerint") and the variant ending to 1.13 " . . . corvus cur dolosis/ fuisset deceptus fraudibus ut ignavus" (unmetrical). P and R are generally dated to the Ninth Century; D, to the Ninth or Tenth.

The indirect tradition **is** that represented in Nicolo Perotti's Epitome fabellarum Aesopi, Avieni et Phaedri ad Pyrrhum Perottum fratris filium adolescentem suavissimum, written in the Fifteenth Century. The manuscript N (the Neapolitanus, first discovered in 1727 in the library of the Duke of Parma by Jacques-Philippe D'Orville, but subsequently lost and not rediscovered until about 1808) appears to be the autograph of Perotti, but is illegible in many places because of water-stains; most of it (including all the fables of Phaedrus that it contains) was published by Cataldo Janelli in 1809; earlier, D'Orville had taken a number of notes on readings of the main-tradition fables given by N when it had not so greatly degenerated,

and these have been collated by Guaglianone for his edition; N is presently in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (IV F 58). V (the Vaticanus, discovered by Angelo Mai about 1830 among the possessions of Federico Veterani of Urbino) is a collection containing a copy of N and is in much superior condition; it is found in the Vatican Library (Urbinas 368). One fable (3.17) is also known through Perotti's quoting of it in his Cornu copiae, sive linguae latinae commentarii . . ., published in Venice in 1489, nine years after his death; Perotti, by an apparent slip, here attributes the fable to Avienus (see Hervieux, I, pp. 144-5 and 153).

The main-tradition fables given in the indirect, Perottine, tradition are as follows: 2.6-9, 3.1-8, 3.10-19, 4.21-3, 4.25-6, 5.1-5--though with some omissions, chiefly of promythia and epimythia (on which see note 11). In addition, there are thirty other fables and two fragments that seem to have been written by Phaedrus also. These comprise the Appendix Perottina and will be designated in this work as app.1-32, the numbering following the order of appearance in the Epitome.

Traces, sometimes quite extensive, of Phaedrus' original wording are also preserved in a group of collections of Aesopic fables in Latin prose written some centuries later. Chief among these are the Ademar manuscript, the Codex Wissemburgensis, and the "Romulus" (preserved in a number of manuscripts), all of which are thought to go back largely to a Latin prose version of Aesop

of the Fourth or Fifth Century A.D. On these so-called prose paraphrases of Phaedrus, see Hervieux, I, pp. 241-818; and, for their actual texts, II, pp. 131-762. For the "Romulus" in particular, see also G. Thiele, Der lateinische Aesop des Romulus (Heidelberg: 1910). No real reliance can be put on these prose versions as authorities for the text of Phaedrus, and in fact they are rarely so used by modern editors. Attempts to pick out fragments of lost fables of Phaedrus in this source are especially attacked by Nøjgaard (II, pp. 412-8).

Most recent editors of Phaedrus have made a slight change in the order of the material of the main tradition. In PR, the transition from book 3 to book 4 takes place abruptly, 3.19 ("Aesopus respondet garrulo") being followed directly by 4.1 ("Asinus et Calli"); this abruptness has been remedied by the insertion of the epilogue and prologue found in the manuscripts between 4.25 ("Formica et musca") and 4.26 (Simonides saved by the gods). In addition, it is supposed that the passage beginning "Aesopi nomen . . ." is the prologue to book 5 (the transition to this book is nowhere indicated in the manuscripts), and the passage beginning "Adhuc supersunt . . ." is transferred from after the fable "Scurra et rusticus" in order to supply book 4 with an epilogue. Not everyone has been satisfied with this arrangement, notable dissenters being Hervieux (I, pp. 65-8) and Havet (ed. 1895). I myself am not entirely convinced of its correctness, in spite of the symmetry that it gives to book 5 (see chapter VIII, section 3); it seems on basic principles to

be foolish to attempt to tidy up in this way a text that definitely contains lacunas. (Nevertheless, the commonly accepted arrangement into books has generally been followed in this study.)¹⁵

On the question of Phaedrus' style, it is natural that many commentators should have made at least some remarks. What is most noted about Phaedrus' language is its brevity¹⁶ and its love of abstracts¹⁷. There have been, however, a number of more detailed considerations of particular aspects of Phaedrus' style, which represent the material on which any later investigator will have to build. C. Causeret's De Phaedri sermone grammaticae observationes (Paris: 1886) is, as its title indicates, mainly concerned with the grammar and syntax of the fables, though it contains a number of observations on other points, such as Phaedrus' use of Greek words (pp. 33-5); it is somewhat

¹⁵Up to this point, much of the general material for the Introduction has been drawn from Perry's introduction to the Loeb edition, which the reader is advised to consult for further details. Other sources have been drawn on at need, especially Hervieux. See the Bibliography for further references.

¹⁶This brevity often consists of leaving something to be understood which another writer might have stated more explicitly. Although Phaedrus' meaning is nevertheless generally fairly clear, there are occasions where the omission seems almost too great not to have been caused by an error in the transmission. Take as an example 2.7.8, where Postgate emended "mulum" of the tradition to "ditem": in defence of the tradition, one might assume that Phaedrus intended it to be surmised by his readers that, because the mule was wounded "inter caedem", it must be the one laden with money that is referred to, since it is around the valuables that the fighting takes place; in that case, however, I do not believe that Phaedrus could escape the charge of obscurity.

¹⁷Most notably, of such expressions as "corvi . . . stupor" (1.13.12) for "corvus stupidus", in which characters are subordinated to their most relevant qualities.

vitiated by the author's propensity for judging everything by the canons of Golden Latin prose (using such affective terms as "pravitas" =p. 18= to describe any departures from this standard). Hans von Sassen's De Phaedri sermone (Marburg: 1911) is a series of observations on Phaedrus' use of metaphor, poeticisms, and rare words, and on peculiarities of meaning or expression; it was roundly attacked by Georg Thiele in a review in Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie (29 =1912=, columns 57-62) on a number of grounds: the author is ignorant of the existence of Cinquini's Index phaedrianus, fails to explain the peculiarities of Phaedrus' language that he has collected, is unfamiliar with Phaedrus' sources, does not see the importance of Greek words, and is generally incompetent to deal with the problem. Jacob Bertschinger's Volkstümliche Elemente in der Sprache des Phaedrus (Bern: 1921) limits itself to certain "popular" elements in Phaedrus' language not previously noted to a sufficient extent; Bertschinger follows von Sassen in seeing prose as the basis of Phaedrus' language, but wishes to emphasize by his study that the prose involved is that of popular speech (pp 5-6). Reference here might also be made to Johannes Weiland's "De tropis et figuris Phaedrianis" (Vienna: 1914), first noted, as far as I can see, by Hofmann-Szantyr (Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik =München: 1965=, p. LXXX), and apparently unknown to Nøjgaard (1967); it deals almost entirely with tropes (metaphors, similes, etc.), which the author attempts to classify and discuss

under the traditional categories, and it contains a few useful observations.¹⁸

A work that should not be overlooked is W.A.M. Peters' Phaedrus: een studie over persoon, werk en taal van den romeinschen fabeldichter (Nijmegen: 1946), which devotes a long chapter (hoofstuk III, pp. 73-116) to Phaedrus' style and language, following in large part the method outlined by Marouzeau in his Traité de stylistique.

Morten Nøjgaard has a chapter touching on various aspects of Phaedrus' style in its relation to the structure of the fables (II, pp. 138-56, "L'expressivité morale du style"); this includes a discussion of the meaning of "brevity" in Phaedrus and the function of figures and sound-effects.

M.L. Gasparov's article "Стиль Фавра и Бабрия" (in Язык и стиль античных писателей =Leningrad: 1966⇒) deals with three points of stylistic contrast between the two ancient fabulists: Phaedrus' language is condensed, dry, concise, and antithetic, while Babrius' is diffuse and pleonastic; Phaedrus expresses himself abstractly and prefers metonymies, while Babrius expresses himself concretely and prefers metaphors; Phaedrus is subjective while Babrius is objective, as is clear from the way in which they employ epithets.¹⁹

¹⁸ But it runs to 221 handwritten pages (never having been published) and is not always clearly legible, especially in those passages quoted in German.

¹⁹ A minor aspect of Phaedrus' style, his use of fixed verb-noun combinations in place of single verbs, is dealt with in a recent article by N.A. Vishnevskaya ("Глагольно-именные устойчивые сочетания и однокоренные глаголы в баснях Фавра и в текстах прозаических переработок" in Античность и современность =Moscow: 1972⇒).

Since one chapter of this work (chapter I) treats Phaedrus' use of metre as a stylistic parameter, a summary of the rules for the Phaedrian senarius may be of especial use. Virtually complete outlines have also been given by L. Mueller (Phaedri fabularum aesopiarum libri quinque [Leipzig: 1877], pp. ix-xiii), Havet (ed. 1895, pp. 147-224), and G.B. Pighi (Latinitas 2 [1954], 107-14); Raven's equation of Phaedrus' verse with "free iambic senarii of the comic type" (Latin Metre [London: 1965], p.178) is inadequate.

Diagrammatically, the options open to the writer of this style of verse may be represented as follows:²⁰

feet	1	2	3	4	5	6
iambus	u -	u -	u -	u -	u -	u ~
tribrach	(u u u)	u u u	u u u	u u u		
spondeus	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	
anapest	u u -	u u -	u u -	u u -	u u -	
dactyl	- u u	- u u	- u u	- u u	- u u	
proceleusmatic	u u u		(u u u)		(u u u)	
half-feet	1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12

²⁰Mueller (p. x) denies Phaedrus' use of the proceleusmatic except in the first foot, while Havet and Pighi think that, while rare, it was permitted also in the third and fifth feet. Mueller (pp. ix-x) is also doubtful about the legitimacy of the first-foot tribrach.

There remain some restrictions on word-division, which cannot be incorporated into the diagram. There is almost always a caesura after the fifth half-foot (semiquinaria) or after the seventh half-foot (semiseprenaria).²¹ Word-division does not occur within or after a double-short half-foot (split resolution) unless it also occurs before. If the second, third, or fourth foot is spondaic or anapaestic, it is not followed by word-division unless it contains a word-division (3.epil.34 is a quote from Ennius). The third, fifth, and seventh half-feet are not both preceded and followed by word-division if double-short. The seventh half-foot is not a monosyllable unless preceded by elision.

It is also a rule that if the ninth half-foot is short there is no word-division after it or after the tenth half-foot.²² No word-division is permitted after the eleventh half-foot under any circumstances.

The non-occurrence of certain other word-divisions is considered accidental by Havet: word-division never occurs within the third, fifth, seventh, or ninth half-foot (section 23); the verse never

²¹This may sometimes come between a preposition and its object, as in 3.prol.38:

~ - /z- / -//-/v -/ - -/ v~

eg(o) illius pro semita feci viam.

Elision is not permitted across a caesura, but is used in lieu of caesura in 3.15.6, 4.5.22, and 5.7.19.

²²According to Mueller (p. x) and Havet (section 41), in such cases a preposition may count as part of a word; but Pighi prefers to emend away the thirteen instances involved.

begins with two iambs each followed by word-division (section 37). He also considers accidental the fact that two anapaests are not found in a row (section 39).

Phaedrus does not appear to have used synezesis, hiatus²³, or iambic shortening; elision is not exceptionally common, but the only restrictions seem to be that it is not used in the eleventh half-foot²⁴ or across caesuras.

A Note on Statistical Expectation and χ^2

No advanced statistical methods are employed in this work, but those with no knowledge of this subject may find the following elucidation of some value.

From time to time I have occasion to use the term "expectation" or "chance-expectation" in a statistical or mathematical sense. Such an expectation is an exact value calculated from the statistical probability that a particular event or group of events will occur given certain conditions. If these conditions are the only factors at work, the expectation should represent the average result over a large number of trials. The further away a particular result is from the expectation, the less likely it is that other factors are not at work.

²³Though Havet emends to "cūm { ä/nūs" at 4.2.10, and "quān/tūm { ĩn/gēñlūm" is found in the suspect 1.13.13.

²⁴Hence Phaedrus would never end a verse with "īl/l(e) äīt", for example.

χ^2 is used to determine the probability--given a particular expectation or set of expectations--that the observed value or values could differ by at least so much "by chance"--i.e. without some other factors of the type referred to being at work. It is obtained by multiplying by itself the difference between the observed and expected values and then dividing the result by the expected value--if there are more than one such calculation, the results are added together.²⁵

In the relatively simple cases presented by this study, the number of "degrees of freedom" (df or ν) is always 1 (and thus it is probably best not to enter into further explanation of this term here); and when $df=1$ a value of χ^2 of more than 2.706 means a probability of chance-occurrence of less than 10%; a value of more than 3.841, a probability of less than 5%; more than 5.412, a probability of less than 2%; more than 6.635, less than 1%; more than 10.827, less than 0.1%. More detailed correlations can be got from a good χ^2 distribution table.

Generally, a probability of chance-occurrence of less than 5% is taken as being at least probably significant in a statistical sense.

²⁵For further information, any introductory work on statistics may be consulted; for example, M.J. Moroney, Facts from Figures (Penguin, third ed. revised 1965), especially pp. 249-70, or (with particular application to stylistics) Charles Muller, Initiation à la statistique linguistique (Paris: 1968), especially pp. 95-103.

The formula is:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E} .$$

I

HOMODYNE AND HETERODYNE

The terms "homodyne" and "heterodyne" refer to different relationships between word-accent and metrical position and were coined for this purpose by W.F. Jackson Knight (see especially his Accentual Symmetry in Virgil (=Oxford: 1939=). In order to define these two terms, we must assume that Latin verse is characterized by a periodically recurring "ictus", reflecting a temporary increase in the force of utterance.¹ In dactylic verse, the ictus falls invariably upon the first syllable of each foot, whereas in iambic verse it falls on the last syllable of the foot if that syllable is long or on the second-last in the case of resolution. According to Knight's

¹There is considerable evidence pointing toward the truth of this assumption. Knight lists some discussions of the question in his "Notes to Chapter II" (pp. 85-92), notably: J.M. Bolanos, "Virgilio, rey del hexámetro", Estudios virgilianos (Quito: 1931), pp. 70-121; F.W. Westway, Quantity and Accent in Latin (Cambridge: 1930); Eirik Vandvik, Rhythmus und Metrum; Akzent und Iktus, SO suppl. fasc. 8 (Oslo: 1937). Another important work is Edvard Fraenkel's Iktus und Akzent im lateinischen Sprechvers (Berlin: 1928). See also Sturtevant's statistics for dactylic verse (TAPA 54 (=1923=, 51-73, and 55 (=1924=, 73-89).

The question of ictus is still far from settled, however. See recently, for example: G.B. Pighi, "Inter legere et scandere plurimum interesse", Latinitas 14 (1966), 87-93; Hans Drexler, "Concetti fondamentali di metrica" (trans. L.E. Rossi), RFIC 93 (1965), 5-23; and J.W. Halporn's introduction to his translation from Nietzsche, Arion 6 (1967), 233-43. Raven (Latin Metre, pp. 12 and 153) refuses even to discuss the matter. See also L.P. Wilkinson, Golden Latin Artistry (Cambridge: 1963), pp. 89-96, and W. Beare, Latin Verse and European Song (London: =1957=), especially pp. 57-65. For further

definition (p. 13), a homodyne is a coincidence between ictus and accent, and a heterodyne is a lack of such coincidence. For practical purposes, however, he uses the term heterodyne only of the lack of accent on an ictic syllable and not of the lack of ictus on an accented syllable. This, in the opening hemistich of the Aeneid--

ármá vĭ/rúmquĕ cá/nō . . .

--we have homodyne in the first two feet, because the initial syllables of the feet are also stressed by natural word-accent. As we move along in the verse, however--

. . . cá/nō, Tró/iāe quī/ . . .

--we can see that the ictic syllables "-no" and "-iae" of feet three and four do not take word-accent and that therefore we have heterodynes in these two feet. In the last two feet of the verse--

. . . / primŭs āb/ óris

--there are of course two homodynes. (This is a fairly typical pattern of ictus and accent in the dactylic hexameter.)

Now exactly how the various syllables of Latin verse were stressed is a matter of uncertainty (though we can perhaps assume with safety that any syllable in which ictus and a definite word-accent coincide was stressed, and that any syllable lacking

bibliography, one might begin with R.J. Getty, "Classical Latin Metre and Prosody 1935-1962", Lustrum 8 (1963 =1964=), 103-60. The doctrine of a spoken ictus in Latin (in contrast to one marked by tapping the foot or the like) is said to go back to Bentley and is not attested by any ancient authority.

both ictus and the possibility of word-accent was unstressed). Knight speaks of two waves of stress or emphasis superimposed upon, and interfering with or reinforcing, one another, the one generated by word-accent and the other by metrical ictus (pp. 10-3). If we adopt this idea, the first verse of the Aeneid will generate a word-accent wave somewhat as follows--



--(the accentuation of "qui" is rather uncertain, so that I have assigned it an intermediate value; "ab", on the other hand, is fairly definitely proclitic, and thus unaccented), and the same verse will generate an ictus-wave thus--



--and these will combine when superimposed to form the following--



(the highest peaks representing coincidences of ictus and accent--homodynes). A succession of heterodynes, it can be seen, means a flattening out of the beat or an interference with the natural rhythm of the verse, whereas homodyne means that the rhythm is stabilized and reinforced.²

²For further interpretation, see Knight, especially pp. 13-4.

But even if there were no such thing as ictus at all, and word-accent alone determined stress in Latin verse, one would expect that different patterns of stress within each verse and relative to long and short syllables would be noticeable to the listener. This is especially true of the beginnings and endings of verses, and to a lesser extent at the caesuras. Thus, for example, quite apart from any concept of ictus, there is a palpable difference between beginning a verse with "Aesópus", where the accent is reserved for the second syllable, and beginning one with "fíctis", where the accent falls on the first; and likewise, between ending a verse with "senáriis", with the accent on the antepenultimate syllable, and ending one with "rísus móvet", with accents on the penult and on the fourth-last syllable.

Again, suppose that the word-accent was completely suppressed by the Romans in reading poetry, and that only the ictus was stressed. There would surely have been a great difference in the mind of the listener between "Aesópus", stressed according to its natural word-accent, and "fictís", bearing an unnatural stress on the final syllable. In this case too, the rhythm of a homodyned foot would have seemed balanced, stable, and natural; that of a heterodyned foot, unbalanced, unstable, and unnatural.

If only the stress element of the word-accent was suppressed in reading poetry (leaving some change of pitch to identify the accented syllables), or if it is assumed that the Latin accent in general was entirely one of pitch, the listener would have been

aware of a difference in musical quality between a homodyned and a heterodyned foot.

The remaining possibility seems almost so implausible as not to be worth considering. This is to assume that verse was read without any sort of regular stress or pitch at all (these qualities being used only here and there, for added emphasis). Yet even here, assuming that the listener could remain aware of the metre and the pattern of longs and shorts, homodyned feet would generally strike him differently from heterodyned. Let us consider the ending of the iambic senarius. If it is to be heterodyned, the word in question must be a disyllable, with the first syllable short; there will thus be a pause (sometimes called a dieresis) before the sixth foot, and the final unit of the verse will be only about one foot long. If, on the other hand, the verse is to end in homodyne, in Phaedrian verse at least³, the last word must be a polysyllable, and the pause cannot come later than the middle of the fifth foot; the final unit of the verse will therefore be longer than one foot, and so more relaxed, less abrupt, better balanced. Similar considerations apply

³Phaedrus does not end any verse with a monosyllable (except enclitic est); so there are no instances in his work of the verse-ending type "deridésne mé?".

to the beginning of the verse.⁴

In the iambic senarius of Phaedrus, as in virtually any Latin metre, there are certain restrictions against both homodyne and heterodyne, determined largely by position in the verse. It will be found that word-accent very rarely falls on the third, fifth, or eleventh half-foot, and never on the twelfth.⁵ Generally speaking,

⁴In general, the same may be said of the words immediately before and after the caesura in dactylic verse. Trochaics are another matter, which I will not go into here.

It is interesting to note how certain prose authors, such as Quintilian, avoid ending a period in a word of less than three syllables.

⁵In book 1, I have observed 22 instances of word-accent in the seventh half-foot (1.1.8, "meos"; 1.2.30, "quoque"; 1.3.12, "prius"; 1.12.13, "nunc"; 1.13.9, "vult"; 1.15.2, "res"; 1.15.3, "haec"; 1.16.1, "vocat"; 1.16.2, "malum"; 1.16.7, "dies"; 1.19.9, "mihi"; 1.20.1, "modo"; 1.23.4, "cibo"; 1.23.5, "meam"; 1.23.7, "iubet"; 1.23.8, "mea"; 1.24.1, "vult"; 1.24.5, "bove"; 1.27.8, "stans"; 1.27.9, "canis"; 1.28.2, "patet"; 1.29.6, "sic"), 5 of word-accent in the fifth half-foot (1.1.12, "ille"; 1.2.23, "quoniam"; 1.23.2, "fur"; 1.23.6, "re"; 1.25.1, "dant"), and 4 of word-accent in the third half-foot (1.1.10, "sex"; 1.5.9, "plus"; 1.13.2, "dat"; 1.22.10, "se"). Of these, three rest wholly on conjecture (1.1.12, 1.15.2, and 1.16.1) and two others partially (1.2.30 and 1.16.2). Seven instances occur in seven successive verses (1.23.3-1.24.1).

then, we shall find the greatest variance in the rhythm of the word-accent at the beginning of the verse (essentially the first foot) and just before the end (the fifth foot and the beginning of the sixth). It is of course always possible to analyse the pattern of ictus and accent for the verse as a whole, but a more compendious picture can often be got by looking only at the most significant part.

At the end of the verse, I shall take this most significant part to be the tenth and eleventh half-feet. I shall speak of the verse-ending (and, loosely, of the verse itself) as heterodyned if the tenth half-foot is unaccented and the eleventh bears a word-accent, and as homodyned if the tenth half-foot takes the word accent (at the point of ictus) and the eleventh is without it. Thus, for example, the ending "repperit" of l.prol.1 is homodyned because the word-accent falls on the tenth half-foot "rep-" and the eleventh half-foot "-pe-" is unaccented; on the other hand, the ending "risum movet" of l.prol.3 is heterodyned because the tenth half-foot "-sum" is without accent and the accent falls on the eleventh, "mo-". To avoid arbitrariness, in cases where the accent falls on both the tenth and the eleventh half-foot or where it is uncertain on which of these half-feet the accent should go, I shall refer to a "mixed" type (in fact, there are surprisingly few such cases); an example would be l.l.11, where it is not clear whether we should stress "non", "eram", or both.

In iambs a problem arises not encountered with dactyls. The second half of any foot but the last may be resolved from — to

~. Evidence seems to point strongly toward the falling of the ictus in such cases upon the first of the two short syllables. Frequently enough, especially in the tenth half-foot of the senarius, the word-accent falls, according to the three-syllable law, on the second of these two syllables. Such a case, I think, should be distinguished; for, even if it may have been the practice in Old Latin to accent "dīútius", "tétigērit", etc., it is far less certain that this was still the case in Phaedrus' day.⁶ Accordingly, I have invented the term "hemiheterodyne" to cover the case in which the word-accent falls on the second syllable of a resolved half-foot, the first syllable of which takes ictus. Even if the old accentuation was preserved in such cases, it will be useful to distinguish verse-endings involving resolution from those that do not.

It will be convenient to be able to refer to these various rhythms symbolically. For homodyne I shall use O; for heterodyne, E; for "mixed" type, M; and for "hemiheterodyne", H. So, for example, the rhythm of the verse-endings of the prologue to book 1 could be abbreviated to: OOEEHEO.

Now, while there may be a priori grounds for thinking that variation between homodyne and heterodyne may have been used expressively

⁶ See, for example, Thierfelder's discussion of words of the metrical type fācīlius in Fraenkel's Iktus und Akzent, pp. 357-95, especially pp. 361 and 392.

by Phaedrus,⁷ I do not feel that these would be sufficient unless they stood up to the test of experimentation involving the whole of Phaedrus' work. I have accordingly examined the closing rhythms of every verse in the five books plus the appendix, in order to see whether there is any pattern or trend in Phaedrus' use of homodyne and heterodyne.

⁷Phaedrus' expressive use of metrical variation has already been asserted by Guaglianone ("Fedro e il suo senario", RSIC 16 =1968=, 91-104) and by Dietmar Korzeniewski ("Zur Verstechnik des Phaedrus. Aufgelöste Hebungen und Senkungen in seinen Senaren", Hermes 98 =1970=, pp. 430-58). Guaglianone concentrates almost entirely on the choice among single short, long, and double short, and says nothing about ictus-accent clash and almost as little about word-division in general. Korzeniewski, who appears to be unaware of Guaglianone's article, writes fully and persuasively on Phaedrus' use of resolution, showing, inter alia, that it is frequently associated with emphasis, in addition to producing a feeling of unrest when used repeatedly.

Fraenkel (Iktus und Akzent, pp. 336-8) does discuss Phaedrus' use of ictus-accent clashes, but only briefly, and only from the point of view of syntax and, to a certain extent, of emphasis.

The general degree to which Phaedrus favours homodyne in the first part of the verse has been studied by B. Axelson ("Die zweite Senkung im jambischen Senar des Phaedrus. Beobachtungen über Versrhythmus und Wortstellung", Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund Årsbok 1949, 43-68).

I should mention that I remain unconvinced by Knight with regard to "patterning" of homodyne and heterodyne in Virgil. Knight has rightly been attacked for not taking into account the fact that such patterns would tend to occur quite frequently by chance (see, for example, Skutsch's review--CR 54 =1940=, 93-5). V.P. Naughtin's article taking the same approach to Lucretius ("Metrical Patterns in Lucretius' Hexameters", CQ NS 2 =1952=, 152-67) is liable to the same criticism.

A base should be established before proceeding further.

How frequently do the various end-rhythms occur in each of the parts of Phaedrus' work as we now have it? The answer to this question may best be expressed by the following table (which is correct to the nearest percentage-point):

	O	E	H	M
book 1	50%	43%	6%	2%
book 2	51%	40%	8%	1%
book 3	52%	40%	6%	1%
book 4	53%	41%	5%	1%
book 5	56%	39%	5%	1%
appendix	55%	39%	5%	1%
all	$\overline{53\%}$	$\overline{41\%}$	$\overline{6\%}$	$\overline{1\%}$

It can be seen that throughout his work Phaedrus maintained a fairly constant overall proportion between homodyne and heterodyne at the ends of verses, though he seems to have favoured homodyne slightly more as time went by (a reversal of the general historical trend in iambs). The proportions given in the last line of the table will be true for any stage of Phaedrus' work if an error of three percentage-points is allowed each way.

In order right at the beginning to dispel any doubts about the significance of the distinction of verse-rhythms for Phaedrus, let us look at two particular portions of his work. First, the promythia

and epimythia. In book 1, ten of the promythia or epimythia (those to fables 1, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 26, and 31) take the form OO (that is, they consist of two verses both of which end in homodyne); only two (those to fables 19 and 27) take the form EE; and only four take the form OE or EO (those to fables 9, 20, 21, and 23).⁸ The remaining two-verse promythia or epimythia take the form HE (that to fable 5) or HO (those to fables 25 and 28). It is true, as we have seen, that O is generally somewhat more common than E, so that one would expect the combination OO to turn up with greater frequency than EE; not, however, to the extent observed here.⁹ In all the later books, OO promythia or epimythia turn up with a frequency equal to or less than that for those in EE, though both forms are rare. In book 3 there is a somewhat similar favouring of a single verse ending in homodyne for the promythia and epimythia (seven instances: fables 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 12, and 17).

Second, direct speech. In book 1, of those passages of direct

⁸The strange "epimythium" to the fable of the fox and the crow (1.13.13-4) would be a fifth instance, if it is Phaedrian and if it is not corrupt. The hiatus is unique in Perry's text (cf. above, p. 20) and not mitigated by any punctuation; the indicative indirect question is also un-Phaedrian; and the repetition of (-)valet is suspicious. I would be inclined to believe that "valet" in verse 13 is derived from the following verse's "praevalet" and that a dactylocretic (or proceleusmato-paeonic) word originally stood in its place.

⁹The chance-expectations are as follows: OO, 4.8; OE or EO, 8.2; EE, 3.5; other, 2.5.

speech that involve only one verse-ending, eight are E (1.5, 1.10 1.12, 2.29, 2.31, 11.13, 17.9, and 26.12) while only one or two are O (25.6 and, if not originally followed by another verse, 31.13); the rest are M (1.11 and 7.2). Likewise, of those that involve only two verse-endings, five are EE (1.7-8, 11.14-5, 15.7-8, 19.9-10, and 22.2-3) while none is OO; five are OE or EO (8.11-2, 9.4-5, 15.9-10, 25.7-8, and 29.10-11) and the rest are ME (10.9-10 and 29.7-8) or EH (18.6-7). In the other books, no such preferences are to be observed.

The implications seem clear enough. In his earliest work Phaedrus had a marked preference for homodyne endings in promythia and epimythia, the "philosophical" part of his fables, and for heterodyne endings in short passages of direct speech, which were meant to be more immediate and dramatic; in his later work, however, he abandoned this preference. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that he put rhythmical variation to use in other ways also.

If one studies the proportion of homodyne endings in what may be called personal material in Phaedrus (that is, prologues, epilogues, promythia, epimythia, and the like), it will be found that there is a steady and striking decline in this proportion as one moves from book 1 to book 5 (65%, 52%, 49%, 46%, 41%); on the other hand, there is a corresponding fall in the proportion of heterodyned verse-endings in direct speech (51%, 38%, 45%, 44%, 33%). (For fuller details, see appendix B.) Statistics like these are probably not very interesting in themselves (unless some reasonable interpretation

can be placed on them), but they do confirm the hypothesis that the relative position of ictus and accent is not a matter of indifference to the author and that the use of one rhythm as against another will at least sometimes be determined by artistic considerations.

Hérescu (La poésie latine =Paris: 1960=, pp. 206-9) gives it as his opinion that the statistical method is of virtually no use in evaluating an author's use of expressive devices of style; instead, each individual case must be considered on its own merits. I am not entirely in agreement with this view, but I must confess that I have not yet discovered a satisfactory set of objective criteria for determining whether in a particular case Phaedrus is more or less likely to use^s heterodyne or homodyne to complete the verse. I believe, however, that there are in his work certain tendencies in the use of one rhythm rather than another which can best be brought out by consideration of the number of separate cases that can be attributed to each category.

The first of these categories is that of speed; roughly speaking, Phaedrus tends to use homodyne to suggest slow motion or stopping and heterodyne to suggest fast motion. Two very good examples of this tendency are to be found in 3.19 and at the beginning of app.23. In the former of these, notice how the three verses which concentrate most on movement and on Aesop's haste to complete the task of getting fire for his master (vv. 3, 6, and 9) are all heterodyned in ending; these are interrupted by two pairs of verses with homodyned

endings, the first (vv. 4 and 5) telling how Aesop's search at last reached an end and adding his reflection on the distance it would be to go back around the forum, and the second (vv. 7 and 8) revealing how some idler slowed Aesop up on his way home with a silly question. In app.23, we have the situation of a traveller hurrying on his way ("carpens iter", v. 1, heterodyne), hesitating on hearing a voice ("moratus paululum", v. 2, homodyne), then, seeing no one there, starting to hurry off again ("corripuit gradum", v. 3, heterodyne), but stopping again when the voice is heard a second time ("restitit", v. 5, homodyne).

Another instance occurs in 1.11, where a brief period of frantic stampeding on the part of various wild animals (v. 9, heterodyne) is sandwiched between the braying of the donkey (vv. 6-8, homodyne) and their encounter with the lion (v. 10, homodyne). 1.12 also manifests an association of heterodyne with speed and homodyne with its opposite. A predominantly homodyned section describing the stag at rest (vv. 2-7) is followed by two heterodyned verses (vv. 8-9) covering his initial escape "cursu levi"; his antlers then catch on the branches of the trees, and he is again brought to rest ("retentis impeditus cornibus", v. 10, homodyne). The same tendency may be present in 1.25.5-6, in which a dog hastens along the shore while drinking (v. 5, heterodyne), in spite of the crocodile's urging to take his time ("otio", v. 6, homodyne). In book 1 there certainly seem to be no counter-examples, though other swift actions besides those of locomotion do not necessarily require heterodyne (e.g., 1.13.10-1),

and swift motion in the past does not have the same expressive requirements (e.g., 1.31.3).

In 2.4, the movements of the cat are invariably accompanied by heterodyned verse-endings (vv. 6, 12, 17, and 18), but this fable is otherwise very high in heterodynes, so that not much can be made of this fact; at any rate, no great emphasis is meant to be placed on the cat's speed. A better example from book 2 may be found in fable 8; here again, as in 1.12, we have a stag running to escape from hunters (vv. 2-3, heterodyne); in this case, the flight ends in the relative safety of an ox-stall (v. 4, homodyne). It should be pointed out that there are two counter-examples in this book. At 2.5.17-8, the officious slave is described as running ahead to sprinkle more water on the dust: the rhythm of the verse-endings is homodyne. Again, in 2.7.6-7, the mule carrying the barley is moving along at a quiet pace when suddenly a band of robbers rushes to the attack: yet the order is heterodyne-homodyne ("placido gradu" --"advolant") rather than the reverse.

There is a good instance of the association of motion with heterodyne and of remaining in the same place with homodyne in 3.2.2-11: the two heterodyne verse-endings here coincide with the departure of the countryfolk (v. 7) and of the panther (v. 11); the rest (except v. 4, hemiheterodyne) are homodyne. The return of the panther in verse 12, however, involves a homodyne verse-ending ("provolat"). Another exception turns up in 3.3.6, where a farmer is described as running to consult the soothsayers; the verse-ending is hemiheterodyne

("hariolos") rather than heterodyne. The emphasis is not of course on the motion itself, and it is in precisely this sort of case that interpretation becomes important; a similar explanation may be given for the homodyne ending of 3.8.11 ("invicem"). (The case of 3.19 has already been mentioned.)

4.2.10-8 provide us with a fairly extended if rather general example of the association of motion and the heterodyned rhythm. First, the aged weasel, who is no longer able to run in pursuit of the mice (vv. 10-1, homodyne); next, the act of rolling in flour and throwing herself into a corner (v. 12, heterodyne), followed by the swift attraction and death of the first mouse (vv. 13-4, heterodyne); last, the slow and cautious approach of the old mouse, who stops well short of destruction (vv. 16-8, homodyne).

This is the only clear example that I have been able to find in book 4. It is true that in 4.9.10-2 there is a contrast between the swift escape of the fox and the immobility of the goat, but here it cannot be said that one verse refers more or less entirely to the condition of either character.

In 5.1 we may contrast the rhythm of those verses describing the leisurely approach of Menander and the other "resides et sequentes otium" (vv. 7-9, 13, homodyne) and that indicating the headlong arrival of the common herd (v. 3, heterodyne). There is likewise a contrast in 5.2 between the degree of mobility of the one soldier, who stands his ground (vv. 2-3, homodyne), and that of the other, who rushes back when the robber is defeated (v. 4, heterodyne).

There are apparently no counter-examples in either book 4 or book 5.

In the appendix--apart from app.23, already mentioned--there is the example of the juxtaposition in fable 16 of the movement of the wedding procession (vv. 9-10, heterodyne) and the patient waiting of the poor man's donkey at the gate (vv. 11-2, homodyne). App.28.10 might conceivably be cited as a counter-example, but it is a very weak one.

The first category--the association of heterodyne with speed and of homodyne with its opposite--seems thus to have been fairly well established. A second category, related to the first, is that of stability. It has been seen that heterodyne involves a conflict or instability in the rhythm of the verse. Knight has attempted to extend this association into the field of meaning (especially p. 26). Quite a good example of Phaedrus' apparent use of this association is to be found in 3.16. Here the conflict begins in verses 6-7 (hemi-heterodyne and heterodyne endings) with the cicada's refusal-by-contrariety of the owl's request. The conflict is resolved on what might be called the planning level in verse 10 (homodyne after three heterodynes), but continues on the physical level until the final silence of the cicada in verse 19 (homodyne following four heterodynes in narrative).

A similar movement from stability to instability and then back to a new stability may be observed in 1.13, which begins with the stable situation of the crow in secure possession of the cheese

(vv. 3-4, homodyne); this is disturbed by the arrival of the fox with her flattering words (vv. 5-8, heterodyne). Finally, the crow's decision to open his mouth restabilizes the situation in favour of the fox (vv. 9-11, two homodynes and a hemiheterodyne). If asked to justify the heterodyne ending of verse 12, one might point to the mocking echo found therein of the fox's words in verse 6 ("tuarum, corve, pennarum . . . nitor"--"corvi deceptus stupor").

In app.16 it will be noted how, after the arrival of the donkey and its rider at the villa of the poor suitor^e (v. 21), there is a straight run of homodynes for twelve verses, interrupted only by a brief mention of the intended bridegroom's grief (v. 31, heterodyne), while heterodyne has predominated slightly in the earlier part of the poem. This change of rhythm may be interpreted as reflecting the end of conflict and the beginning of the happy ending.

Other instances in which the turning-point of a tale is associated with a general movement from heterodyne to homodyne verse-endings are 1.14, 1.31, 4.4, and app.5-6.

Thus there is a possibility that Phaedrus may have made use of the association of heterodyne with conflict and instability for expressive purposes, at least in certain instances. I do not believe, however, that this can be said to have been established with any degree of certainty.

An expressive association of heterodyne with the unexpected or sudden, and of homodyne with the expected or gradual, seems likewise to be not clearly provable in Phaedrus' case. There are, of course,

a number of instances in which such an association may be present. One of these is to be found in 4.18, where heterodyne verse-endings mark the sudden and un hoped-for end of the storm (vv. 4-5) and the admonition of the pilot (vv. 8-9) disturbing the sailor's joy. The one homodyne verse-ending in 4.24 (v. 2) coincides with the breathless expectation as the mountain's labour reaches its conclusion. In 5.5, an alternation of homodyne and heterodyne endings gives way to a row of three homodynes (vv. 13-5; there are no heterodyned feet in these verses) at the point where, with the crowd waiting expectantly, the performance is about to begin; the surprising nature of the performance itself evokes the heterodyne rhythm (vv. 16-7, heterodyned endings, plus the initial "ille in sinum"). The surprise the next day is not the farmer's "imitation", which involves almost no heterodyne (vv. 29-33), but his revelation of the real piglet (vv. 36-7, heterodyne).

Similarly, in app.8 the sudden and terrifying onset of the trance is marked by a change from the predominant homodyne rhythm of the piece (vv. 3-5, two heterodynes and a hemiheterodyne). In app. 15, note how the heterodyned verse 26, telling how one of the crosses was found missing its corpse, breaks rudely into the idyl that precedes it (homodyne endings since verse 20).

Another category is the distinction between present time and the past or future. In Phaedrus, heterodyne seems often to be associated with the former and homodyne with the latter. It should be borne in mind, however, that the convenience of the pluperfect

indicative for metrical purposes will account for this phenomenon to at least some degree. One notable example of the association of heterodyne verse-endings with the immediate present and of homodyne with the past is 4.6, where the elaborate preparations of the mouse leaders (vv. 5-7), the defeat of the army (v. 1), and the capture of those who got stuck in the entrance-ways (vv. 8-9)--now all in the past--are described in verses ending in homodyne, while the present plight of the two groups of mice is described in heterodyned verses (vv. 4 and 10). App.22 is another good example of homodyne background (v. 1) versus heterodyne immediacy (vv. 2-6). Background tends to be given in homodyne throughout Phaedrus' work, and this statement may be supported by a fairly rigorous demonstration. The initial verse of the fable proper usually involves background material to some extent; in Phaedrus' five books 56 such verses end in homodyne and only 29 in heterodyne--a ratio of 1.93, as against an overall ratio of 1.28 and one of 1.11 in narrative generally--and this ratio remains fairly constant in all the books with the exception of the relatively short book 2.¹⁰

¹⁰The precise figures are as follows: book 1, 0--20, E--11; book 2, 0--3, E--3, other--2; book 3, 0--12, E--6, other--1; book 4, 0--14, E--6, other--2; book 5, 0--7, E--3. In the appendix, where we are less certain of knowing for sure that first verse of the fable proper, the values are: 0--16, E--12--showing in fact no tendency for the initial verse to be homodyne more than any other verse.

An important point of action, or a turning-point of a story often involves a heterodyne verse-ending in Phaedrus' work. Noteworthy examples are 1.5.6-8, 1.28.7-8, 2.5.16, 2.5.23-4, 3.3.3-4, 3.3.7, 3.3.14-5, 4.1.8-11, 4.2.12-4, 4.8.4, 5.6.2-4, app.10.4, app.10.11, and app.25.4-5. Conversely, verses that are philosophical, reflective, or intellectual in tone seem more frequently to end in homodyne. Some instances of this are 1.1.9, 1.6, 2.3.3-6, 3.prol.1-3, 3.10.46-9, 3.15.4ff., 3.17, 3.epil.10-14, 4.prol.4-7, 4.2.1-3, 4.2.5-9, 4.22.2, 5.7.8-9, app.8.17, app.10.12, app.10.14, app.11.14, app.18.4-5, app.21.5. The preference for 00 promythia and epimythia in book 1 was noted previously (above, p. 32); it may find its explanation here.

In Phaedrus' later work at least, a verse or verses ending in heterodyne appear sometimes to be used as a device for getting the reader or listener's attention or breaking into a train of thought: Eutychus' objection to Phaedrus' advice, 3.prol.4-5; Phaedrus' interruption of his own book after one fable in order to justify himself to the reader, 4.2.1; his later interruption in order to attack Livor, 4.22.1; Demetrius' indignant exclamation on first catching sight of Menander, 5.1.15 (contrast the smooth homodyne of v. 18); the first words of the oracle, calling on everyone to hear, app.8.7; the fox's initial warning to the cock, app.18.3; the runaway's first words to Aesop, app.20.3.

Such associations can without difficulty be connected with

the ideas of speed, movement, and instability associated with heterodyne and of slowness, immobility, and stability associated with homodyne. Likewise, heterodyne and homodyne may sometimes be associated with feelings of anxiety and calm respectively. A good instance of this is to be seen in 1.2, where the initial terror of the frogs at the arrival of King Log (vv. 13-7, three heterodynes and a hemiheterodyne) gives way to carefree insult when his true nature is discovered (vv. 18-21, homodynes), and which ends on a note of sustained tension as no relief is found from King Watersnake (vv. 25-9, heterodynes). In app.26, the feelings of the sheep are contrasted with those of the crow in a similar fashion (v. 3, the sheep's speech, heterodyne; vv. 5-7, the crow's answer, homodynes). In app.28 the hare's anxious plea when pursued by the hunter (vv. 3-4, heterodynes) is contrasted with the same hare's witty appraisal of the herdsman's action when the danger is passed (vv. 12-4, mixed rhythm followed by two homodynes). Other examples of heterodyne associated with anxiety occur at 1.28.6, 1.28.11, 2.8.9, 3.epil.8-9, and 3.epil.22-7; of homodyne associated with calm, at 4.22.9.

On the topic of what might be called the affective use of of rhythmic variation, consider the case of app.9. Here, apart from the two introductory verses (vv. 1-2), we are confronted with a neat division into two equal and parallel sections, one assigned to the writer and his question (vv. 3-5), the other to Aesop and his answer (vv. 6-8). The first verse of each section refers to

the emotional state of the person concerned: the writer is anxious to know what Aesop thinks of his work, and the verse expressing this ends in heterodyne (v. 3); Aesop, on the other hand, is worn out with having to listen to it, and the verse expressing this ends in homodyne (v. 6). Although the writer is eager to hear Aesop's opinion, however, he is supremely confident that it will be a favourable one; hence the homodynes of verses 4 and 5. Aesop's reply, in contrast, provides a rude awakening; hence the heterodynes of verses 7 and 8.

In 3.13, the assigning, as it were, of rhythmical parts is carried to a higher degree. Here the conflict between the bees and the drones is described in straight heterodyned verses (vv. 1-2 and 12), while references to the wasp are in homodyned verses (vv. 3-5 and 13); the two speeches of the wasp, like the author's epimythium, involve a perfect alternation of the two rhythms (vv. 6-11 and 14-5; vv. 16-7). An accident perhaps, but it fits in very well with the associations noted above: conflict and instability--heterodyne; calmness, rationality, decision--homodyne.

All these are tendencies only; there are no rules. Knight states (p. 15): "Homodyne and heterodyne are in Vergil regularly expressional. This cannot be asserted at all confidently of any other Latin poet with the doubtful exception of Valerius Flaccus." It certainly cannot be asserted of Phaedrus, though I hope that I have shown that he was not entirely insensitive to differences in verse-rhythm and did from time to time make use of its expressive associations. This

granted, I believe that the associations felt by Phaedrus in the heterodyne rhythm may be summed up in one word--agitation. This covers in a vague way all the various categories that I have suggested: speed, motion, instability, conflict, surprise, immediacy, action, climax, attention-getting, anxiety. The fact that all the categories may be so subsumed under one general term gives weight to what otherwise might be considered insufficient evidence in certain cases.

There is something else. In 4.7.6-16, Phaedrus mimics the tragic style. Of these 11 verses, only 2 end in homodyne (vv. 7 and 11); the rest are heterodyned. It is well known that in Seneca's iambics there is a very heavy predominance of heterodyne (disyllabic) verse-endings (see, for example, Fraenkel, Iktus und Akzent, pp. 22-3). In the iambics of Ennius and Cicero, however, there is no such predominance.¹¹ Can we infer that a heavy use of heterodyned verse-endings was characteristic of later Latin tragedy generally? Petronius' iambic fragment at Satyrica 89 ends about 90% heterodyne and is written in a grandiloquent style suitable to tragedy or epic: this seems to be good supportive evidence. If it is accordingly concluded

¹¹For example, the first nine verses of Ennius' Medea (Remains of Old Latin I 312), which Phaedrus is supposedly parodying in 4.7 (see Vahlen on Ennius scenica 246, and compare von Sassen, p. 23), have only four heterodyned endings.

that Phaedrus also associated the heterodyne rhythm with a grandiose style, a whole new element enters and complicates the picture. Take, for example, 4.10. Here the heterodyne would seem to have little of the expressive use found elsewhere in Phaedrus (agitation, movement, and the like), if any (in fact the poem is probably too short for this). On the other hand, perhaps an intention to strike a loftier note here has lead Phaedrus towards imitation of tragic rhythms; one is reminded of the Homeric story of Zeus' two urns. One test of such a hypothesis lies in another aspect of the metre--the "purity" of the iambs. Such a purity is indeed a characteristic of the tragic imitation at 4.7.6-16, as has already been indicated by Hausrath (RE 19.1481); it does not appear, however, in 4.10, whose iambics are of the more ordinary type (allowing long third and seventh half-feet as a matter of course). Moreover, there are other passages in which Phaedrus becomes quite as serious as in 4.10 that are not particularly characterized by heterodyne verse-endings (e.g., app.7). Hence, although it seems fairly safe to state that in 4.7.6-16 the reason for the predominance of heterodyne verse-endings is imitation by Phaedrus of contemporary tragic rhythms in this particular passage, to postulate by extension a general association in Phaedrus' mind between heterodyne and a loftier tone is unlikely to be profitable.

Knight (pp. 44-83) goes into some detail over the patterns of homodyne and heterodyne fourth feet which he believes he has found in the Aeneid. Even in Phaedrus one occasionally finds traces of

of what appears to be deliberate pattern-making in the arrangement of homodyne and heterodyne verse-endings, though in no case is this so strong that coincidence can actually be ruled out.

For example, the first verses of the prologue to book 5 end with the rhythms HOOOE, the mirror-image of those of the last five verses of the epilogue to book 4, EOOOH. If 4.25 (The Ant and the Fly) is kept in its original order, both speeches end EEEOO. 1.11 is symmetrical if we exclude the promythium: EEEOOOEEOOEEEE. In 1.18, if the promythium is excluded, we are left with a double-OEH sequence (and H is rare--see above, p. 31). The fable that follows, 1.19, comes very close to a double-OOE sequence, again omitting the promythium: it is disturbed only by the resolution of "validius" in verse 8. Double sequence in the fable minus the promythium turns up again in 1.25 (OOEEOE).

A remarkable instance of alternation is to be observed in 2.6:

5 10 15
EHE O EOEOEO EOE OE OE .

In 3.3 the last five verses mirror the first (OOEEO--OEEEO); and in 3.8 the end-rhythms of the first ten verses are symmetrical (OOEEOOEEOO). In 4.20, there is an interesting alternation of O and H in the fable itself, with an isolated E-ending in the one-verse promythium:

5
E OHO HO .

Examples might also be cited from 1.8, 1.22, 3.prol., and

3.15 (without Havet's transposition of vv. 13-4).

It is all too easy for such patterns to occur without intention. Whatever may be true of Virgil, I do not think that sufficient examples can be adduced from Phaedrus to overcome this objection in his case. The reader will get an idea of the variety of rhythmical patterns within sense-units in Phaedrus' work by glancing at appendix A: there is no evident favouring of such forms as "released movements" or alternation.

To conclude: if significance is to be attached to rhythmic variation in Phaedrus, it must be by way of differences of style and tone, not by attempting to detect large-scale patterns; moreover, no consistent rules can be applied--we can only speak of tendencies.

Appendix A: Analysis of All Verse-Endings in Phaedrus

The symbols O, E, H, and M, as explained on page 29 above, stand for homodyne, heterodyne, "hemiheterodyne", and "mixed" verse-endings respectively. Underlining () indicates personal material (prologues, epimythia, etc.); "underquoting" (), direct speech. Every fifth verse-ending is numbered, and rough sense-units are divided by blank spaces.

- 1.prol. OO ⁵EE ¹⁰HEO .
- 1.1 O E ⁵OOE ¹⁰EEHE ¹⁵OE M E E OO .
- 1.2 OOO ⁵OO ¹⁰OENEO ¹⁵OEO ²⁰EEHE ²⁵HEO ³⁰OO ³⁵OEE O ⁴⁰EE ⁴⁵EEHE ⁵⁰EE .
- 1.3 EOO ⁵OO ¹⁰EE E ¹⁵OEE ²⁰OQEOH .
- 1.4 O ⁵EEHEHEO .
- 1.5 HE ⁵OO ¹⁰OEMEOH O .
- 1.6 OO ⁵OO O ¹⁰OEOHO .
- 1.7 O M OO .
- 1.8 OOM ⁵EOE ¹⁰EOE ¹⁵OEO .
- 1.9 EO ⁵EOE ¹⁰EO ¹⁵OOEE .

- 1.10 $\underline{OE} \ 0 \ 00 \ 0 \ EOMF \ .$
- 1.11 $\underline{OO} \ EEE \ 000 \ EO \ 0 \ OF \ FF \ .$
- 1.12 $\underline{OO} \ OE \ OHOE \ EOE \ OQQF \ .$
- 1.13 $\underline{OO} \ OOE, E, E \ OHO \ E \ \underline{EO} \ .$
- 1.14 $OEEOE \ EOEEO \ 000 \ OQQE \ \underline{OO} \ .$
- 1.15 $\underline{OO} \ 0 \ E \ OE \ FF \ FF \ .$
- 1.16 $\underline{OO} \ 0 \ EEO, O \ .$
- 1.17 $\underline{E} \ EOE \ 0 \ EEF \ .$
- 1.18 $\underline{E} \ OE \ EO \ FF \ .$
- 1.19 $\underline{EE} \ OO \ EEO \ H \ FF \ .$
- 1.20 $\underline{EO} \ E \ HEO \ .$
- 1.21 $\underline{OE} \ OEOO \ 0 \ EO \ FFF \ .$
- 1.22 $\underline{EE} \ EO, HOF \ E \ \underline{OEO} \ .$
- 1.23 $\underline{OE} \ EEO, O, OF \ .$
- 1.24 $\underline{E} \ EOE \ EE \ E \ HO \ .$
- 1.25 $\underline{HO} \ OO \ EQ \ OF \ .$
- 1.26 $\underline{OO} \ OEO \ EOE \ OF \ .$

- 1.27 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{EE} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EEHO \end{array} E E \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ \underline{EEQ} \end{array} .$
- 1.28 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{HO} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OE \end{array} E \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EOO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EO \end{array} .$
- 1.29 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{EOO} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ O \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ HE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ \underline{ME} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OEQ \end{array} .$
- 1.30 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{O} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OEEEOHE \end{array} .$
- 1.31 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{OO} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OEEOEQO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OOO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ Q\langle Q \rangle \end{array} .$
- 2.pro1. $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{EOOO} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EEO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ EOEEO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ OOH \end{array} .$
- 2.1 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ E \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ O \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ Q \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OEE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EQ \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ \underline{OE} \end{array} .$
- 2.2 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{EO} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ MOO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ HOO \end{array} .$
- 2.3 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ EHO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ QOQ \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{O} \end{array} .$
- 2.4 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ OHH \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OH \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ EE,QQQ \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 20 \\ OEE,EE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ EE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ EEE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ OE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ EE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ \underline{EE} \end{array} .$
- 2.5 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ OOMO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ \underline{EO} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ OEEEEOOHOE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 20 \\ OO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ O=B= \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ OO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ \underline{EQQ} \end{array} .$
- 2.6 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{EHE} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ O \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ EOEQEO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ EOE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ OE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ OE \end{array} .$
- 2.7 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ EOO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OOE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ OCO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EQQ \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ \underline{HO} \end{array} .$
- 2.8 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ HHEO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EQQ \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ QE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 20 \\ E \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ E \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ OO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ EOO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ EOE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ EEE,Q \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ OOH \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ \underline{OE} \end{array} .$
- 2.9 $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{OEEO} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ O \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ EO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ HO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ OOO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ \underline{EOEEE} \end{array} .$
- 3.pro1. $\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \underline{OOO} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ EE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 15 \\ EO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 20 \\ OE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 25 \\ COEOE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 30 \\ EO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 35 \\ EEEMOHH \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 40 \\ EHE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 40 \\ EEEE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 40 \\ EO \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 40 \\ E \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 40 \\ OOOE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 40 \\ EOE \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 40 \\ \underline{EOEH} \end{array} .$

45 50 55 60
EOOE EO E EEOEEOEE EO EE .

3.1 5
 000 ~~OH~~ O .

3.2 5 10 15
O O OHOO EO OOE OEO OE HQO .

3.3 5 10 15
OOE E OH EO OOO OO EEQQ .

3.4 5
 00 ~~EE~~ OOO .

3.5 5 10
O O EOE HQ EOE .

3.6 5 10
OOE EEOO OE EE .

3.7 5 10 21 24 11 15 20 25
O DOOE EE OE ETOE EEOE OE E OOE O EE .

3.8 5 10 15
O OO EO OEO OOH OOE .

3.9 5
E OOE ~~EE~~ O .

3.10 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40
O E OO EO OE OOE EHOE OOOEO HOE OO O<E>OHO HO O OO OEO

45 50 55 60
OOEO OOE EEO EO OE O OO .

3.11 5
 000 ~~HE~~ OE .

3.12 5
OO ~~EEQ~~ ~~EE~~ O .

3.13 5 10 15
E E OOOE ~~EOE~~ ~~EOE~~ E OOE OE .

3.14 5 10
OO ~~EEEO~~ EO ~~EQ~~ EE .

3.15 5 9 13 14 12 15 20
~~EE~~ ~~OOOEE~~ ~~W~~ ~~EO~~ ~~O~~ ~~OO~~ ~~EEQ~~ ~~O~~ ~~OE~~ .

3.16 5 10 15
OO OOO H E ~~EEEOE~~ ~~EE~~ ~~EE~~ O .

3.17 5 10
E EOO O OQ ~~HQ~~ ~~EQ~~ O .

3.18 5 10 15
~~EHOO~~ ~~EOEO~~ E ~~EEEO~~ ~~EO~~ .

3.19 5 10
HO EOOE OQ E OEO .

3.epil. 5 10 15 20 25 30 35
EOHHIOE EE OOO CO HOEEO OO EE EE EE OOOO O OOH .

4.prol. 5 10 15 20
HE<E O>OOO EE OOOEO OE EEH O .

4.1 5 10
EEH OO OO ~~EEEO~~ .

4.2 5 10 15
EO OH OOO OO OOE ~~EEO~~ ~~OOO~~ .

4.3 5
OO EQ OE .

4.4 5 10
~~EE~~ ~~EE~~ ~~EOEQ~~ E ~~EQ~~ OO .

4.5 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45
EE ~~OEOO~~ ~~EEEOEQ~~ ~~OOEO~~ ~~EOE~~ ~~HEOEO~~ ~~OOOEO~~ ~~OOOEO~~ ~~OO~~ ~~EEEO~~ ~~EQO~~

- 00 .
- 4.6 5 10
OOEEOOOOOE EOE .
- 4.7 5 10 15 20 25
EOEEOE EOEEOE EEEEEE EOLE EO OO OH .
- 4.8 5
OO OE OQQ .
- 4.9 5 10
OE OOE EOE OE OE .
- 4.10 5
EEEE OE .
- 4.11 5 10 15 19
EE OHQQE OE EE OO HOEOHE .
- 4.12 5
EO OEO E OE .
- 4.13 EOO<O>. . . .
- 4.14 <E> EOOEE O
- 4.15 . . . <E> H O .
- 4.17 5
EOE EQQ EO .
- 4.18 5 10
EO OEEEOE EE .
- 4.19 5 10 13 12 15 20 25 30 35
EEOEE EOOO EO OE OEE OOE EO OO EE O OOO OE OO OO .

4.20 E ⁵ OHO HQ .

4.21 ^{5 10 15 20 25} OOOO OOOOO F F F OF HO EEEEOOOOE .

4.22 ⁵ E O HOO EEE O .

4.23 ^{5 10 15 20 25} E FHOE OHO OE O OF OH O EO OOOOH E OF .

4.24 EO EE .

4.25 ^{4 6 5 7 10 16 13 18 17 14 / 15 19 22 25} =O= O EO FOFOE O FO M O F M OOOE F O EOE .

4.26 ^{5 10 15 20 25 28 27 30} OFH OOE OOOO O OF OF OO H OEOOOE O OOO EOE .

4.epil. ⁵ EHO OEOOOH .

5.prol. ^{5 10} HOOOEEEO EO E .

5.1 ^{5 10 15} OO E OEE OOOOENBO OF O EQ .

5.2 ^{5 10 15} OOO EQO OE, O, OOE OE .

5.3 ^{5 10} EE QEO OE, OOO E EO .

5.4 ^{5 10} OEO OE OE E HH E .

- 5.5 5 10 15 20 25 30 35
EEEE 000 OE0E 0 E 000 EEO EOO QOO EE EO OOEEO HE EEQ .
- 5.6 5
0 E E EQQ 0 .
- 5.7 5 10 15 20 25 30 35
OOO EE EEOO E OO EOE 0 OOE OOM HO OOO OE OE 0 EO OOOEE .
- 5.8 5
OOEOE EO .
- 5.9 5
OOO Q E .
- 5.10 5 10
EEO EO E EE M E .
- app.1 5
OEEEO Q .
- app.2 EOO .
- app.3 5 10
EO OEOEOO OHO EOO .
- app.4 5 10 15
E000 EEQ EEE H E HE EOO .
- app.5-6 5 10 15 20
EOO EEO EOE EE EE OO OOOO EOO EO .
- app.7 5 10 15
EE EOOH EOO EOO OEEO OE .
- app.8 5 10 15
OO EHE OEOOOOOOEO EO .
- app.9 5
EO EQ Q OEE .

app.10 5 10 15 20 25 30
 app.10 000 EO 00 Q 00E OEO EO E OE 00 00E 00E ~~EEOE~~ .

app.11 5 10
 app.11 ~~EEOE~~ MQ Q Q Q ~~E~~ EO .

app.12 5 10 15
 app.12 0 000 E E EOOE OOE =H= .

app.13 5
 app.13 OEO OE EO,OO .

app.14 5
 app.14 EO OO,OO 0 .

app.15 5 10 15 20 25 30
 app.15 EOEEO EO 000 OOEEO 00 OH 00 000 OE H EEO E .

app.16 5 10 15 20 25 30
 app.16 E OEOOOEE EE 00 EE OEE OOE EO 00 00 000 OE 00 .

app.17 5 10 15
 app.17 OEOO OH Q E EO O HOO ~~E~~ .

app.18 5
 app.18 0 ~~EEO~~ HO .

app.19 5
 app.19 EOE OHQ EE .

app.20 5 10 15
 app.20 00 ~~EEO,0,0,0,0,0,0,0,0,0,0,0,0,0~~ OE 00E 0 .

app.21 5
 app.21 00 ~~EEO~~ ~~EEOE~~ .

app.22 5
 app.22 OEEEEE E .

app.23 5 10
EOE EOH EOO OOE .

app.24 OO OO .

app.25 5
OEEOEE O .

app.26 5
OME OOO,,O .

app.27 5
OEEOEM .

app.28 5 10
EOEE H EE O EO E MOO .

app.29 5
OOEE EOE .

app.30 5 10
EOEOIE MIE MOO .

app.31 5 10
OOOO,,OF OF .

app.32 5 10
OOOO OOOE OEE .

Appendix B: Relative Frequency of Homodyned, Heterodyned,
"Hemiheterodyned", and "Mixed" Closing Rhythms
in Personal Material, Direct Speech, and Narrative
in the Various Parts of Phaedrus' Work

book 1:

	pers.		dir. sp.		narr.		tot.	
O	51	(65%)	31	(36%)	99	(51%)	181	(50%)
E	23	(29%)	44	(51%)	87	(44%)	154	(43%)
H	4	(5%)	6	(7%)	10	(5%)	20	(6%)
M	1	(1%)	5	(6%)	0	(0%)	6	(2%)
tot.	79	(100%)	86	(100%)	196	(100%)	361	(100%)

book 2:

	pers.		dir. sp.		narr.		tot.	
O	28	(52%)	18	(62%)	42	(47%)	88	(51%)
E	20	(37%)	11	(38%)	38	(43%)	69	(40%)
H	5	(9%)	0	(0%)	8	(9%)	13	(8%)
M	1	(2%)	0	(0%)	1	(1%)	2	(1%)
tot.	54	(100%)	29	(100%)	89	(100%)	172	(100%)

book 3:

	pers.		dir. sp.		narr.		tot.	
O	70	(49%)	50	(46%)	90	(60%)	210	(52%)
E	64	(45%)	49	(45%)	49	(33%)	162	(40%)
H	8	(6%)	8	(7%)	10	(7%)	26	(6%)
M	1	(1%)	2	(1%)	0	(0%)	3	(1%)
tot.	143	(100%)	109	(100%)	149	(100%)	401	(100%)

book 4:

	pers.		dir. sp.		narr.		tot.	
O	58	(46%)	42	(53%)	125	(57%)	225	(53%)
E	57	(45%)	34	(44%)	83	(38%)	174	(41%)
H	12	(9%)	0	(0%)	10	(5%)	22	(5%)
M	0	(0%)	4	(5%)	0	(0%)	4	(1%)
tot.	127	(100%)	80	(100%)	218	(100%)	425	(100%)

book 5:

	pers.		dir. sp.		narr.		tot.	
O	13	(41%)	17	(63%)	67	(58%)	97	(56%)
E	16	(50%)	9	(33%)	44	(38%)	69	(40%)
H	3	(9%)	0	(0%)	2	(2%)	5	(3%)
M	0	(0%)	1	(4%)	2	(2%)	3	(2%)
tot.	32	(100%)	27	(100%)	115	(100%)	174	(100%)

Perotti's Appendix:

	pers.		dir. sp.		narr.		tot.	
O	20	(65%)	59	(52%)	142	(54%)	221	(55%)
E	8	(26%)	48	(42%)	103	(39%)	159	(39%)
H	2	(6%)	4	(4%)	13	(5%)	19	(5%)
M	1	(3%)	2	(2%)	2	(1%)	5	(1%)
tot.	31	(100%)	113	(100%)	260	(100%)	404	(100%)

II

ELEMENTAL ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

(The purpose of this introductory section is to give the reader some idea of the elementary concepts behind the approach taken in this chapter to the question of repetition of verse-endings in Phaedrus' work. In essence, it merely explains the derivation of the two measures of repetition employed--k and c.)

Almost anything can at least partially be analysed by being thought of as a set of elements. For example, we may within certain limits determine the nature of a building by discovering of what materials it is constructed and in what quantities. Nor should this example be taken as limiting the kinds of things studied to physical objects, or their elements to physical parts. Thus the elements of the building could as readily be the proportions observed between its various parts. Similarly the thing whose elements one examines may be a theory or a literary work.

Since any relationship between elements of one order can rightly be considered as being itself an element of some other order (for example, as stated above, the proportions between the parts of a building are as much elements of that building as are the parts themselves), we are obviously faced with the possibility of an infinite progression, unless we can somehow consider the elements as elements

alone. The same problem is clear from the fact that any similarity between two elements may be thought of as resulting from an identity of one or more sub-elements of those elements.

If then we are to consider elements merely as elements, there remains only one approach. This is to divide them into a limited number of mutually exclusive categories and to consider each element within a certain category as identical with all others in that category. The number of elements in category A, in category B, and so on, can then be enumerated, and some order brought out of chaos. Again, when two separate things are considered and each analysed as a set of elements of the same order, we may determine how many elements in the first thing belong to the same category as any of the elements in the second, and so arrive at a measure of similarity or dissimilarity.

As applied, say, to literature, this method has admittedly its disadvantages. Apart from anything else, it is not always the shortest route. Its great advantage is that, within whatever boundaries are set, it is thorough and hence systematic and objective, rather than intuitive and subjective. The setting of the boundaries--that is, the definition of the elements, their categories, and even of the thing itself--must remain personal and, in a sense, arbitrary. The result is a combination of subjective and objective approaches, but with each given its particular role, rather than being allowed to interfere with the other. (This should not be taken to imply that other approaches do not combine similar or equal advantages, but

merely to point out the virtues of this particular approach.)

In the simplest case, we find a single thing consisting of but one element, which we may categorize as A:

$$(A)$$

Here there can be no question of whether two elements belong or do not belong to the same category, since there are no pairs of elements to be compared. If analysis is to take place, different parameters must be selected in order to discriminate more than one element or thing.

Now, if a thing is found to be a set of two elements, there are essentially two possibilities. First, the elements may fall into different categories--

$$(A, B)$$

or, secondly, they may fall into the same category--

$$(A, A)$$

In the second case, one could say that there is an internal repetition or echoing, while in the other case there is not.

Similarly, if two things consist each of a single element, there are again two possibilities:

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} A \\ B \end{array} \right)$$

or

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} A \\ A \end{array} \right)$$

In the first case, there is no repetition or echoing of elements between the two things, while in the second case there is one.

It is little trouble to move to more complicated cases.

In the following instance--

(A, A, A)

--in which all three elements are categorized identically, there are three internal echoings (and not, as might conceivably be supposed, merely two); for the third element echoes (or repeats) not only the second element, but also the first. In fact, to speak of the elements as if they had an intrinsic order could be misleading; the real situation is closer to



--where the lines of echoing can be clearly seen. Likewise in the following case--

(A, A, A, A)

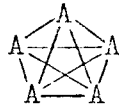
--there are six echoes (or repetitions) between elements of one category, as is made clear by the alternate schemata



and



Unfortunately, beyond this point the capacities of our two-dimensional sheet of paper begin to exhaust themselves. The case of five elements of the same category, for instance, cannot be presented without allowing some lines of echoing to cross over,



being one possible form. It is nevertheless clear that there are ten echoes in this case.

A certain amount of mathematics would be useful. It can quite easily be shown that, if the number of elements of a particular category is symbolised by x , the number of echoes (repetitions) among these elements will be equal to

$$\frac{x(x-1)}{2} .$$

Thus, if $x=1$, the number of repetitions will be $1(1-1)+2=0$; if $x=2$, it will be $2(2-1)+2=1$; if $x=3$, it will be $3(3-1)+2=3$; if $x=4$, it will be $4(4-1)+2=6$; and if $x=5$, it will be $5(5-1)+2=10$ --all of which has already been illustrated. Likewise, if there are 101 elements in a category, the number of echoes will be $101(101-1)+2=5,050$.

Now consider the set whose elements are as follows:

$$(A, A, B, B) .$$

There is one echo between the A's and one between the B's; the total number of repetitions is therefore $1+1=2$. The case

$$(A, A, A, B)$$

shows a greater total of repetitions--three for A and none for B, or three altogether--and the already mentioned type

$$(A, A, A, A)$$

is of course repetitious to an even greater degree (six echoes).

To take a more elaborate instance, in

(A, A, A, B, B, B, B, C, C, C, C)

there are three elements categorized as A, four as B, and five as C; the total number of repetitions (echoes) will thus be

$$\frac{3(2)}{2} + \frac{4(3)}{2} + \frac{5(4)}{2} = 19$$

Now let us look at the extension of categories of elements across more than one thing. In the case

(A, B)
(C, D)

there is no such extension, and the two things are entirely dissimilar apart from the fact that each consists of two elements. On the other hand, in the case

(A, B)
(A, B)

there are two echoes between the sets, which are identical with respect to this particular element-analysis. In the simple case where all the elements in both the things are in the same category, the number of echoes between the things is easily determined, as, for example,

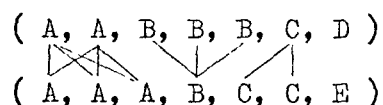


where it is eight. Again, a mathematical formula will be useful; if x is the number of elements of category A in one thing and x' is the number in the other, then the number of echoes in category A between the two things is

$$xx'$$

(the product of x and x').

If the two things considered contain elements of more than one category, we obtain the number of echoes between the two things by adding the various values of xx' for each different element-category. (Symbolically the number of echoes between the two things is represented by $\sum xx'$.) Thus in the following example--



--it will be seen that there are eleven echoes in all between the two things considered, six (=2 times 3) being of the category A, three (=3 times 1) of category B, and two (=1 times 2) of category C; there are no echoes in category D or E.

Now the number of echoes obviously depends on the one hand on the number of elements involved. It is more useful to have an idea of the rate of echoing or repetition of categories than of its quantity. As has been seen, each pair of identically categorized elements constitutes one echo: if there are two elements in the same category, there is one pair of identically categorized elements and hence one echo; if there are three elements in the same category, there are three pairs of identically categorized elements and hence three echoes; and so on. But one can also pair elements that belong to different categories, as, in the following set--

$$(A, B, C)$$

--A may be paired with B, B with C, and C with A, for a total of

three pairs of differently categorized elements (there are no pairs of identically categorized elements). In the following case--

(A, A, B)

--there are again three pairs in all, but one (AA) has identically categorized elements, and only two (both AB) have disparate elements. The formula for the number of pairs of elements (whether identically or differently categorized) in a thing containing n elements is

$$\frac{n(n-1)}{2} .$$

Now we saw earlier that to determine the number of internal echoes in a thing one has simply to find the sum of all terms of the type $x(x-1)+2$ (in mathematical symbolism $\sum \frac{x(x-1)}{2}$), where the various values of x represent the number of elements belonging to category A, B, C, and so on. Using this information we can obtain the ratio of pairs of identically categorized elements to all element-pairs in the set; this will be:

$$\frac{\sum \frac{x(x-1)}{2}}{n(n-1)} + \frac{n(n-1)}{2} = \frac{\sum x(x-1)}{n(n-1)} .$$

Consider the example given previously--

(A, A, A, B, B, B, B, C, C, C, C, C)

--a set consisting of three elements of category A, four of category B, and five of category C. The value of $\sum x(x-1)$ will be $3(2)+4(3)+5(4)=38$; the value of $n(n-1)$ is $12(11)=132$; and the rate of echoing is thus $38+132$ or about 0.29. To avoid the necessity of repeating the formula $\frac{\sum x(x-1)}{n(n-1)}$ or the phrase "rate of internal echoing (repetition)" again

and again, I shall henceforth refer to this value as k .

Now k also represents the probability that any two elements chosen at random from the set in question belong to the same category. A consequence of this (the proof of which I will not go into here) is that any thing made up of elements selected at random or indiscriminately from another thing will tend to have the same value for k .

As n (the number of elements in the set constituted by the thing in question) increases in size, the value of k approaches $\frac{\sum x(x-1)}{n^2}$. (For example, if n is 100, there is a difference of only 1%.¹) G.U. Yule, in his book The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary (Cambridge: 1944), used this second value in developing his "characteristic" K , which he calls a measure of the "concentration" of vocabulary. Yule's formula for K is $10,000 \frac{S_2 - S_1}{S_1^2}$, where S_2 is the sum of all terms x^2 and S_1 that of all terms x . In the notation that I have been using, Yule's characteristic can be given by

$$10,000 \frac{\sum x(x-1)}{n^2} .$$

Thus for higher values of n , my k will be equal to approximately one ten-thousandth of Yule's K . The value of k , however, gives the more accurate picture of rate of repetition or echoing for low values

¹ $\frac{\sum x(x-1)}{n(n-1)} - \frac{\sum x(x-1)}{n^2} = \frac{\sum x(x-1)}{n^2(n-1)}$. If $n=100$, this difference will be $\frac{\sum x(x-1)}{100n(n-1)}$ or 1% of $\frac{\sum x(x-1)}{n(n-1)}$.

of n than does Yule's K . Yule's multiplication by a factor of 10,000, moreover, while making the values somewhat **easier** to read, is purely arbitrary and in fact causes more trouble than it is worth. I will therefore by preference use the value k .

Now let us consider the number of pairs that can be formed each with one of its elements from one set and the other from a second set. A little reflection will show this to be equal to mn' , the product of the number of elements in the first set and the number in the second. It has already been shown that the number of such pairs consisting of elements both belonging to the same category is equal to $\sum xx'$, the sum of all the values of the form xx' , where xx' represents the product of the number of elements of a particular category in one set and the number of elements of the same category in the second set. A ratio may thus be derived--

$$\frac{\sum xx'}{mn'}$$

--which represents the probability that an element chosen at random from the first set belongs to the same category as an element chosen at random from the second. This value will for the sake of brevity be designated as c . Note that the values of c and k are always directly comparable.

Let us return to the specific example given above (p. 67):

(A, A, B, B, B, C, D)

(A, A, A, B, C, C, E) .

The number of echoes between the two sets ($\sum xx'$) was found to be

11; and, since each set consist of seven elements, mn' (the number of possible pairings between them) is equal to $7(7)=49$. Thus the value of c here is $11/49$ or about 0.22. The value of k for either set is $4/21$ or approximately 0.22; thus the rate of repetition between the sets is only slightly greater than that within them.

In this study the method outlined above is applied chiefly to the verse-endings in Phaedrus' work. These are treated as elements of sets, these sets corresponding to the various books; and the result is a quantitative indication of the degree of repetition of verse-endings within and between books.

As is pointed out later, in section 3, two general principles are assumed: first, that the degree of repetition of elements tends to remain constant for a particular author and for a particular period in an author's life (this is supported by Yule's studies); and second, that the degree of repetition between two works is related to their closeness in time and space and to whether they were written by the same author or not.

Whether the repetition is deliberate or not is in general not relevant to this sort of study. Of course, it would be convenient if one could separate repetitions neatly into "deliberate" and "unconscious" classifications and compare the two; but I doubt if even the author could do that. Yule had the rather strange idea that "great" works tend to show greater concentration of vocabulary (i.e., more repetition);

this may be true in certain instances, but it would obviously be entirely wrong to use repetition as a measure of greatness (or, for that matter, of the reverse).²

2. A Preliminary Example

When studying a literary work, the method of elemental analysis is by no means restricted to the study of individual words or parts of words. It may be extended to embrace themes, structures, characters, and so on. For example, we might consider the various parts of Phaedrus' work as determining sets of protagonists categorized by species. In the first thirteen fables of book 1 the following types of creatures appear in principal roles:

- 1 wolf, sheep
- 2 human being, frog, god, watersnake
- 3 jackdaw, peacock
- 4 dog

²Yule's ultimate position seems to be summed up in the following (section 6.13): ". . . the concentration that leads to a high characteristic may be a quality that marks the great work, but it is only one; if the work in other ways is faulty, it still falls short of perfection." Compare his remarks on the low values of K caused by overloading with ornament (sections 6.4 and 6.6) and by lack of unity of subject or scene (section 6.6).

- 5 bovine, goat, sheep, lion
- 6 frog, heavenly body, god
- 7 fox
- 8 wolf, crane
- 9 eagle, hare, sparrow, hawk
- 10 wolf, fox, ape
- 11 donkey, lion
- 12 deer, dog
- 13 fox, crow

(The list is somewhat arbitrary, since it is difficult to determine what is and what is not a principal role. For instance, the dogs in fable 12 play a small part, but an important one; the cow, goat, and sheep of fable 10 are merely mentioned, yet they share the title with the lion.³) Several types of creatures are repeated within this group: the fox and the wolf each occur in three fables, and there are two instances of sheep, frog, god, dog, and lion. From this we can calculate the value of k , which is $\frac{22}{992}$ or about 0.022. In fables 14 to 31 of book 1 the types of creatures appearing in principal roles are:

- 14 human being

³In addition, there might in one case at least be some argument about the species; for the Sun in fable 6, it might be contended, is merely a second instance (with Jupiter) of the species "god". (It may perhaps be noted that second instances within a fable have not been counted; this avoids any difficulties with unspecified plurals.)

- 15 donkey, human being
- 16 sheep, deer, wolf
- 17 sheep, dog, wolf
- 18 human being
- 19 dog
- 20 dog
- 21 lion, pig, bovine, donkey
- 22 weasel, human being
- 23 human being, dog
- 24 frog, bovine
- 25 dog, crocodile
- 26 fox, stork
- 27 dog, vulture
- 28 fox, eagle
- 29 donkey, pig
- 30 frog, bovine
- 31 dove, kite

The types repeated within this group are: dog (6 times), human being (5 times), donkey (3 times), bovine (3 times), sheep (2 times), wolf (2 times), pig (2 times), frog (2 times), fox (2 times). The value of k is $\frac{72}{1260}$ or about 0.057, more than twice that for the first

part of the book. That is, in the second part of book 1 Phaedrus is repeating protagonists more than twice as much as in the first thirteen fables (note especially the frequency of the dog and the human being); the most obvious explanation is that he is running

out of material for variation (under the assumption that he began composing the book at the beginning and worked through to the end).⁴

Principal characters found in both parts of the book are: wolf (3 and 2 times respectively), sheep (2 and 2 times), human being (1 and 5), frog (2, 2), dog (2, 6), bovine (1, 3), lion (2, 1), fox (3, 2), eagle (1, 1), donkey (1, 3), deer (1, 1). Thus the value of c is $\frac{47}{1152}$ or about 0.041. This is almost exactly the same as the value for k for the whole book, which is $\frac{182}{4556}$ or about 0.040; in other words, there is virtually the same degree of repetition of principal actors between the two parts of the book as there is in the book as a whole. The implication most readily drawn from this is that we have to do in book 1 with a fairly uniform body of fables, but one so arranged that there is greater variation at the beginning of the book than at the end; this could mean either that Phaedrus first composed the fables and then put them into the form of a book, attempting to vary them at first but having less success with this as he ran out of fables, or that he selected fables

⁴Havet's contention that the two parts of book 1 do not belong together (ed. 1895, especially sections 139-52) would also fit in with this difference of repetition, but is not particularly supported by it (especially in view of the values given in the next paragraph).

from a short Aesopic source-book and versified them in the order of selection, attempting to vary this selection at first but having less success as he ran out of source-material. What this analysis does not support is the idea that Phaëdrus expanded his material between writing the two parts of book 1.

3. Verse-Endings in Phaëdrus

It is at the end of the verse that the writer of iambic senarii is most restricted in his choice of words⁵; by a paradox, however, the end of the verse is one of the most if not the most emphatic position⁶. The poet is thus faced with a difficult situation;

⁵Non-enclitic monosyllables are forbidden; the penultimate syllable must be short; the antepenultimate syllable cannot be short unless preceded by another short syllable in the same word; and so on. Compare above, pp. 18-20.

⁶It is rivalled only by the initial position, which, however, is often occupied by a neutral, unstressed word, such as "et", "quod", or "ad".

But this point must not be passed over without quoting the following demurrer from J. Marouzeau, L'ordre des mots en latin: volume complémentaire (Paris: 1953), p. 87:

Un des principes les plus communément invoqués pour expliquer la construction de la phrase latine est celui qui attribue une valeur exceptionnelle soit à la place initiale, soit à la place finale.

On trouvera sans peine des exemples pour établir ce principe; on n'en trouvera moins pour le contredire.

Of course, while Marouzeau does not in this work limit himself to prose, and while the general practice in Latin verse is that the end of the sentence should coincide with the end of a line, Marouzeau does not specifically state that the last word of a verse is not particularly emphatic. Indeed, M. Platnauer (Latin Elegiac Verse =Cambridge: 1951=, pp. 40-8) has established that the final word in the line in elegiac verse tends to be a "necessary" word (substantive

and it is scarcely surprising if he often falls into repetition and formulism in rounding off his lines⁷, or even abandons the element of emphasis altogether and ends in some almost empty word, such as a possessive adjective⁸. An experienced versifier may feel himself capable of greater efforts to avoid this sort of defeat; on the other hand, a mature writer may have developed a style that is to some extent formulaic, or he may have ceased to worry so much about the need for variation and for making every word count. What sort of progression we find, if any, will depend on the individual. But,

or verb more than 80% of the time: p. 40).

The conventional wisdom that the initial or final position in a sentence is more emphatic per se is represented in Hofmann-Szantyr, Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik (München: 1965), pp. 402-3.

⁷ Similar considerations of course apply to other forms of verse besides that iambic, most notably to the elegiac couplet.

⁸ As can be seen from appendix B, Phaedrus completes a verse with a form of meus, tuus, or suus more than one hundred times in the less than two thousand verses of his extant work. He has plenty of precedent, however, in the comedians; see, for example, Plautus, Amphitruo, 193 ff. (cited by Marouzeau, Traité de stylistique appliquée au latin =Paris: 1935=, pp. 263-4).

further, even should a poet continue to repeat successful verse-endings to very much the same extent throughout his literary lifetime, it is to be expected that he will grow tired of some formulas and adopt others and, in the course of time, perhaps rediscover some long-abandoned.

Because of the problems and the opportunities offered to the author by this very position at the end of the verse, the words that he chooses for this position must be of especial interest to those who study his style. A number of questions may be asked. To what extent does the poet rely on formulas to extricate himself from each verse? Does he change the verse-endings that he uses as time goes by, or do they remain fairly much the same? Do certain words tend to get used finally while being avoided in other positions? And so on.

One way of approaching this field is by way of statistics (using the method of elemental analysis described in section 1) and by way of compilation of lists for the purposes of comparison. If we are to employ this sort of approach, it is necessary to have a fairly precise method of categorizing the verse-endings. If one is examining the author's use of words, the most important consideration for each verse-ending is the word (or, at most, word-group) involved (rather than, say, the final syllable⁹). The exigencies of the metre

⁹In chapter VI, I consider what I call, for the sake of distinction, the "verse-desinence", that is the final vowel or vowel-

provide a useful point of departure in the case of the poet that we happen to be considering. Phaedrus never ends a verse with a monosyllable with the sole exception of the enclitic es/est. Thus, even if I categorize the verse-endings by a single word (or a single word plus es or est), I have succeeded in covering the contents of virtually the entire last foot¹⁰.

Now one could be restrictive in one's categorization, decreeing that "contumelia" shall be classed as belonging to a different category from "contumelia est" or "contumeliae", or even that "contumeliã" (nominative) shall belong to a different category from "contumeliã" (ablative) or "contumeliis" (dative) from "contumeliis" (ablative). This, however, would not give a very true picture of the degree to which our author favours one or another formula. On the other side, it would be strange enough if "fero" were to be placed in the same category as "tuli", merely because of their common listing in a dictionary.

A line must obviously be drawn somewhere; and so I have

plus-consonant group of the verse.

¹⁰How are we to syllabify in the case of a word beginning with a vowel? To which foot can the s, say, of "cives" in 1.2.30 be said to belong? If to the fifth, then the last word (in this instance "ait") really does cover the entire last foot; but I am strongly inclined to think that this is incorrect.

arrived at the following somewhat arbitrary, but, I think, serviceable rule for categorizing verse-endings: all the forms in a category must be homoclitite (hence "ego" cannot belong to the same category as "mihi"); their metrical position must be the same (hence not "perierimus" and "perierunt" in the same category); in the case of verbs, irregular principal parts are to be separated (hence not "dicere" and "dixerunt" together); adverbs regularly derived from adjectives are categorized with the adjectives (e.g., "maximē" with "maximus"); other derivations are not categorized together (hence not "patrios" with "patribus").

This having been established, we might commence by seeing what degree of repetition (measured by k , for a further explanation of which see section 1) there is among the verse-endings of the various parts of Phaedrus' work.

For the verse-endings that occur more than once in book 1, see appendix A; there are found to be 33 categories containing two elements, 17 three elements, 4 four elements, none five elements, 5 six elements, none seven elements, one ("mihi") eight elements, and none more than eight elements.¹¹ The total number of verses (and

¹¹Basically the text used is that of Perry (Loeb ed.: cf. above, p. 2), but in one or two places I have thought it better to retain the traditional reading. In book 1, I have seen fit to retain the manuscript reading at 1.2.28 in opposition to Postgate's quite unnecessary "Tonans", imported from the paraphrases, which is printed by Perry.

hence of verse-endings) is 363 (including 13.13-4 but excluding the "restoration" 31.14). From this information one may calculate k , the value of which comes to approximately 0.00321.¹²

How similar is one part of book 1 to another in this respect? In order to get some idea of what the answer to this question should be, I shall separate off the part of this book from prol.1 to 13.12, which consists of 174 verses, and which was thought by Havet to be the only true part of book 1 remaining to us, the rest having originally belonged to book 2 (cf. above, p. 75, note 4). The recurring verse-endings for this section can easily be deduced from the list for book 1 in appendix A. It will be found that there are 16 verse-endings occurring only twice in this section, five three times, three four times, and none more than four times. From this information, k may be calculated to be about 0.00326. This is exceedingly close to the figure for the book as a whole and points to a high degree of uniformity. If the value of k for book 2 differs very much from this, Havet's hypothesis must be rendered highly unlikely, quite apart from any other considerations.¹³

¹²The number of echoes or repetitions comes to 422, and $422+363+362$ equals approximately 0.00321. Since the verse-endings of 1.13.13-4 are repeated nowhere else in Phaedrus, it is easy enough to eliminate them; the value of k is then $422+361+360$, or about 0.00325--a minimal difference.

¹³Unfortunately, even on the assumption of relative uniformity in an author's work at a particular point in his career, there is no simple mathematical test to determine the likelihood of a set difference or greater between values of k for different parts

For the repetitions of verse-endings in book 2, the reader is again referred to appendix A. A total of 11 categorizations have two elements only; 2 have three; none has four, five, six, or seven; one (su/um) has eight; and none has more than eight. Book 2 has 173 verses (including the suspected verse 20 of fable 5). Using this information, one finds k to be around 0.00276. This represents a palpable drop from the figure for book 1, though probably not great enough in itself to destroy Havet's opinion about the composition of book 2, considering the relatively small number of verses involved.

In book 3, 35 verse-ending categories are represented twice only; 11, three times; 4, four times; 1, five times; 1, six times; 2, seven times; none eight or nine times; 2, ten times; and none more than ten times. The number of verse in this book is 403 (including the two verses bracketed at the end of fable 15). From this, the value of k is approximately 0.00307. The amount of repetition of verse-endings in book 3 is thus very much in line with that for books 1 and 2. (For further particulars, refer again to appendix A.)

To get some idea of the degree of uniformity of book 3, we might consider only the part of it from the prologue to fable 9 inclusive, a total of 184 verses. By using the list given in appendix

of his work written at the same time. Even Yule, an eminent statistician, is only able to make an educated guess at this sort of thing (section 10.22).

A, if it can be found that there are 13 verse-ending categories represented twice in this section, 4 three times, 1 four times, and 1 five times. The value of k is thus around 0.00244. It can be seen that the degree of repetition does not vary extremely from one part of the book to another, but the agreement is certainly not as striking as it was for book 1.

In book 4, 50 verse-ending categories are represented only twice; 8, three times; 5, four times; 2, five times; 1, six times; 1, seven times; none, eight to ten times; 1 (su/o), eleven times; and none more than eleven times.¹⁴ The number of verses in book 4 (including 25.1, but excluding the various "supplied" verses) is 428; but, since prol.3 and prol.4 lack their endings in the manuscripts, the number of actual verse-endings is only 426. Using this latter figure, one finds the value of k to be about 0.00238. The degree of repetition seems to have dropped somewhat in this book, though in fact the difference between books 1 and 2 is slightly greater than that between books 2 and 4.¹⁵

Again the uniformity of the book may be tested. If we take

¹⁴The verse-ending "loqui" of 14.1, which was "supplied" by Zander, is of course not counted; nor is "meum" of verse 3 of the prologue, since it is a conjecture by Rittershausen, the verse being defective.

¹⁵On an arithmetic basis. But, since k is a proportion, the proportional drop is more relevant. This is 14.0% between book 1 and book 2 and 13.8% between book 2 and book 4--almost exactly the same.

the 176 verses from the beginning of the prologue to the end of fable 9 (subtracting prol.3 and prol.4, this will become 174 verse-endings), it will be found that 16 verse-ending categories occur twice only, 5 three times, and one four times. The value of k turns out to be around 0.00246. It seems likely that the reason for the slight excess of this value over that for the book as a whole is the extraordinary degree of repetition within fable 5 (vv. 5, 24, and 35, "rustic/am"; vv. 15 and 45, "datum"; vv. 17 and 46, "pecuniam"; vv. 26 and 34, "hortul/os"; vv. 41 and 42, "paret"; vv. 27 and 47, "singul/is"; vv. 31 and 40, "su/am").¹⁶

In book 5, 14 verse-ending categories are represented twice only; none three or four times; one (su/o) five times; and none more than five times. There are 174 verses in this book. From this, k is calculated to be about 0.00159. This represents a really considerable drop, even from the value for book 4. It would seem that Phaedrus' style had time to undergo quite a drastic change during the period between the completion of book 4 and the commencement of book 5.¹⁷

¹⁶Yet the degree of repetition in this poem cannot really be called extreme, for the value of k for its verse-endings is still only 0.00378.

¹⁷There is a still more striking difference, however, between the two halves of the book. For the value of k for the verse-endings of what is printed in Perry's text as 5.prol. to 5.5 is 22+106+105 or about 0.00198, while the value of k for the verse-endings of the part beginning "Invenit calvus . . ." (5.6 to 5.epil. in Perry) is 4+68+67 or a mere 0.00088. The number of verse-endings is, however, much too small to allow us to lean at all heavily on this fact. Indeed, a small amount of calculation shows me that this difference between the two parts of book 5 rests entirely on the fact that "su/o" occurs as a verse-ending four times in the first part and only once in the second.

In Perotti's Appendix, 34 verse-ending categories are represented twice only; 16 three times; 4 four times; none five to seven times; 2 eight times; and none more than eight times. If one includes 12.15, the appendix consists of 405 verses. Using this figure, one finds the value of k to be about 0.00198. This relatively low figure would tend to support either a hypothesis that the style of the appendix is rather variable or a hypothesis that the bulk of the appendix comes from Phaedrus' later work.¹⁸

To get some idea of the uniformity of the appendix in this

¹⁸Of the main tradition, Perotti copied over (albeit rather piecemeal) virtually all of the fables from 2.6 to 3.19 inclusive and from 4.21 to 5.5 inclusive (cf. above, p. 13). The clear implication is that his source was missing almost all the other fables of the main tradition. Now, it is easier to assume relative continuity in the rest of Perotti's exemplar of Phaedrus than the contrary, in view of its obvious continuity in the main-tradition fables (that is, it was not a selection). Hence it is legitimate to assume that many of the fables of the appendix came together in the integral text.

This granted, if the bulk of the appendix indeed comes from Phaedrus' later work, the most obvious place from which many of the fables of the appendix might have come is the lacuna between 5.1 and 5.2. Note how very close the figure for k for verse-endings in the appendix is to that for the first part of book 5 (note 17 above).

(An objection of my own against the theory just put forward will be found in chapter VIII, section 3. This is that to assume the loss of any verses other than 5.1.18 and 5.2.1-2 between 5.1 and 5.2 in the main tradition destroys a very nice symmetry that book 5 would otherwise have.)

regard, we can take only the first fifteen poems¹⁹, which have altogether 216 verses (that is, including app.12.15). It will be found that, in this group of poems, 20 verse-ending categories are represented twice only, 6 three times, and 1 (me/a) six times. The value of k is thus about 0.00228. This is not very far out of line with the value for the appendix as a whole; but of course, even had it been still closer, the idea that the poems of the appendix could have come from several parts of Phaedrus' work would not thereby be ruled out.

The results so far may be summarized as follows:

Verse-Endings: k

book 1	0.00321	(1.prol.-1.13.12	0.00326)
book 2	0.00276		
book 3	0.00307	(3.prol.-3.9	0.00244)

¹⁹There is some justification for such a division. This is in the way in which Perotti arranged the fables of Avienus in his Epitome. Up to the middle of this work, Perotti seems to have selected poems from Avienus in more or less random order; but from number 79 (=Avienus 42) on they appear in exactly the reverse order to that of their source (and there are 21 of them in the second half of the Epitome, so that coincidence can be ruled out). Phaedrus app.16 comes just before the commencement of this phenomenon (it being number 78 in Perotti).

One might conjecture that Perotti's arrival at this point in his work saw a change in his manner of selecting from Phaedrus also. For one thing, after this point there seems to be greater separation of main-tradition material from the rest, and the main-tradition material shows signs of its original order.

book 4	0.00238	(4.prol.-4.9	0.00246)
book 5	0.00159		
appendix	0.00198	(app.1-app.15	0.00228)

One thing we can be clear on beyond any doubt, and that is the decline of repetitiveness in verse-endings as Phaedrus grew older.

After considering the degree of repetition of verse-endings within the various parts of Phaedrus' work, the next step is obviously to discover the degree of repetition between these parts, making use of the ratio designated c (a measure of repetition directly comparable to k : see section 1).

The reader is referred to appendix B for a list of those verse-ending categories represented in more than one part of Phaedrus' work. Without going into the calculations involved²⁰, the values of c derived from this list may be summarized as follows:

	book 2	book 3	book 4	book 5	appendix
book 1	0.00288	0.00272	0.00260	0.00217	0.00219
book 2		0.00304	0.00293	0.00276	0.00244
book 3			0.00276	0.00242	0.00229
book 4				0.00250	0.00228
book 5					0.00189

²⁰For those interested in slightly more details, the following table gives the number of echoes of verse-endings between the various

Not to examine each individual value, a general pattern may be noted. Apart from the uniformly high values for book 2, the degree of echoing of verse-endings precisely matches the position of each book in relation to the other books. For example, book 2 shows its highest c-value with book 3, somewhat lower values with books 1 and 4, and lowest of all with book 5 (and with the appendix). The appendix has its lowest c-value with book 5; but, if we remember that book 5 had a low internal rate of repetition of verse-endings (k), we find ourselves not necessarily justified in concluding that much of the appendix was written at a different period in Phaedrus' life.

If one examines appendix B, one will see that the only verse-ending categories there that occur more than twice in book 2 are "tibi", with three instances, and "su/os" with eight; the latter especially contributes enormously to the values of c for book 2²¹.

parts:

	book 2	book 3	book 4	book 5	appendix
book 1	181	398	403	137	322
book 2		212	216	83	171
book 3			474	170	373
book 4				185	393
book 5					133

²¹The number of echoes that it accounts for in the case of book 2 ranges from 40 with book 5 to 88 with book 4.

It is thus virtually a case of a single word disturbing what would otherwise be a consistent pattern (for, if "su/os" occurred with its normal Phaedrian frequency as a verse-ending in book 2, it should be found only some 4 times). Suppose that we ignore all the verses ending in some form of suus; the values of *c* between the remains of the various books will then be as follows:

	book 2	book 3	book 4	book 5	appendix
book 1	0.00226	0.00242	0.00226	0.00178	0.00194
book 2		0.00204	0.00187	0.00154	0.00164
book 3			0.00222	0.00181	0.00188
book 4				0.00185	0.00185
book 5					0.00139

In this case, the pattern is the same, except that the values involving book 2 are uniformly low instead of uniformly high, and those involving the appendix generally exceed the corresponding values involving book 5 rather than the reverse.

The values of *c* involving the appendix, like its value for *k*, are quite compatible with its being genuine and with its belonging to the same general period in Phaedrus' life as the fables of the main tradition; but this analysis of verse-endings has not been able to show exactly where the poems of the appendix belong in Phaedrus' work.

In summary, what this study of verse-endings has shown is that the present order of the books is quite plausible (though book

2 is apparently too short to be very sure of), and that, if it is correct, Phaedrus avoided repetition of verse-endings more and more as he went on. The appendix may be, for the most part, as late as book 5; but no certainty is possible.

5. Verse-Endings of Zander's Reconstructions

Among those who have attempted to reconstruct hypothetical Phaedrian originals from the supposed paraphrases of "Romulus" and the Ademar and Wissemburg manuscripts, Burman is unsatisfactory because he lacks the necessary mastery of the metre and Mueller because he is impatient and overoriginal (J.P. Postgate, CQ 12 =1918=, 153); the same objections may be made, multiplied by a considerable factor, against the more recent work of Léon Herrmann²². In 1918, Postgate published his versions of six "new" fables (CQ 12 =1918=, 154-61), and brought out four more the following year (CQ 13 =1919=, 81-7; Phaedri fabulae aesopiae cum Nicolai Perotti prologo et decem novis fabulis =Oxford: 1919=). In 1921, however, C.M. Zander published his Phaedrus solutus vel Phaedri fabulae novae XXX (Act. Soc. Hum. Litt. Lundensis II), which is to date the most recent and (with the exception of Burman) the fullest attempt to resuscitate the lost

²²Eight "reconstructions" based on pseudo-Dositheus and numbered IV, 28; I, 19; II, 40; I, 39; I, 18; III, 36; III, 33; and IV, 9 in Herrmann's edition of Phaedrus (Leiden: 1950). A sample will suffice (H, 1: "De fele"):

Gallinas agere fingens natalem aves
 catta ad cenam vocat. Tunc cludens ostium
 cunctas interfecit. Hoc scriptum est in eum
 profectus qui hilaris dolorem repperit.

fables²³. While I am personally doubtful about the possibility of reconstructing a lost fable of Phaedrus in anything like its correct form merely by examining the putative reworkings in prose (one might of course get one or two verses right, but there would be no way of knowing), I believe nevertheless that it would be interesting to see how good a job Zander has done in creating a set of plausibly Phaedrian fables, say by examining the verse-endings in Zander's creations in comparison with those in the known work of Phaedrus.

Without going into the details of the repetitions²⁴, let it be sufficient to state that k is about 0.00336. This is higher than the value of k for the verse-endings in any part of Phaedrus'

²³And, according to C. Marchesi (Pedro e la favola latina =Firenze: 1923=, p. 88), "la più accurata". But even Zander seems to be liable to occasional metrical slips; for example, the last verse of number 2 ("Galli et accipiter")--

- - / - v v / - } - / - v v / - - / v ~

ignorant vice de ipsis quid agatur pari

--where a hiatus is required in the middle of the third foot, although the known works of Phaedrus contain no certain instance of hiatus (cf. above, p. 20). "Audivit" at the end of verse 14 of number 6 is presumably a mistake for "audiit"; likewise, "deiecit" in verse 10 of number 13 should apparently be read as "deicit". I am, however, relying on the accuracy of Herrmann's reporting, as I have not had occasion to examine the original edition.

²⁴The most frequent ways of ending a verse are "su/o" (13 times), "tu/i" (11 times), "mal/um" (9 times), "leo" (7 times), and "lup/o", "ped/em", and "simi/us" (6 times each), all common in Phaedrus.

known work, but only slightly above that for book 1. There are several possible, and not mutually exclusive, interpretations. One: the lost fables may come largely or entirely from Phaedrus' earliest work: we do not really know how long book 1 was, for instance,²⁵ or again there may have been a body of uncollected works; the Zander fables are mostly beast-fables of the type that so dominates Phaedrus' first book; from Phaedrus' known work, the paraphrasts are known to have drawn very heavily on book 1, borrowing fables only here and there from other books. Two: there may be a number of repetitions added by the paraphrasts and not recognized as such by Zander.²⁶ Three: Zander himself, lacking the facility of writing iambic senarii that Phaedrus obviously possessed, tended to rely more heavily on readily acceptable formulas, though I should add that it does not seem to me that this was very often the case. Four: if a selection was made from the works of Phaedrus at one time and this is substantially what we have in the main tradition, then it is plausible that the

²⁵And of course there is the mysterious mention of talking trees in 1.prol.6, which could be applied to Zander's sixteenth reconstruction, The Axe and the Trees (derived from Romulus 3.14).

²⁶For example, note how in Rom. 1.1 the single "iaces" of Phaedrus 3.12.3 has been multiplied to "iacentem", "iaces", and again "iacentem" and how "potior cui multo est cibus" (Phaedrus 3.12.6) has been changed to "ubi potius mihi escam quaero", echoing the previous "dum quaerit escam".

fables eliminated by this selection would have been among the less highly polished, and hence (in Phaedrus' case) less ornamented by variation. Five (this point being a development of points one and four): I have a suspicion that Phaedrus may have deliberately placed his better fables in book 1 at the beginning²⁷; if, at a later date, whether by accident or by design, the latter half of a hypothetically longer first book became cut off, the lost fables would naturally be in general inferior to those remaining.

Now let us consider the similarity between the verse-endings in Zander's reconstructions and those in Phaedrus' known work. The values of *c* are:

book 1	0.00291	book 4	0.00265
book 2	0.00346	book 5	0.00236
book 3	0.00283	appendix	0.00233
	all		0.00272

It is clear how, with the exception of book 2, the value of *c* declines steadily as one progresses from the first book to the last, and how

²⁷Compare section 2, where it is shown that there is greater variety in the cast of characters in the first part of book 1 than in the second.

The first fable in the book seems to have been the object of especial care: note the number of sound-effects and the avoidance of metrical formalism.

the value for the appendix is very close to that for book 5. This would be consistent with a situation in which Zander's fables came from Phaedrus' earliest work while the new fables found in Perotti's Epitome came generally from Phaedrus' latest work. But, while there is some reason to believe that the additional fables copied by Perotti may have come from a very restricted part of the original corpus (see above, p. 85, note 18), the same cannot be assumed in the case of the Zander reconstructions. Furthermore, there is the difficulty of the large degree of conjecture and distortion necessarily inherent in such reconstituted poetry. Nothing, therefore, can really be proved by this sort of investigation, though credence can be lent to some hypotheses rather than others.²⁸

(I have also attempted to compare with Phaedrus' practice the repetition of verse-endings in other writers of senarii, but for several reasons am uncertain of the results. One difficulty lies

²⁸The misleading effects of the high occurrence of "su/us" as a verse-ending in book 2 have been noted previously. It is worth remarking that this verse-ending is represented only 13 times in 456 verses in the Zander reconstructions, or at a rate of about 0.028 times per verse; this is fairly close to the overall rate for Phaedrus' known works, which is about 0.025; the rate for book 2, however, is approximately 0.046. There is thus at least one point of dissimilarity between the Zander fables and those of book 2 that makes it less likely that they originally belonged together.

in the need for selecting sufficiently long passages from their works. There are also differences in metrical preferences to contend with. At first glance, however, it appears that Phaedrus generally succeeded in repeating verse-endings somewhat less than his co-metrists. This may, of course, be due in part to his fairly even balance between final disyllables and polysyllables; but the progressive drop in repetition demonstrated above ^r =section 3= suggests a conscious effort at special refinement in this direction.)

Appendix A: Verse-Endings Recurring within Parts
of Phaedrus' Work

(Numbers in parentheses indicate the poems in which the verse-endings appear. Where more than one form is involved, the first form occurring is given, with the variable portion separated by a virgule.)

Book 1:

Twice only: abstulit (5, 7), ait (2, 30), bon/um (2, 3), capi (15, 23), caput (2, 8), ciconi/am (26 twice), corpor/is (5, 24), da/re (9, 17), de/us (2, 27), dedit (2, 22), dentibus (13, 21), deponeret (18, 19), despex/erat (3, 12), dic/itur (12, 30), evocat (2, 11), gloriã (7, 11), greg/i (3, 30), incipit (6, 28), lev/i (12, 29), met/us (2, 11), milu/um (31 twice), mon/et (prol., 19), neg/as (10, 29), pati (3, 26), pet/is (10, 11), potest (8, 27), praemi/um (8, 14), put/ans (4, 15), sanguin/is (28, 29), sibi (22, 28), singulos (8, 31), sustulit (3, 28), validius (19, 24). Total: 33.

Three times: bov/em (24 twice, 30), cib/um (4, 26, 27), contumeli/a (2, 3, 29), corn/ua (12 twice, 21), dol/um (6, 23, 31), duc/ere (6, 19, 31), fabul/is (prol., 1, 10), genus (2, 3, 30), impetu (11, 16, 29), improb/a (1, 16, 31), iniuri/ae (5, 21, 31),

Iov/e (2 three times), leo (5 twice, 11), modo (17, 24, 26), ped/es (9, 14, 30), tu/a (9, 11, 29), viribus (1, 11, 20). Total: 17.

Four times: fer/ae (prol., 11, 12, 21), grav/e (2, 9, 14, 20), mal/um (2, 8, 9, 19), nec/e (1, 2, 22, 31). Total: 4.

Five times: NONE.

Six times: can/um (12, 17, 20, 23, 25, 27), loc/o (14, 18 twice, 19 twice, 28), lup/us (1 twice, 8 twice, 16, 17), me/um (5, 11, 15, 19, 22, 25), su/os (3, 4, 10, 12, 24, 28). Total: 5

Seven times: NONE.

Eight times: mihi (1 three times, 5, 15, 22 twice, 29).

Total: 1.

More than eight times: NONE.

Book 2:

Twice only: ait (1, 4), dapem (4, 6), fabul/a (8, 9), fer/us (8, 9), grati/am (prol., 8), horde/o (7 twice), malefic/o (3, 6), nec/e (6, 8), ped/em (1, 4), tu/i (4, 8), vulner/is (3, 7). Total: 11.

Three times: loc/us (prol., 1, 4), tibi (4, 6, 8). Total:

2.

Four to seven times: NONE.

Eight times: su/um (prol., 4 three times, 5, 7, 8, 9). Total:

1.

More than eight times: NONE.

Book 3:

Twice only: adulter/am (3, 10), bonum (1, 8), caput (3, 10), cib/o (7, 12), dat/ae (18 twice), deus (prol., 18), dicere (prol., 3), existimo (10, epil.), fav/os (13 twice), fec/erit (13, 14), femin/ae (10, 15), genus (prol. twice), gloria (prol., 17), insolenti/am (6, epil.), intelleg/unt (12, 14), interdiu (7, 16), invicem (7, 8), ioc/is (prol., 8), Iov/i (prol., 17), iudices (10, 13), longi/us (19, epil.), minus (prol. twice), miserit/i (2, 15), mulier/is (10 twice), omni/um (prol., 17), prius (10, epil.), reliquiae (1, epil.), repperit (10, 12), sci/o (6, epil.), spirit/um (2, epil.), validius (10, 16), venerit (7, 13), vi/am (prol., 14), vic/em (prol., epil.), utilis (14, epil.). Total: 35.

Three times: can/i (7 twice, 15), corpor/i (prol., 7, 11),
 crimin/e (10 three times), d/are (3, 14, epil.), ded/it (5, 15, 16),
 familia (7, 10, 19), foret (prol. twice, 10), fuit (5, 8, 15), mal/is
 (prol., 8, 10), pet/o (prol., 10, epil.), sen/ex (3, 14, 19), Total:
 11.

Four times: fili/um (8 twice, 10 twice), pot/est (6, 7,
 10, 12), sententi/is (3, 10, 13, epil.), tibi (5, 6, 7, 14). Total:
 4.

Five times: fid/em (9, 10, 13, epil. twice). Total: 1.

Six times: mihi (prol. twice, 7, 11, 15, 16). Total: 1.

Seven times: dom/um (2, 7, 9, 10 twice, 19 twice), me/is
 (prol. twice, 3, 6, 7, 10, 13). Total: 2.

Eight or nine times: NONE.

Ten times: su/a (prol. twice, 7, 10 twice, 13 twice, 16
 twice, 17), tu/um (prol. three times, 6, 12, 15, 16, 18, epil. twice).
 Total: 2.

More than ten times: NONE.

Book 4:

Twice only: ait (3, 7), callid/i (2, 9), ceter/a (5, 26), collig/i (5, 23), contumeli/is (19 twice), corn/ua (6, 9), dat/um (5 twice), ded/it (prol., 10), dedit/a (5, 23, du/as (10, 26), fan/em (19 twice), fili/as (5, 12), fru/i (17, 25), gaudi/o (16, 18), hab/et (23, 25), hortul/os (5 twice), iac/es (2, 7), iniuri/am (19, 26), inprudenti/am (5, 21), intelleg/it (2, 22), Iuppiter (19 twice), laudibus (25 twice), loqui (13, epil.), lucr/o (12, 21), manus (7, 22), maximus (19, 23), mor/a (5, 26), mortu/us (1 twice), muner/a (11, 17), nec/i (2, 6), nihil (5, 24), nov/is (prol., 7), oscula (25 twice), paret (5 twice), pat/ri (5, 12), pecuniam (5 twice), pede (6, 19), praemium (19, 21), pudor (16, 25), repperit (4, 11), senex (5, 16), senti/at (8, 26), Simonidem (26 twice), singul/is (5 twice), stercore (19, 25), terti/us (2, 26), trad/ere (prol., 4), vad/um (4, 9), vir/os (5, 12), util/is (4, 11). Total: 50.

Three times: cib/i (8, 14, 21), di/es (11, 1, 18), fabul/is (prol., 4, 7), litter/is (7, 26, epil.), loc/o (2, 9, 26), memori/a (prol., 22, 26), omm/ium (5, 19, 25), rei (4, 11, 26). Total: 8.

Four times: dom/us (5, 7, 25, 26), Iov/is (11, 17, 19 twice), mihi (prol., 21, 25, 26), rustic/am (5 three times, 25), tibi (17, 21 twice, 24). Total: 5.

Five times: mod/o (1 twice, 5, 7, 22), tu/i (prol., 4, 7, 21, 23). Total: 2.

Six times: de/os (11 three times, 12, 25 twice). Total: 1.

Seven times: me/a (prol., 7, 9, 21, 22, 23, epil.). Total: 1.

Eight to ten times: NONE.

Eleven times: su/o (1, 5 twice, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19 three times, 23). Total: 1.

More than eleven times: NONE.

Book 5:

Twice only: caput (3, 5), foras (5, 7), foret (4, 5), grati/a (prol., 3), grav/em (3, 7), improb/o (1, 3), lucr/um (4, 6), me/o (1, 10), mora (7, 8), nobilis (5, 7), princip/es (1, 7), put/at (7, 9), sci/o (3, 5), simul (5, 6). Total: 14.

Three or four times: NONE.

Five times: *su/o* (*prol.*, 4, 5 twice, 10). Total: 1.

More than five times: NONE.

Perotti's Appendix:

Twice only: *audaci/a* (3, 10), *can/i* (26, 30), *certamin/is* (13, 21), *cib/o* (11, 32), *cruc/e* (15 twice), *dei* (8, 30), *dilig/ens* (15, 32), *diu* (23, 26), *dix/eris* (13, 17), *domus* (12, 16), *du/ae* (4, 16), *fec/erat* (5-6, 20), *hominibus* (3, 5-6), *lepus* (28 twice), *licet* (1, 29), *milit/i* (10 twice), *modo* (15, 17), *neg/o* (28, 30), *rumin/e* (8, 15), *obsecr/o* (8, 32), *pauper/is* (16 twice), *perfid/is* (28, 29), *pessim/e* (23, 26), *recep/erant* (4, 5-6), *redd/ere* (5-6, 8), *remedium* (12, 30), *rustic/us* (12, 32), *scalpere* (11 twice), *sen/ex* (9, 12), *tang/ere* (7, 17), *veritas* (5-6 twice), *viribus* (10, 13), *virum* (10, 15), *virgin/is* (15, 16). Total: 34.

Three times: *ait* (4, 15, 21), *copi/ae* (22, 30, 32), *corpor/is* (10, 30, 31), *dic/itur* (11, 13, 27), *dissipat* (10 twice, 16), *dol/o* (5-6 twice, 18), *duc/is* (10 three times), *femin/as* (11, 15, 17), *fili/um* (4, 12, 16), *Iovis* (3, 5-6, 15), *loc/o* (5-6, 7, 15), *mal/a*

(9, 11, 28), par/em (4, 5-6, 11), tamen (11, 24, 29), tibi (9, 28, 32), tu/a (17 twice, 28). Total: 16.

Four times: di/es (8, 16, 17, 21), man/u (4, 5-6, 10, 21), mulier/es (4, 15, 17, 29), ped/es (5-6, 16, 20, 23). Total: 4.

Five to seven times: NONE.

Eight times: me/a (2, 3, 10 three times, 13, 21, 32), su/um (4, 11, 15, 16, 19, 21, 27, 30). Total: 2.

More than eight times: NONE.

Appendix B: Verse-Endings Occurring in More than One Part

of Phaedrus' Work

	1	2	3	4	5	app.
abstulit	2	-	-	-	-	1
accep/imus	1	-	-	1	-	1
admonet	1	-	1	-	-	-
adpetit	1	-	-	1	-	-
adsequ/ar	-	-	1	1	-	-
aestim/o	-	-	1	-	1	-
ag/ens	-	1	-	-	1	1
ait	2	2	-	2	-	3
alter/am	1	-	-	1	-	-
aqu/a	1	-	-	1	-	1
argu/is	-	-	1	-	-	1
asper/o	1	-	-	-	-	1
Attic/i	1	1	1	1	-	-
audaci/am	-	-	1	-	-	2
barbar/um	-	-	-	1	-	-
bon/um	2	1	2	1	-	-
bov/em	3	1	-	-	-	1
brev/e	1	-	-	1	1	-
can/um	6	1	3	-	-	2
cap/i	2	-	1	1	-	-

caput	2	-	2	-	2	1
carp/erent	1	1	-	-	-	-
cav/o	-	1	1	1	-	-
certamina	-	-	-	-	1	2
ci/ens	1	-	-	1	-	1
cib/um	3	1	2	3	1	2
coep/ero	-	-	1	1	-	-
comes	-	1	-	-	1	-
condidit	-	1	-	-	-	1
conger/unt	-	-	1	1	-	-
coniug/em	-	-	1	-	-	1
conscius	-	-	1	-	-	1
conscientiam	-	1	1	-	-	-
consider/a	-	-	1	-	-	1
constitit	-	-	-	1	1	-
consuetudine	-	-	-	1	-	1
contend/eret	1	-	-	-	1	-
contumeli/a	3	-	1	2	1	-
convenit	-	-	1	-	1	-
copi/a	-	-	1	-	-	3
com/ua	3	1	-	2	1	-
corpor/is	2	-	3	1	1	3
cotidie	-	1	1	-	-	-
cred/ere	1	-	1	-	-	1

crimin/e	1	-	3	-	-	-
cruc/e	-	-	1	-	-	2
cupiditas	1	-	-	-	-	1
d/are	2	1	3	1	1	-
dat/us	1	1	2	2	-	-
de/us	2	-	2	6	-	2
deb/eas	-	1	1	-	1	-
debil/em	-	-	1	1	-	1
decus	-	-	1	1	-	1
dedit	2	-	3	2	-	1
deg/ere	1	-	-	-	-	1
dentibus	2	-	-	1	1	-
depon/eret	2	-	-	-	-	1
desider/at	1	-	1	1	-	1
deterritus	-	-	-	-	1	1
devocat	1	-	1	-	-	-
devor/es	1	1	-	-	-	-
dexter/a	-	-	-	-	1	1
dī/es	1	1	-	3	1	4
dic/itur	2	-	2	-	-	3
diu	-	-	1	-	-	2
dix/erim	1	-	-	1	-	2
dol/et	-	-	-	1	1	1
dol/um	3	-	-	-	-	3
dom/um	1	1	7	4	1	2

du/o	-	1	-	2	-	2
duc/ere	3	-	-	1	1	-
duc/is	-	1	-	-	-	3
elev/es	-	-	1	1	-	-
eques	-	-	-	1	1	-
er/am	1	-	-	-	-	1
exercitu	-	-	-	1	-	1
existim/o	-	-	2	1	1	-
expectatio	-	-	-	1	1	-
exprim/unt	-	-	-	1	1	-
extulit	-	1	-	1	-	-
fabul/is	3	2	-	3	-	-
fac/em	1	-	-	-	-	1
facilius	1	-	-	1	-	-
facinoris	-	-	1	1	-	-
fall/eris	1	-	-	-	1	-
fallaci/am	1	-	1	-	-	-
fam/e	1	-	1	2	-	1
familia	-	1	3	1	-	-
fec/erat	-	1	2	-	-	2
femin/ae	-	-	2	1	-	3
fer/ae	4	2	1	1	1	-
fer/ens	-	-	1	-	1	-
fid/em	1	-	5	1	-	-
fiduci/am	-	-	-	-	1	1

fili/um	-	-	4	2	-	3
flatibus	-	-	-	1	1	-
foras	-	1	-	1	2	-
for/et	1	1	3	1	2	1
fragor	-	-	-	1	-	1
fu/it	-	-	3	-	1	1
fug/am	-	-	-	1	-	1
funeris	-	-	-	1	-	1
futil/es	-	-	-	1	1	-
garrul/us	-	-	1	-	-	1
gaudi/o	-	1	-	2	-	1
gem/as	-	-	1	-	1	-
genus	3	1	2	1	1	-
glori/am	2	1	2	1	-	1
grad/u	-	1	1	-	-	1
Graeciae	-	1	1	-	-	-
grati/a	1	2	1	1	2	1
grav/e	4	-	1	1	2	-
greg/i	2	1	-	-	-	-
hab/et	1	-	-	2	1	-
habu/erint	1	-	1	-	-	-
Hercul/i	-	-	1	1	1	-
hominibus	1	-	-	-	-	2
horde/o	-	2	-	-	1	-
hortul/os	-	-	-	2	-	1

iac/es	1	-	-	2	-	1
ianuam	-	-	1	1	-	-
imperi	-	-	-	1	-	1
impet/u	3	-	1	1	-	1
improb/a	3	-	1	1	2	1
incommod/o	-	-	-	-	1	1
indicat	1	-	-	1	-	1
iniuri/ae	3	-	-	2	-	1
innotuit	1	-	-	-	-	1
intellig/o	1	1	2	2	1	1
intulit	1	-	-	-	-	1
invenit	1	-	-	1	-	1
invicem	-	1	2	-	-	-
ioc/is	-	-	2	-	-	1
Iov/e	3	-	2	4	-	3
irascitur	-	-	1	-	-	1
iub/ent	-	-	-	1	1	1
iudic/es	-	-	2	-	1	-
iug/o	-	-	1	1	-	1
Iuppiter	1	-	1	2	-	1
labor	-	1	1	-	-	1
laed/eret	-	-	1	1	-	-
laes/erit	1	-	1	-	-	-
languid/as	-	-	1	-	1	1
lat/et	-	-	-	1	1	-

latibul/a	1	1	-	-	-	-
laudibus	-	-	-	2	1	-
leo	3	1	-	1	-	-
lev/i	2	-	-	1	-	-
liber/os	1	-	1	1	-	-
licentia	1	-	1	1	-	-
licet	-	-	-	1	-	2
limin/is	-	-	1	-	-	1
liquor	1	-	-	1	-	-
loc/o	6	3	1	3	1	3
longitudinem	1	-	-	-	-	1
longi/us	-	-	2	-	-	1
loqui	1	-	-	2	-	-
lucr/um	1	-	1	2	2	-
lup/us	6	-	1	-	-	1
magnitudin/is	1	-	1	-	-	-
mal/um	4	1	3	1	1	3
malefic/o	-	2	-	1	-	1
man/u	-	1	-	2	1	4
mar/e	-	1	-	1	-	1
mascul/as	-	-	1	1	-	-
maxim/e	-	-	1	2	1	-
me/um	6	1	7	7	2	8
mehercule	1	-	1	-	1	-
melos	-	-	1	1	-	-

mensibus	1	-	1	-	-	-
met/us	2	-	-	1	-	-
mihi	8	1	6	4	-	1
milit/es	-	-	-	1	1	2
miseri/a	-	-	-	1	-	1
misericordi/ae	-	-	1	-	-	1
mod/o	3	-	-	5	1	2
mor/a	-	-	1	2	2	1
mortalium	-	1	1	-	-	-
mortu/a	-	-	1	2	1	-
mulier/um	-	1	2	1	-	-
muner/e	-	1	1	2	-	-
narratio /est	1	-	-	-	1	-
nec/e	4	2	-	2	-	-
neg/as	2	-	-	-	-	2
nenias	-	-	1	1	-	-
nobil/em	1	-	1	1	2	1
nomine	1	1	-	-	-	1
not/am	1	-	-	1	-	-
nov/erit	-	-	1	1	-	-
nov/is	-	-	-	2	1	1
nupti/as	1	-	-	-	-	1
obnoxii/ae	-	1	1	-	-	-
obvi/us	1	-	-	1	-	1
omn/ium	-	-	2	3	1	1

op/es	1	-	1	-	-	1
opprim/unt	1	1	-	-	-	-
oscula	-	-	1	2	-	-
ostend/ere	1	-	1	-	1	-
oti/o	1	1	-	-	1	-
paenitentia	1	-	-	1	-	-
parcite	-	1	-	-	-	1
par/et	-	-	-	2	-	1
par/es <u>adj.</u>	-	1	-	-	-	3
partibus	1	-	1	-	-	1
pastoribus	-	-	1	1	-	-
pati	2	-	1	1	-	-
pat/ri	-	-	-	2	-	1
pauper/es	1	-	-	-	-	2
pecuni/a	-	1	-	2	-	-
ped/es	3	2	-	2	-	4
perit	1	1	-	1	-	-
periculum	1	-	1	-	-	-
peri/erant	-	-	-	1	1	-
perpeti	-	-	-	1	-	1
pessim/os	-	-	1	-	-	2
pet/is	2	1	3	1	-	1
peti/erint	-	1	1	-	-	-
plac/et	-	-	1	1	-	1
pluribus	-	1	1	-	-	-

pondere	-	1	-	-	-	1
poster/i	-	-	1	1	-	-
postridie	-	-	1	-	1	-
postul/es	1	1	-	-	-	-
pot/est	2	1	4	-	-	-
praemi/um	2	1	1	2	1	-
pri/us	1	-	2	1	1	-
princip/um	-	-	-	1	2	1
pristin/am	1	-	1	-	-	-
prob/ans	-	-	-	-	1	1
prodidit	1	-	-	1	-	-
proeli/o	-	-	-	1	-	1
protinus	-	-	-	1	-	1
proxim/am	1	-	1	-	1	-
pudor	-	1	-	2	-	-
pulver/en	-	1	-	1	-	-
put/ans	2	-	1	1	2	1
quaer/itur	-	1	1	-	-	-
queri	1	-	-	1	-	-
rei	-	-	1	3	-	-
recip/eret	1	-	1	-	-	1
religio	-	-	-	1	-	1
reliquiis	1	-	2	-	-	-
remedi/is	-	-	1	-	-	2
reperies	-	-	-	1	1	-
repper/it	1	-	2	2	-	-

restitit	1	-	1	-	1	1
rettul/it	1	-	1	1	-	-
rog/ant	-	-	1	-	-	1
ruit	-	1	-	-	1	-
rudis	-	1	-	-	-	1
rustic/i	-	1	1	4	1	2
sanguin/is	2	-	-	-	1	-
sarcin/am	-	-	1	1	-	1
satis	-	1	-	1	1	-
sci/o	-	-	2	-	2	-
scilicet	-	-	-	-	1	1
sen/ex	1	1	3	2	-	2
senti/at	-	-	-	2	1	-
sententi/am	1	-	4	1	1	-
sibi	2	-	1	1	-	1
sidera	1	-	-	1	-	-
simi/us	1	-	1	-	-	1
simul	1	-	1	1	2	1
sin/us	-	-	-	1	1	1
singul/os	2	1	1	2	-	-
sit/i	-	-	1	1	-	-
societas	1	-	-	-	-	1
sol/et	-	-	1	-	1	1
sollerti/ae	1	-	-	1	-	1
son/o	-	-	1	1	-	1

sophus	-	-	1	1	-	1
spirit/um	-	-	2	1	-	1
statim	-	-	1	1	1	-
stercore	1	-	-	2	-	-
su/os	6	8	10	11	5	8
sum/ere	-	1	1	1	-	1
sumus	-	-	-	1	1	-
super	1	1	-	-	-	1
superbi/a	1	-	1	1	-	-
sustulit	2	-	-	1	-	1
tamen	-	-	1	-	-	3
tang/ere	1	-	-	-	-	2
tempor/e	-	1	1	1	1	1
ten/et	-	-	-	-	1	1
territus	1	-	1	-	-	-
terti/a	1	-	-	2	-	-
tetigerit	1	-	1	-	-	1
tibi	-	3	4	4	1	3
trah/ens	1	-	1	1	-	1
tritici	1	-	-	-	-	1
tu/a	3	2	10	5	1	3
turpissimam	-	-	1	1	-	-
vad/i	1	-	-	2	-	1
validius	2	-	2	1	-	1
varietas	-	1	1	1	-	-

vel/it	1	1	1	-	-	-
ven/i	-	-	1	1	-	-
ven/erant	1	1	2	-	-	-
versibus	1	-	1	-	-	-
vi/am	-	1	2	1	-	-
vic/es	-	1	2	-	1	-
vid/et	-	1	-	1	1	1
viderat	1	-	-	-	-	1
viribus	3	-	-	1	1	2
vir/os	-	1	1	2	1	2
vituper/at	1	-	-	1	-	-
viv/ere	-	-	1	-	-	1
ultim/am	-	-	-	1	1	-
unguibus	1	1	-	-	-	-
volo	-	1	1	1	-	-
voluerit	1	1	1	-	-	-
util/is	-	-	2	2	-	-
vulpecul/a	-	-	-	1	-	1

III

WORDS OCCURRING ONLY ONCE IN THE WORKS OF PHAEDRUS

As a supplement to, and check on, the results of the previous chapter's study of repetition of verse-endings (chapter II, section 3), an idea might be obtained of the distribution of vocabulary throughout Phaedrus' work by studying the distribution of those words that occur only once. To save time, the readings of Guaglianone (see p. 2) will be adopted in all cases.¹

The following table summarizes the occurrences of such "once-words" in the larger units of Phaedrus' work:²

¹There is no index to Perry's Loeb text (employed elsewhere in this work), whereas Guaglianone supplies an index as part of his edition. Guaglianone's text is relatively conservative, and so suited to a study of this kind. The other index to Phaedrus presently available, that of Cinquini (Milano: 1905; reprinted Hildesheim: 1964), based on Mueller's text, has the disadvantage of not dealing adequately with orthographical variants.

²The number of "once-words" occurring in each of the individual poems is as follows:

1.prol.	3	1.13	8	1.26	9
1	10	14	17	27	8
2	23	15	4	28	5
3	4	16	4	29	4
4	3	17	6	30	8
5	4	18	5	31	6
6	8	19	6	2.prol.	5
7	3	20	2	1	11
8	3	21	8	2	5
9	10	22	4	3	5
10	3	23	4	4	26
11	8	24	6	5	34
12	3	25	4	6	16

	number of "once-words"	number of "once-words" counted as proper nouns or adjectives	number of verses	"once-words" per verse
1.prol.-13	93	2	176	.528
1.14-31	110	2	187	.588
<hr/>				
2.7	8	4.13-4(13) 7	app.14	6
8	12	15(14) 4	15	32
9(epil.)	10	16(15) 16	16	26
3.prol.	44	17(16) 4	17	10
1	6	18(17) 8	18	5
2	11	19(18) 15	19	5
3	9	20(19) 5	20	11
4	2	21(20) 20	21	8
5	3	22(21) 5	22	8
6	12	23(22) 18	23	11
7	19	24(23) 2	24	2
8	8	25(24) 25	25	6
9	5	26(25) 20	26	2
10	50	epil. 3	27	3
11	3	5.prol. 9	28	6
12	4	1 13	29	3
13	5	2 10	30	7
14	8	3 3	31	9
15	14	4 5	32	9
16	11	5 23		
17	8	6 5		
18	11	7 36		
19	6	8 6		
epil.	17	9 2		
4.prol.	6	10 5		
1	6	app.1 4		
2	11	2 2		
3	5	3 8		
4	9	4 10		
5	27	5-6 19		
6	11	7 25		
7	34	8 24		
8	4	9 4		
9	9	10 23		
10	3	11 5		
11	12	12 10		
12	5	13 3		

2	132	8	173	.763
3.prol.-9	119	14	184	.647
3.10-epil.	137	6	219	.626
4.prol.-14	149	15	219	.680
5	117	6	174	.672
app.	306	14	405	.756

As can be seen at once, the rate of occurrence of once-words is noticeably at its lowest in book 1 (in fact, there is no individual fable in this book with more than one once-word per verse), but is at its highest in the following book, book 2. It is also high in the appendix, but not as high as in book 2; books 4, 5, and 3 occupy the middle ground in declining order of frequency. The similarity in values between the parts of the divided books (books 1, 3, and 4) should be noted. Of the observed differences, that between books 1 and 2 is statistically significant ($\chi^2=7.8$ with $df=1$); generally speaking, the rest are not, though the probability that the difference between book 1 and books 3, 4, and 5 taken together is due to chance is less than one in twenty ($\chi^2=4.6$ with $df=1$). The general conclusion that it appears we should draw from this information is that Phaedrus is most repetitious in his vocabulary in book 1 (and this agrees with what was observed in the previous chapter about the repetition of verse-endings) but that in the following books he quite possibly makes no further changes in the rate of introduction of new words beyond the initial one of abandoning the generally very simple style of book 1 (the slightly higher value for book 2 being an accident).

Obviously it would be profitable to consider some individual poems in this regard, laying emphasis on those containing numbers of once-words that are either unexpectedly high or unexpectedly low.

In only a few of Phaedrus' poems does the number of once-words exceed the number of verses. There are none in book 1, where the highest relative number of such words comes in fable 9 ("Passer ad leporem consiliator": ten in ten verses), followed closely by the anecdotic fable 14 ("Ex sutore medicus": 17 in 18 verses). Among the relatively few poems of book 2, on the other hand, fable 5 has far more than one once-word per verse: 34 such words in a mere 25 verses, or about 1.4 per verse (even without proper nouns and adjectives the total is 27, still more than one per verse). It will be noted that 2.5 is an anecdote rather than a traditional Aesopic fable; yet the preceding fable, 2.4, has also a high content of once-words (26 in 26 verses, none being a proper noun or adjective), and it is certainly within the Aesopic genre (though apparently not part of the traditional corpus); and the following fable, 2.6, is nearly as uncharacteristically Phaedrian in vocabulary (16 once-words in 17 verses, with again no proper nouns or adjectives among them), and the first fable in the book shows a similar ratio (11 once-words in 12 verses). The material of all of these poems appears to be original with Phaedrus himself, but the same may be said of fables 7 and 8 of the same book (8 once-words in 14 verses and 12 in 28,

respectively).

Moving on to book 3, we find that only one poem here has as many as one once-word per verse, and that is fable 6, with 12 such words in 11 verses. Again it is not part of the Aesopic corpus. Two other points might be noted: first, it is a debate, and so more likely to be influenced by rhetoric; second, it contains a couple of superfluous descriptive adjectives of the type usually pruned by Phaedrus ("lento", v. 6; "spumantibus", v. 7), suggesting a general stylistic difference from the more common Phaedrian fable-type.

In book 4, after eliminating the fragmentary fable 15 ("Prometheus": 4 once-words in the remaining 2 verses), one comes to fable 7, which is not a fable at all in spite of the presence of an "epimythium" (vv. 25-6). The section parodying the tragic style (vv. 6-16) obviously contributes heavily to the high total of once-words (34 in 26 verses), especially through the frequency of names; but even outside this portion of the poem words not found elsewhere in Phaedrus are far from absent (beginning with nasutus in verse 1), and even without proper nouns and adjectives the total is still high (27 in 26 verses).

In 4.16, there are 16 once-words in 14 verses; of these, only one ("tribadas", v. 1) is of Greek origin, and only one ("Liberio", v. 8) is a proper name. Although the story is apparently attributed to Aesop ("senex", v. 2), it is not part of the traditional corpus and is in fact an aition **an**d not an Aesopic fable. The rather strange introduction of a one-line explanation (proof?) for the legend that man was moulded out of clay (v. 4) suggests again an attempt to

embellish in this poem, perhaps with philosophical intent. The only other poem in book 4 with as many as one once-word per verse is fable 25 (25 in 25 verses). Here, as with 3.6, we have a debate, and the conciseness characteristic of Phaedrus has become somewhat diluted. The rates of occurrence of once-words in other poems in book 4 are all noticeably lower.

Book 5 has no poem with as many as one once-word per verse; the nearest is achieved by fable 7 ("Procax tibicen": 36 in 39 verses), which is an anecdote containing a number of technical terms (notably "pegma" in verse 7).

In the appendix, fables 7 and 8 ("Sensum aestimandum esse, non verba" and "De oraculo Apollinis") stand out as especially rich in words not found elsewhere in Phaedrus (25 in 18 verses, and 24 in 17 verses, respectively). Both of these are of course quite different in both subject and treatment from Phaedrus' usual sort of work; in fable 7 we may note the large number of proper names that occur only here (five in all: Ixion, Sisyphus, Tantalus, Danaides, and Tityos), and in fable 8 both the once-occurring proper nouns and adjectives (Delphi, Parnasus, Python, delius) and the words of Greek origin ("comae", "tripodes", "adytis", "thalamos"). Both these poems approach closely to satire, which is notable for its wide-ranging vocabulary; on the other hand, they are more serious and elevated than satire, so that the less usual words tend to be derived from higher poetry (such as lyric) rather than the vulgar tongue.

Two other poems in the appendix exceed one once-word per

verse. These are fable 15 ("Quanta sit inconstantia et libido mulierum": 32 in 31 verses) and fable 22 ("Tamem acuere animantibus ingenium": 8 in 7 verses). The first ⁵ ~~is~~ of course an anecdote, developed at some length and possibly meant to be a true story (the promythium, if there was one, is now essentially lost; but Petronius, writing at a slightly later date, presents the same story as having actually taken place within living memory (=Satyrica 111³)). The other is a piece of arcane "natural history", in which the fabular form ("Once, when the Bear's food supply in the woods gave out, . . . ") is deliberately avoided in favour of the scholarly generalization ("Whenever a bear's food supply in the woods gives out, . . . "); it nevertheless retains the moral characteristic of the fable ("ergo etiam stultis acuit ingenium famem", v. 7). App.25 ("Serpens et lacerta") might also be noted (6 once-words in 6 verses); remarkable here is the fact that the only word repeated within the poem is serpens. While taking the form of a fable in the Aesopic manner, this poem is nevertheless very like another piece of "natural history" (note that there is no indication that either of the animals can talk³).

³Such a situation is unparalleled in all the rest of Phaedrus' Aesopic fables. A few come close without quite hitting the mark: in 4.6 the weasels do not necessarily speak the same language as the mice, but if the mice have leaders they can presumably communicate among themselves; likewise in 1.20 the dogs must have consulted one another before deciding to join in drinking the stream dry; it is true that the dog in 1.4 says nothing to his reflection, but there is really only one animal involved; the stag in 1.12 does not actually converse with the hunters or their dogs, but is certainly said "edidisse vocem hanc".

If we now proceed to consider all the poems of Phaedrus in which the number of words not used elsewhere in his work exceeds or at least equals the number of verses, we shall find that, disregarding the fragment 4.15, their average length is $216 \div 12$ or exactly 18 verses--this in contrast to the average length of all Phaedrus' poems, which is (again disregarding 4.15, plus the fragments 4.13, 4.14, and app.2) $1932 \div 129$ or about 15.0. In fact, one would have expected that the average length of the poems high in once-words would have been less than the overall average, on account of the nature of random distribution (under which the shorter passages would show more extreme proportions in either direction, while the longer passages would be generally close to the overall average). It can therefore probably be assumed that length has something to do with broadness of vocabulary in Phaedrus, though only in a very general way.

Of more importance is the fact that only five of these twelve poems can be classed as beast-fables, and of these five two are actionless debates (3.6 and 4.25). The studied variation of fables like 2.4 and app.25 seems to be the exception rather than the rule when Phaedrus applies himself to Aesopic material.

After examining those poems in which the number of once-words is exceptionally high, the next step is clearly to turn to those in which very little of the vocabulary is unique within Phaedrus' work. It might first of all be remarked that no poem of Phaedrus

is completely free of once-occurring words; every poem or fragment has at least two such words.

Six poems in book 1 have one once-word or less for every three verses; they are numbers 3 (4 in 16 verses), 8 (3 in 12 verses), 10 (3 in 10 verses), 12 (3 in 15 verses), 20 (2 in 6 verses), and 22 (4 in 12 verses). All but poem 10 have parallels in the Aesopic corpus and all are beast-fables.

In book 2 only the prologue has so low a ratio, and that only just (5 words in 15 verses). The ideas of this prologue tend to be repeated elsewhere, often along with the words themselves, so that it is not surprising that so few words in it should be unique in Phaedrus' work.⁴

In book 3, poems 4, 5, and 13 all have fewer than one once-word for every three verses (no poem has exactly this ratio). 3.4 (with 2 once-words, merx and ridicule, in 7 verses) is not an Aesopic fable, but a jest (similar to 1.7), followed by a corrective note by the author which occupies almost half the poem. Likewise 3.5 (with three once-words in 10 verses) is not a fable of Aesop but an anecdote about Aesop; it is a somewhat stupid and incredible

⁴Take for example the first verse:

Exemplis continetur Aesopi genus.
Phaedrus frequently refers to exempla in relation to his fables (1.3.3, 2.1.11, 2.2.2, 4.3.6, 5.prol.10). Contineo is not used elsewhere in precisely the same sense, but the application at 4.11.14 is fairly similar. Aesop is of course referred to time and again, and generally as the originator of the fable. For genus of the fabular genre, compare 3.prol.33 ("fabularum . . . genus") and 4.prol.13.

story, and its simplemindedness is perhaps reflected in the unembellished manner in which it is told. 3.13 (with 5 once-words in 17 verses) is in the Aesopic manner (though not part of the corpus), and is interestingly similar to 1.10, the only other "beast-judgment" fable.

Apart from the prologue and the epilogue (6 once-words in 20 verses and 3 in 9, respectively), no poem in book 4 has as few as one once-word for every three verses. In book 5, this condition is satisfied only by poem 3 (3 once-words in 13 verses), which does not find an exact parallel among the fables attributed to Aesop, but is nevertheless very much in the form of an original Aesopic fable (compare, in the Augustana recension, the stories of the fisherman and the little fish =18 Perry=, of the fox and the woodcutter =22 Perry=, of the farmer and the snake =51 Perry=, etc.).

In the appendix, there are poems 13 and 26 (with 3 once-words in 9 verses and 2 in 7, respectively). App.13, like 3.5, is an anecdote about Aesop and again a rather simpleminded story simply told, though not involving an unbelievable incident; it may also be compared with the jesting 3.4 and the paradoxical judgment of 1.10. App.26 may be compared with 1.22 and 5.3 as an example of the "short debate"; it is not in the Aesopic corpus, but it is certainly in the Aesopic manner.

The average length of these fables poor in once-words is $165 \div 14$ or about 11.8 verses, some three verses less than that for all of Phaedrus' poems; it is to be expected, however, that the shorter poems will show a larger number of low proportions (just as of high

proportions: cf. above, p. 124) than will the longer poems, by the nature of random distribution alone, so that this difference may not be significant. This same factor may operate to exclude certain types of poem, such as the detailed anecdote, which are generally of some length; general conclusions are thus not as easy in the case of poems low in once-words as they were with poems high in such words.

It is notable that the prologues and epilogues tend to have far fewer words not found elsewhere in Phaedrus than do his poems in general. The highest rate is in the prologue to book 5, but note that here three of the once-words are proper names. Altogether, the prologues and epilogues contain 97 once-words in 178 verses, or about .545 per verse; the only section of Phaedrus' work in which a lower ratio is observed is the first part of book 1 (.528 once-words per verse: compare above, pp. 118-9), and in almost all it is far higher. The prologues and epilogues not only appear to be more prosaic than other parts of Phaedrus' work (see chapter 5, below); they also manifest on the whole less breadth of vocabulary than any but his earliest and most Aesopic fables.

I shall now summarize the points made in this study of the words that occur only once in Phaedrus' work:

- the number of such words occurring in book 1 is significantly lower than the number occurring in the other books or in the appendix.
- book 2 and the appendix are especially high in once-words, but the difference cannot be said to be significant and can be attributed

to particular individual poems, at least in the case of book 2 (2.4 and 2.5).

--poems of high concentrations of once-words tend fairly strongly not to be beast-fables and are on average longer than those with lower concentrations.

--poems with low concentrations of once-words are, if they are not prologues or epilogues, invariably beast-fables, jokes, or both.

--prologues and epilogues generally show a low concentration of once-words.

(It might be pointed out, if it has not already occurred to the reader, that the occurrence of "once-words" is not at all a purely stylistic phenomenon, though it will always be influenced by the author's style; it is also a matter of content. In many cases, however, there is no sharp division between style and content, since each tends to influence and circumscribe the other.)

IV

GREEK WORDS

Causeret lists in alphabetical order twenty-five examples of Greek words used by Phaedrus and mentions another five as especially noteworthy (pp. 33-5), and later adds two more from the appendix (p. 100). Bertschinger adds eleven examples of his own (while omitting eight of Causeret's), but dismisses most of the Greek words in Phaedrus' work as already established in common use not only in everyday speech but also in the literary language (Phaedrus' Hellenisms seem generally not to be literary in origin), while the remainder he attempts to demonstrate belong to the popular element in Phaedrus' style (pp. 24-9). Peters, though aware of the work of Bertschinger and Causeret, gives an apparently independent list of thirty-four graecismen (p. 92). (For precise details, see appendix A.) Of course, none of these commentators claims that he is giving us a complete list, though Peters does not make clear that his list is merely exemplificative. All seem just to have noted down those Greek words in Phaedrus which happened to come to mind.

Recognizing the fact that the great majority of Greek words in the fables were no doubt reasonably at home in the Latin language by Phaedrus' time, I was nevertheless led to wonder, among other things, whether some of these words might have retained a certain flavour which would cause them to be used more in one sort of poem

than in another. Most Greek words in Latin retain various marks which set them apart from the native vocabulary: they may have a cultural tie with the Greek world, as in the case of tragicus, musicus, and the like; un-Latinity of pronunciation or spelling may betray their origin (the Greek epsilon in tyrannus, hydrus, etc.; the unaccented short a in camera, barbarus, and calamus; there are numerous examples); and of course even a smattering of Greek on the part of a Latinophone might lead him to make the necessary connection, however Latin the word might appear. This last point is all the more applicable to Phaedrus, whose Hellenic (if not Attic) name and whose Pierian birth (3.prol.17) make his ignorance of the Empire's second language all but inconceivable.¹ That he was obviously at pains to make his work acceptable to those in whose language it was written--

quodsi labori faverit Latium meo,
plures habebit quos opponat Graeciae

(3.epil.8-9)

--implies that he must therefore have felt the need to write a style at least as Latin as that of a born Roman. It is thus only right

¹Havet (ed. 1917, pp. i-ii) thinks that Phaedrus' first tongue was Latin (it is obvious from 3.epil.33-4 that he knew Latin as a boy). Yet, even if this were true, it is generally believed that the Roman fabulist must have used Greek sources, and thus presumably had a good knowledge of Greek, especially since there is no evidence of major misunderstanding of the material. According to Peters (pp. 92-3), Phaedrus deliberately avoids the use of Greek words when using Greek material.

to assume that Phaedrus was at least moderately sensitive to the Greek element in Latin when he was composing his fables, and that accordingly we might expect some signs of a conscious attitude toward that element in his finished work.²

I have therefore decided to do a complete study of all the words found in Phaedrus' extant work that can reasonably be said to be of Greek origin (including any that may have merely passed through Greece on their way to Rome, as it were). Proper nouns and their related adjectives will be considered separately (and only briefly), for the use or neglect of names is quite a different stylistic characteristic from the use or neglect of foreign words (though not entirely unrelated to it).

I shall base my lists on the text of Perry's Loeb edition, and F.O. Weise's index (Die griechischen Wörter im Latein =Leipzig: 1882=, pp. 326-544) will generally be used as a standard of Hellenic origin.³

²That this attitude may be at least partially one of scorn is suggested by app.30.2-4. I shall return to this passage at a later point.

³This list of Greek words in Latin appears to be the easiest to use, as well as being all but complete. Much more detail on the occurrences of the individual words can be found in Saalfeld's Thesaurus ItaloGraecus (Wien: 1884). In dubious cases, Walde's Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (4th ed.; Heidelberg: 1965) is of great value. I have also referred to Ernout and Meillet's Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine (4th ed.; Paris: 1959) and to Tucker's Concise Etymological Dictionary of Latin (Halle: 1931).

The most common word of at least probably Greek origin in Phaedrus turns out to be poena, which is something of a favourite word with the Roman fabulist, occurring fifteen times in his work according to Cinquini's and Guaglianone's indexes.⁴ Apparently on account of an oversight, Weise does not list the derivative verb punire, which is found three times in the fables (4.11.19, 5.4.11, and app.8.14), or the derivative adverb impune, found four times. It may be doubted whether Phaedrus considered poena or punire any more Greek than, say, ego or pro.⁵

A large group of Greek words in Phaedrus consists of names of animals unknown to the Romans in early times. Most of these no doubt would turn out to have merely come through Greek had we sufficient information. The animal-names involved are: 1.prol., "hydram" (ὕδρος); 1.5, "leone", "leo" (λέων); 1.11, "leo", "leonis" (λέων); 1.21, "leo" (λέων); 1.25, "corcodillis", "corcodillus" (κροκόδειλος); 2.1, "leo" (λέων); 3.2, "panthera" (πάνθηρ); 4.21, "draconis" (δράκων); app.3, "elephanti" (ἐλέφανς), "leonis" (λέων); app.30, "castorem" (κάστωρ);

⁴Horace, to take a single example, has poena only 13 times in all his work--the equivalent of only 3 or 4 occurrences in Phaedrus.

⁵Although poena is usually considered a straight loan-word by etymologists, Tucker states: "It is not impossible that it has been crossed with a native word" (s.v.). And Ciulei, Pisani, and Devoto have all rejected a Greek origin (Walde, s.v.).

app.32, "grilli" (γρύλλος), "scarabaei" (σκαραβαῖος).⁶ It will be noted that the lion alone accounts for nearly half these occurrences and that castor is specifically quoted as the Greek name for the animal which Phaedrus emphatically decides to call by its Latin name:

. . . fiber
 (Graeci loquaces quem dixerunt castorem
 et indiderunt bestiam nomen dei,
 illi qui iactant se verborum copia)

(app.30.1-4).

The remaining words of Greek extraction occur as follows:

1.1	latro	(λάτρως)
1.2	tyrannus	(τύραννος)
1.7	tragicam	(τραγικός)
1.14	antidotum	(ἀντίδοτον, ἀντίδοτος)
	strophis	(στροφή)
	scyphum	(σκύφος)
	antidoto	(ἀντίδοτον, ἀντίδοτος)
	toxicum	(τοξικόν)
1.26	marmore	(μάρμαρος)
	lagonam	(λέγυνος)
	lagonae	"

⁶Pavo (1.3 and 3.18), while related to the Greek πᾶς, cannot be said to have been derived from it, and does not appear in Weise's index (Walde speaks of an "östlichen nicht näher bestimmbar Quelle"). Simius (1.10, 3.4, and app.1) has its ultimate origin in the Greek σιμός; strictly speaking, Weise does not list simius, but he does have the feminine simia as one of the derivatives of simus.

1.27	thensaurum	(θησαυρός)
2.5	xystum	(ξύστος)
2.6	scopulum	(σκόπελος)
	astris	(άστρον)
2.7	saccos	(σάκκος)
	latrones	(λάτρεις)
	nummos	(νοῦμμος, νόμος)
2.9	basi	(βάσις)
3.prol.	horae	(ῥα)
	nenias	(νηνία)
	chorum	(χόρος)
	schola	(σχολή)
3.1	amphoram	(ἀμφορεύς)
3.4	opsonia	(ὀψώνια)
3.6	dolone ⁷	(δόλων)
3.8	cathedra	(κάθεδρα)
3.11	eunuchus	(εὐνοῦχος)
3.12	margaritam	(μαργαρίτης)
3.13	ceris	(κηρός)
3.14	sophus	(σαφός)
3.16	citharam	(κιθάρα)
	nectar	(νέκταρ)

⁷An emendation of Pithou. P has "dolose"; NV, "dolosa"; and, according to Vincent, R had "dolos".

3.17	myrtus	(μύρτος)
	oliva	(ἐλαία)
3.18	smaragdi	(σμάραγδος)
	melos	(μέλος)
3.epil.	gyro	(γύρος)
4.prol.	chartas	(χάρτης)
4.1	tympana	(τύμπανον)
4.2	calamo	(κάλαμος)
	nenias	(νηνία)
4.5	moechae	(μοιχός, μοιχάς)
	eunuchos	(εὐνούχος)
	apothecam	(ἀποθήκη)
	cadis	(κάδος)
	moechae	(μοιχός, μοιχάς)
	moecha	"
4.6	historia	(ἱστορία)
4.7	coturnis	(κόθορνος)
	barbarum	(βάρβαρος)
4.10	peras	(πήρα)
4.16	tribadas	(τριβάς)
	nectare	(νέκταρ)
4.18	nautas	(ναύτης)
	sophus	(σοφός)
4.21	speluncam	(σπηλιγί)
	thesauros	(θησαυρός)

	ture	(θύος)
	musicum	(μουσικός)
	citharae	(κιθάρα)
	obsoniorum	(ὀψώνιον)
4.23	melos	(μέλος)
	pelagio	(πελάγος)
	zonas	(ζώνη)
	nummis	(νόμος, νούμμος)
4.26	pyctae	(πύκτης)
	poetae	(ποιήτης)
	hilare	(έλαρός)
	triclinio	(τρίκλινον)
	camarae	(καμάρα)
4.epil.	chartis ⁸	(χάρτης)
5.prol.	marmori	(μάρμαρος)
5.1	comoediis	(κωμωδία)
	tyrannus	(τύραννος)
	cinaedus	(κίναεδος)
5.2	latronem	(λάτρεις)
	latrone	"
	paenula	(φαλυγής)
5.5	theatro	(θέατρον)

⁸Another emendation of Pithou. PR has "artis", apparently by haplography (see Guaglianone's note *ad loc.*).

In 4.epil.9, PR has "poetae"; but Perry prints Postgate's conjecture "cantores".

	scaena	(σκηνή)
5.6	thensauro	(θησαυρός)
5.7	aura	(αύρα)
	scaena	(σκηνή)
	pegma	(πήγμα)
	theatro	(θέατρον)
	aulaeo	(αυλαία)
	chorus	(χóρος)
	choro	"
app.3	sceptrum	(σκήπτρον)
app.4	moecha	(μοιχός, μοιχάς)
app.8	comae	(κόμη)
	tripodes	(τρίπους)
	adytis	(ἀδυτον)
	thalamos	(θάλαμος)
app.10	cinaedi	(κίναιδος)
	barbarus	(βάρβαρος)
	cinaedus	(κίναιδος)
app.13	gymnici	(γυμνικός)
	sophus ⁹	(σοφός)
app.14	lyram	(λύρα)

⁹An emendation by Janelli. In NV, the verse ends with the unmetrical "Aesopus".

	chordas	(χορδή)
app.15	sarcophago	(σαρκοθάγος)
app.16	pompa	(πομπή)
app.22	petram	(πέτρα)

To these may be added the derived forms "nausiant" (4.7:

∟ nausea ∟ ναυσία), "hilaritate" (4.18: ∟ hilarus ∟ ἠλαρός), "gubernator" (4.18: ∟ guberno ∟ κυβερνάω), "fucatae" (5.prol.: ∟ fucus ∟ φῦκος), "stomachans" (app.10: ∟ stomachus ∟ στόμαχος), and "scopulosus" (app.22: ∟ scopulus ∟ σκόπελος), and the doubtful case of "fenestra" (1.13: ∟ ? *φάινηστρα). Cuniculus is given as a Greek word by Causeret (cf. appendix A); but it is not found in Weise, and Walde derives Greek κύνικλος/κούνικλος/κόνικλος from the Latin; according to Aelian 13.15 and Pliny 8.217 the word is Hispano-Iberian; Tucker, on the other hand, relates it to an Indo-European root ǵeu-n- or ǵeu-. Likewise plaga ("blow"), which occurs three times, is not considered of Greek origin by Weise, and Walde too considers its derivation from πληγή unlikely. Havet states that aevum (1.31.7) is derived from Greek αἰών (ed. 1917, p. 82), but this opinion is not shared by Walde, Tucker, or Weise.¹⁰

Considering the Greek words given in the list above, we find that book 1 accounts for only 12 occurrences or 0.033 per verse.

¹⁰Other words omitted from the list for similar reasons include: persona (1.7.1); mehercule(s) (1.25.7, 3.5.4, 3.17.8, 5.5.22, and app.14.3); dolus and its derivatives; and linteum (2.5.12). It might be noted in addition that Sturtevant (TAPA 56 =1925=, 7) believes that θύος and tus are derived from a third source.

Similarly book 2 accounts for a mere 7 occurrences, 0.041 per verse. In book 3 they are somewhat more frequent, with 19 occurrences, or 0.047 per verse. Book 4 shows a considerable rise, having 34 occurrences of Greek words, a full 0.080 per verse. Book 5 is slightly more Hellenic still, with 17 occurrences of Greek words, or 0.098 per verse. The whole of Perotti's Appendix, however, has only 16, or 0.040 per verse-- nevertheless a figure not too far out of line with what might be expected: the number of occurrences of Greek words in the thirty-two main-tradition fables given by Perotti (see the edition of Guaglianone or Bassi for a precise list of these) is 39, 0.076 per verse. A definite trend seems to be indicated toward the greater use of Greek words on the part of Phaedrus as he gained confidence or as he branched out into the less traditional forms of fable.¹¹ The latter explanation seems to me to have more weight in fact; note, for example, how in book 1 all the Greek words except the technically essential marmor and lagona (whose forms, moreover, show them to have been well established in Latin) in number 26, occur in poems which cannot be really considered fables in the stricter sense of the word.¹²

¹¹The position of book 1 in this trend is somewhat disturbed if the occurrences of poena and of Greek animal names are included: book 1, 23 occurrences or 0.063 per verse; book 2, 8 occurrences or 0.047 per verse; book 3, 24 occurrences or 0.060 per verse; book 4, 38 occurrences or 0.089 per verse; book 5, 18 occurrences or 0.103 per verse; appendix, 25 occurrences or 0.062 per verse.

¹²In 1.2, "tyrannus" occurs in the frame of the fable; 1.7, where we find "tragicam", is a sort of jest or bon mot based on allegory; 1.14 is an anecdote; and 1.27 is very much on the borderline. For a truly extensive discussion of what does and does not constitute a fable in the strict sense of the word, see Nøjgaard, especially

It seems that Phaedrus often uses Greek words with a particular purpose or purposes in mind. From a consideration of such conscious employment we may for the most part eliminate those Greek words that have undergone one or another process of Latinization (change of gender, pronunciation, or the like). Under this heading one could include marmor, lagona, scopulus, amphora, margarita, cera, oliva, charta, moecha, coturnus, spelunca, tus, hilaris, triclinium, paemula, aulaeum, corcodillus, and panthera, and possibly also grillus, poena, thensaurus, nummus, obsonium, poeta, comoedia, and scaena. Yet any one of these might have retained sufficient Greek flavour for Phaedrus to have used it in some special way.

Greek words are apparently sometimes utilized by Phaedrus to imply deceit or insincerity. A good instance of this is 1.14: here strophae are tricks, neither the antidotum nor the toxicum is genuine, and the scyphus is the instrument that the king uses to practice his deception on the quack; note how the Greek words are dropped and the author returns to plain speech ("stupore vulgi", etc.) as soon as the charlatan is exposed. Similarly the marmor and lagona of 1.26 are both instruments of deception, with strong overtones of hypocrisy.¹³ In 3.6 the fly uses the pretentious word dolo ("pike")

the first section of volume I; Phaedrus' poems are all neatly classified by Nøjgaard on pp. 120-1 of volume II.

The almost complete absence of Greek words from the Aesopic fables in Phaedrus' work has already been observed by Peters (p. 92), who, however, was working from only a partial list (cf. above, p. 129, plus note 1 on p. 130 and appendix A below).

¹³The use of marmor seems to be a case of vivid particularization

to describe her sting in the hopes of intimidating the mule. The Greek words cithara and nectar come at the heart of the owl's deception-speech in 3.16, a speech which is made to appear all the more flowery and exaggerated by the addition of the names of two Greek deities, Apollo and Athena; there is a strange contrast to the otherwise quite colloquial tone of the invitation ("potare est animus", etc.). I would speculate that there is a note of insincerity too in the speeches of Juno in 3.18 ("nitor smaragdi collo praeifulget tuo"; "tibi forma, vires aquilae, lusciniio melos"); but there are other explanations available (such as rhetorical influence), nor is melos used insincerely of the admired Simonides' work in 4.23.2. In 4.1 a Greek word is again, if only after a fashion, associated with deception: the donkey, beaten mercilessly by the knavish priests of Cybele, hopes for surcease after death, but instead continues to be beaten in the form of tympana. In 5.prol. of course the marmor is fake. Likewise the grand gesture of the cowardly soldier in throwing back his paenula in 5.2. In the case of app.8, however, I do not believe that the employment of Greek

(rather uncommon in the fable): it will be noted that the earliest Greek version of this story known to us (Plutarch, Quaest.Conv., 1.5 =614e= Bernardakis: see Perry, Aesopica I =Urbana: 1952=, pp. 489-90) speaks merely of a λίθος πλωτικός; the word lagona, however, is obviously taken from the original Greek (λίθον ἐν λαγονίδι προσέθηκε λεπτόν). It would seem that in this fable Phaedrus was so concerned to make clear exactly how the fox and the stork did each other out of a meal that he felt obliged to add the technical terms that would achieve this (note also the rare sorbitio, not found in classical authors).

words is meant to suggest the falseness of oracles.¹⁴

It must be admitted that there is a great deal of deception in Phaedrus' little stories; thus Greek words may often be associated with this element merely by accident. A case such as 1.14 nevertheless looks rather convincing.

Phaedrus also frequently employs Greek words when referring to riches, sometimes with a satirical intent. Natural reasons can no doubt be adduced for this: articles of luxury were often known only by their Greek names at Rome; Phaedrus was a poor man and fond of satirizing wealth. Four of the Greek words in 4.21 (tus, musicus, cithara, and oponium) belong to the address to the miser, which is very Horatian,¹⁵ and closer to satire than to fable; the purpose of these words may be to ridicule the luxury and extravagance of some rich men while attacking the miser at the same time (a simultaneous

¹⁴Weiland ("De tropis et figuris phaedianis" =Wien: 1914=, pp. 47-8) was under the impression that it was. Now Phaedrus does make fun of the gods and their ministers in other places (3.3, 4.1, 4.16, perhaps 4.19, app.5-6, and app.11), but this is not always the case (note especially the respectful treatment in the two other instances in which religio is personified: 1.27.6 and 4.11.4). Observe that nothing that the Pythia, inspired by the god, declares to mortals in app.8 could be interpreted as untrue: the question is "What is it best for us to do?", and the answer is essentially "Follow the good old ways". The intention is certainly satirical, but not in the sense of mocking the traditional religion. The satire is directed against mortals, who, in spite of the fact that they have advice on how to live from the god himself, will persist in behaving badly.

¹⁵Parallel passages from Horace have been collected by D. Bieber, Studien zur Geschichte der Fabel (München: 1905), pp. 51-2: inter alia, from Odes 2.3.

inveighing against luxuria and avaritia was a commonplace going back at least to Cato the Elder). Luxury and extravagance were naturally associated with the East and pergraecatio.¹⁶

Perry translates draco as "dragon", and this lead me to suspect that a draco was introduced by Phaedrus in 4.21 precisely because a fantastic beast can best symbolize the "fantastic" and unnatural behaviour of a miser. Yet Havet (ed. 1917, p. 168) is emphatic that a draco is merely a kind of snake and not a dragon. The editors of the ThLL distinguish a common and a mythological draco, putting that of Phaedrus in the latter category. But the dividing-line is not clear: the common snake known as the draco was credited with various properties that we would consider magical (see Pliny, NH, esp. 29.4, quoted by D.M. Belli, Magie e pregiudizi in Fedro =Venezia: 1895=, p. 23); there is no indication, on the other hand, that the mythical dragon of the ancients possessed the power of flight or of breathing fire. Thus, even if by draco Phaedrus intended some ordinary type of serpent, it cannot have been too far removed in his thoughts from the creature of myth.

The use of zona in 4.23 may also be ridicule of the rich, as may camara in 4.26, and perhaps pompa in app.16.

¹⁶On the use of Greek words with a satirical intent, specifically with reference to luxury, see Marouzeau, Traité, p. 173 (citing Lucretius 4.1100ff., 4.1135ff., and Juvenal 3.66ff.).

Yet it cannot be supposed that the connotation of the Greek element in Phaedrus' vocabulary is generally a bad one. Even in the first two books several Greek words are used neutrally, and at 2.epil.2 the word basis is employed in the glorification of Aesop. Phaedrus Hellenizes to quite a strong degree in the prologue to book 3 (note the large number of Greek names and the possible imitation of Greek scansion in verse 20¹⁷); here chorus and schola are used by Phaedrus to raise himself into the ranks of true poets; even neniae (v. 10), while used depreciatively, is reminiscent of the nugae of Catullus 1, and so suggests also the attempt by the fabulist to break out of the limits of his humble genre and into the style of the poets of the previous age. Phaedrus wishes to show Eutyclus by his manipulation of Hellenistic material that he is truly "litteratae . . . propior Graeciae" (and, one might add, "litteratae propior Romae") than the mere storyteller Aesop or the wise man Anacharsis (on whom see RE, s.v.).

The margarita in 3.12 is obviously meant to represent Phaedrus himself and to be an image of true worth. In 3.14 (as in app.13)

¹⁷In spite of the fact that all editors of Phaedrus to date (including Guaglianone) have seen fit to tamper with this verse, I see no reason for rejecting a Hellenizing lengthening by position before s plus a consonant and for doubting the transmitted:

- - / ~ - / - / - / - // - / - - / ~ ~
 quamvis in ipsa natus sim paene schola.

sophus is used as a term of praise. In both the prologue and the epilogue to book 4 Phaedrus (like Catullus and Martial) employs chartae to refer to paper on which his own poems are written, and in 4.2 he introduces calamus for the instrument that he uses to write them. In 4.23 melos refers to the work of the admired Simonides (though it may be that a technical sense is intended, as Perry's translation "lyrics" suggests).

Some words of Greek origin may have well-established pejorative connotations which Phaedrus can do nothing about one way or the other. Such are the terms referring to sexual irregularities: cinaedus, moecha, eunuchus (observe that the synonym spado is also of Greek origin), and tribas. It is a common belief, and one especially strong among the Romans, that sexual perversion is the work of degenerate foreigners.

Some Greek words, on the other hand, have such lofty connotations that Phaedrus can use them for the sake of amusing contrast or hyperbole. Whether this is true of astra in 2.6 I am in some doubt. It is certainly the case with dolo in the fly's harangue to the mule (3.6), and with Apollo's cithara used as a standard of comparison for the cicada's chirping (3.16). I detect such an association also in historia applied to the battle of mice and weasels depicted in the taverns (4.6: compare the Batrachomyomachia, especially v. 8, ὡς ἔπος ἐν θνητοῖσιν ἔην). Coturni are certainly meant to look ridiculous on Aesop in 4.7, and the archaic genitive only adds to the affected grandeur of barbarus (v. 11). Prometheus drunk on nectar in 4.16 recalls the disreputable

gods of the Middle Comedy and the Phlyakes. A similar desire for contrast between the lofty and the humble can be seen in the employment of comae, tripodes, adyta, and thalami in app.8 (cf. above, note 14 on p. 142) and of lyra and chorda in app.14.

A Greek setting also invites the use of Greek words, though Phaedrus will sometimes substitute a rough Latin synonym (e.g., forum at 3.19.6). The Greek setting accounts for the occurrence of tyrannus in 1.2 and 5.1, of melos and pelagius¹⁸ in 4.23, of pycta in 4.26, of tripodes in app.8, and of gymnicus in app.13.

In two cases at least Phaedrus may have introduced a Greek word for the sake of alliteration, at app.8.14 ("turpi thalamos") and at app.22.2 ("prendens petram").

Many of the Greek words used by Phaedrus are technical terms with no strict Latin equivalents, nor are such terms always avoided in beast-fables. They seem, however, to be more characteristic of the longer and more ornate anecdotes. A story such as 4.5 consciously seeks after specifics and lists of objects (note, in addition to the Greek words, the rather unliterary lavatio and operarius). The rare xystus (2.5.18) provides a good example from Phaedrus' earlier work.

It would appear, therefore, that Phaedrus uses Greek words for a great variety of reasons. Such words tend naturally to stand

¹⁸Bertschinger, however, (pp. 25-6) considers pelagius to be a mere vulgarism.

toward the edge of the vocabulary, but this may be in the direction of the poetic or in the direction of the technical, on the low side or the lofty, towards the good or towards the bad.

Let us move on to the question of neology. Causeret (pp. 33-5) notes only five of the Greek words in Phaedrus as having seemingly appeared in Latin only in the fabulist's own time; these are antidotum, pera, sophus,¹⁹ strophae, and tribas; Causeret parallels them all in Martial. Thus none of the Greek words in Phaedrus is peculiar to him in Latin literature; this may point toward a hesitancy on Phaedrus' part to introduce new words into his adopted language from outside. The five words mentioned above are all low or technical and so probably all came from the common speech.

Few of the Greek words in Phaedrus are non-Classical. If we do nothing but eliminate those found in the works of Cicero²⁰ the list is reduced to:

book 1: antidotum (2^x), strophae, toxicum, lagona (2^x)

book 2: NONE

book 3: dolo, cathedra, sophus, cithara, smaragdus, melos

¹⁹Yet Sophus occurs as a cognomen of the Sempronii as early as the fourth century B.C. (see RE, s.v. "Sempronius Sophus"), and Cicero De finibus 2.24 has σοφός ("sophos" AB) in an apparent quotation from Lucilius' Satires (Lucilius, of course, used a great deal of Greek). See also Bertschinger, pp. 27-8.

²⁰Excluding, of course, any quotations from others. The authority used is H. Merguet, Handlexikon zu Cicero (Hildesheim: Olms, 1964 = = Leipzig: 1905-6 =).

book 4: tympana, moecha (3^x), cadus, pera, tribas, sophus, cithara,
melos, pelagius, zona, pycta

book 5: cinaedus

appendix: moecha, adyta, thalamus, cinaedus (2^x), sophus, sarcophagus,
petra²¹

It should be noted that pegma is used by Cicero in the sense of "bookshelf" and nenia in the sense of "funeral dirge" (Att. 4.8.2, Leg. 2.62).²²

Even allowing these words to be counted as non-Ciceronian in Phaedrus, however, the ratio of non-Ciceronian Greek words to all Greek words (by occurrences) is 36 to 99, scarcely more than one third, and this is to ignore the many occurrences of poena.

In Virgil one finds dolo (Aen. 7.664), cithara (Aen. 1.740, 6.120, 9.776, 12.394), tympanum (Aen. 9.619, Georg. 2.444), cadus (Aen. 1.195, 6.228), zona (Georg. 1.233), adytum (Aen., 9 times), and thalamus (twenty-five times), leaving only:

antidotum (2^x), cathedra, cinaedus (3^x), lagona (2^x), melos (2^x),
moecha (4^x), pelagius, pera, petra, pycta, sarcophagus, smaragdus,
sophus (3^x), strophæa, toxicum, tribas

Of these in turn Horace has cathedra, toxicum, moecha, melos, and lagena, Tibullus has zmaragdus, Propertius has cathedra, and

²¹Of the Greek animal names, Cicero has leo, crocodilus, panthera, draco, and elephantus, but not hydrus, castor, grillus, or scarabaeus; Virgil has hydrus, but not castor as a common noun or scarabaeus, and gryllus only in the Dirae.

²²On the various meanings of nenia, see H. de la Ville de Mirmont, "La nenia", in his Etudes sur l'ancienne poésie latine (Paris:

Ovid has toxicum and smaragdus. Apart from the five neologisms mentioned by Causeret, this leaves us with only five other Greek words not found in authors of the Classical canon: pelagius, pycta, cinaedus, sarcophagus, and petra. Cinaedus is well known from Catullus. Petra seems to have been used by Plautus (see Lodge's Lexicon s.v.). Pelagius is Varronian (R.Rust. 3.3.10) and was apparently also used by Publilius Syrus (Petr. 55). It seems that pycta and sarcophagus should be added to the list of those Greek words not found in Latin before Phaedrus' time. Three Greek words used by Phaedrus--cinaedus, petra, and pelagius--we can reasonably assume to have been submerged during the Classical period and hence to have been archaic or vulgar.

The total number of different words of Greek origin in Phaedrus (excluding proper names but including poena and the names of animals) is at most around 98. Estimating that there is a total of some 3,000 different words in the fables, I find that the Greek words make up a mere 3.3%. Compared to that of other Roman poets, the vocabulary of Phaedrus is quite un-Greek: Greek borrowings make up 10% of the words used by Catullus; slightly more in Tibullus and Ovid; 11% in Horace's Satires and Epistles; 12% for Propertius; 14% in Virgil's Eclogues; 15% in Juvenal; and nearly 20% in Persius; while the thirty-eight-verse Copa has been credited with twenty-three words of Greek

1903), pp. 361-406 (where the word is derived from onomatopoeia and a Greek origin rejected).

origin.²³ We may thus conclude that by and large Phaedrus took his claim to be a poetic champion of Latium against Greece (2.9.8-9) fairly seriously and avoided hypocritically plundering those whom he derided as "illi qui iactant se verborum copia" (app.30.4).

A word on names of Greek origin or form and their related adjectives. There is no need for a complete list, as one may readily refer to Guaglianone's index nominum (ed., pp. 121-3). Aesopus is of course most frequent, occurring 25 times. If the Greek names are rearranged in order of appearance in the text, it is immediately manifest to what extent they are concentrated in certain poems, most notably: in the prologue to book 3, where there are 17 of them, or 0.27 per verse; in 4.7, where there are 12, or 0.46 per verse; in 4.23, where there are 6, or 0.33 per verse; in app.7, where there are 5, 0.028 per verse; and in app.8, where there are also 5, 0.29 per verse. It is also obvious how rare Greek names (or indeed names of any kind are in the first two books as against their use elsewhere.

²³These figures are taken from Marouzeau, Traité, p. 176. The same information is to be found in the same author's Quelques aspects de la formation du latin littéraire (Paris: 1949), p. 137. Even if all proper names of possible Greek origin are included, no more than about 5.5% of the words used by Phaedrus can be called Greek.

Yet it should be recalled that Phaedrus' works are extremely heterogeneous in their use of Greek words. The less Aesopic poems taken separately might well show a Hellenic element equal to that found in any of the poets for whom Marouzeau gives figures.

Appendix A: A Tally of the Greek Words in Phaedrus

Referred to by Causeret, Bertschinger, and Peters

	Causeret	Bertschinger	Peters
antidotum	*		*
apotheca		*	*
aulaeum	*	*	*
basis	*	*	*
cadus	*	*	*
calamus		*	*
camara	*	*	*
cathedra	*	*	*
chorus		*	*
cinaedus	*	*	*
cithara	*	*	*
coma		*	
cothurnus	*	*	*
cuniculus	*		
dolon	*		
draco	*		
gymnicus	*	*	*
gyrus	*	*	*
melos	*	*	*
moecha	*	*	*
nectar		*	*

nenia	*		
obsonia	*		
pegma	*	*	*
pelagius	*	*	*
pera	*		
petra		*	*
pycta		*	
sarcophagus	*		
scaena	*	*	*
scyphus	*	*	*
smaragdus	*	*	*
sophus	*	*	*
strophae	*	*	*
theatrum		*	*
thesaurus			*
toxicum	*	*	*
tribas	*	*	*
triclinium	*		
tripus		*	*
tympanum		*	*
tyrannus		*	*
xystus	*	*	*
zona	*	*	*

DICHTERSPRACHE

Phaedrus' language seems in general to be rather more prosaic than poetic; and, according to von Sassen (p. 8), "is qui Phaedri fabulis vel leniter imbutus est statim ac sine ullo labore fundamentum huius sermonis orationem prosam esse cognoscit." Yet it is obvious that Phaedrus was to some extent influenced by the preferences in expression evolved by the poets of the Augustan age--preferences which some go so far as to describe as constituting a Dichtersprache, a poetic "language" differing from both formal prose and ordinary speech.¹ It would be worthwhile to have some idea of the degree to which this influence affected Phaedrus' vocabulary. Axelson's well-known Unpoetische Wörter. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache (Lund: 1945) (henceforth referred to by "Unpw") provides a basis for pursuing this question in the absence of an exhaustive study of poetic vocabulary.²

¹See also Bertschinger (p. 5), who specifically mentions Phaedrus' borrowing from the "Dichtersprache" of the Augustans.

²Axelson covers what he claims is the "lion's share" of Latin poetry from Caesar's time to that of Hadrian, namely the works of Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Martial, and Juvenal, plus Seneca's tragedies; hereinafter I shall from time to time refer to this material as the "thirteen poets" for the sake of brevity. The field is divided by Axelson roughly into two styles, the "higher" (epic, tragedy, didactic, elegy, pastoral, Horatian ode, and, for practical reasons = "aus praktischen Gründen", Horatian epode) and the "lower" (Catullus' shorter poems, Horace's Satires and Epistles,

I have decided to limit this investigation to words actually studied (or at least mentioned) by Axelson in the work referred to: the main purpose of this limitation is to attempt to avoid too high a degree of subjectivity in selecting words for consideration, since it is clear that to undertake to compare Phaedrus' entire vocabulary with the vocabularies of other writers would be too great a task. There is bound to have been a certain amount of subjectivity in Axelson's own selection; but I can only hope that such subjectivity is not of the sort that would distort the overall picture for Phaedrus, whom Axelson mentions only occasionally in UnpW. I have, however, found it necessary to check all of Axelson's results in the individual lexicons and indexes, both because his information is often incomplete

Martial, and Juvenal). See UnpW, pp. 17-8.

Objections can naturally be raised against Axelson's method and assumptions. Gordon Williams criticizes UnpW on a number of grounds in his Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry (Oxford: 1968), pp. 743-50. I think that the most important thing to remember is that the fact of a poet's not using a word identified as "unpoetic" by Axelson does not necessarily make that poet a better poet than one who does use the word; it may, however, point to a greater compliance with a tradition of poetic diction established by previous models. Lucretius is naturally unpoetic in vocabulary by Axelson's scheme because Lucretius could not very well model himself on, say, Valerius Flaccus. Nor should the possible influence of a content not typical of poetry be forgotten.

UnpW has been reviewed, not unfavourably, by Marouzeau (REL 24 =1946=, 320-1: Marouzeau praises Axelson's cautious aims, but notes that he forgets this same caution here and there), Leroy (Latomus 6 =1947=, 394: Leroy considers the work an important contribution), Ernout (RPh 21 =1947=, 55-70: Ernout thinks that more attention should be paid to specific cases and to other factors), and Bömer (Gnomon 23 =1951=, 165-8: Bömer summarizes and takes up individual points, otherwise referring us to previous reviews). I have not seen the review by Mohrmann (Erasmus 2 =1948=, 137-40).

and because here and there he appears to have made mistakes (or to have repeated the mistakes of others, as in the case of etiamsi). It also seemed desirable to have at least some sort of control for prose: that is, we should have an idea how much words that were avoided by the poets were avoided or favoured by a typical prose author of the same period. The letters of Cicero appeared to afford a wider range of vocabulary than any other prose work of the Golden Age; and so they, together with the other material covered by the relevant index (for which, see appendix A), will be employed as a standard example of prose usage (henceforth referred to simply as "Cic.Epist.").³

In what follows, I have divided the words discussed by Axelson⁴ into various categories, based partially on the categories used by Axelson himself and partially on my own findings. The page reference to UnpW is given in parentheses; the number of occurrences of the word in the works of Phaedrus (a) in direct speech, (b) in "personal

³For the lexicons and indexes used in this study, see appendix A.

Unfortunately, contrary to the statement of Hérescu (Bibliographie de la littérature latine =Paris: 1943=, p. 287), Friedlaender's index to Martial is not complete; and, as far as I know, no one has yet undertaken to correct this deficiency. It is possible, therefore, that certain words actually used by Martial will be falsely indicated as not having been so used. A general warning that no index is perfect should be taken for granted.

⁴The consultor of the index to UnpW will no doubt observe a number of omissions: some of these are discussed without being entered in the lists; others are irrelevant; still others, such as the use of mi for mihi, were considered too difficult to trace out.

material", and (c) in "narrative" (for these classifications, compare chapter I, especially appendix A) are indicated directly beside it in the list; its use by the thirteen poets is given in abbreviated form; and the number of occurrences in Cic.Epist. is indicated if 50 or less (otherwise "freq.").

1. "Completely" Unpoetic Words

The following list consists of words investigated in UnpW that are not found anywhere in the works of the thirteen poets.

<u>UnpW</u> page	word	Ph.			<u>Cic.</u> <u>Epist.</u>
		(a) dir. sp.	(b) pers.	(c) narr.	
(64)	<u>existimare</u>	2	2	(1?) ⁵	freq.
(101)	<u>vestitus</u>	0	0	1	3
(27)	<u>belligerare</u>	0	0	0	0
"	<u>obsidium</u>	0	0	0	0
"	<u>ductare</u>	0	0	0	0
(65)	<u>sciscitari</u>	0	0	0	4
"	<u>oboedire</u>	0	0	0	0
(95)	<u>postea</u>	0	0	0	freq.
"	<u>postmodum</u>	0	0	0	0

⁵At 5.7.34, "existimat" is a conjecture of Pithou; the manuscript has "aestimāt".

(96)	<u>utique</u>	0	0	0	21(+1?)
(101)	<u>tegmentum</u>	0	0	0	0
(138)	<u>absurdus</u>	0	0	0	0

It is clear that a number of these words must have been "unpoetic" at least partly because they were extremely rare in the language as a whole or limited to specialized use: this is attested by the complete non-occurrence in Cic.Epist. of more than half. Even so, the small number of occurrences of these words in Phaedrus would probably surprise us if he were a prose author: to take an example, the first two books of Cicero's letters ad familiares, which are roughly the same length as the whole of Phaedrus' extant work, manifest at least 27 occurrences of words in the list (19 of existimare and 18 of postea); contrast the 5 or 6 occurrences in Phaedrus of words from this list.

It will be noted that only one of these "completely unpoetic" occurrences is found in narrative (viz. "vestitu" at 5.1.12), while four (all the certain instances of existimare) are found in direct speech or personal material, though narrative makes up more than half of Phaedrus' verses. Perhaps a stylistic difference exists such as to allow a less poetic vocabulary to be employed when quoting the conversations of others or when drawing conclusions and discussing one's own career than when describing the scenes and actions of a tale.

For Phaedrus' use of existimare, a justification (if that

is the word) may perhaps be conjectured from the fact that it occurs always at the end of a verse.⁶

Phaedrus uses a word meaning "obey" only once in his extant works, the fairly common parere at 2.6.14. The only one of the thirteen poets who completely avoids the words for "obey" is Propertius.

(Compare below on obtemperare, obsequi, and parere, sections 2 and 4.)

2. Words Extremely Rare in Poetry

(This list consists of words investigated in UnpW that are found no more than six times throughout the thirteen poets and no more than three times in any one of them, though these limits may be exceeded slightly if certain doubtful cases are accepted.)

<u>UnpW</u> page	word	Ph.			13 poets ⁷	Cic. <u>Epist.</u>
		(a)	(b)	(c)		
(44-5)	<u>asinus</u>	0	0	6	Cs 1, (0 1?), (AV 1)	1

⁶A point touched on elsewhere is the fact that Seneca strongly avoids ending his iambs in words of more than two syllables (cf. chapter I, pp. 45-6); he would therefore be quite unlikely to have used existimare for the sake of the metre as Phaedrus does. But the fact that the word turns up nowhere in the thirteen poets is still highly significant.

⁷The following special abbreviations will be used: "V", Virgil; "AV", Appendix Vergiliana; "Hl", Horace's "low" poetry; "Hh", Horace's "high" poetry, i.e. the Odes and Epodes and the Carmen Saeculare; "L", Lucretius; "T", Tibullus; "CT", Corpus Tibullanum; "P", Propertius; "O", Ovid; "On", Ovidiana, i.e. the Halieutica,

(94)	<u>hercle,</u> <u>mehercle,</u> etc.	6	0	0	Cs 1, Hl 2	freq.
(64)	<u>iudicare</u>	1	4	0	Hh 1, Hl 2, (P 1?), St 1, Ln 1, M 1, (Mi 1), (J 1?)	freq.
(65)	<u>interrogare</u>	0	0	5	VF 1, J 1	5
(74)	<u>aliquot</u>	0	0	5	L 1, V 1, O 1	10(+2?)
(69)	<u>demonstrare</u>	0	2	1	Cs 1, P 1, (CT 1), SI 1	19(+1?)
(52)	<u>bestia</u>	0	0	2	Cs 1	5
(59)	<u>consuetudo</u>	0	0	2	L 1, Hl L, J 1	freq.
(65-8)	<u>interficere</u>	0	0	2	L 1, Cs 1, V 1, Ln 1	14(+1?)
(63)	<u>audac(i)ter</u>	1	0	0	L 1, Cs 1, O 2, St 1	3
(64)	<u>etiamsi</u>	0	1	0	P 2	freq.
"	<u>arbitrari</u>	1	0	0	Cs 1, SI 1	freq.
(66-7)	<u>trucidare</u>	0	0	1	L 1, Hl 2, V 2	2
(68)	<u>multare</u>	0	1	0	Cl 1, (V 1?), St 1	2
(69)	<u>praedicare</u>	1	0	0	Cs 1, M 1	17(+3?)
"	<u>usurpare</u>	1	0	0	L 3	5
(100-1)	<u>vestimentum</u>	0	0	1	Hh 1, Hl 1	1
(101)	<u>stramentum</u>	1	0	0	Hl 1	0

Epistula Sapphus, Nux, and fragments; "Cl", Catullus' long poems; "Cs", Catullus' short poems; "St", Seneca's tragedies; "Oc", Octavia; "Ln", Lucan; "VF", Valerius Flaccus; "SI", Silius Italicus; "M", Martial's poetry; "Mi", Martial's prose introductions; "J", Juvenal.

(106)	<u>industria</u>	0	1	0	V 1	24(+1?)
(22)	<u>prout</u>	0	0	0	Hl 1	1
(27)	<u>occipere</u>	0	0	0	L 1	0
"	<u>patrare</u>	0	0	0	L 1, (St 2?)	1
(27, 149)	<u>apisci</u>	0	0	0	L 2, Cl 1	(2?)
"	<u>satias</u>	0	0	0	L 3, (St 1?)	0
(27)	<u>prodigere</u>	0	0	0	(On 1), SI 1	0
(28)	<u>rogitare</u>	0	0	0	V 2, P 1, VF 2, SI 1	0
(35)	<u>savium</u>	0	0	0	Cs 2, Hh 1, (AV 1), P 1	0
(36-7)	<u>valde</u>	0	0	0	Cs 1, Cl 1, M 1	freq.
(44-5)	<u>capra</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Hl 1, V 1(+1?), (AV 1), O 1, St 1, SI 1, (J 1?)	0
(58-9, 139)	<u>adulescens</u>	0	0	0	Cl 1, (AV 1)	freq.
(59)	<u>adversarius</u> = "enemy"	0	0	0	Hl 1	--
"	<u>detrimentum</u>	0	0	0	Hl 1	14
(60)	<u>austerus</u>	0	0	0	Hl 2, P 3	0
"	<u>imbecillus</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Hl 2	14(+1?)
(63)	<u>praeficere</u> (excl. <u>praefectus</u> n.)	0	0	0	V 2, O 2, Ln 1, VF 1	16
(65)	<u>obtemperare</u>	0	0	0	O 1	14
(69)	<u>abhorrere</u>	0	0	0	L 2, Cs 1	16
"	<u>dimicare</u>	0	0	0	O 3, St 1, SI 1	8

(69)	<u>disserere</u> ("discuss", etc.)	0	0	0	L 2	8
"	<u>indigere</u>	0	0	0	V 1, St 1	11(+1?)
"	<u>obtingere</u>	0	0	0	Cs 1, Hh 1, St 1	5
"	<u>profligare</u>	0	0	0	SI 2	5
"	<u>sacrificare</u>	0	0	0	O 3	0
"	<u>suppetere</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Hh 1, Hl 1, (P 1?)	3
(74)	<u>nonnullus</u>	0	0	0	L 2, M 2	freq.
(74-5)	<u>complures</u>	0	0	0	Hl 1, (AV 2)	20
(77)	<u>erga</u>	0	0	0	J 1	freq.
(81)	<u>ergo</u> prep.	0	0	0	L 2, V 1, SI 1	0
(82)	<u>secundum</u>	0	0	0	L 1, V 1, Hh 1, Ln 1	20(+1?)
(95)	<u>deinceps</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Hl 1	10
(96)	<u>alioqui</u>	0	0	0	L 1	0
"	<u>dumtaxat</u>	0	0	0	L 3, Hl 2, O 1	17(+1?)
"	<u>nedum</u>	0	0	0	L 1(+1?), Hl 1, P 2, Ln 1, (Mi 1)	3(+2?)
"	<u>praeterquam</u>	0	0	0	L 3, Cs 1, O 2	9
"	<u>quidni</u>	0	0	0	Cs 2, Hl 1, O 2, J 1	1
(101)	<u>respublica</u>	0	0	0	Hh 1 (plu.), O 1	freq.
(102)	<u>norma</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Hh 1, Hl 1(+1?)	0
"	<u>regula</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Hl 1, M 1, J 1	0
(103)	<u>dissentire</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Hh 1, Hl 2, O 1	12

(103)	<u>perniciosus</u>	0	0	0	Hl 1, O 2, M 1, J 1	10
(106)	<u>industrius</u>	0	0	0	J 1	6
(107)	<u>munde</u>	0	0	0	L 1	0
(111)	<u>callere</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Hh 1, Hl 1, SI 2, J 1	2
(127)	<u>metuisse</u>	0	0	0	(Cl 1?), V 3, (AV 2), (St 2?), Ln 1, VF 1(+1?), SI 1	5
(136)	<u>perinde</u>	0	0	0	L 2	4

It is obvious once again that some of the words involved are rare not merely in poetry. It will be seen that all those used by Phaedrus occur at least once in Cicero's letters. On the other hand, several used particularly frequently in the letters do not occur in Phaedrus. Thus it would seem that any "unpoetic" element in Phaedrus' vocabulary is sanctioned by Classical prose usage and is not extremely archaic or vulgar; on the other hand, Phaedrus by no means adopts all current prose-words.

As can be seen, there is a total of 46 occurrences in Phaedrus of these words extremely rare in poetry. This works out to about 24 occurrences per thousand verses. This is quite a bit higher than the rate even for Catullus' short poems (about 13 occurrences per thousand verses). Of course, one should remember that Catullus' verses tend to be somewhat shorter than Phaedrus' and that any words occurring more than three times in Catullus have been excluded from

the list⁸; nevertheless, one is left with the impression that Phaedrus' verse is high in unpoetic words in comparison with that of the better-known poets. (The rate in Lucretius is around 5.8 occurrences per thousand verses; in Horace's "low" poetry, around 7.1.)

The suggestion made in the previous section that Phaedrus might have avoided unpoetic words more in narrative than in direct speech or personal material is not borne out here. In this list, it is personal material if anything that avoids unpoetic words, while narrative uses them about as frequently as does direct speech.

I shall now move on to a discussion of individual words in the list.

Asinus represents one of two cases in which poetry as against prose prefers the diminutive, the other being its employment of capella instead of capra (also in this list). The only occurrences of asinus rather than asellus in Roman poetry other than those in Phaedrus, Catullus, and (questionably) in Ovid, referred to above, are in the Copa and in Persius (UnpW, pp. 44-5; Housman, CQ 24 =1930=, 11-3). Phaedrus splits asinus/asellus right down the middle, using each word six times; the simplest explanation for his frequent use

⁸This latter difficulty will be largely eliminated if we strike from the list those words that occur more than three times in Phaedrus or more than six times in Phaedrus plus the thirteen poets. Ignoring, therefore, any occurrences of asinus, hercle and its variants, iudicare, interrogare, or aliquot, we are left with only 19 occurrences of words extremely rare in poetry in Phaedrus, or about 9.8 per thousand verses. At the same time, however, the number in Catullus' short poems drops by only two, putting Phaedrus slightly below.

of the (unpoetic) non-diminutive form is thus a desire for variety (his metre being sufficiently flexible not to have made the employment of only one word difficult). (Cf. Bertschinger, p. 20.)

Of the poetic synonyms for hercle and its variants, Phaedrus has certe four times (if we include the reading of P at 1.21.12, but exclude the unmetrical ending of app.17.15) and profecto three times.

The normal poetic expressions rogare and quaerere (and compounds of quaerere) are more common in Phaedrus' work than the rather unpoetic interrogare (rogare, 17 times; quaerere, 16; requirere, 3).

According to Axelson (UnpW, p. 69), demonstrare, praedicare, and usurpare (like confirmare and other words referred to in later sections) are all important in prose; as we have seen, none is particularly frequent in Cic.Epist., but each occurs several times there.

While bestia occurs only twice in Phaedrus--once, at 1.11.8, with reference to the game flushed out by the braying donkey, and once, at app.30.3, in contrast to deus, in Phaedrus' aside attacking the "Graeci loquaces"--ferus/-a is used eleven times and pecus five (animal and iumentum occur twice each; belua is not found). Here, as elsewhere, Phaedrus seems to be aware of the poetic bias, but is not so dominated by it as to feel obligated never to use the prosaic word.

Even considering the metrical difficulty, consuetudo is extremely rare in Latin poetry in comparison to mcs (UnpW, p. 59). Both the Phaedrian instances of consuetudo are verse-endings and

in the ablative singular (4.14.3 and app.15.22); in contrast, mos is found eleven times, with no particular indication of formulism.

According to the ThLL (followed here by Axelson), etiamsi is found in all of Roman poetry (excluding comedy) only at Phaedrus 1.10.2; this is certainly wrong, since it occurs also at Propertius 2.15.19 and 2.25.14, though the mistake is understandable, inasmuch as it is often printed as two words (as indeed it commonly is at Phaedrus 1.10.2). Phaedrus once uses si . . . etiam in the same sense (4.prol.4); we may compare Tibullus 2.4.54, "quin etiam sedes iubeat si vendere avitas".

Nøjgaard (II, p. 36) remarks that:

La raison de la prédilection de Phèdre pour la forme absolue =i.e. for the type of fable which ends in the death of the weaker= se trouve précisément dans l'évocation de la cruauté: plus celle-ci est gratuite, plus le lecteur se persuade de la valeur ironique de la forme, comme dans I 1, ou simplement de l'importance de la condamnation morale.

It is not surprising that Phaedrus, having such a predilection for gratuitous cruelty in his fables, should have let slip occasionally a more straightforward word for killing (interficere, trucidare; cf. necare, section 4).

Regarding Phaedrus' use of arbitrari (and of existimare, mentioned in section 1), it should be noted that he also has credere thirteen times and putare fourteen, and that these (together with rerī, which Phaedrus does not have) are the usual words for "think" in poetry (UnpW, p. 64).

Of the poetic words for "punish", Phaedrus employs ulcisci only once (5.3.4) and has no instance of vindicare precisely of

punishing a person (with in or ab). He seems in this instance to prefer the less poetic expressions (multare⁹ above, and plecti and punire in sections 3 and 4). (There is also one instance of repraesentare poenam =3.10.32=.)

Elegy (with the exception of Propertius 2.29.39) uses only osculum for "kiss" (UnpW, p. 35); Phaedrus has osculum three times (3.8.12, 4.25.8, and 4.25.14), basium once, in the specialized sense of a "blown kiss" (like savium in Propertius), and savium, as indicated above, not at all. Savium was apparently lost early in the common speech (UnpW, p. 35) and in fact is mostly ante-Classical (Lewis and Short, s.v. "suavium"; as indicated in the table, it is found only once in Cic.Epist.); the fact that it is especially frequent in Plautus (and occurs once in Terence's work) points away from imitation of comedy by Phaedrus. This is true to an even greater extent of adulescens, which, according to Axelson (UnpW, pp. 58-9), was avoided by all poetic styles except comedy. In comedy it is quite common (Plautus, more than 100 occurrences; Terence, 37). (As noted above, it is a particularly frequent word in Cicero's letters.) Of the poetic substitutes, Phaedrus has iuvenis six times

⁹C.E. Finch, working from a photocopy, asserts that Robert was wrong to take "mulcatus" as the reading of P at 1.3.9 and that "multatus" is correct (AJPh 92 =1971=, 301-7); Guaglianone likewise, in his edition of Phaedrus, employed a photocopy of P and asserts that "multatus" is the reading of that manuscript "ut videtur". But I have learned that John Vaio, who has had access to the original, is prepared to support Robert and reassert the claim of "mulcatus" (the short horizontal stroke over the c is in a different ink from that of either the first or the second hand:

and puer four (though at 2.2.5 the former is feminine and at app.16.23 the latter means "slave"); it cannot thus be merely a question here of Phaedrus' never having occasion to use the word.

Although valde is a favourite word of Cicero (and not just in the letters), it is generally colloquial and is otherwise foreign to artistic prose (UnpW, pp. 36-7; cf. Wölflin, Lateinische und romanische Komparation =Erlangen: 1879=, pp. 9-10).

"Enemy" and "loss" are always hostis/inimicus and damnum/iactura in poetry, with the two exceptions indicated in the list (UnpW, p. 59). Phaedrus' one introduction of adversarius is significantly in a place where hostis or inimicus would be nonsense, since the word has to mean "opponent" (app.13.3). Hostis occurs eight times (no instances of inimicus), while damnum occurs three times and iactura once. Adversarius is found 30 or 31 times in Cic.Epist., generally in the sense of "enemy".

Though imbecillus is not used by Phaedrus, neither are the synonyms that other poets employ--infirmus and invalidus. This is one of a number of cases in which we cannot really know Phaedrus' preferences.

letter, January 14, 1973). This leaves only one occurrence of multare, at 1.26.2. Mulcare, however, appears also to be rare in poetry; among the thirteen poets, the ThLL cites only Virg. Aen. 11.839.

(O. Zwielerlein = "Der Codex Pithoeanus des Phaedrus in der Pierpoint Morgan Library", RhM 113 (1970), 91-3= does not mention the reading of 1.3.9 one way or the other.)

(For obtemperare, compare above on oboedire, section 1.)

Abhorrere, dimicare, disserere, indigere, obtingere, profligare, sacrificare, and suppetere (like demonstrare and praedicare above and confirmare, conservare, obtinere, and suppeditare in later sections) are, according to Axelson (UnpW, p. 69), all words important in prose; nevertheless, as noted above, sacrificare does not appear in Cic.Epist., and none of the words is particularly common there.

Outside of comedy, erga occurs only at Juvenal 6.389 in Latin poetry (UnpW, p. 77)--another instance in which Phaedrus follows the preferences of other styles of poetry rather than comedy (the word occurs 23 times in Plautus and 6 in Terence) (cf. on adulescens above).

The present stem of metuere occurs four times in Phaedrus; but the perfect seems not to be very common even in prose (5 times in Cic.Epist.), and we cannot really conclude that Phaedrus specifically avoided it in pursuit of poetic language ("timueris" at app.28.5 is an emendation, and Phaedrus has no instance of the perfect of vereri either).

3. Words Extremely Rare in Poetry except in One or Two Poets

(The following list consists of words considered by Axelson in UnpW that occur more than three times in one or two of the thirteen poets but are not found more than six times in the whole of the remainder.)

<u>UnpW</u> page	word	Ph.			poets more common in	rest of 13 poets	<u>Cic.</u> <u>Epist.</u>
		a	b	c			
(103)	<u>pernicius</u>	2	4	0	Hh 2, Hl 2	L 2, Cs 2, St 1(+1?), SI 1	11
(21-2, 149)	"rei" (/ res)	1	3	1	L 8	Hh 2, St 1, J 1	freq.
(96)	<u>foras</u>	0	0	4	L 33, O 4	Cs 1, Hl 2, V 1, M 2	2(+1?)
(101)	<u>pertinere</u>	1	2	1	Hl 4, M 6	L 3, O 2, (AV 1), (On 2)	freq.
(95)	<u>plane</u>	3	0	0	L 5	Hl 1, M 2	freq.
"	<u>prorsus</u>	2	1	0	St 5 (+1?), SI 6	Hl 1, J 1	47(+2?)
(108)	<u>pecunia</u>	1	0	2	Hh 5, Hl 5, J 7	P 1, O 1, M 1	freq.
(22-3)	<u>omittere</u>	0	1	1	Hh 1, Hl 7, St 4	O 1, SI 3	23(+4?)
(59)	<u>iumentum</u>	0	0	2	J 5 (+2?)	L 1, Hl 1	3
(80)	<u>quapropter</u>	2	0	0	L 27	NIL	19
(92)	<u>minime</u>	1	1	0	L 4, O 7	(Cs 1?), Hl 2, V 1, St 1, (J 1?)	freq.
(92-3)	<u>itaque</u>	0	0	2	L 10	Cl 2, Hl 1, (AV 1), (Mi 2)	freq.
(100)	<u>stultitia</u>	0	2	0	Hh 2, Hl 9	L 1, O 2	13(+1?)

(106, 138)	<u>plerumque</u>	0 2 0	L 21, Hh 3, Hl 6	V 1, O 3, J 1	3
(35)	<u>basium</u>	1 0 0	Cs 5, M 28	J 2	0
"	<u>bellus</u>	1 0 0	Cs 14, M 18	L 1, Hl 1, T 2, (<u>CT</u> 1), O 1, J 1(+1?)	23(+2?)
(51-2)	<u>Graeci</u>	0 0 1	Hl 4	O 2, M 1, J 1	35
(56)	<u>muliebris</u>	0 0 1	L 8	Hh 1, V 1, O 1, St 1, SI 1	3
(60)	<u>ve(he)menter</u>	1 0 0	L 4	NIL	freq.
"	<u>onustus</u>	0 0 1	Hh 1, Hl 3	L 1, V 1, P 1	1
(61)	<u>lepidus</u>	0 0 1	Cs 4, M 4	L 1, Hl 1	2(+2?)
"	<u>venustus</u>	1 0 0	Cs 6 (+1?)	M 1	6
(62)	<u>subtilis</u>	0 0 1	L 4 (+1?), Hl 4	Cl 1, Cs 1, O 1, M 1	2
(63)	<u>falso</u>	1 0 0	O 7	Cs 1, (<u>CT</u> 1), (<u>Oc</u> 1)	2
"	<u>recte</u>	0 1 0	Hh 3, Hl 30	O 2, (St 2?), M 1, J 1	freq.
(68)	<u>plēcti</u>	1 0 0	O 8	Hh 1, Hl 2, SI 1	1
"	<u>interdicere</u>	0 1 0	O 6	Hl 2, P 1, (<u>On</u> 1)	5

(69)	<u>confirmare</u>	0	0	1	L 7	(Oc 1), Ln 1, M 1, J 1	freq.
(80)	<u>propterea</u>	0	1	0	L 48	M 1	33(+4?)
(95)	<u>omnino</u>	0	1	0	L 26, M 6	Cs 2, Hl 2, V 2	freq.
"	<u>paulo ante</u>	0	0	1	L 7	Cl 1, SI 1, J 2	14(+1?)
"	<u>paulo post/ post paulo</u>	0	0	1	Hh 1, Hl 3	L 1	9
(99- 100)	<u>interesse</u>	0	0	1	Hh 3, Hl 6	V 1, St 2, J 1	freq.
(101)	<u>recreare</u>	0	0	1	L 9, Hh 5, Hl 3	St 1, SI 2	17
(102)	<u>prave</u>	0	1	0	Hl 4	M 1	0
(104)	<u>nequam</u>	0	0	1	Hh 1, Hl 3, M 10	J 1	19(+2?)
(107)	<u>negotium</u>	0	1	0	Hh 3, Hl 8	(Mi 1), J 2	freq.
(64)	<u>opinari</u>	0	0	1?	L 20, Hl 4	SI 1	freq.
(101)	<u>comis</u>	0	0	1?	Hh 1, Hl 6, O 6	M 1, (P 1?)	1
(22)	<u>quoad</u>	0	0	0	L 4	Hl 1	freq.
(23-4)	<u>diuturnus</u>	0	0	0	O 8	NIL	15(+1?)
(26-7)	<u>duellum</u>	0	0	0	Hh 3, Hl 3	(L 1?), O 1, J 1	0
(28)	<u>coeptare</u>	0	0	0	L 4, SI 5	NIL	0

(28)	<u>imperitare</u>	0	0	0	Hh 1, Hl 3, SI 5	L 1, V 1	0
(59)	<u>vās</u>	0	0	0	L 11, J 7	Hl 3, (On 1), M 1, (Mi 3)	3(+1?)
(61)	<u>lepos</u>	0	0	0	L 11, O 4	M 2	6
(62)	<u>praeditus</u>	0	0	0	L 25	(St 1?), SI 1	6(+1?)
(65)	<u>scitari</u>	0	0	0	0 9	Hl 1, V 2, SI 1	0
"	<u>percontari</u>	0	0	0	Hl 7	P 1	4(+2?)
(66-7)	<u>obtruncare</u>	0	0	0	V 7, SI 9	NIL	0
(68)	<u>accusare</u>	0	0	0	0 5	P 1, M 1, J 3(+1?)	freq.
"	<u>susplicari</u>	0	0	0	0 19, M 9	Cs 1, Hh 1, P 1	freq.
(68-9)	<u>succensere/ suscensere</u>	0	0	0	0 4	M 1 (7.60.6), SI 1 (7.555)	18
(69)	<u>conservare</u>	0	0	0	L 4	Cs 1, P 1, SI 2, (J 1?)	freq.
"	<u>obtinere</u>	0	0	0	St 6	L 1, (On 1), Ln 2, VF 1	freq.
"	<u>suppeditare</u>	0	0	0	L 22 (+1?)	SI 2	15(+4?)
(81)	<u>causā</u> + gen.	0	0	0	L 8	SI 1, M 1	freq.
(92)	<u>nequaquam</u>	0	0	0	L 5	Hl 2	7(+1?)
(93-4)	<u>item</u>	0	0	0	L 62 (+2?)	Ci 1, Hl 2(+2?), V 2, (AV 1), O 1	freq.

(94)	<u>itidem</u>	0	0	0	L 5	NIL	0
(94-5)	<u>imprimis/ in primis</u>	0	0	0	L 14, V 4	(AV 1), P 3, SI 1, M 1, J 1	freq.
"	<u>postmodo</u>	0	0	0	0 21	Cs 1, Hh 1, Hl 1, T 1, P 2	1
(96)	<u>foris</u>	0	0	0	L 10, M 4	Cs 1, Hl 2, O 1, J 2	8(+1?)
"	<u>praesto</u> adv.	0	0	0	L 7	Cl 1(+1?), Hl 1, T 1	23(+1?)
"	<u>utpote</u>	0	0	0	Hl 4	Cl 2	3
(101)	<u>attinere</u>	0	0	0	Hh 3, Hl 1	L 2, O 1	31(+1?)
"	<u>ordinare</u>	0	0	0	Hh 4	St 1, M 1	0
(102- 3)	<u>amabilis</u>	0	0	0	Hh 5, Hl 2	L 1, Cs 1, (CT 1), O 2, SI 2	12
(103- 4)	<u>atqui</u>	0	0	0	Hh 4, Hl 10 (+1?)	(L 1?), Cl 1(+1?), Cs 2(+1?), V 1, M 1	10(+13?)
(104)	<u>iunior</u>	0	0	0	Hh 2, Hl 2	NIL	0
(105- 6)	<u>idoneus</u>	0	0	0	Hh 3, Hl 5, O 6	L 2, P 1, J 1	17(+2?)
(106)	<u>strenuus</u>	0	0	0	Hh 1, Hl 4, O 7	NIL	3
(107)	<u>munditia/ -ies</u>	0	0	0	O 4	Cs 1, Hh 1, Hl 1, M 1	1
(136- 7)	<u>ferme</u>	0	0	0	L 5	J 2	1

Again, though more weakly here than in list 2, there is a suggestion that Phaedrus' "unpoetic" words tend to be words accepted by good prose, but that Phaedrus by no means adopted all the words that were common in prose: of the words in this list used by Phaedrus, only basium and prave fail to appear at least once in Cic.Epist., while on the other hand quoad, accusare, susplicari, conservare, obtinere, causa with the genitive, item, and imprimis, all especially common in Cic.Epist., are not employed by Phaedrus at all.

The intimation regarding differences between kinds of discourse that was mentioned in section 1 but seemed not to be supported by list 2, does gain some support from this list. In Phaedrian narrative there are only 24 or 25 occurrences of list-3 words, or around 2.4 per hundred verses, compared to 18 occurrences in direct speech (about 4.1 per hundred verses) and 22 in personal material (about 4.6 per hundred verses).

If list 3 were to be used as a rough guide to the affinities of Phaedrus' vocabulary with the vocabularies of other poets, it would appear that Horace, Catullus, Juvenal, and Martial have vocabularies similar to that of Phaedrus (since the majority of the words in the list that are used rather often by these poets are found also in Phaedrus); Lucretius shows less affinity, and Seneca, Silius, and especially Virgil, still less. What is implied is scarcely surprising-- that Phaedrus' vocabulary is one more suited to the "lower" genres of poetry (on which see UnpW, specifically p. 18).

Moving on now to individual cases. The avoidance of "rei",

like that of prout (section 2) and that of quoad, is apparently a metrical phenomenon, due to uncertainty whether to scan the form as a spondee, as a single long syllable, or as an iamb (UnpW, pp. 21-2); Phaedrus seems not to have been troubled by this difficulty, at least in books 3 and 4 (where all the instances of "rei" occur), since four out of five occurrences of "rei" are verse-endings.¹⁰

Omittere, another victim of prosodic uncertainty, is employed twice by Phaedrus, but both times in positions in which either a long or a short o is admissible (4.prol.5 and app.30.9).

(For plane and prorsus, see on hercle and its variants in section 2.)

Phaedrus has, of the poetic substitutes for pecunia (or nummus, for which see section 4), five instances of opes and four of aurum (but in two of the instances of aurum this word is joined closely with argentum =app.10.5 and app.17.3=).

Itaque (which Phaedrus uses at 1.27.7 and 4.11.12) occurs elsewhere in Latin poetry after Catullus and Lucretius only at Horace, Epist., 1.1.10, according to Axelson (UnpW, p. 93); igitur, on the other hand, (which occurs five times in Phaedrus) is not particularly

¹⁰One might argue on the other side from the same fact. "Rei" might be admissible as a verse-ending in Phaedrus precisely because in that position there can be no doubt about the correct scansion. Still, the same thing should then have applied to the iambic scansion in dactyls, but obviously did not.

prosaic (though Latin poetry is generally unfavourable to words meaning "therefore": UnpW, pp. 80-1).

(For basium, compare on savium in section 2.)

The one introduction by Phaedrus into his work of bellus seems to be with intent: in the fable entitled by Perotti "Quomodo ingenia saepe calamitate intercidant" (app.14), an uneducated donkey laments his incapacity to make proper use of the lyre that he has found:

"Bella res mehercules
male cessit" inquit "artis quia sum nescius"

(verses 3-4).

Pulcher is found four times, on the other hand, and pulchre six.

Graii is regularly used for Graeci in "higher" poetry (UnpW, pp. 51-2). Phaedrus has the former once, in his imitation of tragedy, underlining its grandeur with an archaic inflection ("Graium", 4.7.11); Graeci is also to be found once, in a disparaging personal aside ("Graeci loquaces", app.30.2). Phaedrus seems to have been quite aware of the tonal difference between the two; when the tone is to be more neutral, he uses Graecia (2.epil.9 and 3.prol.54).

Femineus, which Phaedrus does not have, is preferred to muliebris by all of the thirteen poets except Horace and Lucretius (Catullus uses neither). This preference is paralleled in the nouns from which the adjectives are derived (again with the exception of Horace, Lucretius, and Catullus) (cf. UnpW, pp. 55-7). Phaedrus' preference for mulier (14 occurrences versus 9 for femina) would seem to reflect his conservatism, and perhaps his debt to Horace;

but the possibility remains that mulier was the common word. Axelson points out that it occurs ca. 500 times in the Vulgate as against ca. 35 for femina. Cicero in his letters favours mulier by about three to one.

Of the synonyms of vehementer, Phaedrus has acriter once (4.24.2), perhaps significantly in narrative rather than direct speech or personal material. (For vehemens, see section 4.) He does not have oneratus, the usual poetic synonym for onustus, but does use gravis in the same sense (e.g., 4.10.3).

The occurrence of opinor in Phaedrus rests on the emendation of PR's meaningless "nec opia sed" or "ne copia sed" at 5.7.8 to "nec opinans" (rather than to "necopinus" as in Perry's text).

In contrast to vās, Phaedrus has five instances of sarcina. It seems fairly clear here (as in the case of praeclarus in section 4) that he is avoiding the use of a particular "low-poetic" word.

In spite of Phaedrus' need for a variety of words for "kill" (cf. on interficere and trucidare in section 2, p. 165), he does not employ obtruncare; this may, I believe, be put down to a certain tendency to avoid words with too much epic (or generally "high-poetic") flavour.

Although Phaedrus does not have the related verb, he does have accusator twice (3.prol.41 and 3.10.34)--a word all but unheard of in poetry (see ThLL, s.v.).

Cinquini lists two instances of causa in the ablative; but in one case it is modified by a possessive adjective (1.22.4), and

in the other it seems more naturally taken as a nominative in apposition (3.10.44, "luat . . . poenas causa libertus mali")¹¹. (Guaglianone lists only the first case as ablative.) Both passages are in direct speech.

"Especially" is generally praecipue in poetry; Neumann ("De cotidiani sermonis apud Propertium proprietatibus" =Königsberg: 1925=, p. 45: see UnpW, pp. 94-5) pointed to imprimis as prosaic, and indeed, as seen above, it is particularly frequent in Cicero's letters. Now Phaedrus uses neither praecipue nor imprimis, nor praesertim (also rare in poetry: see section 4); but he does have the prosaic (or dramatic) maxime two or three times.¹²

Phaedrus uses neither idoneus nor the usual poetic synonym aptus, though he does have the near-synonym dignus (generally a more common word) seven times.

4. Other Words not Found in the Majority of the Thirteen Poets

(Note: this list contains some words that do occur in the majority of the thirteen poets if certain variants are accepted.)

¹¹There is some further doubt about this passage, for NV read "pessimus libertus" in place of "causa libertus mali".

¹²On this adverb, the ThLL states: "dactylis propter prosodiam deest praeter ENN. ann. 318 (in vs. manco) ACC. carm. frg. 3, 1 M. COMM. in vv. non dactylicis occurrit apud scaenicos priscos saepe; apud LVCIL. ter, CATVLL. semel, PVBLL. PHAEDR. SEN. trag. locis binis, AVIEN. quater."

<u>Unpw</u> page	word	Ph.			13 poets	<u>Cic.</u> <u>Epist.</u>
		a	b	c		
(107)	<u>cena</u>	1	0	4	Cs 3, Hh 2, Hl 19, St 1, M 56, J 20(+2?)	22
(58)	<u>servus</u>	0	1	3 +1?	Cs 4, Hh 1, Hl 22, P 5, O 16, (St 1?), M 24, J 28(+3?)	43(+3?)
(94)	<u>sane</u>	3	1	0	Cs 2, Hl 8, (V 1?), (AV 1+1?), O 2, M 9, J 8(+1?)	freq.
(63, 149)	<u>libenter</u>	2	1	0	Cs 2, Hh 1, Hl 5, O 4, M 10	freq.
(68)	<u>punire</u>	1	2	0	P 1, O 1, St 5, (Oc 1), SI 4, J 4	0
(88-9)	<u>quasi</u>	1	0	2	L 88, Cs 1, O 11, (St 1?), Ln 1, (SI 1?), M 9, J 1(+1?)	freq.
(102)	<u>peritus</u>	0	2	1	Hh 1, Hl 2, V 1, P 2, O 1, Ln 2, J 2(+1?)	10
"	<u>pravus</u>	0	2	1	L 4, Hh 2, Hl 11, V 1, SI 15, J 1(+1?)	2(+1?)
(103)	<u>condicio</u>	1	0	2	L 1, Hh 2, Hl 3, V 1, (AV 3), P 2, O 10, M 4	freq.
(104)	<u>nequitia</u>	1	2	0	Hh 2, Hl 3, P 7, O 11, St 3, M 8, J 1	3
(108)	<u>locuples</u>	0	1	2	Hh 1, Hl 9, (AV 1), O 1, M 11, J 4(+1?)	23(+1?)
(134)	<u>noctu</u>	1	0	2	L 1, Hl 1, T 1, P 1, SI 1, J 3	14(+1?)
(35-7)	<u>suavis</u>	1	1	0	L 14, Cl 2, Cs 1, Hl 7, V 5, (AV 5)	freq.

(52)	<u>caro</u>	1	0	1	L 2, Hl 3, O 6, (St 1?), M 6, J 6	0
(68, 142)	<u>excusare</u>	0	1	1	Hl 2, O 14, SI 3, M 3, (Mi 1), J 2	15(+1?)
(77)	<u>adversus/</u> <u>-um prep.</u>	0	1	1	L 2, Hh 1, Hl 1, O 1, St 1, SI 1	14
(98)	<u>praesidium</u>	0	1	1	L 4, Hh 4, Hl 2, V 1, O 3, (On 1), St 9, (Oc 1), J 3	freq.
(106)	<u>delectare</u>	1	1	0	Cs 1, Hh 1, Hl 13, P 1, O 7, (St 1?), M 12, (Mi 1), J 4	freq.
(106, 149)	<u>oblectare</u>	1	1	0	L 1, Cl 1, Hl 1, O 3, J 1	6(+1?)
(107- 8)	<u>studere</u>	0	2	0	L 2, Cs 1, Hh 1, Hl 4, (AV 1), O 3, M 1, (Mi 3)	16(+1?)
(108)	<u>nummus</u>	0	0	2	Cs 1, Hl 23, O 1, M 34, J 17	42(+2?)
(60)	<u>vehemens</u>	0	0	1	L 4, Cs 1, Hl 3, J 3	15(+2?)
(111)	<u>flagitium</u>	0	0	1	Cl 1, Hh 2, Hl 1, P 1, St 1(+1?), M 1, J 1	9
(134- 5)	<u>ni(hi)lo</u> + compar.	0	1	0	L 12(+1?), Cl 1, Cs 3, Hl 6, SI 2	12
(33-4)	<u>infimus</u>	0	0	0	L 1, Cs 1, Hh 2, St 1(+1?), Ln 1, SI 1, (Mi 1)	13(+3?)
(50)	<u>sexus</u>	0	0	0	St 2, Ln 2, SI 3, M 2, J 5(+1?)	0
(60)	<u>praeclarus</u>	0	0	0	L 10, Hl 5, V 5, (CF 1), St 1(+1?), VF 1, J 3(+2?)	42(+1?)
(61)	<u>furiosus</u>	0	0	0	L 2, Hh 1, Hl 5, O 12, St 3(+1?), M 1, J 1	7

(63, 149)	<u>raro</u>	0 0 0	L 2, Hh 1, Hl 4, (AV 1), P 1, O 2, St 1, M 2	4
(65)	<u>obsequi</u>	0 0 0	O 2, St 3, (Oc 3), Ln 1, VF 1, J 1	10
(75)	<u>plerique</u>	0 0 0	L 3, Hl 3, SI 3	13(+1?)
"	<u>unusquisque</u>	0 0 0	L 3, Hl 3, P 2	6(+1?)
(90-1)	<u>utrum(ne)</u> <u>. . . an</u>	0 0 0	L 5, Cs 4, Hh 1, Hl 4(+1?), St 6(+2?), VF 1, M 3	43(+2?)
(92)	<u>ne . . .</u> <u>quidem</u>	0 0 0	V 3, (AV 1), O 2, St 2, Ln 1, SI 1	freq.
(95)	<u>praesertim</u>	0 0 0	L 14, Cs 1, Hl 3, V 2, P 1, J 1	freq.
(106- 7)	<u>mundus</u> adj.	0 0 0	Cs 3, Hh 1, Hl 6, (AV 1), P 3, O 2, M 1, J 1	1
(138)	<u>frumentum</u>	0 0 0	L 2, Hl 9, V 8, (AV 1), O 1, M 1, (Mi 1), J 3	13

The picture is once again of Phaedrus' less poetic vocabulary tending toward that of literate prose of the Classical period: of the words in the list that are used by Phaedrus, sane, libenter, quasi, condicio, suavis, praesidium, and delectare are all especially frequent in Cic.Epist., and only punire and caro are not found there.

Once again in this list, as in lists 1 and 3, there is some indication that unpoetic words tend to be less frequent in narrative than in personal material or direct speech (about 2.5 words from list 4 turn up in every hundred verses of narrative, as against about 4.5 and 3.4 for personal material and direct speech respectively).

If list 4, like list 3, is used as a rough guide to the affinities of Phaedrus' vocabulary with those of other poets, the result is not dissimilar. Catullus, and Horace's "high" poetry, show the greatest vocabulary affinity with Phaedrus; this affinity is also high for Horace's "low" poetry, Propertius, Ovid, Martial, and Juvenal. Affinities with Lucretius, Virgil, Seneca's tragedies, and Silius are lower; Lucan and Valerius Flaccus differ most noticeably with Phaedrus here. Phaedrus' membership in the "low-poetic" genres is therefore fairly clear in this case also.

Now a few notes on individual words. According to Axelson (UnpW, p. 58), the strictest poetic style ("die strengste Dichtersprache") prefers, to servus and ancilla, famulus/-a and minister/-tra. Here Phaedrus uses the common terms exclusively, avoiding the "high-poetic" famulus/-a and minister/-tra altogether. (Strictly speaking, he does not have ancilla either, but the diminutive occurs at app.15.12.) Likewise, of the "high-poetic" substitutes for cena, Phaedrus has daps only of the food of predators (2.4.24 and 2.6.15) and epulae not at all.

(For necare, compare on trucidare in section 1; for punire, compare on multare in section 2.)

As well as peritus, Phaedrus employs the more usual poetic term doctus four times.

Phaedrus has noctu twice to avoid homoeoteleuton of -ĕ, at 2.4.18 and 3.10.20, and once, at 3.7.10, for the sake of the metre; the two instances of the more usual poetic nocte are both in the appendix,

but are supported by euphonic considerations (at app.10.4, noctu would involve a long u in two successive syllables¹³; at app.15.12, it would involve the almost unheard of elision of final -ū).

Suavis apparently has an archaic-vulgar character, in spite of its frequent occurrence in Cicero (UnpW, pp. 35-7). Phaedrus uses the word once in direct speech (3.1.5) and once in speaking to his friend Particulo (4.epil.2). Dulcis is much more frequent, being found seven times.

Viscus is preferred to caro in poetry (UnpW, p. 52), but Phaedrus chooses the exact term over the ambiguous, employing viscus not at all in any sense, though it is not unknown in prose even in the sense of "flesh" (Cic. Tusc. 2.8.20, N.D. 2.63/159).

(For nummus, compare on pecunia in section 3 and see chapter IV.)

Of the synonyms for vehemens, Phaedrus has acer once (3.7.18: also of a dog, but in a slightly different sense), no instances of violens, one of impotens (app.15.19), and one of fervidus (app.12.4).

According to Axelson (UnpW, pp. 33-4), infimus is rare not only in the dactylic poets, who found it metrically intractable, but also elsewhere, imus being preferred. In fact, imus is not used by Phaedrus either. He uses funditus only once, and that not in a place

¹³It is merely the rareness of long u that causes its accumulation without reason to be avoided; occurrence of long i in successive syllables, for instance, is not disturbing, since this sound is fairly common.

where ab infimo or ab imo would do well as a synonym (2.2.9-10: "nam funditus/ canos =sc. "capillos"= puella, nigros anus evellerat"). The comparative inferior turns up once (1.1.3). Thus it would be rash to identify infimus at least as an absolutely un-Phaedrian word.

Note how sexus is not found in poetry until after Ovid--genus or sors was used in its stead (UnpW, p. 50)--but in Silver Latin it appears even in epic. We have little to go on regarding Phaedrus' preferences in this matter--only "generi masculino" at 4.16.12. It is quite possible, however, that sexus was still unacceptable in poetry at least in the earlier part of Phaedrus' day.

Axelsson conjectures (UnpW, p. 61) that furius may, like formosus, have had an "etwas triviale Gepräge", which kept it out of higher poetry. The usual "high-poetic" synonym, furens, is found three times in Phaedrus' work.

(For obsequi, compare on oboedire in section 1.)

Poetry almost always substitutes non ipse or nec for ne guidem (UnpW, p. 92). Phaedrus has one instance of non ipse, at 5.8.4, but no clear case of nec in this sense.

(For praesertim, compare on imprimis in section 3.)

Phaedrus does not use the poetic ceres instead of frumentum, but rather shuns both, preferring the more specific triticum (1.16.3 and app.11.8) and hordeum (2.7.3, 2.7.9, and 5.4.3). In the view of Cornificius Gallus at least neither triticum nor hordeum was a word

that a poet should use (Servius on Georg. 1.210¹⁴). Thus Phaedrus' eschewal of frumentum is unlikely to have had its origin in a desire to use a more poetic vocabulary (though it may have been motivated by some knowledge of the principle of vivid particularization).

5. Other Words Indicated as Unpoetic by Axelson

<u>Unpw</u> <u>page</u>	<u>word</u>	<u>Ph.</u>	<u>poets of the 13</u> <u>not used by</u>	<u>Cic.</u> <u>Epist.</u>
(75)	<u>quidam</u>	0 5 31	Hh	freq.
(59)	<u>opera</u>	2 2 1	Cl, Hh, P, VF, SI	freq.
(64)	<u>conficere</u>	0 0 3	(Cs?), Hh, P, M, (J?)	freq.
"	<u>adficere</u>	1 1 1	Cs, Hh, Hl, T, (St?)	freq.
(66)	<u>necare</u>	1? 0 2	C, T, P, Ln, SI, (VF?)	2
(75)	<u>quivis</u>	1 1 0 +1?	T, St, Ln, VF, SI	35(+3?)
(13-4)	<u>oportet</u>	1 1 0	(L?), Cl, V, Hh, T, Ln, VF, SI	freq.
(31-2)	<u>fortasse</u>	0 1 0	L, Cl, T, P	freq.
(49- 50)	<u>cadaver</u>	0 0 1	Cl, Cs, Hh, T, P	1
(63-4)	<u>proficere</u>	1 0 0	Cl, T, P, VF	freq.
(64)	<u>censere</u>	1 0 0	Cl, Cs, Hh, V, T, P, St, VF	freq.

¹⁴Cited by Williams, Tradition and Originality, p. 749.

(77-8)	<u>apud</u>	1	0	0	Hl, T, St, M	freq.
(81-2)	<u>praeter</u>	0	1	0	Cl, P, VF, SI	freq.
(104-5)	<u>obire</u> = "die"	0	1	0	Cl, Cs, V, T, O, (VF?), (J?)	0
(105)	<u>obitus</u> = "death"	0	1	0	Cl, Cs, Hh, Hl, T, Ln, M, J	3
(137)	<u>fere</u>	0	1?	0	Cl, Cs, T, P, Hh, Ln, VF	freq.
(75)	<u>quilibet</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Cs, Hh, Hl, V, T, SI	9(+1?)
(81)	<u>prae</u>	0	0	0	Hh, T, Ln, VF, M, J	17(+2?)
(88-9)	<u>tamquam</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Hh, T, P, St, VF, SI	freq.
(89-90)	<u>nonne</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Cs, T, M	14(+3?)
(90-1)	<u>ūter</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Cs, Hl, V, T, P, VF, J	16(+5?)
(100)	<u>stolidus</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Hh, V, T, St, SI, Ln, J	0
(102)	<u>situs</u> participle	0	0	0	Cl, Cs, Hl, V, T, P, VF, J	2(+1?)
(88, 123)	<u>etsi</u>	0	0	0	Hh, Hl, T, Ln, VF, SI, M	freq.
(123)	<u>etenim</u>	0	0	0	C, T, St, Ln, M	freq.
(123-4)	<u>quamquam</u>	0	0	0	Cs, T, P, M	freq.

Apart from quidam, which is something of a special case, words in this list occur about 1.9 times per hundred verses in personal material, about 1.8 times per hundred verses in direct speech, and

only about 0.6 times per hundred verses in narrative. This gives further support to the idea that there is a definite stylistic difference that sets narrative off from the rest of Phaedrus' work.

It might also be noted that words in this list that are found in Phaedrus (in contrast to those not used by Phaedrus) tend to appear in Catullus' longer poems and Horace's carmina and epodes to a slightly lesser degree than in Catullus' shorter poems and Horace's "lower" works. Again, an indication that Phaedrus' vocabulary-preferences tend toward the "low-poetic".

For Phaedrus' extensive use of quidam and similar words equal to $\tau\iota\varsigma$, compare Nøjgaard, II, p. 126. Even Lucretius, in whom this word is especially common, uses it less than half as frequently as does Phaedrus.

Apud occurs most frequently in poetry in the Aeneid (6 times) (UnpW, pp. 77-8); its one occurrence in Phaedrus is in the direct speech of a slave (app.20.5). The one use of obire = "die" (which is mostly late-prosaic) is in a rhetorical promythium (3.10.3).

Quilibet seems to have been colloquial and is rare outside Lucretius and Horace's Satires and Epistles--so says Neumann ("Cotidiani sermonis apud Propertium", p. 41: see UnpW, p. 75). Yet it occurs only 4 times in Lucretius (about 0.5 times per thousand verses) as against 6 occurrences in Propertius (about 1.5 times per thousand verses) and some 46 in Ovid (about 1.4 times per thousand verses). (The word is not found in Bo's Lexicon Horatianum, but this is obviously

an error.)

In view of the avoidance of uter by many of the poets (especially by those writing in the "higher" genres), Causeret (p. 43) seems somewhat misled in criticizing Phaedrus' use of quis instead at 1.24.7 and 4.25.2 as "locus . . . ubi a puro sermone videbatur deflexisse", though Causeret recognizes that this usage is found in Virgil.

6. Other Words Indicated by Axelson as Avoided

by "Higher" Poetic Genres

<u>UnpW</u> <u>page</u>	word	Ph.	poets of the 13 <u>not</u> used by	Cic. <u>Epist.</u>
(100)	<u>stultus</u>	5 8 2 +1?	Hh, Ln, VF	25(+1?)
(120- 2)	<u>ita</u>	3 1 6	T, Ln	freq.
(57-8)	<u>uxor</u>	1 1 5	VF, SI	17(+1?)
(78- 80)	<u>propter</u>	3 1 3	Cs, Hh, SI	freq.
(76-7)	<u>nemo</u>	1 2 3 +1?	Hh, T, Ln, VF	freq.
(60)	<u>molestus</u>	1 5 0	Hh, V, T, St, VF, SI	freq.
(60-1)	<u>fermosus</u>	1 1 4	L, Cl, VF, SI	1
(135)	<u>noli(te)</u> prohibitions	4 1 0	Hh, V, T, St, Ln, VF, SI	43
(80-1)	<u>quare</u>	1 2 1	T, Hh	freq.
(35)	<u>incundus</u>	1 0 1	Ln, SI	freq.

(50)	<u>navis</u>	0	0	2	T, In, VF, SI	freq.
(58)	<u>puella</u>	0	0	2	In	3
(66)	<u>occidere</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Cs, T, P, In, VF	34(+1?)
				+1?		
(28-9)	<u>plorare</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Cs, V, St, In, VF, SI	2
(78- 80)	<u>ob</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Cs, VF	freq.

Once again in the case of this list, Phaedrus uses "unpoetic" words less frequently in narrative than in direct speech or personal material: about 2.9 times per hundred verses as against about 4.2 times and 4.7 times respectively.

The words in this list alone are not a very good test of elevation of vocabulary, but here, for what it is worth, is the ascending order of frequency of use of these words in the thirteen poets and Phaedrus: Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Seneca's tragedies, Virgil, Horatian carmina and epodes, Ovid, Lucretius and the long poems of Catullus, Phaedrian narrative, Martial and the "low" poetry of Horace, Juvenal and Phaedrian direct speech, Catullus' short poems and Phaedrian personal material, Tibullus. Even allowing for certain obvious deviations, it is clear that Phaedrus' vocabulary, even in straight narration, was not as "lofty" as that of poets of the "higher" genres. On the other hand, he does not appear to be outside the range of other writers of "lower" poetry in this respect.

Phaedrus' complete eschewal of ob in favour of propter (6

times in the sense of "because of", at 1.1.14, 3.17.9, 4.12.3, app.20.14, app.30.6, and app.32.9) puts him in the company of Lucretius, Tibullus, Valerius Flaccus, Martial, and Juvenal, all of whom clearly use the latter word more often than the former. Ob is clearly preferred, on the other hand, by Horace in his low poetry, by Virgil, and by Silius. It is somewhat odd that Phaedrus should have avoided ob so completely in view of the fact that it occurs 12 times in Horace's "low" poetry and 18 times in Virgil. Phaedrus is surpassed in the frequency of his use of propter only by Juvenal (18 occurrences in just over 3,800 verses, about 4.7 per thousand verses) and by Lucretius (30 occurrences in just over 7,400 verses, about 4.1 per thousand verses). In the use of propter or ob, Phaedrus is surpassed also by Horace's "low" poetry (3.9 per thousand verses).¹⁵

In addition to the seven instances of uxor, Phaedrus presents us with four of coniunx. It seems possible in this case (as, for example, in the case of Graii versus Graeci =above, p. 176=) that the fabulist recognized some difference in connotation which might now and then be exploited: Aesop advises the farmer to get "uxores" for his slaves (3.3.17); on the other hand, the solemn injunction of the Pythia is for men to defend their "castas coniuges" (app.8.9).

Puella in Phaedrus appears only for the sake of variation--once on iuvenis, where virgo would not do (2.2.10), and once on

¹⁵According to E. Löfstedt (Philologische Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae =Uppsala: 1911=, p. 219: cited by Bertschinger, p. 13) in post-Classical times propter is popular and ob literary.

virgo already twice repeated (app.16.13).

Of the compounds of plorare, implorare is never used by Phaedrus, and the one occurrence of deplorare is in direct speech (1.9.10); Phaedrus has flere twice (1.2.6 and 2.7.10), and once the periphrasis fletus edere (1.9.3), plus two instances of deflare (app.19.8 =missed by Cinquini= and app.21.9). It is perhaps worth noting that plorare is avoided also in higher prose (and, as noted above, is found only twice in Cicero's letters).

Three of the words in list 6--formosus, navis, and iucundus-- are not avoided by higher poetry in general but only by writers of epic. It appears that Phaedrus did not avoid these words. He has only 4 occurrences of the usual epic surrogate for formosus--pulcher. Of the synonyms for navis, he has only one instance of ratis (4.7.9) and none of carina, puppis, or pinus.

7. Words Indicated by Axelson as Especially Characteristic of Poetry in Contrast to Good Prose

(Note: Axelson touches only incidentally on the question of "poetic" words. To avoid making this study longer than it is, I have limited myself here to the few examples given by Axelson. For a more complete survey of such words, see A. Cordier, Études sur le vocabulaire épique dans l'Énéide =Paris: 1939=.)

UnpW page	word	Ph.			poets of the 13 <u>not</u> used by	Cic. <u>Epist.</u>
		a	b	c		
(30-1)	<u>portare</u>	3	0	2	Cs	6
(14)	<u>genitor</u>	0	0	2	T, J	0
(14, 67)	<u>letum</u>	0	0	2	Cs	1
(14)	<u>pontus</u> common noun	0	1	0	Hl, (J?)	0
(31)	<u>fors</u> adv.	0	1	0	L, Cl, Cs, Hl, T, O, (St?), In, VF, M, J	0
(31-2)	<u>forsan</u>	1	0	0	Cl, Cs, Hl, T, P	0
(14, 89)	<u>ceu</u>	0	0	0	Cs, Hl, T, M	0
(14, 51)	<u>ensis</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Cs	(1?)
(14)	<u>femineus</u>	0	0	0	L, Cl, Cs, Hh, Hl	0
"	<u>flabrum</u>	0	0	0	Cl, Cs, Hh, Hl, T, O, St, In, SI, M, J	0
(29)	<u>lassus</u>	0	0	0	(Cl?), Cs, T	0

Phaedrus ranks far above Catullus' short poems in his use of these "poetic" words (about 6.2 per thousand verses versus about 1.7) and somewhat above Horace's "low" poetry (about 5.4 per thousand verses); all the rest of the thirteen poets, however, used these words noticeably more frequently than did Phaedrus.¹⁶

¹⁶Causeret (pp. 16-7) noted the rarity of poetic words in Phaedrus, though he did not go as far as E. Du Méril (Poésies inédits)

The list is really too short to give an overall picture of Phaedrus' employment of poetic words, but it may not be by accident that none of the words involved occurs in a prologue, epilogue, promythium, or epimythium--parts of Phaedrus' work in which he most closely approaches formal prose.

Portare was apparently considered vulgar in prose, though common enough even in higher poetry (UnpW, pp. 30-1); Phaedrus' use of the word in direct speech is thus not necessarily poetic (as its presence in this list might suggest). He also has one instance of importare, in indirect speech (1.28.6).

Genitor is used of Jupiter in 3.17.10, where the tone is somewhat more lofty than usual, and the phrasing formulaic, and again at 4.19.22, where the tone is scarcely lofty and the high-flown phrase seems to be used for contrast. Elsewhere Phaedrus has pater (8 times), and always mater instead of genetrix. Indeed genitor and genetrix are rare in the poets compared to pater and mater (UnpW, p. 51), just as lympha and latex are rare in comparison to aqua. (Phaedrus has lympha once =1.4.3= and latex not at all, in contrast to six occurrences of aqua.) Generally speaking, genitor is used much less in proportion to pater in the "lower" poets than in the higher; in fact, as far as the thirteen are concerned, a sharp dividing

du moyen âge =Paris: 1854=, p. 80) who claimed to find none.

line could be drawn at around the 1-to-6 point were it not for Lucretius (only one occurrence of genitor versus 12 of pater). Phaedrus stands somewhat on the "high-poetic" side of this hypothetical line, and indeed Lucan and Ovid make proportionately less use of genitor than he does (Lucan having it only five times as against 28 instances of pater, and Ovid having it 60 times as against about 280 instances of pater.)

Phaedrus' desire for variation should be remembered in this regard. Observe that he also has five instances of parens (and, as synonyms for aqua, liquor three times and vadum four times).

Letum appears to be formulaic in Phaedrus; here are its two occurrences:

atque ita locutus improbum leto dedit

(1.22.9);

trepidantem consecrata est et leto dedit

(3.16.18).

It should be remarked that these are the only two really justified killings in the whole of Phaedrus' extant work. It might be supposed that it was for this reason that he chose to use a more poetic (lofty) term to describe them. (Contrast above, p. 165.)

The sole occurrence of pontus is at 4.7.10, where Phaedrus is deliberately affecting a tragic diction, alien to his own. (The word is printed here with a capital by Perry, but the interlocutor at any rate seems to understand it as a common noun =see vv. 18-9=.)

It is to be noted that this word is infrequent in all "low" poetry (not occurring in Horace's "low" poetry, only doubtfully in Juvenal, once in Catullus' short poems, and three times in Martial).

Does the cat's use of the poetic "forsan" at 2.4.7 point to insincerity? (Compare my remarks on the use of Greek words, pp. 140-2 above.)

Instead of ceu, ensis, femineus, and flabrum, Phaedrus has similis, gladius, muliebris, and ventus. Most poets, says Axelson (UnpW, p. 51), prefer ensis to gladius. The one exception is Juvenal, who has twelve instances of gladius to only one of ensis. Martial, and Horace in his "low" poetry, do show a preference for ensis, but both words are rare (Martial, ensis 5 times, gladius 2; Horace "low", ensis 2 times, gladius 1). Lucan uses gladius almost as much as he does ensis. This is probably a case, however, in which Phaedrus prefers the less poetic word.

(Phaedrus' use of muliebris rather than femineus has been discussed in section 3 =p. 176 above=.)

Lassus is extremely characteristic of poetry, being found in Golden-Age prose only at Bellum Alexandrinum 30.2 (UnpW, p. 29). Although Phaedrus does not use it, he has its synonym fessus only once (1.11.1), and one instance also of lassare (2.6.10). Neither fessus nor lassus is unpoetic; thus it cannot be said in this case that Phaedrus is deserting the poetic camp.

Before concluding this chapter, there are a few miscellaneous points upon which I would like to touch.

a. Adjectives ending in -ficus are, according to Axelson (UnpW, p. 61), largely "high-poetic". Phaedrus has maleficus (2.3.2, 2.6.2, 4.11.20, and app.19.5), an almost entirely prosaic word (in the thirteen poets it is found only once, in Seneca's tragedies), not common even in prose (not found in Cicero's letters). It is of course metrically intractable. Phaedrus appears to have introduced this word as a variation on his favourite improbus.¹⁷

b. Numbers are avoided in Roman poetry, especially in the Silver Period (UnpW, pp. 96-7). Apart from unus and duo (20 and 11 cases respectively), Phaedrus is fairly sparing with his numbers,

¹⁷That improbus really was worked rather heavily by Phaedrus is clear from the following table:

author	occurrences of <u>improbus</u>	approximate number of verses	occurrences of <u>improbus</u> per thousand verses
Phaedrus	14	1,939	7.2
Martial	34	9,500 (est.)	3.6
Silius It.	26	12,202	2.1
Propertius	8	4,010	2.0
Juvenal	7(+1?)	3,876	1.8
Valerius Fl.	9	5,592	1.6
Horace	12	7,816	1.5
Virgil	18	12,912	1.4
Catullus	3	2,294	1.3
Seneca trag.	10	10,674	0.9

=continued=

but he does not avoid them as much as he might have: tres is necessary to the story in 4.5, but its repetition is not; sex is merely an arbitrary numeral at 1.1.10; nine acres is traditional for Tityos (app.7.13), but the number need not have been stated¹⁸ (the same may be said of "fecunda novies" at 3.prol.19); decem at 1.17.5 is an arbitrary amount; and at 2.8.18 centum is merely a symbolically large number. In his use of numerals, Phaedrus is isolated between two groups: on the one hand are the poets who avoid employing numbers in their work (Seneca in his tragedies, Horace in his Odes and Epodes, Tibullus, Lucretius, Silius, Valerius Flaccus, Catullus in his long poems, and most especially Lucan--all "high" poetry); on the other are those who apparently made no such effort (Horace in his "low"

Cic. <u>Epist.</u>	44(+1?)	(=ca. 50,000)	0.9
Lucan	7(+1?)	8,060	0.9
Ovid	29	34,273	0.8
Lucretius	2	7,415	0.3
Tibullus	0	1,239	0

¹⁸Havet (ed. 1917, ad loc.) remarks that Phaedrus has kept the Greek number while introducing the Roman acre (iugerum), which is more than twice the Greek (πέλεκτρον).

poetry, Propertius, Virgil, Ovid, Catullus in his short poems, and Juvenal). Martial too is isolated: he uses numerals far more than anyone. Cicero's letters, on the other hand, seem to be proportionately somewhat lower in numerals than is Phaedrus.¹⁹

c. Enim is by no means a prosaic word, but tends very much in poetry to be restricted to neque enim, quis enim, sed enim, and to parentheses (UnpW, pp. 122-3); the one occurrence of the word

¹⁹These conclusions are based on the following table:

author	occurrences of a numeral from 2 to 10, or 20, 30, or 100	approximate number of verses	occurrences per thousand verses
Martial	279	9,500 (est.)	29.4
Catullus' short poems	16	1,197	13.4
Juvenal	51(+3?)	3,876	13.2
Ovid	417	34,273	12.2
Virgil	154	12,912	11.9
Propertius	48	4,010	11.9
Horace's "low" poetry	47(+1?)	4,081	11.5
Phaedrus	17	1,939	8.8
Cic. <u>Epist.</u>	<u>ca.</u> 340	(= <u>ca.</u> 50,000)	6.8
Seneca trag.	56(+6?)	10,674	5.2
Horace's "high" poetry	18(+1?)	3,735	4.8
Tibullus	5(+1?)	1,239	4.2
Lucretius	25	7,415	3.4
Silius It.	40	12,202	3.3
Valerius Fl.	10(+2?)	5,592	1.8
Catullus' long poems	2	1,097	1.8
Lucan	9	8,060	1.1

in Phaedrus is in the phrase neque enim (3.prol.49). We may thus add another point to Phaedrus' poetic score.²⁰

d. According to Löfstedt, subito tends to be popular, while repente is more characteristic of higher prose (always in Tacitus); Axelson concludes from his own studies that repente is more archaic, subito predominating heavily in the poets after Lucretius (UnpW, pp. 32-3). There are twelve occurrences of subito in Phaedrus compared with seven of repente. Does this indicate that Phaedrus is following the later poetic trend or resisting it? Actually, this question is difficult to answer, for the picture is not as simple as Axelson makes it out to be. Virgil, Tibullus, Ovid, Seneca in his tragedies, and Valerius Flaccus all show a marked preference for subito, and to a greater degree than Phaedrus (especially Ovid, who has subito 54 times and repente only 3); and Horace and Propertius do not use repente at all. On the other hand, not only do Catullus and Lucretius prefer repente, but Martial and Silius give it more or less equal footing with subito; Juvenal has two instances of repente and only one of subito, and Lucan has one of repente and none of subito. The archaism of repente thus rest on rather uncertain ground. And if subito was popular, why was it not used more often by the "low"

²⁰ Note that enim occurs 66 or 67 times in the first two books of Cicero's letters ad familiares, which, as I have indicated (p. 157 above), are roughly the same length as Phaedrus' work.

poets Martial and Juvenal? The fact that Phaedrus used both words fairly often may be due to his desire for variation, but he need not have had a particular reason if both were in common use. (Cf. D.O. Ross, Style and Tradition in Catullus =Cambridge, Mass.: 1969=, pp. 70-2, where Axelson's conclusions are also doubted.)

e. Axelson (UnpW, pp. 47-8) maintains against Teuffel (Geschichte der römischen Literatur II, p. 65) and others that quodsi is not particularly prosaic, and he seems generally to be correct in this. Phaedrus uses this conjunction 4 times: twice in discussing his poetic career (2.epil.8 and 3.prol.41), once in quoting a judicial decision of Augustus (3.10.47), and once in actual narrative (app.19.7). Any prosaism of quodsi is probably rather in its meaning than in its use.

f. Virgil, Seneca, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius, Statius, and Catullus in his long poems all prefer both coma and crinis to capillus (cf. UnpW, p. 51). Both Propertius and Tibullus prefer coma to capillus and capillus to crinis, as does Martial. Juvenal, and Horace in his "higher" poetry, both use the three words fairly equally; Ovid uses coma and capillus about equally and crinis less than half as much. Only Horace's "low" poetry shows a strong preference for capillus (7 occurrences, versus one of coma and none of crinis). Like Catullus' shorter poems, Phaedrus' work contains coma and capillus once each (app.8.3 and 2.2.7 respectively) and no instances of crinis.

If this does anything, it puts Phaedrus in the area once again of "low" poetry (though not that of Horace particularly), and perhaps also of the "low high" elegiac genre.²¹

g. The forms is, ea, and id play a large role in Latin poetry in comparison to other forms of the same pronoun, which are quite rare (UnpW, pp. 70-1). Several groups may be distinguished with regard to the frequency of use of the oblique cases of is. The first, to which Catullus' short poems and Lucretius belong, employs them about as much as do prose authors. Phaedrus shares a second group with Horace's "low" poetry; here the oblique cases are used only about half as frequently as in the first group. Catullus in his long poems, Virgil, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Valerius Flaccus, and Silius--the third group--all avoid such forms to a still greater degree. In the fourth group--Horace's Odes and Epodes, Seneca's tragedies, and Lucan--these oblique forms are extremely rare. According to the indexes, neither Martial nor Juvenal uses any oblique form of is at all. That Phaedrus did not succeed more completely in avoiding these forms may be taken as a sign of a lack of poetic polish; yet, as Havet so often notes (ed. 1917, passim), time and again Phaedrus deliberately omitted a pronoun, leaving only the participle to stand for both ("correptum", l.l.13; etc.); he obviously recognized the

²¹For coma, see also chapter IV.

poetic principle involved without being able, or willing, to follow it through to its ultimate conclusion. (Cf. Causeret, pp. 74-5.)

h. In general, Axelson says (UnpW, pp. 85-6), autem is restricted in poetry to certain formulas such as ille autem, which join it to particular pronouns or particles. This tends to be true of Phaedrus also, though we find "asellus autem" (app.16.11), "alter autem" (5.2.2), and "erat autem" (4.23.8).

i. Diminutive adjectives are very rare in "higher" poetry (UnpW, pp. 43-4). Bertschinger (pp. 22-3) has succeeded in locating only five possible candidates in Phaedrus. Of these, "auritulus" (1.11.6), as Bertschinger points out, is really a substantive diminutive ("the little long-eared one", not "somewhat long-eared")²²; "bella" (app.14.3), discussed above (p. 176), can scarcely have been considered a diminutive of bonus in Phaedrus' time; the remaining three ("meliuscula", app.17.7; "parvulae", 5.3.3; and "vetulum", app.12.6), like "bella", are in direct speech, though "vetulum" occurs in Aesop's narration of a fable.

²²Note that "auritulus" is a conjecture of Rigault. The manuscripts read "ipse ut exciperet his auriculas ="auriculus" D=". But J.G.S. Schwabe seems to have established the probability of this emendation in his seventh excursus (Phaedri fabularum aesoniarum libri quinque . . . =Paris: 1826=, II, pp. 508-10).

j. The per- prefix on adjectives and adverbs is common in Cicero, but rare in Caesar and Tacitus, and after Lucretius it is extremely rare in higher poetry; moreover, it is very rare in Silver Latin poetry in general (UnpW, pp. 37-8). Phaedrus offers only the well-established (if not especially common) pertinax (app.25.4).²³ Another instance (like those of adulescens and savium above =section 2=) in which Phaedrus apparently avoided the archaic.

k. Axelson (UnpW, pp. 82-3) believes that ac/atque had "ein etwas steifes und papierenes Gepräge" and that the elegists used atque only for metrical convenience (the shorter ac, which could generally be replaced by et, being largely avoided).²⁴ Phaedrus is similar: he has atque 13 times, ac three (twice in the phrase simul ac), but et around 230 times.²⁵ Probably not imitation of a particular poetic genre, however: et was, after all, the word used in common speech (cf. the modern romance languages).

²³Pertinax is of course metrically inadmissible in dactylic verse. Among the thirteen poets it is found four times in Seneca's tragedies (plus twice in the Octavia), twice in Horace's "higher" poetry, and once in Martial, but not in Catullus. Nor is it especially common in prose: apart from seven occurrences in the De Finibus, it is used only five times in all of Cicero (once in the letters); it is not employed at all by Caesar, Sallust, or Suetonius; Tacitus has it a total of three times in all his works.

²⁴For criticism of Axelson's view, see Ross, Style and Tradition, pp. 26 ff.

²⁵Et is only about twice as frequent as atque/ac in Cic.Epist.

l. Cum with the pluperfect subjunctive is very rare in epic (and in Ovid's Metamorphoses) and is avoided by various periphrases (UnpW, pp. 87-8). Phaedrus shows no hesitation in using this construction (1.2.21, 1.5.5, 1.10.7, 1.12.3, etc.)--another indication that he was not greatly influenced by epic language (or by "high" poetry generally).

m. Haud, which left the living language fairly early, was avoided in lyric, elegy, and related styles (UnpW, pp. 91-2). Phaedrus has it only three times (3.2.16, app.9.5, app.30.12); contrast the more than one hundred instances of non. It has already been remarked that Phaedrus was not fond of archaisms.

n. Neququam, which Axelson (UnpW, p. 128) identifies as a non-popular word, not much favoured in poetry outside epic, is used by Phaedrus two times. Both passages (2.5.24 and 2.6.10) are in direct speech. Frustra is not more common to any great degree, occurring only four times (never in direct speech; but it would be rash to make anything of this).

o. Vero (which is found frequently in Augustan and post-Augustan poetry only in epic) generally follows tum or some similar monosyllable in the poets; exceptions are Aen. 4.93 ("egregiam vero") and Silius Italicus 17.460 ("reddere vero") (UnpW, pp. 86-7). Phaedrus uses vero eight times, and in three cases it follows a word of more than one syllable: "ego vero", 3.7.11; "propulsi vero", 4.19.12;

"in scaena vero", 5.5.13.

To sum up: we have seen that Phaedrus uses a couple of "completely unpoetic" words (list 1: existimare, vestitus) while rejecting, or not having occasion to use, others (belligerare, etc.); he does seem to use such words less often than a prose author, though the list is too short for certainty. Words extremely rare in poetry (list 2) Phaedrus employs rather frequently in comparison with other poets.

It is clear, on the other hand, that Phaedrus does make use of some words especially characteristic of poetry (list 7: portare, genitor, letum, pontus, fors, forsan)--words which would appear far more rarely, if at all, in a prose author.

Phaedrus prefers words that are characteristic also of Horace, Catullus, Juvenal, and Martial and generally shows little affinity in vocabulary with the writers of "higher" poetry (lists 3 and 4). Fable is naturally a more humble genre of poetry, and it is thus not unexpected that a writer of fables should tend to use the same words as other writers of "lower" poetry.²⁶

²⁶Horace's "high" poetry contains far more unpoetic and low-poetic words than are found in other writers of higher poetry, with the exception of Lucretius. This fact is documented in some detail by Axelson (Unp, chapter 4, "Zur Wortwahl des Odendichters Horaz").

It appears also that Phaedrus tends to avoid most types of unpoetic words to a greater degree in narrative, while permitting them more frequently in personal material and direct speech (lists 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6).

Such stylistic characteristics as the avoidance of the oblique cases of is (section g) or the use of enim only once and then in the formulaic phrase neque enim (section c) show that Phaedrus was far from being insensitive to the requirements of the poetic language. Von Sassen implied that Phaedrus' language is merely metrical prose decked out with poetic ornament (see especially p. 56 of De Phaedri sermone); this gives a false impression. Phaedrus is writing a loose, relaxed sort of poetry similar to that of Horace's Sermones. He is generally indifferent to whether a word is "allowed" in poetry or not; but this appears to be partly through choice, for he is more careful of his poetic style when he turns to narrative or description. The only "unpoetic" word in his tragic parody (4.7.6-16) is pernicies, which is nevertheless found once or twice in Seneca's tragedies also.

Phaedrus' diction appears not to be based on that of the early dramatists; this is clearly shown by such instances as his complete non-use of adulescens, used 34 times as a substantive by Terence alone.²⁷ Regarding later drama we can be less certain. His

²⁷Another example of an archaism not found in Phaedrus is beare, used by the early dramatists and four times by Horace and

metre may be merely that of popular verse (cf. Guaglianone, RSC 16 =1968=, 93); yet he shows an interest in the theatre (5.5 and 5.7), parodies tragedy (see above), quotes (or misquotes²⁸) Ennius, and may have been acquainted with the work of Publilius Syrus (see Peters, pp. 53-5).

(On the whole, there seems to be little difference in the frequency of use of unpoetic and low-poetic words from one book to another in Phaedrus. Within individual lists, the difference may appear quite marked; but no recognizable pattern emerges. The exact figures are therefore not given here.)

then disappearing from literature until Fronto and Apuleius (UnpW, p. 27).

²⁸3.epil.34: editors seem generally set on correcting "periculum" to the "piaculum" of the original (given by Festus 124.12), and there is certainly always the possibility of faulty transmission; yet if Phaedrus had only read the line as a boy (as verse 33 rather implies) it might easily have been retained by him in a faulty form. (" . . . aut lapsus memoriae scriptoris aut glossema scribae videtur esse": von Sassen, p. 3.)

Appendix A: List of Lexicons and Indexes Employed

- Bo, Dominicus. Lexicon horatianum A-K. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965. Lexicon horatianum L-Z. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966.
- Brinck, Adolf. "Index verborum", in Eduard Hiller, ed., Albi Tibulli elegiae cum carminibus pseudotibullianis. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965 = =Leipzig: 1885=. Pp. 61-105.
- Cinquini, Adolph. Index phaedrianus. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964 = =Milano: Hoepli, 1905=.
- Deferrari, Roy J., Sister M. Inviolata Barry, and Martin R.P. McGuire. A Concordance of Ovid. Washington: Catholic U. of America Pr., 1939.
- Deferrari, Roy J., Sister Maria Walburg Fanning, and Sister Anne Stanislaus Sullivan. A Concordance of Lucan. Washington: Catholic U. of America Pr., 1940.
- Guaglianone, Antonius. "Indices", in his Phaedri Augusti liberti liber fabularum. Aug. Taurinorum: Paravia, =1969=. Pp. 121-98.
- Kelling, Lucille, and Albert Suskin. Index Verborum Iuvenalis. Chapel Hill: U. of N. Carolina Pr., 1951.
- Friedlaender, Ludwig. "Wörterverzeichnis", in his M. Valerii Martialis epigrammaton libri mit erklärenden Anmerkungen. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1961 = =Leipzig: 1886=. Vol. 2, pp. 382-532. And, in the same work, vol. 2, pp. 347-81, Carl Froben's "Namenverzeichnis".

- Oldfather, William Abbott, Howard Vernon Canter, and Kenneth Morgan Abbott. Index Verborum Ciceronis Epistularum Urbana:
U. of Ill. Pr., 1938. Plus the index nominum of the Oxford Text.
- Paulson, Johannes. Index lucretianus, nach den Ausgaben von Lachmann, Bernays, Munro, Brieger und Giussani zusammengestellt. Darmstadt:
Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961 =Göteborg: Wettergren, 1926=.
- Schmeisser, Brigitte. A Concordance to the Elegies of Propertius.
Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1972.
- Schulte, William H. Index Verborum Valerianus. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965 =Iowa Studies in Classical Philology, vol. 3. Dubuque: 1935=.

Wetmore, Monroe Nichols. Index Verborum Catullianus. Hildesheim:
Olms, 1961 ==New Haven: Yale U. Pr., 1912=.

----- . Index Verborum Vergilianus. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961 ==New
Haven: Yale U. Pr., 1930=.

Young, Norma D. Index Verborum Silianus. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964
==diss. Iowa, 1939=.

VI

"RHYME"

1. Introduction

The term "rhyme" has been applied in a number of conflicting ways to the classical Latin language.¹ It has been used, as in English and other modern languages, to refer to an identity of two different words with respect to the accented vowel and the phonemes following it; for such rhyme to be used deliberately is extremely rare in the classical languages and is allowed only for very special effects.² A second application, not far removed from the previous, involves substituting the term "ictus" for "accent", thus tying rhyme closely to the metre and excluding it from prose.³ This type will, of course, often coincide with the first, since "ictus" often coincides with accent. A third application, with which the second will also sometimes coincide, is to identify rhyme with homoeoteleuton; that is, to

¹The word is apparently derived from rhythmus (see, for example, C.T. Onions, ed., The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology [Oxford: 1966], s.v. "rhyme"); but no distinct term for the concept appears in any ancient critic.

²See W. Beare, Latin Verse and European Song (London: 1957), pp. 257-8. The only examples in Phaedrus ("calumniari . . . iocari", l.prol.5-7; "superior . . . inferior", l.l.2-3; and so on) seem to be accidental or grammatical in origin, and nowhere especially striking.

³So N.I. Hérescu, La poésie latine (Paris: 1960), pp. 136-7; cf. pp. 167-80. On the term "ictus", see further chapter I above.

define it as occurring whenever two different words are identical with respect to their final vowel or diphthong and any following consonants. This will obviously be true much too often in Latin to be of much use for literary criticism; Marouzeau (Traité, p. 58) therefore adds the additional qualification that, in the case of rhyme, the identical word-endings in question must occur "à la finale de membres symétriques"; for example, of verses or of pairs of verses.⁴ It is this type of "rhyme" that I intend to discuss in Phaedrus.

A fourth application of the term "rhyme", developed by E. Wölfflin (ALL 1 =1884=, 350-89), limits it to cases involving at least one phoneme of the root in the identity of the word-endings. Thus "gemens" is said to rhyme with "timens" and even "nox" with "lux", but not, say, "volitantibus" with "cursitantibus". But Wölfflin does not employ this definition rigorously and relies to a large extent on subjective criteria: he speaks of such rhymes as "oves"-- "boves" as being unpleasant to the intelligent hearer (p. 353);

⁴Rather than the "final of symmetrical members", K. Zelzer (WS 79 =1966=, 465-77) speaks of "sensitive positions". There are five of these, for instance, in the dactylic hexameter: before the three caesuras and the bucolic dieresis, and at the end of the verse. (Cf. O. Skutsch, BICS 11 =1964=, 73-8.)

flection-rhyme, he says, will make an impression if repeated (pp. 351-2), though it should strictly speaking be excluded. Since, however, Wölfflin is almost entirely concerned with late and Christian prose, his views on rhyme cannot be considered of much relevance to the study of early imperial poetry.

Yet another application involves extending the term to embrace almost any sound-repetition that the commentator considers meaningful. This is the approach, for example, of E. Guggenheimer⁵. It seems preferable, however, not to dilute the value of the term to such an extent.⁶

Peters follows Marouzeau in stylistic matters (Phaedrus: een studie, p. 75); thus, when Peters speaks of rhyme, he means homoeoteleuton of words in particular positions⁷. Peters states

⁵Patterns of Sound Repetition in Classical Latin Poetry (U. of Minn., 1967). Guggenheimer nowhere gives a precise definition of rhyme but gives numerous examples of "rhymes" or "rhyming effects", such as "carinas"--"coronas" (Virgil, Georg. 1.303-4) and "ulna"--"alnus" (Catullus, 17.13-4) (p. 160).

⁶Still more unusual is the definition of R.E. Deutsch (The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius =Bryn Mawr, 1939=, pp. 7-8), who uses "rhyme" of the repetition of an entire word.

⁷While recognizing that other definitions, such as that of Wölfflin, have been put forward (p. 80).

that, while Phaedrus does not favour homoeoteleuton in general, he does use rhyme to a striking degree, although this fact was not previously noted except briefly by Herrman (Revue Belge 6 =1927=, 749-50) (pp. 79-82). Peters is certain that the large number of homoeoteleuta between successive verses⁸ in Phaedrus could not be accidental, although he makes no attempt to compare their frequency here with their frequency in other poets; this contention can be proved to be correct as far as it goes, but the matter is somewhat more complicated than Peters seems to have been aware. The examples generally show themselves not to be due to grammatical causes (parallelism, concord, etc.) and hence have an independent value as sound-effects.

For other forms of homoeoteleuton that may be classified as rhymes (e.g., between a word ending at the main caesura and the final word of the verse), the grammatical influence will obviously be greater. In such cases it will become necessary to examine the particular words involved with some care.

2. Rhyme between Verse-Endings

The first step in the study of such a question is to arrive at some sort of expectation of the number of occurrences of the phenomenon that would occur purely by accident, assuming that the

⁸A homoeoteleuton between successive verses (i.e., between the final words of successive verses) is a rhyme in the Marouzeauvian sense. This phenomenon will be referred to in the present work as a "couplet-rhyme".

author was oblivious to such occurrences. For this, the criteria may be external (the works of other authors or the like) or internal (the work in question). Because certain types of words tend to come at the ends of verses in Phaedrus and because this may cause certain word-endings to occur at the end of the verse more frequently than would otherwise be the case, it would be safest to derive the expectations purely from the word-endings found at the ends of verses in the various parts of Phaedrus' work (that is, from highly internal criteria). For the sake of brevity, I shall call the vowel, diphthong, or vowel plus consonant that ends the verse the "verse-desinence".

To arrive at the chance-expectation, one must know the number of occurrences of each different verse-desinence in each part of Phaedrus' work (appendix A, column a); from this and from the total number of verses may be calculated the expected number of rhymes involving each verse-desinence and hence the total expectation (appendix A, column b).⁹ With this we can compare the actual number of rhymes

⁹The expectation is calculated on the assumption that the only factor influencing the occurrence of rhyme between verses is the number of times that each desinence occurs in the passage in question. If a particular desinence is found to occur x times in a book and the book has n verses, then for each verse with that desinence there are $x-1$ other verses with the same desinence out of a total of $n-1$ other verses. Therefore the likelihood that one particular verse with this desinence will rhyme with the following verse is $(x-1)/(n-1)$. But, since there are x verses with this desinence, we can expect that $x(x-1)/(n-1)$ of them will rhyme with the verse that follows each. The sum of all such terms $x(x-1)/(n-1)$ for all the different desinences will give the total number of rhymes expected between successive verses.

between successive verses (column c); and, since the expected number of rhymes between verses separated by one other verse will be the same as the number expected between successive verses, we can also compare the actual number of this type, which I call "rhymes at one remove" (column d). (To simplify matters, each book is treated as a continuous cycle, so that every verse will have another verse to follow it and will follow another verse.)

To summarize the results:

	a (number of verses)	b (expect- ation)	c (couplet- rhymes)	d (rhymes at one remove)
1	363	19.5	19	22
2	173	9.0	14	12
3	403	18.6	23	17
4	428	21.0	36	24
5	174	8.3	4	9
app.	405	19.8	18	20

It will be seen that Peters' contention (see pp. 213-4 above) does not apply to book 1, book 5, or the appendix, where the number of "couplet-rhymes" (i.e., cases where the desinences of two successive verses are the same) is in fact less than chance-expectation. The figures given above ~~show~~^{seem} to indicate that both at the beginning and at the end of his career Phaedrus had no particular love for this sort of "rhyming" effect. It is equally obvious, however, that at the time when he was writing book 4 at least, Phaedrus certainly

was inspired to indulge in this kind of ornament.¹⁰

In book 2 there are noticeably more "rhymes", especially couplet-rhymes, than would have been expected to occur fortuitously. If, however, we examine more closely, we shall find that the favouring of such effects is limited to the last two poems of the book, where they are quite striking in their frequency. Poem 8 ("Cervus ad boves") has couplet-rhymes between verses 3 and 4 ("petit_i--"condidit_i"), 6 and 7 ("cucurrer_is"--"commiser_is"), and 13 and 14 ("vilic_us"--"fer_us"), a triple-rhyme among verses 23, 24, and 25 ("arane_a"--"singul_a"--"cornu_a"), and rhymes at one remove between verses 18 and 20 and verses 25 and 27 ("venerit"--"redit", "cornu_a"--"fabul_a").¹¹ Poem 9 ("Auctor") begins with two couplet-rhymes ("Attici"--"basi", "viam"--"gloriam"), followed by two verses both ending in "-t" ("foret"--"superfuit") and then another couplet-rhyme ("aemulatio"--"meo"); there is yet another couplet-rhyme between verses 13 and 14 ("fabul_as"--"felicita_s")¹² and a rhyme at one remove between verses 10 and 12

¹⁰ $\chi^2 = (36-21.1)^2 + 21.1 = 10.5$, with $df=1$, giving a probability of chance-occurrence of not much more than one in one thousand.

¹¹L. Rank, in fact, (Mn 38 =1910=, 272) suspected corruption in verses 23 to 27 precisely because of the repetition of the letter A at the end of each line.

¹²Indeed, in the reading of the manuscripts, kept by Guaglianone, a verse 12 also ends in "-ās", giving a triplet-rhyme with the next two verses. (Note that, if this reading is kept, the metre requires "pervenit" to be a perfect.) Of course, the rhyme between verses 10 and 12 rests on Mueller's emendation "cultas pervenit", printed by Perry.

("voluerit"--"pervenit").

The remaining poems of book 2 make up 126 verses (including the doubtful 2.5.20); and, if we expect 9.0 couplet-rhymes or rhymes at one remove to occur by chance in the book as a whole, then we would expect $9.0(126) + 173 = 6.6$ to so occur in the book minus its last two poems. As a matter of fact, there are 5 couplet-rhymes and 8 rhymes at one remove here, neither case at all far from expectation. The implication is that deliberate rhyming-effects in verse-desinences are restricted to poems 8 and 9.

There are no such special concentrations in book 3, on the other hand. The best case that can be made is for poem 2 ("Panthera et pastores"), with a couplet-rhyme between verses 6 and 7 ("spiritum"--"domum") and an extended pattern in verses 10-6 ("liberat"--"gradu"--"provocat"--"necat"--"impetu"--"pepercerant"--"rogant"), but generally rhymes between verses seem to be fairly **evenly** distributed in this book.

The same can be said of book 4 with its much higher frequency of such effects. No poem of more than eight lines fails to have at least one couplet-rhyme, and the only area where a poem lacking one is not immediately followed by a poem that does possess such a rhyme is around the well-known lacuna between 4.14.7 and 4.15.1. The slightly smaller frequency of couplet-rhymes in the long poems¹³

¹³The seven longest poems consist of 222 verses, containing 14 couplet-rhymes, while the remaining poems consist of 206 verses, containing 20 couplet-rhymes. (The remaining two couplet-rhymes

is not demonstrably significant; neither is the minor preponderance of the first half of the book over the second¹⁴.

It would appear that in writing book 5 Phaedrus if anything avoided the use of couplet-rhymes. As can be seen from the table, the number of such rhymes occurring in Perry's text of this book is less than half what would have been expected by chance alone.¹⁵ Even if this should be due to accident, with no special intent on Phaedrus' part to avoid rhyming verses in book 5, it must certainly have been the case that he abandoned the strong preference for such ornament manifested in book 4.¹⁶ Nothing can be made of the fact that three of the four couplet-rhymes in book 5 occur before the middle of the book (where the epilogue to book 4 was inserted, apparently

are between 4.prol.20 and 4.1.1 and between 4.4.13 and 4.5.1.)

¹⁴4.prol.1-4.14.7 consists of 219 verses and contains 21 couplet-rhymes, and 4.15.1-4.epil.9 consists of 209 verses (including 4.25.1) and contains 15 couplet-rhymes--about 0.096 per verse as against about 0.072 per verse.

¹⁵It should be noted that the text of P provides two additional couplet-rhymes in book 5, between verses 4 and 5 and verses 5 and 6 of the prologue. Yet, this still does not bring the total up to chance-expectation; and moreover to read with P "novo" in verse 5 is not only clumsy from the point of view of sense, but also runs counter to Phaedrus' usual (albeit not universal) practice of making clause-divisions coincide with verse-divisions or caesuras (cf. Nøjgaard, II, p. 28).

¹⁶For the drop in the use of couplet-rhymes between book 4 and book 5, χ^2 is a fairly impressive 7.0 (df=1), meaning that there is less than one chance in one hundred of random occurrence.

in error, at some point during the transmission) on account of the smallness of the numbers involved. Even the first part of book 5, however, is slightly below chance-expectation in couplet-rhymes, so that there is no reason in this regard why it should be attached to book 4.¹⁷

The fact that the number of couplet-rhymes in the appendix is slightly below expectation **suggests** that a large number of these fables probably came from Phaedrus' late work, after he had completed book 4 and after he had abandoned the use of rhyming couplets (not from his earliest work, which Perotti seems not to have had). Interesting is the fact that the couplet-rhymes in the appendix concentrate fairly heavily in the poems numbered 7 to 17 in Perry's text (13 in 202 verses, as against 5 in the remaining poems). This might lead to some conjectures about Perotti's method of selecting fables, but caution must obviously be exercised.¹⁸

We have seen, therefore, how, with considerable qualifications, Peters' contention regarding the "rhyming" of verses in Phaedrus is in fact supported by a more rigorous analysis. One further qualification

¹⁷It is too short to show a significant drop from book 4 in the use of couplet-rhymes, but only just ($\chi^2=3.6$ with $df=1$).

¹⁸One fact that is certain about Perotti's arrangement of Phaedrian material in his Epitome is his tendency to separate the Phaedrus poems with material from other sources.

should perhaps be added. Although the evidence one way or the other is rather slim and difficult to assess, it appears that, in the cases of non-cognate rhymes between verses (e.g., 1.2.4-5, "partib^us"-- "Pisistrat^us"), the same pattern of development is not to be observed. The drop in book 5, yes; but no indication of increased frequency in book 4. Given a greater amount of material, then, it might have been profitable to distinguish homoeoptoton-rhyme from homoeoteleuton-rhyme.

How does Phaedrus compare with other poets in this respect? Is it possible that he picked up the idea of the couplet-rhyme from some specific source?

Whether Publilius Syrus favoured or avoided couplet-rhymes we have, unfortunately, no way of knowing, on account of the fragmentary nature of the Sententiae. The question may be examined, however, in the case of Seneca, who used the iambic senarius in a way very similar to Phaedrus and who was his approximate contemporary. Seneca is known in his tragedies for a rhetorical style, and this would probably have led to a consciousness of homoeoteleuta, which were regarded variously by the rhetoricians either as ornamenta or as vitia¹⁹. As elsewhere, the passage considered will be the introductory speech of the Hercules Furens, which has the advantage of uninterrupted

¹⁹Ornament: Rhet. ad Herenn. 4.3.5; Cic., Orat. (49)164, De Orat. 3.(54)206. Flaw: Quint., Inst. Orat. 9.3.102 and 9.4.41-2; Gell., N.A. 18.8. See Marouzeau, Traité, pp. 51-8.

length. This speech (as given in Miller's Loeb text) consists of 124 verses and shows 8 couplet-rhymes and 8 rhymes at one remove; the chance-expectation for either couplet-rhymes or rhymes at one remove in this passage, calculated on an internal basis (cf. p. 215 above), is about 6.0. The slight exceeding of expectation here is relatively meaningless; but it appears at any rate that Seneca in his tragedies, like the early Phaedrus, made no special effort to avoid this type of rhyme.²⁰

For a second comparison, let us turn to Babrius, the other main fabular poet of antiquity and, though writing in Greek, a possible imitator^o of Phaedrus. If Babrius lived toward the end of the first century A.D. and pronounced the sounds of Greek in a fairly accurate and conservative manner²¹, the chances of two verses chosen at random rhyming should be about 9.4%. Thus in the 489 verses that make up the first 39 fables plus the prologue in Perry's Loeb text one would expect some 46 (= 489 times 9.4%) couplet-rhymes or rhymes at one

²⁰Yet, further study is obviously required. A rough check of a few other passages shows considerable variation, generally in the direction of fewer couplet-rhymes.

²¹ η pronounced the same as η , ω the same as ω ; but ϵ still distinguished from ι ; and so on. For the criteria, see E.H. Sturtevant, The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin (Groningen: 1968 = Philadelphia: 1940=).

remove to occur by chance. In fact there are 47 couplet-rhymes and 41 rhymes at one remove--certainly no indication that Babrius either avoided or cultivated this type of rhyme.

After Babrius, it is only natural to turn to Avienus, the other surviving Latin fabular poet of antiquity besides Phaedrus. Avienus seems more likely to have imitated Phaedrus than does Babrius; for Avienus not only wrote in the same language as Phaedrus, but also knew his name and at least which of Aesop's fables he had used (see p. 4). There are 654 verses in Avienus' fables (including the few bracketed passages; the text is that of the Duffs' Loeb edition), and these show 37 couplet-rhymes and 30 rhymes at one remove, as against an expectation of 33.0. It thus appears that Avienus is relatively indifferent to rhyme between verses, but a closer examination reveals this not to be the case. Only 7 of the 30 rhymes at one remove are between pentameters, and this includes rhymes between poems; 23 are between hexameters. Only 14 of the 37 couplet-rhymes are between a pentameter and a following hexameter; the remaining 23 are within a true couplet. The fact that Avienus was writing in a different metre, and one that was distichic rather than monostichic, makes it difficult to compare his practice with that of Phaedrus. His avoidance of rhyme between pentameters is reminiscent of Phaedrus book 5 (a short-anceps sequence being found at the end both of the elegiac couplet and of the iambic senarius), but this does not necessarily point to influence; other elegiac poets are more likely the source.

Cicero is famous, perhaps infamous, for effects of sound-

repetition in his poetry at a time when this had become unpopular; he should therefore serve as a useful outer limit in the direction of the favouring of rhyme (the works of his predecessors, such as Ennius, being in too fragmentary a state). If one examines all senarii in Cicero's translations from Greek dramatists (as given by C.F.W. Mueller in the Teubner text of Cicero's works, vol. 4, part 3, pp. 353-8), one will find, in a total of 116 verses, only 2 couplet-rhymes, but 9 rhymes at one remove (as against expectations of 5.0 and 4.3 respectively). The sample is not large enough to confirm with any degree of certainty a tendency toward the rhyme at one remove and away from the couplet-rhyme; if there was such a tendency on the part of Cicero in his iambs, however, the practice of Phaedrus was certainly quite different; as seen above, Phaedrus seems to have been almost completely indifferent to rhymes at one remove, even in book 4, and to have avoided couplet-rhymes, if at all, only in his final work.

But let us consider a Ciceronian fragment of a different type, namely the long passage from De Consulatu Suo quoted at De Divinatione 1.11.17-13.22 (as given by Mueller, pp. 398-400). Many of the rhymes are obviously more than one syllable deep in this poem; but if, in the usual way, the desinences alone are considered, one will find 9 couplet-rhymes and only 2 rhymes at one remove (the expectation being about 3.4 for either). Thus in Cicero's hexameters we get a virtual reversal of the situation in the case of his senarii.

Thus early epic is a possible (if rather unlikely) source for Phaedrus' favouring of couplet-rhymes in book 4. There is naturally always the possibility that Cicero is eccentric in this regard, and it could not be thought that Phaedrus had drawn specifically on Cicero's poetry for inspiration in the use of rhyme!²²

²²Lucretius certainly favours couplet-rhymes to a considerable degree (about .09 per verse), though not as much as does Cicero in the passage cited. Deutsch believes that the many homoeoteleuta in this passage are due to imitation of Ennius, but a more clumsy imitation than Lucretius' (Pattern of Sound in Lucretius, pp. 158-9). To judge, however, from the three longest fragments given by Vahlen of Ennius' Annals (I fr. XXVIII, I fr. XLVII, VII fr. XIV), Ennius was not at all fond of couplet-rhymes in his hexameters, since only one occurs in a total of 55 verses (as against 3 rhymes at one remove). It thus remains unclear whether early epic favoured this form of repetition or not.

In addition, it has been pointed out by R.G. Austin (CQ 23, =1929=, 48) that the passage from Cicero's poem on his consulate consists in large part of a Sibylline prophecy and that prophetic passages in Virgil are often characterized by forms of sound-repetition. (Cf. note 23 below.)

As to comedy, Plautus seems to avoid couplet-rhymes to some degree (having about $3\frac{1}{2}$ for every 100 verses of continuous iambic senarii) and to favour rhymes at one remove (around $8\frac{1}{2}$ per hundred verses). Terence's practice seems to vary greatly, so that more study is necessary; but on average he does not appear to avoid couplet-rhymes (having about $6\frac{3}{4}$ for every 100 verses of continuous iambic senarii) and seems to favour rhymes at one remove (about 8 per hundred verses). There is no precise parallel here with Phaedrus' practice.

Last, let us look at Virgil's fourth Eclogue, in which a great number of rhyming effects have been noted. These are apparently part of a deliberate attempt to imitate the Semitic style of poetry found in the so-called Sibylline Oracles²³; Phaedrus' own poem on Apollo's oracle (app.8) is also noteworthy for the prevalence of rhyme and may contain imitations of Virgil²⁴.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue consists of 63 verses, containing 7 couplet-rhymes and 3 rhymes at one remove. One would expect roughly 3.4 of either to occur by chance.²⁵ By way of contrast, in the three preceding Eclogues, where one would expect 14 or 15 couplet-rhymes, I count only 9. Virgil thus appears normally to avoid this particular sound-repetition, reserving it for particular purposes (cf. Austin, CQ 23 =1929=, 46-55). (Rhymes at one remove are abundant in the third Eclogue because of its amoebic nature.)

Nevertheless, we do have in Virgil another possible source for Phaedrus' favouring of couplet-rhymes, especially if the fabulist

²³See R.G. Austin, "Virgil and the Sibyl", CQ 21 (1927), 100-5, and compare Hérescu, La poésie latine, p. 160 ff.

²⁴On Phaedrus' possible imitation of Virgil in this poem, see Peters, p. 28 and note 174.

²⁵This expectation is based on the verse-desinences of the first four Eclogues. The probability of rhyme between two verses chosen at random from the first four Eclogues is calculated to be about 5.5%.

was familiar with the fourth Eclogue. Thus any hope of tracing Phaedrus' precise sources through the use of this device seems relatively slim, just as it is not clear that anyone picked it up from him at a later date.

The conclusions reached regarding the growth and decline of Phaedrus' own use of rhyme, however, remain valid. He remained relatively indifferent to rhymes at one remove, but favoured couplet-rhymes more and more with time, with the exception of his final book, where he seems actually to have avoided them to some degree.²⁶

3. Internal Rhyme

When we turn to the question of rhymes within the verse, we are faced far more with the problem of grammatical necessity. Indeed, it becomes virtually impossible to evaluate the chance-expectation in the manner employed in the case of rhyme between verses. Hence this element must be abandoned, and the degree of internal rhyme

²⁶It is interesting to note that in the Zander reconstructions (on which, see pp. 90-1 above) the numbers of couplet-rhymes and of rhymes at one remove are noticeably (though not in the statistical sense significantly) lower than chance-expectation. This might be the result of an unconscious prejudice on Zander's part against giving the same desinence to neighbouring verses, but is more likely the result of accident. It is probable that if Phaedrus did write such fables they belonged to his early period, during which he did not at any rate favour rhyme between verses.

in any particular position in one work assessed relative to other works of the same or different authors. The grammatical relationship between the rhyming words may be important, as has been demonstrated in the case of Horace (see O. Skutsch, BICS 11 =1964=, 73-8).

In studying internal rhymes, we may generally restrict our attention to those cases in which the desinence preceding a common caesura or dieresis is the same as the verse-desinence (that is, to rhyme in what Zelzer calls "sensitive positions" =see note 4 on p. 212 above=). In Phaedrian verse, therefore, particular attention will have to be paid to desinences preceding the third- or fourth-foot caesuras.

But another break appears also to be of importance. This is the dieresis between the fifth and sixth feet, which occurs in Phaedrus in roughly 40% of the verses (and without much change in this proportion from one part of his work to another). A. Tacke notes (Phaedriana =Berlin: 1911=, on 4.2.1-5) that there are quite a large number of undoubted cases in Phaedrus of a word preceding this dieresis having the same desinence as the last word in the verse. The examples that he cites are 1.1.10, 1.18.6, 3.pro1.40, 4.5.22, app.4.9, and app.27.4. But these are only examples; the number of instances is much greater.

In the following table, the number of instances of this particular sort of internal rhyme is given for each part of Phaedrus'

work²⁷ and beside that the approximate rate of occurrence per verse.

book 1	15	0.042
book 2	5	0.029
book 3	14	0.035
book 4	8	0.019
book 5	1	0.006
appendix	5	0.012

It gives a very clear picture: a fairly steady decline in Phaedrus' use of the sound-effect in question as time went on, with the rate of employment in the appendix lying between that of book 4 and that of book 5.

Certain other points should also be noted. This type of rhyme does not occur at all in fables 6 to 17 of book 1, its rate of occurrence in the remainder of the book being about 0.065 times per verse; this could not have occurred by accident²⁸, and the explanation

²⁷The full list of instances is as follows: 1.1.5, 1.1.10, 1.3.1, 1.4.3, 1.5.2, 1.18.6, 1.19.9, 1.22.1, 1.24.4, 1.26.5, 1.26.7, 1.27.10, 1.28.7, 1.28.8, 1.29.8, 2.prol.6, 2.3.1, 2.4.13, 2.8.2, 2.8.5, 3.prol.4, 3.prol.5, 3.prol.40, 3.prol.43, 3.prol.53, 3.3.3, 3.7.2, 3.7.21, 3.10.57, 3.14.5, 3.16.17, 3.17.1, 3.epil.22, 3.epil.27, 4.prol.16, 4.1.8, 4.2.12, 4.5.22, 4.16.1, 4.21.7, 4.22.6, 4.23.24, 5.7.19, app.4.9, app.15.1, app.21.7, app.27.4, app.32.9.

²⁸More strictly, the probability is around one in 300.

probably lies in some heterogeneity in the putting together of the book (but oddly there appears to be no corroborative evidence of this). Fully half of the instances from book 3 are found in the prologue or epilogue, the rate of occurrence for the rest of the book being about 0.023 per verse (thus between that for book 2 and that for book 4).

The decrease in this type of rhyme in Phaedrus' later work is not due to an increasing tendency to separate grammatically concordant elements. A survey of noun-adjective combinations in books 1 and 5 has shown me that the ratio of remotely placed pairs to pairs placed in immediate proximity changes scarcely at all. Nor, as already indicated, is there any significant change in the frequency of post-fifth-foot diereses.

The explanation must lie in an increased sensitivity to rhyming effects generally. We have already seen how Phaedrus came to use couplet-rhymes to a significantly greater extent in his fourth book. At the same time he must have become more conscious of rhymes in other positions also. The rhyme involving the post-fifth-foot dieresis occurred too easily; thus he avoided it more and more as he attempted to refine his verse, until in his final work he all but eliminated it.²⁹

²⁹The worm in the apple is of course the unexplained gap in book 1. If Phaedrus was not conscious of rhyme during his early period, how did he come to avoid this particular type throughout so many verses in his first book? Note the very close type represented by "raptum caseum" in 1.13.4 (cf. 1.14.9) and the noun-adjective pairs ending verses 1.11.13, 1.12.4, 1.13.12, and 1.17.7.

In the fragments of Publilius Syrus, dieresis after the fifth foot is almost exactly as common as it is in Phaedrus. The type of rhyme just discussed in Phaedrus occurs about 0.027 times per verse in Publilius. If this is used as a standard (an admittedly somewhat risky procedure), Phaedrus could be said to have used the sort of rhyme in question more than usual in book 1 and to have avoided it in books 4 and 5.

Throughout Phaedrus' work, the proportion of verses having third-foot caesuras remains almost exactly 89%, and the proportion having fourth-foot caesuras almost exactly 67%.³⁰ This is convenient; for any variation from one part of Phaedrus' work to another in the number of instances of rhyme between the word preceding the caesura and the last word of the verse will immediately be recognized to be due to factors other than the mere frequency of either kind of caesura.

Here then are the numbers of occurrences of the two types of caesural rhyme for the various parts of Phaedrus' work, together with their frequencies (number of occurrences per verse):

	third foot		fourth foot	
book 1	18	.050	13	.036

³⁰The only departure of more than a couple of percentage points is observed in the case of third-foot caesuras in the appendix, where they are found in about 93% of the verses.

book 2	11	.064	6	.035
book 3	34	.085	21	.052
book 4	26	.061	20	.047
book 5	12	.069	9	.052
appendix	27	.067	20	.050

A certain parallelism will be noted in the change of frequency of the two types of rhyme. Both types are considerably more common in book 3 than in the preceding books, become slightly less common in book 4, and rise somewhat in book 5; both are about as common in the appendix as they are in book 5. There is not, however, as sharp a picture of development as there was in the case of fifth-foot-dieresis rhyme.

In the case of third-foot-caesura rhymes, the differences between the parts of Phaedrus' work show up more sharply if those rhymes due to parallelism or grammatical concord are eliminated, leaving only those of the type "asello"--"leo", "decoris"--"geris", etc.:³¹

³¹The complete list of such "non-grammatical" third-foot-caesura rhymes is as follows: 1.11.3, 1.12.14, 1.13.7, 1.16.6, 1.21.7, 1.29.6, 2.1.9, 2.3.4, 2.8.5, 3.prol.29, 3.prol.57, 3.prol.63, 3.3.16, 3.4.1, 3.5.10, 3.7.6, 3.8.2, 3.9.2, 3.10.18, 3.10.59, 3.11.7, 3.14.11, 3.epil.23, 4.5.19, 4.5.32, 4.13.1, 4.16.14, 4.18.4, 4.19.29, 4.21.25, 5.2.12, 5.5.34, 5.6.7, 5.7.13, app.7.4, app.9.6, app.10.18, app.10.20, app.10.31, app.15.7, app.16.12, app.16.14, app.17.4.

book 1	6	.017
book 2	3	.017
book 3	14	.035
book 4	7	.016
book 5	4	.022
appendix	9	.022

The same is not true of fourth-foot-caesura rhymes, but these are smaller in number and may not have had as much attention paid to them (thus their change in frequency may be due to syntactical rather than phonic causes).

Like couplet-rhymes (see p. 221 above), third-foot-caesura rhymes are concentrated in the poems of the appendix numbered 7 to 17 (24 in 202 verses, in contrast to 3 in the remaining 202 verses of the appendix). Again, an explanation might be sought in Perotti's method of selecting fables. No such concentration is observed in the case of fourth-foot-caesura rhymes--a further indication of their relative unimportance.

About seven out of every hundred of the iambic senarii of Publilius Syrus seem to show rhyme between the last word before the third-foot caesura and the final word in the verse. Publilius has third-foot caesura in only about 80% of his senarii, however, (as against 89% for Phaedrus); thus his use of third-foot-caesura rhyme is more comparable to a rate of .08 per verse in Phaedrus. Use this as a rough standard to evaluate the table above: it will

appear that Phaedrus is generally somewhat sparing in his use of this type of rhyme. If we further recall how much of the increase in its frequency in book 3 is due to non-grammatical instances, we might have some justification for concluding that Phaedrus deliberately avoided the grammatical type throughout his career, experimenting, however, with the purely phonic type in his middle work. On the other hand, Publilius' gnomic style may have been especially favourable to the sort of antithesis and balance that produces rhyming hemistichs. Seneca, who only very rarely omits the third-foot caesura in his senarii, appears to have third-foot-caesura rhyme only about 5 or 6 times per hundred verses (the equivalent of about .05 times per verse in Phaedrus).

4. Conclusion

We have seen that Phaedrus appears to pay particular attention to at least three sorts of rhyme: rhyme between the final words of successive verses (couplet-rhyme); rhyme between a word ending with the fifth foot and the final word of a verse; rhyme between a word preceding a third-foot caesura and the final word of the verse (third-foot-caesura rhyme). The first sort he employed more and more with time, but appears to have abandoned in his last work. The second he used less and less almost from the start of his career, until he all but eliminated it from his work. The third he appears to have cultivated while he was writing book 3, using it relatively sparingly in the other books. In the appendix, both couplet-rhymes

and third-foot-caesura rhymes are concentrated notably in those poems commonly numbered 7 to 17; this information may be of some use in making conjectures about the source of the various poems in the appendix.

Phaedrus' particular use of rhyme is more likely due to personal preferences than to specific literary imitation. Nevertheless, the possibility of his having been influenced in this regard by other poets cannot be ruled out, though it would be difficult to determine precisely by whom.

Appendix A: Rhyme between Verse-Endings in Phaedrus

- a occurrences of the verse-desinence
- b expected number of couplet-rhymes or rhymes at one remove, to the nearest tenth
- c actual number of couplet-rhymes
- d actual number of rhymes at one remove

	book 1			
	a	b	c	d
-ă	12	0.4	1	1
-ā	11	0.3	1	0
-ae	7	0.1	0	0
-aest	1	0.0	0	0
-am	15	0.6	1	1
-ans	3	0.0	0	1
-ant	2	0.0	0	0
-ās	13	0.4	0	1
-at	10	0.2	1	0
-ē	26	1.8	2	0
-ē	1	0.0	0	0
-em	14	0.5	0	2
-ens	6	0.1	0	0

-ent	5	0.0	0	0
-er	4	0.0	0	0
-ēs	11	0.3	1	1
-ĕst	4	0.0	0	0
-et	16	0.7	2	0
-ex	1	0.0	0	0
-i	34	3.1	3	4
-im	1	0.0	0	0
-int	1	0.0	0	0
-īs	13	0.4	0	0
-īs	6	0.1	0	0
-it	34	3.1	2	3
-o	22	1.3	1	2
-or	4	0.0	0	0
-ōs	8	0.2	0	0
-ost	1	0.0	0	0
-ū	3	0.0	0	0
-ul	1	0.0	0	0
-um	25	1.7	0	3
-umst	1	0.0	0	0
-unt	2	0.0	0	0
-ur	3	0.0	0	0
-ūs	39	4.1	4	3
-ūs	1	0.0	0	0
-ut	2	0.0	0	0

<u>total</u>	—	—	—	—
	363	19.5	19	22
			book 2	
	a	b	c	d
-ä	9	0.4	2	2
-ā	5	0.1	0	0
-ae	3	0.0	0	0
-am	7	0.2	1	0
-ans	2	0.0	0	0
-ant	2	0.0	1	0
-ās	7	0.3	1	0
-at	6	0.2	2	1
-ě	18	1.8	1	2
-ē	2	0.0	0	0
-em	9	0.4	0	0
-ens	1	0.0	0	0
-ent	1	0.0	0	0
-er	1	0.0	0	0
-ěs	1	0.0	0	0
-ēs	3	0.0	0	0
-ěst	1	0.0	0	0
-et	5	0.1	0	0
-i	11	0.6	1	1
-im	2	0.0	0	0
-int	1	0.0	0	0

-ÿs	9	0.3	1	1
-İs	3	0.0	0	0
-it	16	1.4	1	3
-o	16	1.4	2	1
-or	2	0.0	0	0
-ōs	2	0.0	0	0
-ū	2	0.0	0	0
-um	9	0.4	0	0
-umst	1	0.0	0	0
-unt	1	0.0	0	0
-ur	1	0.0	0	0
-ūs	14	1.0	1	1
	—	—	—	—
<u>total</u>	173	9.0	14	12

book 3

	a	b	c	d
-ǎ	22	1.1	0	0
-ā	12	0.3	0	0
-ae	10	0.2	0	0
-am	17	0.7	0	1
-ans	2	0.0	0	0
-ant	3	0.0	1	0
-ar	2	0.0	0	0

-ās	11	0.3	0	1
-ǎst	1	0.0	0	0
-at	12	0.3	2	2
-ĕ	21	1.0	1	0
-ē	5	0.0	0	0
-em	11	0.3	0	0
-ĕn	1	0.0	0	0
-ens	7	0.1	0	0
-ent	3	0.0	0	0
-er	4	0.0	0	0
-ĕs	1	0.0	0	0
-ēs	13	2.6	2	0
-ĕst	3	0.0	0	0
-et	10	0.2	0	0
-ex	2	0.0	0	0
-i	33	2.6	4	4
-im	4	0.0	1	0
-īs	17	0.7	1	0
-īs	12	0.3	3	0
-it	28	1.9	0	3
-o	28	1.9	2	2
-ōn	1	0.0	0	0
-or	10	0.2	1	0
-ōs	1	0.0	0	0
-ōs	9	0.2	2	0

-ū	5	0.0	0	0
-ul	2	0.0	0	0
-um	32	2.5	1	1
-umst	2	0.0	0	0
-unt	4	0.0	0	0
-ur	2	0.0	0	0
-ūs	36	3.1	2	3
-ūs	2	0.0	0	0
-ut	2	0.0	0	0
	—	—	—	—
<u>total</u>	403	18.6	23	17

book 4

	a	b	c	d
-ā ^c	26	1.5	2	2
-ā	15	0.5	0	0
-ae	13	0.4	0	2
-am	19	0.8	1	2
-ans	2	0.0	0	0
-ant	8	0.1	2	0
-ās	12	0.3	0	0
-at	7	0.1	0	0
-ax	1	0.0	0	0
-ē	25	1.4	5	1

-ē	4	0.0	0	0
-em	9	0.2	0	1
-ens	5	0.0	0	0
-ent	4	0.0	0	0
-er	6	0.1	0	1
-ēs	1	0.0	0	0
-ēs	16	0.6	1	0
-ēst	3	0.0	0	0
-et	11	0.3	1	0
-ex	2	0.0	0	0
-i	40	3.6	6	5
-il	2	0.0	0	0
-im	3	0.0	0	0
-int	1	0.0	0	0
-īs	12	0.3	0	0
-īs	20	0.9	1	1
-it	24	1.3	2	1
-o	41	3.8	6	3
-or	8	0.1	0	0
-ors	1	0.0	0	0
-ōs	1	0.0	0	0
-ōs	13	0.4	0	1
-ū	2	0.0	0	0
-ul	1	0.0	0	0
-um	26	1.5	2	2

-unt	4	0.0	0	0
-ur	3	0.0	0	0
-ŭs	34	2.6	6	2
-ūs	3	0.0	0	0
	—	—	—	—
<u>total</u>	428	21.0	36	24

book 5

	a	b	c	d
-ă	6	0.2	0	1
-ā	9	0.4	0	1
-ae	3	0.0	0	0
-am	4	0.1	1	0
-ans	2	0.0	0	0
-ās	4	0.1	0	0
-at	7	0.2	1	0
-ax	1	0.0	0	0
-ě	10	0.5	0	1
-ē	2	0.0	0	0
-el	1	0.0	0	0
-em	7	0.2	0	0
-ens	5	0.1	0	0
-ent	3	0.0	0	0
-ēs	3	0.0	0	0
-ēs	5	0.1	0	0

-ĕst	3	0.0	0	0
-et	10	0.5	0	1
-i	13	0.9	1	1
-im	1	0.0	0	0
-ĭs	4	0.1	0	0
-Īs	5	0.1	0	0
-it	7	0.2	0	0
-o	20	2.2	0	2
-ōn	1	0.0	0	0
-or	4	0.1	0	0
-ū	1	0.0	0	0
-ul	2	0.0	0	0
-um	7	0.2	0	1
-unt	2	0.0	0	0
-ur	1	0.0	0	0
-us	18	1.8	1	1
-ūs	1	0.0	0	0
-ut	2	0.0	0	0
	—	—	—	—
<u>total</u>	174	8.3	4	9

Perotti's Appendix

	a	b	c	d
-ā	22	1.1	2	2
-ā	10	0.2	0	0

-ae	9	0.2	0	0
-am	17	0.7	0	0
-ans	2	0.0	0	0
-ant	2	0.0	0	0
-ar	2	0.0	0	0
-ās	18	0.8	0	0
-äst	1	0.0	0	0
-at	20	0.9	2	1
-ë	19	0.9	1	3
-ē	1	0.0	0	0
-em	15	0.5	0	0
-ën	3	0.0	0	0
-ens	9	0.2	0	0
-ent	1	0.0	0	0
-er	7	0.1	0	1
-ēs	20	0.9	3	1
-et	18	0.8	1	2
-ex	1	0.0	0	0
-i	37	3.5	3	4
-int	1	0.0	0	0
-īs	25	1.5	2	1
-īs	7	0.1	1	1
-it	22	1.1	1	0
-o	25	1.5	0	0
-or	7	0.1	0	0

-ös	5	0.1	0	0
-ū	8	0.1	0	0
-ul	1	0.0	0	0
-um	22	1.1	1	0
-unt	1	0.0	0	0
-ur	7	0.1	0	0
-ūs	38	3.5	1	4
-ūs	1	0.0	0	0
-ut	1	0.0	0	0
	—	—	—	—
total	405	19.8	18	20

VII

ALLITERATION

As with rhyme, so with alliteration there is no complete agreement on the meaning of the term. The general opinion seems however to be that it should refer to an identity of initial phonemes or groups of phonemes¹. Broadly speaking the phonemes in question may be initial to any syllable within a word, but in a narrower sense alliteration concerns only the initial phonemes of the word as a whole². The word alliteratio is not ancient, but was invented by Pontano in the Fifteenth Century³. The ancient Greeks, who did not emphasize the initial of their words, did not employ alliteration as such, though their poetry was often characterized by sound-

¹This is the definition given by A. Cordier (L'allitération latine =Paris: 1939=, pp. 1-2), and is based on that of Marouzeau (Lexique de la terminologie linguistique =Paris: 1933=, s.v.). Wölfflin however (ALL 9 =1896=, 570-1) is inclined to include similar as well as identical phonemes, and for W.J. Evans (Allitteratio Latina =London: 1921=, pp. xv-xvi) "alliteration" is any similarity of sound other than terminal rhyme (cf. J. Defradas, "Le rôle de l'allitération dans la poésie grecque", REA 60 =1958=, 36-49).

²Marouzeau allows the broader sense, but Cordier in his study limits his attention to the word-initial type. Wölfflin (ALL 9 =1896=, 569-70) believes, against Keller, that the initial phoneme of the root may participate in alliteration even when preceded by a prefix; but he otherwise follows the narrower definition. Cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, p. 702.

³Pontano's definition is quoted by Cordier (p. 1); as well as identity of the initial vowels or consonants of words, it includes identity of the initial syllable, and has the general restriction that the words must be consecutive.

echoing⁴. Old Latin poetry made extensive use of alliteration, though without the strict rules of, say, Old English.⁵ But the Roman critics, because they took their theory from the Greeks, lacked a way to refer to the phenomenon. The Auctor ad Herennium (4.12.18) speaks of "nimia^a assiduitas eiusdem litterae" as one of the faults to be avoided

⁴For example, Sophocles' famous line
 τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ἔτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὄμματ' εἶ
 (O.T. 371).

Oddly enough, however, the Greeks seem to have lacked a term for even this general form of sound-repetition (striking as it might be). *παρήχησις*, which Jebb used to describe the phenomenon in the verse just quoted, is merely another name for paronomasia (Zonaeus, *Περὶ Σχημάτων*, III, p. 168, 29 Spengel; Hermogenes, *Περὶ Εὐρέσεως*, 4.7: cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der litterarischen Rhetorik* München: 1960, section 637); and paronomasia, in all the ancient grammarians, is clearly confined to quite extensive similarities between words, and could not have been applied to the iteration of a single phoneme. (For further discussion, and a plausible enough explanation, see P. Ferrarino, "L'alliterazione", *Rendiconto delle sessioni della R. Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna: classe di scienze morali* IV.II =1938-9, 93-168.)

The term *ὁμοιοκάρκτος*, mentioned by Wilkinson (*Golden Latin Artistry*, p. 25), which would anyway not precisely mean "alliteration", is in fact a pure conjecture for ancient times, based on "ὁμοιο σ . . ." in Philodemus (*Rhetoric*, I, p. 162 Sudhaus). The word is not attested until Planudes in the Thirteenth Century (along with *ὁμοιοκάρκτος*: see Ferrarino, pp. 119-20).

For a rather striking instance of an alliteration in Latin apparently being missed by one whose native tongue was Greek, see Plutarch, *Caesar*, 50 (only the identical desinences in the famous "veni, vidi, vici" are mentioned, not the more important identity of initial phonemes).

The doctrine that alliteration is a natural linguistic fact due to the special value of the initial in certain languages was established by J. Vendryes in 1902 (Cordier, pp. 9-10; but see Ferrarino, p. 130, where it is stated that opposition to Vendryes' theory has become general).

⁵Such lines as Ennius'
 O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti
 (Annals, 109)
 are of course notorious; but, as Wölfflin points out (ALL 14 =1906=,

by the careful speaker (cf. Capella, De Arte Rhetorica, 33). Servius (on Aen. 3.183) seems to have been aware of alliteration in the last half of the hexameter as a particular technique, but had no word for it.⁶ The late grammarians used "parhomoeon"⁷, but this properly means "similarity (of κἄλλα)" and lays no particular emphasis on the initial position⁸. The fact that later poets tended to avoid obtrusive alliteration may have much to do with this terminological gap. Yet it is clear that Virgil at least made frequent use of the device throughout his poetry, though with much greater subtlety than Ennius or Naevius.⁹ Individual instances of alliteration are

517), poetry cannot be written with all-alliterative verses; and in fact these are not really very common even in Old Latin poetry.

⁶So Wölfflin (ALL 14 =1906=, 523), who also cites Donatus' scholium on Terence, Eun. 780, as an example of the ancient lack of the necessary technical term (ALL 14 =1906=, 519).

⁷See Hérescu (La poésie latine, pp. 130-1), who cites Sacerdos 6.458.29 Keil, Diomedes 1.446.30 Keil, Charisius 370.24 Barwick, Martianus Capella p. 474 Halm, Pompeius 5.303.28 Keil, and Isidorus 1.36.14 Lindsay (to which might be added Bede p. 610 Halm). Diomedes seems to have some idea of the original meaning of the word (note his quotation of Aen. 4.3, and compare his note on Eun. prol.42--cited by Ferrarino, pp. 112-3); but, like the others, he too gives the definition "cum verba similiter incipiunt".

⁸For the correct application of the term παρόμοιον, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On Literary Composition, 22, Demetrius, On Style, 25, and Rutilius, 2.12 (and compare Carmen de Figuris, vv. 127-9 =p. 68 Halm=).

⁹See Cordier and Wölfflin (ALL 14 =1906=, 518-9). Wölfflin (ALL 14 =1906=, 520) notes that Ovid's Metamorphoses also contain everywhere echoes of the Enean technique.

to be found in all Roman poets (though in some more than in others), and it cannot be thought (as in the case of the Greeks) that they were indifferent to it.¹⁰

It is virtually impossible to separate off deliberate and accidental alliteration in any author, though particularly striking forms can generally be assumed to be deliberate. Alliterations that involve semantically "full" words can reasonably be thought to be on average more striking than those involving semantically "empty" words.¹¹ Semantically "full" words tend rather strongly to be nouns, verbs, adjectives, and related adverbs, so that alliterations involving the initial phonemes of these words only are likely to be the most noticeable and the most subject to art. Such alliterations may be designated as "strong", while others are "weak". Hence a "strong

¹⁰The most complete discussion of Latin alliteration is that of Cordier, who gives a very full survey of previous work (pp. 2-14). A partial bibliography is also given by Hérescu, who has a brief section on the device (*La poésie latine*, pp. 129-34). Wblifflin (*ALL* 3 =1886=, 443-54; 9 =1896=, 567-73; 14 =1906=, 515-23) has many useful observations. Evans' "rules", however, cannot be taken seriously, as they are almost impossible to break in any passage of Latin, prose or verse (cf. Cordier, pp. 11-2). On Latin alliteration in general, see, among others: Ferrarino; Deutsch, *The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius*, pp. 9-13; Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 45-50; Wilkinson, *Artistry*, pp. 25-8; Hofmann-Szantyr, pp. 700-4.

¹¹This is especially true of a language like Latin, where accidental alliterations between certain connectives, such as those of the qu- group (qui, quod, quia, etc.), are difficult to avoid.

alliterative verse" will be defined as one in which the initial phoneme¹² of at least one noun, verb, adjective, or related adverb is repeated as the initial phoneme of another noun, verb, adjective, or related adverb.¹³

Mueller (ed., on 1.3.9) believed that Phaedrus rarely used alliteration except in formulas, such as "male mulcatus", where it was already established, and so not particularly striking. Havet (ed. 1895, on 1.3.9) quoted Mueller to this effect, but noted that 5.1.2 "in hac re nimii ne simus vetat totus".¹⁴ Peters (p. 79) remarks

¹²For practical purposes, I have considered it desirable to treat all words beginning with a- as having the same initial phoneme (and so on for the other vowels), while recognizing that a phonemic analysis of Latin is possible in which long vowels are treated as distinct phonemes rather than as doublings of their short counterparts. Consonantal i- and u- have, however, been given a separate status.

¹³Hence 1.prol.1 is a strong alliterative verse, because the two nouns "Aesopus" and "auctor" both begin with the same phoneme; 1.1.1, on the other hand, is not, since the only alliterations are the weak ones between "ad" and "agnus" and between "eundem" and "et".

¹⁴The verse in question is a striking enough example of sound-echoing--

Athenas occupavit immerio immobo
 --but Phaedrus provides, as will be seen, better examples than this of alliteration in the strict sense. (Havet may also have been thinking of the fact that all the initials are vowels; but in the case of Latin, at least, two words beginning with different vowels cannot properly be classified as alliterating, though a certain sound-effect does exist.)

that alliteration "bij Phaedrus te vinden is" and gives a few examples (noting its expressive use in 2.1.2, "praedator . . . partem postulans"). It remains for Nøjgaard (II, p. 146) to assert that alliteration is employed by Phaedrus "très couramment" and "non seulement dans les formules, mais partout!"¹⁵

In one sense, Mueller had some justification. Though not to any great degree, Phaedrus does on the whole seem to have avoided alliteration.¹⁶ But it is not unusual for even an author who makes considerable use of alliteration as a stylistic device to avoid employing it casually--so that he may on the whole appear to alliterate only moderately.¹⁷ It is where and how the alliterations that do occur are used that is important.

¹⁵Apparently unknown to Nøjgaard, Weiland ("De tropis et figuris phaedianis", pp. 219-20) had earlier counted some 200 alliterations in Phaedrus and concluded that the fabulist "alliterationem in deliciis habuit", though the number varies from fable to fable. Weiland also asserted that "phonetic" figures are always very frequent in the apologue (citing A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörterliche Redensarten der Römer =Leipzig: 1890=, pp. XXXI and XXXII, which, however, mentions only the prevalence of such **figures** in proverbs). But this is too sweeping: as pointed out by Nøjgaard (I, pp. 25, 110-1, and 113-4), there is no such thing as the style of the fable.

¹⁶I have confirmed this by studying the last two words of the verse in Phaedrus (not counting enclitics as separate words). The only alliterations between these two words that exceed chance-expectation are those in v- and n-; all the rest fall below.

¹⁷This explains the surprising finding of B.F. Skinner (American Journal of Psychology 54 =1941=, 64-79) that on average alliteration in Shakespeare occurs only about as often as would have been anticipated by chance. Shakespeare no doubt avoided alliteration in some parts of his work (English prose-style is chary of many types of sound-echoing) and concentrated it in others (e.g., the more lyrical passages).

The frequency of "strong alliterative verses" varies somewhat from one part of Phaedrus' work to another. The following table gives the number of such verses in each part, followed by the approximate percentage that they make up of the total verses:¹⁸

book 1	119	33%
book 2	54	31%
book 3	111=+1=	28%
book 4	113	26%
book 5	61	35%
appendix	116	29%

(Overall, strong alliterative verses comprise about 30% of all verses.)

It might be observed that strong alliterative verses seem to correlate negatively in frequency with couplet-rhymes (see p. 216 above); but this is only a general phenomenon, without application to specific poems (i.e., Phaedrus did not necessarily feel a need to cut down on other phonic effects wherever one particular phonic effect was prominent).

The degree of alliteration varies greatly from fable to fable, though longer fables tend away from extremes¹⁹. The two fables

¹⁸Generally the definition given above (pp. 250-1) has been followed; but monosyllabic forms of esse have been disregarded.

¹⁹To a certain degree exceptional to the rule that longer poems avoid extremes of alliteration or non-alliteration are 3.7, 5.7, and app.15 (all fairly rich in alliteration) and 2.8 and 4.25 (relatively poor).

in which strong alliterative verses are most intensely concentrated are without doubt 1.4 and 5.9, especially the former:

emittit merito proprium qui alienum adpetit.
canis per flumen carnem cum ferret, natans
 lympharum in speculo vidit simulacrum suum,
 aliamque praedam ab altero ferri putans
 eripere voluit; verum decepta aviditas
 et quem tenebat ore dimisit cibum
 nec quem petebat adeo potuit tangere.

Several fables, all short, have no strong alliterative verses at all. The longest of these is 4.17:

Barbam capellae cum impetrasset ab Iove,
 hirci maerentes indignari coeperunt
 quod dignitatem feminae aequassent suam.
 "Sinite," inquit, "illas gloria vana frui
 et usurpare vestri ornatum muneris,
 pares dum non sint vestrae fortitudini."
 Hoc argumentum monet ut sustineas tibi
 habitu esse similes qui sunt virtute impares.

More important is the distinction between narrative and what I have called personal material (prologues, epilogues, affabulationes, and the like). Throughout his work, Phaedrus employs strong alliterative verses with palpably greater frequency in the former than in the latter (on average, about 32% of verses in narrative contain strong alliteration, as against 27% in personal material).²⁰ An explanation

²⁰Strictly speaking, book 5 presents an exception (here personal material is richer in strong alliterative verses than is narrative); but it is really too short for any conclusions to be drawn regarding a change in Phaedrus' procedure. Direct speech tends generally to be relatively poor in strong alliterative verses, but this may be due to the greater prevalence there of pronouns, conjunctions, etc.

for this could be sought in rhetorical theory: narration, of all types of speech, permits the broadest use of ornament, while logical argument, statement of principles, and the like demand a more straightforward presentation.²¹ We may also compare the more prosaic vocabulary of Phaedrus' personal material (see chapter V above).

While Phaedrus does not make any great effort to alternate alliterative with non-alliterative verses, he does appear to a certain extent to avoid concentrating strong alliterative verses too heavily in a particular passage. Groups of three such verses in a row occur not much more than half as frequently as would have been expected by chance.²²

²¹Quintilian 4.2.116, "Ego vero . . . narrationem, ut si ullam partem orationis, omni qua potest gratia et venere exornandam puto".

In the work of Plautus and Terence, especial use of alliteration in more elevated metres has been noted by H. Haefter (Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache =Berlin: 1934=, pp. 18-9, 24, 50, 86-7, 102-3).

²²I observe the following 20 triple-sequences of such verses: 1.1.2-4, 1.5.4-6, 1.12.7-9, 1.13.2-4, 1.13.9-11, 1.17.1-3, 2.1.2-4, 2.6.11-3, 3.prol.4-6, 3.7.18-20, 3.13.9-11, 3.17.3-5, 3.epil.23-5, 4.5.25-7, 4.6.11-3, 4.7.14-6, 4.19.5-7, 4.19.10-2, 5.5.25-7, 5.7.3-5 (there is none in the appendix). By chance, one would have expected around 35 (taking into account the division of Phaedrus' work into 134 sections and the fact that a triplet, to be such, must not be followed by yet another strong alliterative verse immediately after it in the same poem). χ^2 is $(20-35)^2/35$ or about 6.4 (with df=1): hence slightly more than one chance in one hundred of fortuitous occurrence.

In addition, there are six sequences of four: 2.6.4-7, 3.7.5-8, 3.10.10-3, 4.18.4-7, app.15.24-7, app.31.3-6. And there is one sequence of five: 1.4.1-5.

Especially striking among strong alliterative verses are those containing more than one strong alliteration. These may be divided (at least in Phaedrus) into two types: that in which two different initials are repeated, and that in which a single initial occurs three times. (5.5.25, mentioned below, is a slightly more complex variant of the first type.)

According to the order of the alliterative elements, the first type may be categorized as "alternating" (abab), "segregated" (aabb), or "concentric" (abba). In an author such as Phaedrus, with at least some penchant for avoiding casual alliteration of consecutive words, one would expect the alternating order to be the most common, and the segregated the least. Such, however, is not precisely the case. In fact, Phaedrus has the segregated order exactly as often as the alternating (each 10 times), and it is the concentric order that is relatively rare (4 times).²³ The instances occur as follows:

Alternating (abab):

1.4.2 canis per flumen carnem cum ferret, natans

1.21.6 et vindicavit ictu veterem iniuriam

2.9.13 et arte fictas animus sentit fabulas

²³Accident probably cannot be ruled out, in view of the small numbers involved.

(1.4.4 might have been included as alternating and app.8.15 as concentric, but alius, alter, and nullus are generally considered to be pronouns or articles rather than true adjectives; on the other side, however, pronominal adjectives such as tuus and tantus have been considered as strong words.) (There is one example of a more complex combination of strong alliterations in one verse:

fit turba maior, iam favor mentes tenet

(5.5.25).

The pattern here is abcacb, equivalent to two alternating and one concentric--abab, acac, bccb.)

It will be noted that in a number of cases some sort of grammatical parallelism or bisection seems to be underlined by the pair of alliterations (3.prol.26, 4.21.6, 5.1.17, 5.5.25; 3.epil.7, 5.3.1; 2.6.11, 3.7.22, 4.19.24, app.8.9, app.18.7), but this is far from being a universal rule.

It is worth remarking that there is quite a pronounced tendency on Phaedrus' part to avoid combining two different alliterations of the same sort of letter (viz., stop, fricative, nasal, liquid or semivowel, vowel) in the same verse. Of the 25 verses listed above (including 5.5.25), only two are of this type (4.26.6 and app.8.9, both involving c and p), as against an expectation of about $8\frac{1}{2}$ if we were to assume that Phaedrus was indifferent to such clashes.²⁴

²⁴The exact value of the expectation is here approximated by the formula $\frac{x(x-1)}{n-1}$, where x is the number of strong alliterations in the verses in the list involving a particular type of phoneme

This tendency canⁿnot be set down merely to the difficulty of writing a verse in which a large proportion of the words begin with vowels; for, even disregarding vowel-alliterations, one would expect some 7 instances of the type outlined. The avoidance of excessive alliteration is no doubt related to this phenomenon (cf. p. 252 above). No verse in Phaedrus' work contains four strong words all beginning with the same letter, and there is only one example of a completely alliterative verse, namely app.15.22:

cotidiana capta consuetudine.

What is the practice of other authors in verses of this kind (those involving two separate strong alliterations)? Seneca seems to have them somewhat more frequently in his iambs than does Phaedrus (about .020 per verse as against .013 per verse), but this seems in large part due to the fact that Seneca does not avoid the pattern abba. Again unlike Phaedrus, Seneca does not appear to make any effort to avoid juxtaposing two different alliterations involving similar letters in the same verse.²⁵

(e.g., stop) and n is the number of strong alliterations of all kinds in the list. (The presence of 5.5.25 makes the exact value itself very difficult to determine.)

The χ^2 test tends to be unreliable for expectations under 10. Recourse is therefore had to Poisson probability paper (an example of which may be found on p. 105 of Moroney's Facts from Figures). This shows that for an expectation of $8\frac{1}{2}$ the probability that the observed number will be 3 or more is about 99% (hence the chances of the observed number's being 2 or less are only about one in one hundred).

²⁵I observe four instances in the first 500 iambic senarii of the Hercules Furens: verses 5 (t with c), 259 (d with t), 286 (p with t), and 469 (m with n).

Virgil likewise shows no strong preference for a particular order of the alliterative elements in such verses (cf. Cordier, p. 48), though it is possible that he favoured abba somewhat less than the other two.²⁶ Nor does he make any effort to avoid alliterations of similar letters in the same verse.²⁷

Ovid's fondness for certain devices of repetition is perhaps responsible for a slight tendency to favour the pattern aabb;²⁸ he does not avoid abba in comparison to abab, however. Ovid too does not at all avoid having two alliterations involving similar letters in the same verse.²⁹

Horace does appear, like Phaedrus, to have an aversion to the pattern abba in verses involving two different alliterations, though a special study is no doubt necessary to confirm this.³⁰ There is no strong indication, however, that Horace avoided juxtaposing

²⁶The first 500 verses of the Aeneid have, by rough count, 12 instances of aabb, 11 of abab, and 7 of abba, plus one of abbaa.

²⁷In Aen. 1.1-500, one may cite verses 83 (p with t), 232 (t with p), 274 (g with p), 399 (p with t), 463 (s with f), 477 (t with c), and 481 (t with p).

²⁸E.g., Met. 8.484, "in scelus addendum scelus est, in funera funus" (polyptoton).

²⁹In Met. 8.1-500 alone, one may cite verses 84 (p with t), 126 (n with m), 178 (s with f), 198 (c with p), 224 (d with c), 311 (i with e), 418 (a with i), 440 (p with t), and 484 (s with f).

³⁰In the first 250 verses of the Sermones, I count five instances of aabb and seven of abab, but only one (1.2.9) of abba; there is also one instance of abbaa (1.4.28) and one of aabbb (1.3.132).

similar alliterations in the same verse.³¹

Plautus also seems fairly definitely to avoid the pattern abba; indeed, it may be that this is true of him to an even greater extent than it is of Phaedrus.³² It seems likely too that Plautus --again like Phaedrus, though perhaps not to the same degree--avoided two alliterations involving similar letters in the same verse.³³

At first glance, it appears that the avoidance of the concentric pattern of alliteration may be a characteristic of certain types of "low" verse; and this may prove a fertile field of future investigation.³⁴ Phaedrus may likewise be following traditional sound-patterns in avoiding similar alliterations in the same verse.

Just as striking among strong alliterative verses as the type just discussed is that in which a single initial occurs three times, in each case at the beginning of a "strong" word (noun, verb, adjective, or related adverb). Largely as a result of the nature of the verse,

³¹There are three examples in the first 250 verses of the Sermones: verses 1.1.42 (d with t), 1.2.127 (v with r), and 1.3.15 (c with d).

³²In the first 500 iambic senarii in Lindsay's Oxford Text I have been able to find no instances of abba, in contrast to six each of aabb and abab.

³³The only instance in the first 500 iambic senarii in the Oxford Text is Amph. 1142--

redi. hau promeruit quam ob rem yitio yorteres
--which is negated if "quam ob rem" is treated as a single word.

³⁴E. Norden (Ennius und Vergilius =Leipzig and Berlin: 1915=, p. 135, n. 1) calls aabb Ennius' "beliebste Alliterationsschema". But the preference for this pattern over abab and abba in the Annals at least does not seem to have been very great.

in Phaedrus one of the alliterating words in such cases is almost always the last. There are four exceptions:

- 1.1.2 siti compulsi. superior stabat lupus
 1.12.8 per campum fugere coepit, et cursu levi
 5.7.18 perducit pretio precibus ut tantummodo
 app.16.23 procurrunt pueri, pulchram aspiciunt virginem.

(And 5.7.18 represents a conjecture by Postgate; the reading of the manuscripts is "reducit reum abduci pretio precibus ut tantummodo".)

More important is the tendency of the last two elements to come together. In 15 cases these are not separated by any other strong word while the first is so separated:

- 1.1.2 siti compulsi. superior stabat lupus
 1.4.1 amittit merito proprium qui alienum adpetit
 1.4.3 lympharum in speculo vidit simulacrum suum
 1.12.8 per campum fugere coepit et cursu levi
 1.18.1 nemo libenter recolit qui laesit locum
 1.25.5 igitur cum currens bibere coepisset canis
 2.1.2 praedator intervenit partem postulans
 2.5.3 gratis anhelans multa agendo nil agens
 2.8.25 cervi quoque alta conspicatur cornua
 2.9.6 ne solus esset studui, quod superfuit
 3.10.31 sopita primo quae nil somno senserat
 4.5.21 seponit moechae vestem, mundum muliebrem
 app.9.3 scire ergo cupiens quidnam sentiret senex

app.13.5 multo fuere vires maiores meae

app.15.5 claram assecuta est famam castae coniugis³⁵ .

In only 8 cases is the reverse true:

1.5.5 hi cum cepissent cervum vasti corporis

1.17.5 debere dixit, verum adfirmavit decem

3.7.16 lupus a catena collum detritum cani

3.10.11 seductus in secretum a liberto est suo

3.epil.1 supersunt mihi quae scribam sed parco sciens

4.4.1 equus sedare solitus quo fuerat sitim

4.19.10 tum vero vultum magni ut viderunt Iovis

5.8.1 calvus, comosa fronte, nudo corpore .

If this difference is not due to accident, it might be said by way of assessment that Phaedrus preferred a climactic order in his more striking alliterations, first preparing the way with an isolated element, then hanging fire for a moment before picking up the alliteration and then almost immediately reinforcing it by repetition, thus giving the overall pattern a strong ending. A tendency for such alliteration to involve the final word of a verse would tie in nicely with this. It is also reminiscent of the old epic practice of concentrating alliteration in the last half of the hexameter (see Wölfflin, ALL 14 =1906=, 515-23). To judge from the few examples, however, this preference was characteristic only of Phaedrus' earlier work (books

³⁵Housman, for mss. "virginis".

1 and 2, and possibly parts of the appendix).

Cases in which none of the three alliterative elements is separated from the others by another strong word are most frequent in the appendix, and in fact represent all five instances of three-element alliterative verses coming in the latter half of this part of Phaedrus' work:

- app.15.22 cotidiana capta consuetudine
 app.16.23 procurrunt pueri, pulchram aspiciunt virginem
 app.18.2 nunc gloriose vulpes ut vidit vehi
 app.20.18 quid si peccaris? quid te passurum putas?
 app.31.1 papilio yespan prope volantem viderat

The only other instances in Phaedrus are:

- 3.7.25 age, abire si quo est animus, est licentia?
 3.13.11 de quis nunc agitur, auctor horum appareat
 5.7.18 perducit pretio precibus ut tantummodo

(conjectural: see p. 262 above).

Perhaps the poems of the latter half of the appendix come from a part of Phaedrus' work in which he had begun to experiment with the possibility of heavier alliterations, less attenuated by intervening material.

There are no instance of complete separation of the three alliterative elements in verses of this type, no doubt because of the rarity of verses containing five strong words or more.³⁶

³⁶Such verses are by no means absent, however: 1.prol.3 serves as merely one example.

Again the practice of a few other poets might be briefly surveyed. Seneca, like Phaedrus (at least the early Phaedrus), seems to prefer placing the last two elements in close proximity rather than the first two.³⁷ There is no strong evidence of such a preference in Virgil, though he may have had a slight tendency to group the first two elements and isolate the last one. Like Seneca, Ovid appears to have had a preference for separating off the first of the three elements and putting the last two together.³⁸ Horace shows a similar preference.³⁹ Plautus manifests no strong tendency in this regard, though it may be that he had a slight preference for grouping the last two elements. Thus, while further investigation is no doubt desirable, it seems clear enough that in separating off the first of three alliterative elements from the other two by means of an intervening strong word, rather than grouping the first two elements together and separating off the last one, Phaedrus was following a not uncommon practice.

When a verse contains a single simple alliteration, this is naturally made more striking if the words involved are consecutive

³⁷E.g., H.F. 107, 289, 428, 506, as against H.F. 451.

³⁸E.g., Met. 8.25, 31, 121, 332, 417, as against Met. 8.92.

³⁹E.g., Sermones 1.1.58, 3.92, 96, 128, 4.65, as against Sermones 1.4.42.

and not separated by any intervening material, though many such combinations (male mulcatus, and the like) with time lost their validity and became formulized. The frequency of such verses shows a fairly consistent development throughout Phaedrus' work, beginning with moderate use in book 1, increasing sharply in book 2, and then gradually tapering off in the remaining books, the appendix having such verses about as frequently as book 4. But these differences, like the differences in the frequency of strong alliterative verses in general, are far from extreme.

The position in the verse of such alliterative pairs seems to have been of relatively little concern to Phaedrus, though there is some indication that in book 1 alone he favoured placing them toward the beginning of the verse rather than toward the end. Verses of the type

Aesopus auctor quam materiam repperit
(1.prol.1),

"ante hos sex menses male" ait "dixisti mihi"
(1.1.10),

and so on, in which the number of strong words following the alliterative pair exceeds the number preceding it, occur 20 times in book 1, while verses of the type

repulsus ille veritatis viribus
(1.1.9),

furtim igitur dant Mercurio mandata ad Iovem
(1.2.22),

and so on, in which the reverse is true, occur only 13 times.

Neither Seneca nor Virgil shows any particular tendency to place alliterative pairs toward the beginning or end of the verse. Ovid, however, seems to favour slightly a position nearer the beginning (in a ratio of about 4 to 3). Plautus, on the other hand, appears to have preferred positions nearer the end of the verse (in a ratio of about 7 to 5);⁴⁰ the same may also have been true of Horace. Such differences as are observed in Latin poets generally, like those in Phaedrus, are clearly minor, and not the result of particular theories or rules.

Alliteration between words in successive verses is generally of less importance than alliteration within a verse, and is indeed almost impossible to avoid for very long. It becomes more noticeable when it is multiplied--that is, when more than one alliteration serves to connect the verses in question. Even of this type of verse-pair, there are more than 250 instances in Phaedrus (counting only alliterations between strong words), so that it cannot have been especially striking. Nearly 100 pairs of verses exceed the minimum and are connected by three or more strong alliterations.

⁴⁰Haffter (Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache, pp. 42-3) remarks that in comedy verse-endings of the form -u- -u have a striking tendency to attract figures of sound. This fact would not of course influence the iambic senarius, on Plautus' use of which the estimate given above is based.

Often the number of connections between the verses is multiplied by their internal alliteration, as in

periclitatur magnitudo principum,
~~minuta plebes facili praesidio latet~~

(4.6.12-3).

But in other cases the connecting alliterations may all be different, the most extreme example being

parvum tigillum, missum quod subito vadi
~~motu sonoque ferruit pavidum genus~~

(1.2.14-5).

In one instance four consecutive verses are linked each to the next by three strong alliterations:

Corium depressum in fluvio viderunt canes.
id ut comesse extractum possent facilius
aquam coepere ebibere, sed rupti prius
periere quam quod petierant contingerent

(1.20.3-6).

Yet there is no indication of complex patterns of alliteration in the fables, nor is there any strong evidence of changes in frequency of alliteration-bound verse-pairs from one part of Phaedrus' work to another (though they may be somewhat more common in his earlier work); much is no doubt due to accident, or at any rate unavoidable.

One point may be of interest. Phaedrus has a slight propensity for placing the alliterative elements in such cases in the same order in both verses rather than scrambling or reversing the order

in the second. Verse-pairs of the type

ranae vagantes liberis paludibus
 clamore magno regem petiere ab Iove

(1.2.10-11),

in which the alliterative elements are as ab/ab, outnumber couplets of the type

et quod prudenti yitam consilio monet.
calumniari si quis autem yoluerit

(1.pro1.4-5),

in which the elements are as ab/ba, by about 3 to 2. Nor is this likely due to a mere avoidance of too much alliteration between a word near the end of one verse and one near the beginning of the next (which the second type often entails); for in both types of verse-pair the average distance between the last alliterative word of the first verse and the first alliterative word of the second is the same (rather than being greater for the ab/ba type, as would be the case were it a matter of avoiding alliteration of nearby words).

This phenomenon of tending to keep the order of initials from one verse to the next may be connected with Phaedrus' avoidance of the alliterative pattern abba within the verse (see above, pp. 256-8). But there seem to be other factors at work also. For example, some degree of reluctance to begin two words with the same letter in the same metrical position in successive verses. There are of course quite clear instances of this, such as "movet"--"monet" in

1.prol.3-4; but such phonic similarities are not overworked.

Other sound-phenomena besides alliteration touch the initial letters of words. Among these is what might be called "sound-formulism". This is especially notable in such poets as Homer, for whom both formulas and the actual sound of their poetry were of great importance. "Sound-formulism" means that, regardless of sense, certain phonemes or combinations of phonemes tend to be associated with certain other phonemes or combinations of phonemes, generally in fixed positions in the metre or in the word. Take for example the two Homeric formulas $\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\iota \delta\eta\mu\omega$ and $\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau\omicron \delta\eta\mu\omega$, and the phrase $\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron \delta\eta\mu\omicron\nu$ (Od. 21.238)⁴¹: in all three cases the phoneme $\bar{\iota}$ in the initial syllable of the dactyl is associated with the phoneme-group $\delta\eta\mu$ immediately following the dactyl, though there is no reason from the point of view of syntax or meaning why this should be so.

There is at least one instance in Phaedrus in which a similar sound-formulism seems to be at work. Fully ten verses in book 1 of the fables have their last two words beginning with c- and l- respectively:

1.6.9 "quidnam futurum est si crearit liberos?"

1.8.8 gulaeque credens colli longitudinem

⁴¹Cited in this regard by M. Nagler, "Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula", TAPA 98 (1967), 269-311--summarized by Ingalls, Phoenix 26 (1972), 114-5.

- 1.12.8 per campum fugere coepit et cursu levi
 1.13.5 vulpes invidit, deinde sic coepit loqui
 1.14.2 medicinam ignoto facere coepisset loco
 1.17.8 bidens iacentem in fovea conspexit lupum
 1.18.6 "minime" inquit "illo posse confido loco
 1.19.10 par" inquit "esse pctueris, cedam loco"
 1.23.8 vigilare, facias ne mea culpa lucrum"
 1.29.1 plerumque stulti, risum dum captant levem .

Considering the normal frequency of initial c- and l- in those positions, one would have expected only about three instances of their combination.

Phaedrus also seems to have had a liking for beginning the second-last word in a verse with p- and following it with a word beginning with f- in books 3 and 5 and the appendix: twenty instances altogether, where one would expect about eight.

If the consequences were absurd, one might always have recourse to the claim of accident; but it seems entirely natural that certain phonetic patterns should become established in a poet's mind and so manifest themselves with greater frequency in his work.

To sum up what has been discovered about Phaedrus' use of alliteration:

--he appears to have used it somewhat less in his middle work than in his early or final work.

--he employed it with noticeably greater frequency in narrative than in personal material, presumably from consciousness of the

need for a difference in stylistic tone.

--he avoided extreme concentration of alliterative verses.

--he avoided surrounding one alliteration with another (concentric pattern).

--he seems to have avoided juxtaposing similar alliterations.

--in his early work, he seems to have preferred a "climactic" arrangement of alliterations involving three words.

VIII
STRUCTURE

1. Thematic Structure of Book 1

Structural analysis has become something of a fashion in Classical scholarship. The structure of Homer has been analysed¹; the structure of Martial has been analysed². Most especially, the works of the Augustan poets have been subjected to this approach. That Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius constructed their books of poems with great refinement was not a new idea when Wilhelm Kroll published his Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur (Stuttgart: 1924)³. Since that time, the literature on this subject has multiplied and intensified--sometimes taking some strange paths, as when Paul Maury attempted to demonstrate that Virgil's Bucolics were constructed on an elaborate Pythagorean plan representing a temple and containing various magic numbers⁴. So far, no attempt has been made to find

¹Beginning with J.T. Sheppard, The Pattern of the Iliad (London: =1922=).

²E.g., Herbert Berends, Die Anordnung in Martials Gedichtbüchern I-XII (Jena: 1932).

³Kroll cited earlier work on Propertius by Otto and Dietrich, on Horace by Boll and Weinreich, and on Tibullus by Michaelis (Studien, p. 230 note).

⁴"Le secret de Virgile et l'architecture des Bucoliques", Lettres d'humanité III (Paris: 1944), pp. 71-147. G. Le Grelle applied similar methods to the first book of the Georgics (LEC 17 =1949=, 139-235).

a unified structure in any of the books of Phaedrus, although it is generally thought that he was influenced by Horace, a master of structural technique, if by no other writer⁵. Concerning the order of Phaedrus' poems, Otto Weinreich noted that similar material is generally separated by an intervening piece but that, like Catullus, the Augustans, and Martial, Phaedrus also has Gedichtpaare (Fabel, Aretalogie, Novelle =Heidelberg: 1931=, p. 44). The conclusion reached by Morten Nøjgaard, in a chapter entitled "La composition des livres" (II, pp. 157-64), is essentially the same: the general principle seems to be variation, so as not to tire the reader; but there are some pairs or groups of fables. The corruption of the text, however, Nøjgaard adds, makes a thoroughgoing study impossible.

Two passages in Phaedrus suggest that he did in fact pay some conscious attention to the order of his poems. In the prologue to book 2, he excuses the introduction of non-Aesopic material on the grounds of variety:

equidem omni cura morem servabo senis;
sed si libuerit aliquid interponere,
dictorum sensus ut delectet varietas,
bonas in partes, lector, accipias velim,
ita, si repondet illi brevitatis gratiam

(2.prol.8-12).

Then in book 4, after interrupting himself in order to attack someone whom he addresses as Envy (Livor), he returns to his story-telling

⁵On Phaedrus' imitation of Horace, see especially D. Bieber, Studien zur Geschichte der Fabel (München: 1906), pp. 51-2.

with the words "sed exsequamur coepti propositum ordinem" (4.22.9; P has "coeptum").

Neither of these passages implies anything about the structure of book 1. Yet this book, with its 31 fables and its relative completeness, provides probably the best raw material among all the parts of Phaedrus' work for an attempt at a broad structural analysis. There are several reasons why book 1 is generally thought to be missing one or more fables in its present form. The most difficult to dismiss to my mind is Phaedrus' mention in the prologue to this book of "talking trees":

calumniari si quis autem voluerit,
quod arbores loquantur, non tantum ferae,
fictis iocari nos meminerit fabulis

(1.prol.5-7).

There are no talking trees in book 1, or in any part of Phaedrus' work, as it now stands--though they are to be found in the supposed prose paraphrases of Phaedrus which originated in the fourth or fifth century A.D.⁶ Nevertheless, the passage from the prologue just quoted is liable to an interpretation consonant with the existence of no talking-tree fables in the first book. If, says Phaedrus, anyone wishes to bring against my book the false (and trivial) accusation that I make trees talk (not just wild animals), he should remember that these are only made-up stories designed to amuse (and so it

⁶For these, compare above, pp. 13-4. "Romulus" 3.14 is the story of the trees and the axe.

does not matter whether people believe the talking-tree accusation; they will read the book anyway). This interpretation may not be the right one, but it shows that we do not necessarily have to assume that there are any fables missing from the first book.⁷

Let us for the moment make the contrary assumption: book 1 is essentially intact, though a verse here and there may have been lost and there may originally have been an epilogue of some sort. Are there any signs of an organized structure in this book?

Louis Havet noted (ed. 1895, "Disquisitiones criticae", section 147) that book 1 of the fables as given by the tradition contains only two narratiunculae (human-fables or anecdotes), as against all the remaining fables, which are apologi (beast-fables).

⁷Alternatively, it might be supposed that Phaedrus has simply made a mistake: the prologue was written later than the rest of the book, and he forgot that he had not included any fables about trees; or the prologue was written before the rest of the book, and he forgot to include any such fables or to go back and correct the prologue; or the first book originally contained a tree fable, but this was omitted in the final version without the prologue's being changed to fit.

There may be a lacuna between fables 13 and 14, but the suggestion that 1.13.13-4 are spurious seems to me to be somewhat more likely than the theory that they are the epimythium of a lost fable (the former is favoured by Guaglianone, the latter by Perry). Havet may have been right in assuming that a verse should be added after 1.31.13, though this cannot be taken as proved; yet it may be only the one verse that is missing; for what it is worth, the prologue that follows shows no evidence of a lacuna at the beginning (contrast the case of fables 1 and 2 of book 5 or that of 13, 14, and 15 of book 4). As to the poems of Perotti's Appendix, the evidence seems to be on the side of Perotti's not having had the text of book 1 or the first part of book 2; hence there is no need to try to fit any part of the appendix into book 1.

These narratiunculae are fables 18 ("Fulier parturiens") and 14 ("Ex sutore medicus"), and I was struck by their almost symmetrical position about the middle of the book as it now stands. In fact, if we assume that fable 31 was indeed the last fable of the book, with possibly the end of this fable and an epilogue now missing, we see that the two narratiunculae are the same distance from their respective ends, namely thirteen fables.

Now this fact alone might just be put down to coincidence, but another correspondence immediately springs to light. Fables 13 ("Vulpis et corvus") and 19 ("Canis parturiens") have both essentially the same moral, and in both of them the outcome is in favour of the trickster. In both cases the lesson is that one should not listen to fair-seeming words, because if one does he will soon regret it. In both cases one character does yield to the entreaties of the other and soon realizes what a mistake this was. The parallelism between the two fables is brought out most noticeably in the promythia:

Qui se laudari gaudet verbis subdolis
fere dat poenas turpi paenitentia

(1.13.1-2);

Habent insidias hominis blanditiae mali,
quas ut vitemus versus subiecti monent

(1.19.1-2).

Fables 12 and 20 show less correspondence, yet there are some interesting points of comparison all the same. In both cases animals are lured to destruction by a foolish error in judgment

(and not, for example, by the trickery of another): the stag thinks his legs poor things and his antlers beautiful; the dogs think that they can best reach the hide by drinking the river dry. Also parallel is the fact that both fables start off with an animal looking at something in the water (in the one case a reflection, in the other a concrete object); in both cases what is seen in the water is intimately bound up with the animal's subsequent death. Perhaps also to be noted is the fact that a pack of dogs appears in both fables (the dog, of course, is a favourite protagonist in Phaedrus); in one, it is the dogs who tear the stag to pieces, while in the other the dogs themselves are the cause of their own bursting. In some respects the hide of fable 20 seems almost a burlesque on the stag attacked in fable 12, just as the death of the dogs in the one fable is ignoble and grotesque compared to that of their victim in the other.

There is considerable correspondence between fables 11 and 21. The first point to be noted is that the principal characters, the lion and the ass, are the same in both fables. Moreover, in both cases the ass acts in a very fierce manner, pretending to be something he is not; but the lion at least is not deceived and tells him so to his face. The morals are slightly different, but complementary. In fable 11, the emphasis is on the true worthlessness of the coward who pretends to be brave:

*Virtutis expers, verbis iactans gloriam,
ignotos fallit, notis est derisui*

(1.11.1-2).

In fable 21, it is on the shame felt by the victim of the cowardly attacker when he cannot defend himself:

Quicumque amisit dignitatem pristinam,
ignavis etiam iocus est in casu gravi

(1.21.1-2).

Fables 10 ("Lupus et vulpes iudice simio") and 22 ("Mustela et homo") are tied together primarily by the oneness of the lesson they teach: even if the bad man is technically in the right he will be adjudged to be in the wrong because of his known character and motives. In fable 10 this principle leads the monkey to the paradoxical conclusion that the fox stole something from the wolf which the wolf never had stolen from him, since both are notorious liars. The same principle leads the man in fable 22 to put the weasel to death even though she benefits him by killing the mice, since her motive is only to get food for herself. Both fables represent a trial: fable 10 is a civil case pleaded before a iudex; fable 22 is a treason-trial conducted before an all-powerful emperor who is prosecutor, judge, and executioner (Phaedrus, who never seems to have a bad word for the divina domus, naturally approves the "emperor"'s decision).

There is some similarity between the lessons taught by fables 9 and 23: both tell us not to forget what is more important (our own safety; the need to perform our duties faithfully) while pursuing trivial ends (making fun of others; temporary satisfaction of hunger). It should be noted that the promythium of fable 23, however, lays emphasis also on the need not to be grateful to people who are unexpectedly

generous. Thus the connection here is somewhat weaker than it might have been.

With fables 8 and 24, the plan that I have so far been constructing seems to fail. There is very little similarity either in moral or in content between these two. Fables 7 and 25 are similarly quite unlike each other, as are fables 6 and 26. Fables 5 and 27 share an attack on avarice, but are not otherwise particularly similar. Nor do fables 4 and 28 seem to have much in common.

We come now to the three fables at each end of the book. There is a similarity in the themes of fables 3 and 29: in both an unworthy creature tries to compare himself with his betters. As in the case of 12 and 20, the later fable is of a grosser and more humorous sort than the earlier, in fact almost a parody of it. It should be noted, however, that the moral of fable 29 is not that one should not try to be what one is not, as in fable 3, but that it is unwise to make insulting jokes:

Plerumque stulti, risum dum captant levem,
gravi destringunt alios contumelia,
et sibi nocivum concitant periculum

(1.29.1-3).

Both fable 2 and fable 30 concern the frogs. In both the frogs are in danger from larger animals, and in both the application is to the sufferings of the common people under the powerful: in fable 2 the lesson is that a ruler may be either indifferent or bad and one should be satisfied with the former; in fable 30 it

is that the poor suffer no matter which of the powerful gets the upper hand.

Both fable 1 and fable 31 concern the depredations of tyrants, in both cases justified by a semblance of law (the supposed insult inflicted by the lamb's father upon the wolf; the rights of the kite as king of the doves), but resulting inevitably in the killing and devouring of the weaker by the stronger. Once again, however, the morals are slightly different. (In fact, the epimythium of fable 1 is not even a precept, merely an observation on the ways of the unrighteous, and perhaps an attack on Phaedrus' enemies:

Haec propter illos scripta est homines fabula
qui fictis causis innocentes opprimunt

=1.1.14-5=.)

Returning for a moment to the centre of the book, one may remark that there is nothing in particular in common between fable 15 ("Asinus ad senem pastorem") and fable 17 ("Ovis, canis, et lupus").

What I have been describing up to this point is most frequently referred to as a "ring-composition", though it has been given a variety of other names (for example, "panel structure"⁸). This structure, in which the first element corresponds to the last, the second to the second last, and so on, appears to be universal rather than peculiarly classical; this was pointed out by David Porter in a

⁸So W.R. Nethercut, "Notes on the Structure of Propertius, Book IV", *AJPh* 89 (1968), 449-64.

recent article ("Ring-Composition in Classical Literature and Contemporary Music", CM 65 =1971-2=, 1-3 & 6).

Ring-composition is, of course, the basis of the structure of the Iliad.⁹ It is also the pattern most frequently found by analysers of the structure of Latin poetry of the Augustan age.¹⁰

In the case of Phaedrus book 1 it is only partial, centred mainly about the middle of the book and to a certain extent at the extreme ends. This is of course where it will be most noticeable. Where the similarities that make up this ring-composition in book 1 exist they are almost always primarily thematic in nature, rather than, say, being similarities of image or character. Thus they show a certain unity.

There are naturally numerous other correspondences between fables in book 1, many of which, while quite striking, do not seem to fit into a pattern. In several cases, however, parallel pairs of correspondences can be observed which might serve to reinforce the bilateral structure already outlined.

⁹See C.H. Whitman, Homer and the Heroic Tradition (Cambridge: 1958), especially pp. 247-84.

¹⁰Porter mentions the work of Duckworth (Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid =Ann Arbor: =1962=, especially pp. 1-35), Otis (Cicero as an Epic Poet =Cambridge: 1966=), Ludwig (Hermes 85 =1957=, 336-46), and Suits (UAPA 96 =1965=, 436-7). Numerous other examples might be given, such as Grimal's Les intentions de Properce et la composition du livre IV des Élégies (Berchem-Bruxelles: 1953).

Two fables involve only birds (fable 3 and fable 31); on the chart (appendix A) these correspond to two fables (29 and 1) that involve only beasts (this in the restricted sense of mammals; there are twelve such fables in the whole of book 1). Fables 13 and 26 both involve a fox trying to get the better of a bird (specifically, trying to do it out of some food) by trickery, in the one case succeeding, in the other case being tricked in turn. The corresponding fables, 19 and 6, both involve a creature's becoming more dangerous when it procreates. In fable 6, presumably the frogs are granted their petition and the Sun's wedding is called off (as the fox is punished in fable 26); on the other hand, in fable 19, the one bitch stays long enough for her brood to serve as her defence against the other's rightful claim (as in 13 the fox gains permanent possession of the cheese).

Fables 20 and 24 both involve animals that foolishly burst themselves. (This actual bursting in scaena, as it were, seems to be a distinctively Phaedrian motif.¹¹) The corresponding fables, 12 and 8, both involve particular distinctive physical peculiarities of certain creatures (the stag's antlers, the crane's long neck).

Fables 5 and 11 both involve a lion going hunting in partnership with one or more lesser animals but quite obviously with the lion in charge. The corresponding fables 21 and 27 both describe a dying

¹¹But Nøjgaard at least (II, p. 396) thinks that the bursting of the frog in 1.24 belongs to the "noyau primitif".

animal being insulted by one or more lesser creatures who would not dare to act thus under normal circumstances. Moreover, fables 5 and 21 both concern the relationship of the lion to other animals (in 5, when he is in his full strength, and, in 21, when he is about to die), and in both the physical weakness of one side is taken advantage of by the other; the corresponding fables 27 and 11 do not generally have much similarity to each other, but both do end with one creature telling another that he knows the other's true nature in spite of his ambitious pretensions:

"O canis, meritò iaces,
qui concupisti subito regales opes,
trivio conceptus, educatus stercore"

(1.27.9-11);

"Insignis" inquit "sic ut, nisi nossem tuum
animum genusque, simili fugissem metu."

(1.11.14-5).

Fables 10 and 17 are united by a common legal theme, a similar moral (that lying is not profitable), and the presence of the wolf in both of them. Each also involves precisely three beasts, two of which are canine. The corresponding fables 22 and 15 both involve a man in conversation with a beast (not strictly true of any other fable in the book); in one case it is the man who is in danger and is pleading with the beast (fable 15), while in the other the beast entreats the man to spare it (fable 22); in both cases the other's answer is to the effect that there is no debt of gratitude to be paid.

Fables 7 and 12 both involve the innate worthlessness of fine appearances (the actor's mask, the stag's antlers). The corresponding fables 20 and 25 both concern dogs drinking from a river.

I have said already that many correspondences do not seem to fit into a pattern. Just as an example, take the close parallel in creatures involved between fable 24 ("Rana rupta et bos") and fable 30 ("Ranae metuentes taurorum proelia"); there seems to be almost no parallel on the other hand between fable 8 ("Lupus et gruis") and fable 2 ("Ranae regem petierunt").

When the correspondences that do fit the bilateral scheme are summarized, however, (see appendix A below) it will be seen that only four fables out of the 31 (viz., fables 4, 9, 23, and 28) do not somehow have a place in it and that fables 11, 12, 20, and 21 assert their places in several ways.

In conclusion, several things should be remembered. All these correspondences and parallels are of course only partial; moreover there are many others which do not conform to the symmetrical scheme given. Furthermore it should not be supposed that Phaedrus had any sort of diagram or scheme in mind when he arranged the poems of book 1 (assuming that it was he who arranged them). There are also few verbal parallels between the fables that I have connected (one example I have found is the occurrence of fraus in the same metrical position in the first and last verses of fables 10 and 17 respectively).

If, therefore, it can be concluded that Phaedrus did tend, at least in book 1, to put his fables in some sort of order, rather than simply writing them down as they occurred to him--though on the other hand he did not attempt any rigid schematization--then it may perhaps be assumed that in this he was following the practice of the Augustan poets. The original collection of fables that he used as his source was probably arranged, if at all, according to categories of applicability (fables applicable to greedy people, fables applicable to stupid people, fables applicable to liars, etc.).¹²

Moreover, if my rather tentative conclusions about the structure of book 1 are valid, the supposition that the book is essentially intact is given some confirmation. We might, as I said earlier, assume the loss of an epilogue and perhaps one verse of fable 31. There may also have been some transpositions of verses, loss of parts of certain fables, even interpolations; no serious dislocations, however. Massive rearrangements of the text, such as those of Havet and of Léon Herrmann¹³, would have less justification.

2. Thematic Structure of Book 4

If it was difficult to demonstrate even the possibility of a unified structure in the case of book 1, it is still more so

¹²Perry (TAPA 71 =1940=, 391-419) considers it highly probable that the promythium was originally a heading to classify the fable.

¹³Léon Herrmann, Phèdre et ses fables (Leiden: 1950).

for the rest of Phaedrus' work. Books 2 and 5, even if still close to their original form, are too short for any convincing demonstration, and indeed seem to lack any thematic structure at all. Book 3, while longer and apparently fairly intact, manifests on the whole a quite random order of themes, though the placing of the long poem~~s~~ on believing and not believing (3.10) at the centre of the book may be of some significance. This leaves book 4, singularly unpromising in view of the defectiveness of fables 13¹⁴, 14, and 15 and the obvious displacement of prologues and epilogues (see pp. 14-5 above); in fact, we do not even know the limits of book 4, since the manuscripts give no indication of where book 5 begins¹⁵. We can, however, be reasonably sure that wherever 4.epil. belongs there also is the end of the book.

This having been said, it is clear that any structure that may be discovered in book 4 rests on extremely uncertain ground, unless by its own cogency it should convince us that the book had originally one particular form. Nevertheless it is perhaps our duty to ask whether any structure, no matter how poorly grounded, might be detected in this part of Phaedrus' work.

¹⁴That is, assuming that there really was a fable "Simius tyrannus" in the Phaedrian corpus.

¹⁵It is assumed that there should be five books because Avienus gives that as the number of books into which Phaedrus put Aesop's fables (see p. 4 above), and also because R's text of Phaedrus (as reported by Vincent) is followed by the words "PHAEDRI AUG. LIBERTI LIBER QUINTUS EXPLICIT FELICITER"; but there are obvious weaknesses in this assumption.

I have not been able to find even traces of such a structure in book 4 as it is usually printed (with the story of Simonides' rescue from the collapsing house =4.26= forming the final fable). The outlook appears somewhat more promising, however, if, following the manuscript tradition, book 4 is made to include 3.epil. and 5.prol.-5, and also if it is assumed that there there are no large lacunas.¹⁶

Now, if there is to be a symmetrical arrangement, as in the case of book 1, we might expect to find some similarity between the first fable (4.1) and the last (5.5), and in fact we find several. Both are humorous tales involving men and animals, but in which the animals play an entirely realistic role (there are no other such fables in the book). Both are attacks on charlatans: in 4.1 it has been suggested that the promise of an afterlife by the mystery-cults may be being parodied (at any rate, the priests are not shown in a favourable light); in 5.5 the poet makes fun of those who think they can improve on nature. In both the making of a noise by the animal when "hurt" is an essential point of the joke. Most interesting of all, both end with verses beginning with a word meaning "behold":

ecce aliae plagae congeruntur mortuo!

(4.1.11);

¹⁶On other grounds, I consider both these assumptions to be rather implausible.

en hic declarat quales sitis iudices!

(5.5.38).

In both cases an error of judgment is being revealed by someone who knew about it all along. It must be conceded of course that the morals of the two fables are quite different.

Coming next to 4.2 and 5.4, one should notice immediately that the latter is concluded by a short personal epimythium while the former is introduced by a short personal promythium. In the fables themselves a considerable similarity of theme is again perceived: a wise beast avoids certain "food" (in both cases cereal food) after seeing it lead to the death of another. Both are essentially beast-fables, even if flour and mousetraps are mentioned in one and a man actually appears in the other. Again we can see a certain similarity in the phrasing of the closing remarks (in both cases, basically a hypothetical condition which would cause the speaker to wish for something). The morals, while once again not the same, are similar: appearances are deceiving; riches may be dangerous.

4.3 and 5.3 are in a sense complementary. In the former, we are confronted with the case of an individual who falsely consoles herself for failure to achieve an object by asserting that the object was in fact not worth achieving. 5.3 also has an individual failing to achieve an object, and, like the fox in 4.3, causing himself pain in the process; the bald man's excuse, however, is valid--given the possibility of achieving the object (the destruction of the fly) he would have been willing to put up with still more pain.

Here there is no similarity of morals.

4.4 and 5.2 both concern partnerships that turn out not to be as equal as was desired by one of the parties. In one case, the man, having got control of the horse, decides that his partner is too useful to let go; in the other, one soldier deserts his companion when the two are attacked by a robber. In both instances the moral is essentially to take care in whom you put your trust.¹⁷

We do not know the extent of the lacuna that exists in PR between 5.1.17 and 5.2.3. Let it be assumed that no other fable intervened, however; there are a few parallels between 4.5 and 5.1. Athens is the scene; both are relatively long anecdotes; both involve revelations that are rather startling to the persons to whom they are directed, and which immediately cause these persons to change their actions; in both cases the famous man (Aesop, Menander) is one of a crowd until the time comes to mention him. It is not known whether 5.1 had a moral other than 5.prol., but both stories are certainly attacks on the stupidity of most people.

After a not unpropitious start, the way now becomes somewhat tangled and dubious; and indeed, in order to continue the symmetrical scheme, it becomes necessary to pass over a large amount of material

¹⁷The epimythium of 5.2 does not explicitly state the moral, but the reader is clearly enough being told to be careful of the fair-weather heroes to whom the story is applied. The similar tale of the two travellers and the bear (Aesop 65 Perry; Avienus 9) is more explicit.

for the time being and light upon the obvious thematic similarity between 4.12 and 4.21. First observe that, while 4.12 is introduced by a promythium stating that wealth is rightly scorned by a good man since a rich treasure-chest is an obstacle to true fame, 4.21 is followed by an apostrophe to a miser which likewise depreciates wealth as a desirable object. The fables themselves are both attacks on wealth: in 4.12 Hercules accuses Plutus of keeping bad company among men; in 4.21 the fox states that only those hated by the gods have so much money that they have to guard it night and day, but never enjoy it. The mention of Jupiter in both fables is probably fortuitous.

According to the manuscripts, 4.13 and 4.14 are part of a single fable "De leone regnante"; the paraphrases, on the other hand, make their version of 4.13 the beginning of another fable, that on the liar and the truth-teller before the king of the apes. Suppose a single fable: corresponding will be 4.20, and the lesson of both is that the evil man will harm you no matter how well you treat him. Yet this does not fit with the statement of 4.13.3: "ad perniciem solet agi sinceritas". Indeed, this sentiment does not suit the story of the lion as king as we know it at all. Suppose therefore two fables: the story of the king of the apes should correspond to that of the snake that killed the merciful man. In both these stories, human virtues are of no avail among beasts and in fact bring death: the man who speaks candidly to the king of the apes is torn to pieces; the man who feels pity for the snake is slain

by it as soon as it recovers. In both, the beasts represent bad men in general (one wonders in fact whether the "improbis" of 4.20.6 did not originally find an echo at the end of 4.13: the paraphrases have "malis hominibus"). If the story of the lion as king (4.14) originally immediately followed that of the king of the apes, it should be parallel to 4.19. Both these stories involve the dangers of offending at court (as does of course 4.13 also); it is interesting that they both entail some sort of personal physical offense concerned with digestion (the lion's putrid breath; the dogs' stercoration of the halls of the gods); in both fables, precautions, however ingenious, to avoid the fate of one's predecessors are of no avail.

Like 4.13 and 4.14, 4.15 and 4.16 are obviously closely connected. It is conceivable that they originally formed part of a single poem in which two persons each asked Aesop a different question on a single occasion. If so, this poem would be paralleled by 4.18, which also features Aesop telling a tale; yet there is otherwise little similarity between the pair of sexual aetiologies and the analogy of the ship at sea. If, on the other hand, 4.15 and 4.16 are separated, there is again relatively little similarity to bring 4.18 into the scheme, but 4.16 and 4.17 have the interesting point in common that they both involve parts proper to one sex being given to the other by divine agency. While 4.16 is certainly an aition, 4.17 does not really qualify for this name, except possibly in the first line, which, however, does not explain why Jupiter gave the she-goats beards, nor why they wanted them (contrast Lessing's

reworking of this tale =Fabeln 2.24= in which the beards are an unwanted bonus that goes with horns).

Having discussed what degree of symmetry might be found in the centre of book 4, I must now return to 4.6-11 and 4.23-26, where the scheme must be varied somewhat (fable 22 is of course not a fable at all, but an address to a critic). Though 4.6 is a beast-tale and 4.23 is a moralizing anecdote, they share a common theme of death by encumbrances and might be used to illustrate the same popular-philosophical truth. Like Simonides, the ranks of the mouse-army reach safety before being swallowed up in the depths that threaten them (the use of "mersit" at 4.6.10 is interesting in view of the shipwreck in 4.23; by coincidence =?=?, Prudentius echoes this line in his poem on Jonah =Cath. 7.115: cf. p. 6 above=).

4.7 and 4.24 seem both to be attacks on pretentiousness. Both are in the form of personal addresses to some critic or other enemy. The mountain that brings forth a mouse is an image of similar incongruity to that of Aesop in tragic buskins. Notice the verbal parallels between "hoc scriptum est tibi, qui" (4.24.3-4) and "tu qui" and "quid ergo possum facere tibi" (4.7.1 and 4.7.21; cf. "tibi" in vv. 17 and 24) and the structural similarity of the final verses:

qui, magna cum minaris, extricas nihil

(4.21.4);

et, ut putentur sapere, caelum vituperant

(4.7.26).

Some parallel is perhaps to be seen between 4.8 and 4.25, the file blunting the serpent's tooth while the ant does the same to the pride of the fly (note the specific use of "rettudi" in 4.25.22), but it is far from certain.

If we now decide to consider 4.11 and 4.26 as parallel, since they deal with a common theme of piety towards the gods and both involve human and divine beings, we are left with 4.9 and 4.10, which appear not to be balanced by any fables on the opposite side. It might be worthwhile to note, however, a certain similarity between the philosophical musings of the presumed prologue to book 3 and the allegory "De vitiis hominum" (4.10), though the specific themes dealt with differ somewhat. I could also mention in passing the slight degree of parallelism between 4.12 and 5.1.

A schema approximately like that found in appendix B can now be constructed. There are obviously numerous problems. If one wished to assume a more rigid pattern in the original, one option would be to postulate the loss of fables between 4.25 and 4.26, this being somehow connected with the insertion of epilogic-prologic material there. But really too many assumptions have been made already, and the point has been reached where one must call a halt.

Thus, albeit with no little difficulty, a rather imperfect scheme can be constructed for book 4. Yet this scheme is so ill supported that it could not be asserted as proved unless we had prima-facie evidence that a scheme of precisely this form should exist; and this we would not have even if the proposed scheme for

book 1 were unassailable. Hence the hypothetical arrangement of book 4 is not admissible evidence for the limits of that book or for the size of any lacuna within it.

3. Numerical Structure

Attempts to find a unified structure in any of Phaedrus' books by considering the theme of each fable having proved relatively fruitless, is there any other approach? One possibility is to consider the lengths of the poems and whether these seem to form a pattern. I must state at the outset that I am more than a little suspicious of such a method, since the most surprising patterns may be discovered even in a series of completely random numbers. Nevertheless, Duckworth, in spite of initial skepticism, became convinced that the Aeneid was composed verse by verse on the basis of the Golden Section (see G.E. Duckworth, Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid (Ann Arbor: 1962)).¹⁸ Thus the idea that Phaedrus may have used some mathematical plan in constructing one or more of his books of fables cannot be rejected automatically. The evidence will have to be derived from the arrangements of poem-lengths actually observed in his work; for there is no indication in the words **that Phaedrus**

¹⁸ Yet there are many whom Duckworth has not convinced, and it cannot be said that his thesis has been positively tested with sufficiently objective criteria. See most recently William C. Waterhouse, "Extreme and Mean Ratio in Vergil?", Phoenix 26 (1972), 369-76.

uses that he was at all interested in numbers, and the fable of the butterfly and the wasp (app.31) appears to rest, not on metempsychosis, but on a theory of generation of small creatures from the corpses of larger (cf. Havet, ed. 1917, p. 283), and so cannot be employed as evidence of Pythagorean influence.

Let us begin with book 1. The mere writing down of the number of verses in the various poems in this book immediately suggests an at least partially patterned arrangement. We observe that a pair of ten-verse fables (1.9 and 1.10) is immediately followed by a pair of fifteen-verse fables (1.11 and 1.12), and then that on either side of this sequence there is a fable of twelve verses (1.8 and 1.13). A fable of ten verses followed by a fable of seven verses (1.15 and 1.16) is balanced almost immediately by a seven-verse fable followed by a ten-verse fable (1.18 and 1.19). Just before this sequence comes a fable of eighteen verses (1.14), and just after come one of six and one of twelve (1.20 and 1.21): scarcely necessary to remark that $6+12=18$. The lengths of the next five poems (1.22 to 1.26) also show a symmetrical structure (12, 8, 10, 8, 12), and this is joined to an alternation (1.26 to 1.29: 12, 11, 12, 11). This whole sequence (1.8 to 1.29) is opened by a fable of eleven verses (1.5) followed by one of nine and one of four (1.6 and 1.7) and is closed by a fable of eleven verses (1.30) followed by one of thirteen (1.31: assuming there are no verses missing off the end). The first four fables plus the prologue themselves form a nearly perfect symmetrical grouping (7, 15, 31, 16, 7). The number

of verses in this isolated initial group is 76, or 4 times 19; the number of verses in the whole book (assuming that 1.13.13-4 is an interpolation and that nothing follows 1.51.13) is 361, or 19 squared¹⁹. This certainly looks very much like deliberate patterning (for a schematic representation, see appendix C below). Yet the fact that the numerical arrangement of the book can be analysed somewhat differently also (see below) rather weakens the case for any deliberate arrangement at all. More serious, however, is the objection that the numerical arrangement does not seem to be reinforced by any similarities of theme, image, or the like, though the possibility of a meaningless patterning for its own sake cannot be excluded (see O. Skutsch, HSPH 73 =1969=, 155-6).

Book 5 does not show the same sort of symmetrical groupings as are found in book 1, but in fact is symmetrical as a whole (if, with most editors, we remove 4.epil. from after 5.5). The prologue and the tenth fable are of course equal in length (10 verses); what

¹⁹Perfect squares occur elsewhere in Latin poetry (e.g., in Horace and Catullus), no doubt most often by accident. But they are striking in Virgil's Ecloues. The first seven of these poems total 576 verses, or 24 squared (seven is of course a well-known magic number); in addition, the last two Ecloues consist together of 144 verses, or 12 squared, and the last four of 324 verses, or 18 squared. Twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four are equal to six multiplied respectively by two, three, and four. The square of six is 36, less than the number of verses in any one Ecloues; and if six times five is squared the result is 900, somewhat more than the total number of verses in the book as a whole. It is possible that the number six had some special significance for Virgil (it is anyway not without significance) in view of the fact that the composition of the Aeneid is said to superimpose diptych and triptych construction.

As far as I know, this particular numerical phenomenon has

should also be noted is that the first five poems of the book (5.prol. to 5.4) contain exactly the same number of verses as the last five (5.6 to 5.10), putting the fifth fable in the exact centre. Not only that; the total number of verses in the two end-poems and the central poem (5.prol., 5.10, and 5.5) is exactly 58, the same number as in each of the two groups that they divide off (5.1 to 5.4 and 5.6 to 5.9), or one-third of the 174 verses in the book. This scheme²⁰ is so simple and so unlikely to have occurred unintentionally that it must have been deliberate.

Regarding the number 174, the first thirteen fables of book 1 plus the prologue also consist of this many verses (again considering 1.13.13-4 as spurious); this group divides neatly into two halves of 87 verses each between 1.5 and 1.6. Fables 14 to 30 of book 1 also form a group of 174 verses. Book 2 comes close, but in fact has only 172 or 173 verses (depending on the authenticity of 2.5.20). The last eight fables of book 4 plus the epilogue ("Poeta ad Particulonem") make up exactly 174 verses if 4.25.1 is admitted to be spurious.

not previously been pointed out (one would have expected it to have been mentioned by E.L. Brown in his *Numeri Vergiliani* (=Bruxelles-Berchem: 1963)). For some others of a similar nature, however, see E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (transl. W.R. Trask; New York and Evanston: =1963=), p. 502.

20	prol.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	10	18	15	13	12	38	7	39	7	5	10	
	58						58					
	58											

Ambitious theories could no doubt be built on such facts,²¹ but they are really rather too little to rely on.

Regarding numerical symmetry, if one excludes the epilogue to book 3 but keeps in 3.15.19-20, this book divides exactly down the middle between 3.9 and 3.10 into two parts of 184 verses each. Each of these parts is ~~lead~~^{led} off with a long poem of about one-third its length (3.prol.--63 verses; 3.10--60 verses). Still, this is not as convincing as was the pattern observed in book 5, and in a book as long as book 3 one might have expected a somewhat more elaborate arrangement.

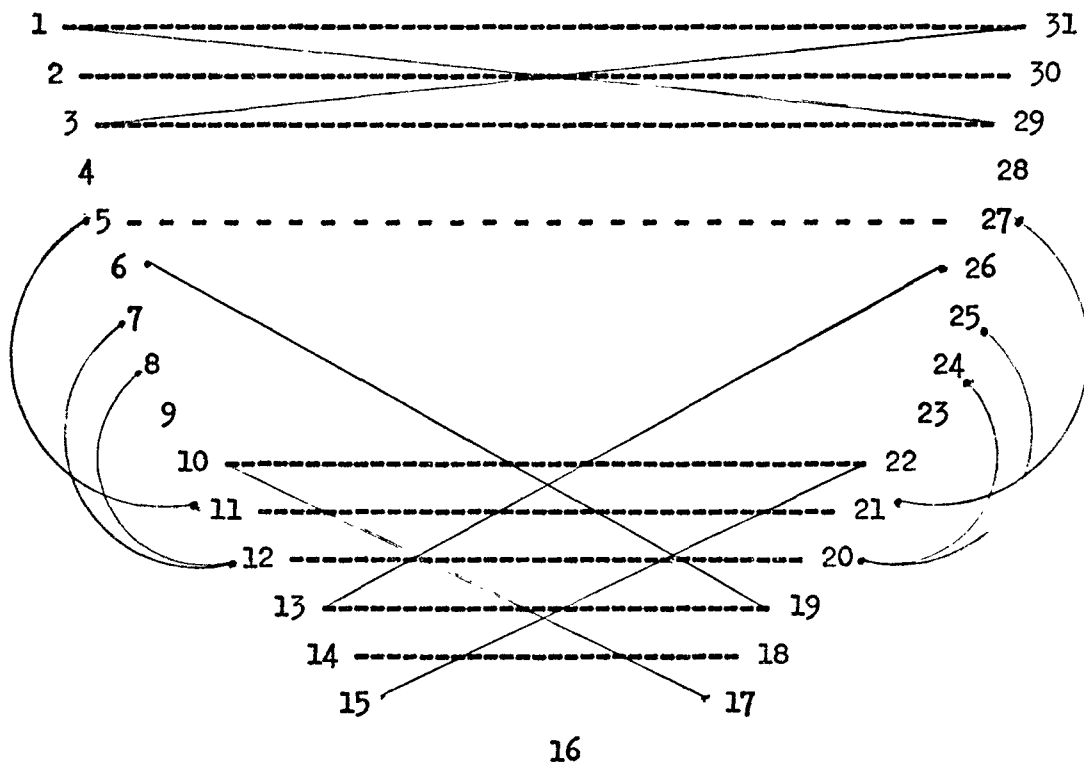
In conclusion, then, we are left with a possible numerical arrangement in book 1 and an almost undoubted one in book 5. The textual consequence of the arrangement of book 5 is that the lacuna between 5.1 and 5.2 consists only of the three verses now supplied from NV (5.1.18 and 5.2.1-2). If the arrangement, such as it is, for book 3 is also accepted, the supposed epilogue is isolated from the rest, though it might still belong to the book; more important, the last two verses of 3.15 are more probably genuine. In general, the numerical approach looks more promising than the thematic, though both are obviously full of pitfalls.

²¹Such numerical correspondences among parts of Phaedrus' work have already been used by Havet to some degree in an attempt to reconstruct the history of the manuscripts (ed. 1895, especially pp. 225-59).

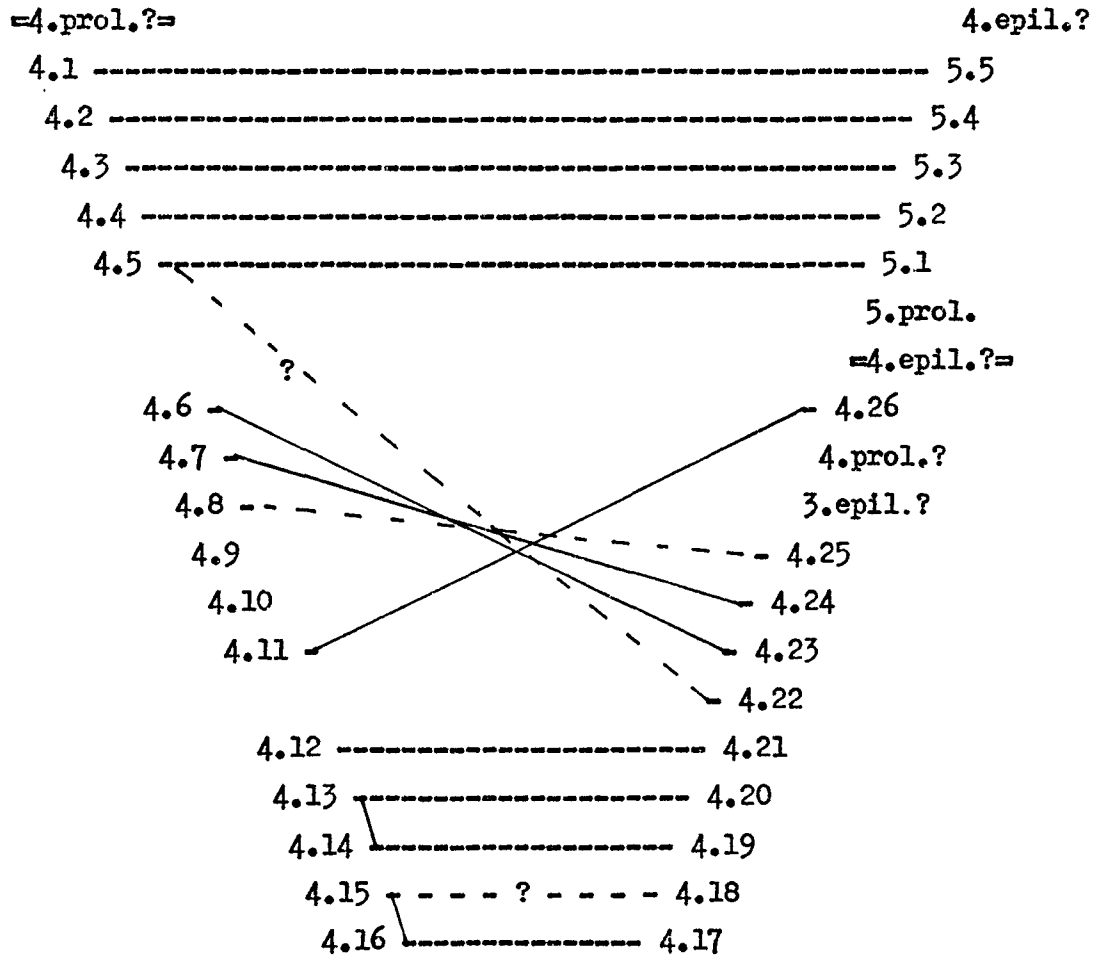
The number 174 is the product of 6 and 29, and there are about 29 days in a lunar cycle, just as there were 19 years in the Metonic cycle; I give this information for what it is worth.

Appendix A: Thematic Schema for Book 1

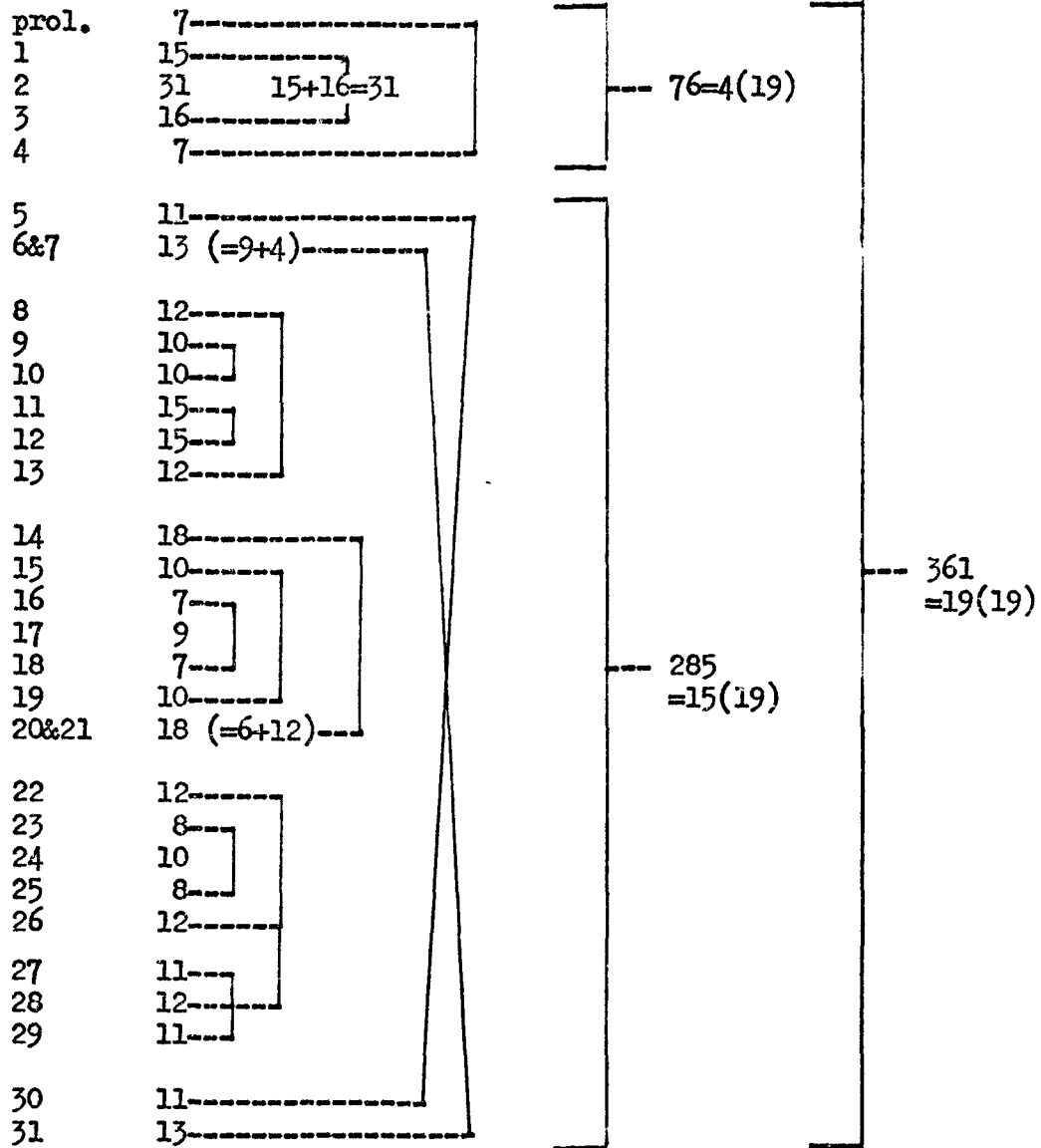
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Appendix B: Thematic Schema for Book 4



Appendix C: Numerical Schema for Book 1



IX

LENGTH

There is some indication that in composing a fable Phaedrus had in mind a small selection of approximate lengths to which it could be developed. The basic or primary length appears to have been seven verses. There are twelve poems of precisely this length in the five books (1.prol., 1.4, 1.16, 1.18, 2.3, 3.1, 3.4, 3.9, 3.11, 4.8, 5.6, and 5.8); and app.22 and app.26, which seem to be complete as they stand, also consist of seven verses (app.18 may be lacking an affabulatio, though this is not necessarily the case). In contrast, the five books contain only three complete poems of six verses (1.20, 4.3, and 4.20: 4.14 is of course a fragment) and only five of eight verses (1.23, 1.25, 3.12, 4.12, and 4.17), while the appendix has no obviously complete poems of six or eight verses (app.25, and app.9, app.19, and app.29, all lack affabulationes). In some respects, this length of seven verses must have represented the minimum space necessary for the development of tale and moral. If the tale and its moral were extremely simple, they might possibly be given in as few as four verses; but in such cases the fable becomes almost an image or an allusion (such are 1.7 and 4.24).

Yet this minimum length is not rigidly apportioned. Thus a fable of seven verses may have an affabulatio of one verse (1.4, 1.18, 2.3, 3.1, 3.9, and 5.6), two verses (1.16, 4.8, and 5.8),

or even three verses (3.4), or no affabulatio at all (3.11). Phaedrus' tendency to give his shorter fables one particular length must be due in part to a feeling for the correct magnitude similar to that required of poets by Aristotle (Poetics 7.2&4-7).

A secondary length to which Phaedrus seems to have felt a poem could be developed is around ten, eleven, or twelve verses, though here the difference observed is not perhaps so striking. There are only four poems of nine verses in the five books, and two of these are personal addresses (4.22 and 4.epil.: the other two are 1.6 and 1.17); there are no obviously complete poems of this length in the appendix (app.13 and app.21 lack affabulationes). Ten verses, on the other hand, is the length of ten poems in the five books (1.9, 1.10, 1.15, 1.19, 1.24, 2.2, 3.5, 4.18, 5.prol., and 5.epil.); app.31 is also of ten verses, but may be missing a promythium or epimythium. There are also six poems of eleven verses (1.5, 1.27, 1.29, 1.30, 3.6, and 4.1) and nine or ten of twelve (1.8, 1.13 =disregarding verses 13-4=, 1.21, 1.22, 1.26, 1.28, 2.1, 3.19, 4.9, and 5.4: to which may be added app.30, which is fairly obviously complete; app.23 and app.32 lack affabulationes). Five or six poems consist of thirteen verses (1.31 =if complete=, 3.14, 3.17, 4.4, 4.6, and 5.3), and only two of fourteen (2.7 and 4.16: to which should probably be added app.3; app.11, app.12 =omitting verse 15=, and app.28 are not obviously complete).

Fables of this length are almost bound to have been elaborated in some particular. There may be a passage of several verses of

direct discourse, as the lion's extended argument from his own superiority in 1.5 (verses 7-11). More attention may be paid to the background for the purpose of building up a sort of climax, as in the reference to the wolf's difficulties in getting someone to remove the bone from his throat in 1.8 (verses 5-7). The action may be delayed by question and answer, as in 1.15 (verses 7-10). An extra stage may be added to the plot, as in 1.19. And so on.

As indicated above, only two or three fables in the five books consist of fourteen verses. There are six poems of fifteen verses (1.1, 1.11, 1.12, 2.prol., 3.18, and 5.2) and only two of sixteen (1.3 and 3.8). Thus fifteen verses may have formed one of the ideal lengths in Phaedrus' mind, but the evidence is admittedly rather weak. Another point about which poems seem to cluster in Phaedrus is 26 verses. The difference in these longer poems seems to be one of degree of elaboration, with no sharp distinction of kind (say, beast fable against anecdote) according to length.

It was noted above that fables of the very shortest length admit affabulationes of more or less any size. In the case of fables of from twelve to fifteen verses, however, there is a complete absence of one-verse promythia (nine have two-verse promythia, and one =1.8= has a three-verse promythium), and in fables of thirteen verses or more there is a complete absence of one-verse epimythia (two =1.2 and 2.8= have one-and-a-half-verse epimythia, nine have two-verse epimythia, three =4.6, 4.25, and 5.3= have three-verse epimythia,

and three =3.10, 4.11, and 4.21= have still longer epimythia). In other poems, we find one-verse promythia thirteen times and one-verse epimythia six times. The length of the affabulatio is thus not entirely unrelated to the length of the poem in Phaedrus.

Nor, it appears, was it unrelated to the time at which he wrote. There is a strong preference in book 3 for the promythium to be of one verse (six cases, versus none of two verses, one =3.3= of three, and one =3.10= of more); books 1 and 4, on the other hand, show a preference for two-verse promythia (sixteen and five cases respectively, as against five and two cases respectively of one-verse promythia). Others have already pointed out Phaedrus' shift with time from a preference for the promythium to a preference for the epimythium (see, for example, Nøjgaard, II, p. 115). This change back and forth in preference for certain lengths of affabulatio seems to be a parallel and possibly related phenomenon. It is seen in epimythia as well as in promythia: there are no one-verse epimythia either in book 4 or in book 1, but three in book 3.

If Phaedrus tended to make his fables seven verses long rather than five or six because the former length seemed to him to be an appropriate minimum, was this a personal peculiarity, or does it represent a general truth about the ancient fable? The obvious course is to examine the work of the other great fabular poet of antiquity, Babrius.

Now the text of Babrius is not in as good condition as that of Phaedrus, being full of possible interpolations and having variant verses in a number of places. It is thus less easy to be sure of the lengths of the various fables in it. Nevertheless, the number of fables of a particular length is fairly consistent from one edition to another, as the following table will show.

number of verses	number of fables of that length	
	Crusius ¹	Perry ²
2	1	0
3	0	0
4	16	16
5	5	5
6	11	10
7	6	6
8	18	18
9	4	1
10	21	26
11	5	6

¹Otto Crusius, Babrii fabulae aesopeae (editio minor; Lipsiae: 1897), ##1-140, excluding ##39, 65, 137, and 138. Any sections bracketed or otherwise set off are not considered in determining the length of a fable.

²The Loeb text printed in the same volume as that of Phaedrus; excluded are fables 137, 138, and 141 (all suffering from lacunas) and fables 142 and 143 (which do not represent the corresponding numbers in Crusius' edition).

12	12	12
13	2	1
14	6	6
15	1	2
16	6	6
17	2	2
18	3	3
19	4	4
20	4	4
22	1	2
23	0	1
24	2	1
25	2	1
29	1	1
30	1	1
32	1	1
101	1	1

The idea that seven verses was somehow an ideal length for the ancient fable is at once refuted. Babrius has only six examples in 136 or 138 fables where Phaedrus has twelve in the 99 complete poems of the five books--a case of about 4.4% compared to about 12%. The most noticeable difference in Babrius' practice, however, is the preference for even numbers (more than three quarters of

the fables in either Crusius or Perry³); this would account very largely at least for the relative rarity of fables of seven or fifteen verses compared with the works of Phaedrus, though one is still faced with the problem of accounting for the even-number preference itself.⁴

In the fables of Avienus, we find a much more regular and understandable distribution of lengths than in either Phaedrus or Babrius. Two (or one) of Avienus' fables are of ten verses (that is, five couplets), ten are of twelve verses, eight of fourteen verses, twelve (or ten) of sixteen, five (or seven) of eighteen,

³There can be no doubt that this high proportion of fables with an even number of verses is statistically significant. In the case of Crusius' text, the value of χ^2 is 36 (with $df=1$); and, in the case of Perry's, it is nearly 40 (again with $df=1$)--both far beyond the 0.1% probability level.

⁴There is a very slight preponderance, it appears, of even numbers of verses in shorter units as well; but this seems far from sufficient to account for the much stronger preference in the fable as a whole.

One is led to speculate as to whether Babrius' fables may not have been a reworking of a now lost collection in some form of couplets. For example, if Babrius was, as he is often deemed to have been, of Latin origin (see Perry's Loeb edition, pp. lii-lv), he might at some point in his career have composed a number of fables in Latin elegiacs (as Avienus did at a later date); if so, when he came to compile a collection for Greek-speaking youngsters, he may easily have done little more than translate the earlier Latin material into Greek in the appropriate metre, in many cases on a line-for-line basis.

This is naturally mere speculation, but I invite anyone to discover a more plausible explanation for a phenomenon so far beyond the realm of doubt.

three (or four) of twenty, and one each of twenty-two and twenty-four verses.⁵ It is plain that Avienus did not favour particular exact lengths (apart from the metrical necessity of even numbers of verses), but rather tended to write fables of about fourteen verses. Avienus' fables are neither very long nor very short, though they tend on the average to be somewhat longer than those of Phaedrus. None is the six or eight verses that would approximate the favoured seven of Phaedrus.

Thus it appears that Phaedrus' favouring of particular lengths for his poems, specifically of seven verses, was peculiar to his particular treatment of the fable. Babrius' work shows that seven verses was not a general minimum, and the fact (noted above) that the length of the fable proper may vary in one of Phaedrus' seven-verse poems rather supports this. It is not necessary to look for any underlying philosophical reason for this characteristic of Phaedrus' poems: it is not as if all, or even the larger part, of his poems were of only one or two lengths. It must rather be looked on as a

⁵These figures are based on the text of J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, Minor Latin Poets (Loeb Classical Library; London and Cambridge, Mass.: 1968). The alternates in parentheses are the results of including the passages bracketed in the Duff text.

stylistic peculiarity, most unlikely to have been the result of conscious effort. A poem of seven verses probably pleased Phaedrus more than did one of, say, eight verses, though he would probably have been unable to say why.

CONCLUSION--SUMMARY

Studies of this sort, which are not directed toward a single goal, do not readily yield a unified conclusion. Likewise, a summary of such studies tends to become either a precis or a series of chapter-headings. The results in this case are nevertheless such that a certain organization of them is possible.

Most chapters have touched on stylistic differences between the parts of Phaedrus' work, with an especial view towards signs of stylistic development. In Phaedrus' use of homodyne and heterodyne verse-rhythms (chapter I), as well as in his use of "unpoetic" words (chapter V), very little change was generally observable. Book 1 was especially characterized by its poverty in words found only once in Phaedrus' work (chapter III), and this might be paralleled by the relatively high repetition of verse-endings in the same book (chapter II). On the other hand, while "once-words" do not increase in frequency after book 2, repetition of verse-endings continues to drop fairly steadily. Another fairly steady change is in the use of Greek words, which generally increase in frequency (chapter IV). Rhyme between the fifth-foot dieresis and the end of the verse generally decreases in frequency (chapter VI). Less smooth variation was observed in the frequency of third-foot-caesura rhymes (chapter VI). In his middle work, Phaedrus favoured couplet-rhymes (chapter VI) and apparently used alliteration somewhat less (chapter VII).

It also appears that he preferred the "climactic" arrangement of threefold alliteration in his earlier work (chapter VII).

These are perhaps the main points of difference brought out in these studies between the parts of Phaedrus' work. The increasing use of Greek words may be due to changing content. Other changes, some of which have been shown not to be purely accidental, are more clearly stylistic in nature. The existence of other such shifts remains to be investigated (for example, in the field of word-order).

Phaedrus seems to vary his style slightly with the kind of discourse. A certain affective value in the alternation of homodyne and heterodyne (chapter I) appears to have been made use of at times. Once-words and Greek words are more common in some kinds of poems than in others (chapters III and IV). The distinction between personal material and narrative may be of some importance: the former makes more use of "unpoetic" words than the latter and manifests somewhat fewer strong alliterative verses (chapters V and VII).

A few miscellaneous points might also be recalled. Phaedrus introduced few new Greek words, if any, into Latin; and the overall proportion of Greek words in the vocabulary of his works is low in comparison with poets of the Augustan Age (chapter IV). In spite of its prosaic tendencies, Phaedrus' language shows a definite sensitivity to a number of facets of Dichtersprache and is not similar to that of the early dramatists (chapter V). Phaedrus was moderate in his

employment of alliteration and appears to have avoided extreme concentration of alliterative verses and the juxtaposing of similar alliterations (chapter VII). Structural analysis generally looks like an unfruitful approach to Phaedrus, though the numerical symmetry of book 5 is interesting (chapter VIII).

These studies have, with certain exceptions, paid chief attention to the style of Phaedrus as a discrete phenomenon, rather than in its relationships to the styles of particular other authors. In a sense, this is justified; for there is no author or group of authors to which one can point as having been a decisive influence on Phaedrus' style or as having been influenced by it: Phaedrus is not part of a tradition. Yet there are indications of a kinship with Horace; for example, in the use of alliteration (chapter VII). It might be of value for this sort of kinship to be explored further at a later date.

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