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Excerpt

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# THE JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

## THE SHORTENING OF LONG SYLLABLES IN PLAUTUS.

### II.

THE shortening of a naturally long syllable by the Breves Breviantes Law is a feature of Late and Vulgar Latin. *Merēbatur*, for example, is a mispronunciation censured by Consentius (5th cent. A.D.) (p. 393 K.), along with *ōrator* (p. 392 K.); *verēcundus* is found in the Christian poets (e.g. Fort. 7. 6. 10), whence the Romance syncopated forms of *ver(ē)cundia*, Ital. *vergogna*, Span. *verguenza*, Fr. *vergogne* etc. (cf. *Quaest. Gramm. Bern.* p. 186 H.). The Christian poets also use, not only scansiones like *abŷssus* (*ἄβυσσος*) (cf. *ibid.* p. 177. 4 H.) (e.g. Paul. Nol. 19, 651; 35, 228), but also like *erēmus* (*ἐρημος*, beside *ἐρημος*) (e.g. Prud. *Psych.* 372; *Cath.* 5. 89), whence the Romance forms, Ital. *eremo* and *ermo*, Span. *yermo*, O. Fr. *erme* etc.; but such shortenings, which are natural enough at a time when the distinction between the long and the short quantity of a vowel was beginning to disappear, are not likely to have been tolerated in good Latin pronunciation at the time of the Early Dramatists. It is true that the shortening of a final naturally long vowel is allowed by Ennius and the Hexameter

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poets, while the shortening of a final syllable long by position is not, e.g. *putō*, not *legūnt*, *dixerō* (Hor. *S. I. 4. 104*), not *dixerūnt*. But this is merely because another factor was at work in the weakening of the former, namely the law of Latin pronunciation that a long vowel (final or not) should be shortened in hiatus, e.g. *putō hoc*, *dixerō id*, like *illūs*, *pīus*, *præūstus*, *prēhendo*, just as in *amāt*, *amōr*, *patēt*, contrasted with *amās*, *patēs*, *palūs*, there was the shortening influence of the final consonant, the same as has reduced the long vowel of our 'node' to a half-long vowel in the word 'note'. *Pudicitiam* is the reading of the Palatine MSS. in *Amph. 930*, *Epid. 405*, passages for which the evidence of the Palimpsest is wanting (*Epid. 541* is anapaestic, with *pudicitiam*); *propinare amicissimam amicitiam* is suggested for a line in an anapaestic passage, *Pseud. 1263*, by the MSS. (P) with their *propinare micissim amicitiam*, but Goetz prints *uicissim*, while Ritschl made the line bacchiac *propinare amicissimam*; *amicitiam Men. 846* is very doubtful; *periturissime Rud. 1375* should be *periurissime*; *peculatus* and *depeculatus*, in the three passages in which they occur in Plautus (*Pers. 555*; *Cist. 1. 1. 70*; *Epid. 520*), have short *u*, but whether these words had originally the long *u* of *pecūlium* is questionable; in *Aul. 516 sem(i)sonarii*, not *semisōnarii*, a line of doubtful genuineness (A vowel before a Mute and Liquid, or *qu*<sup>1</sup>, cannot well play the part of a 'brevis brevians' (Klotz in Bursian's *Jahresber. 19*, p. 238); surely not a vowel preceding *s* for Greek ζ). The strongest example is *Clutēmestra* Κλυταιμῆστρα) in Livius Andronicus *Trag. 11 R.*; though with Greek loanwords there is always a possibility of false Analogy, such as produced *aurichalcum* (classical *orichalcum*) from *ορείχαλκος* (cf. also Gk. *Κυναίγειρος* and *Κυνέγειρος*). The Early Dramatists do not shorten, after a short monosyllable (or elided disyllable), the prepositions *in*, *con* in compounds,

<sup>1</sup> *quo-*, pronounced *-co-* (cf. *quom* for *com*, *cum*, the Preposition), would not offer the same resistance; hence *loquōr*, *sequōr*. In *Aul. 715* read *obsecro ego vos*, the order required by Kellerhoff's rule (*Stud. Stud. II 51*).

*Putrēfacit* would hardly be allowed by Plautus, though Ovid has *putrēfacta*, *liquefiunt*. *Probrī* of *Bacch. 1167* seems to require investigation. (Shall we make *probrīperlecebrae* one word?)

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where *i*, *o* were naturally long, viz. where *n* is followed by *s* or *f*, e.g. *īsanus*, *īnfelix* (cf. Cic. *Or.* 48 § 159). (In Plaut. *Stich.* 493 the first syllable of *infumatis* should be scanned long, not short; *īsanit* in *Cist.* fol. 238<sup>v</sup> 1 Stud. will hardly be defended on the evidence of *A* alone, which seems to give *hercle hīc īsanit miser* as the ending of an iambic line; *Pseud.* 194 is bacchiac with *īnsidias*.) Nor are other long initials shortened. In *Rud.* 913 the alliteration requires the order: *neque piscium pondo ūllam*. In *ornare* the *ø*, preceding *rn*, had the quality, not the quantity, of a long *o*, like the *ø* preceding *nd* in *frondes* (also written *frundes*) etc.

The small number and doubtful character of these examples of shortening a naturally long syllable by the Breves Breviantes Law stand in marked contrast with the examples of shortening a syllable long by position. *Volūptatis* (with the other Cases), *volūptarius* etc. are common scansions in the Early Dramatists; and *volūntatis*, *juvēntutis*, *gubērnare* and *gubērnator*, *egēstatis*, *venūstatis*, *supēllectilis* come next in order of frequency. The normal scansion in the Dramatists of all these second syllables long by position is that of classical poetry; the shortening of them is however a licence which is readily allowed, when the exigencies of metre demand. There is no indication that particular groups of consonants lent themselves to this shortening more than others, though more instances occur before *st*, *str*, *nt*, *pt*, *ll*, *ct* than before others. Sometimes the consonants are divided between the syllables, as *r | n*, *n | t*; sometimes they are included in the same syllable, as *| pt*, *| st*. Double consonants, as *ll*, *ss* (e.g. *vicissatim*), *nn* (e.g. *per-ānnonam*) allow the shortening with no more nor less readiness than other consonant-groups.

That Prepositions had a tendency to be weakened in a Compound is perhaps indicated by words like *ōmitto* (for *\*ommitto*, *ob-mitto*. Contrast *āmitto* for *\*ammitto*); *rēcido*, *rēlatus*, *rēduco* etc. beside earlier *reccido*, *rellatus*, *redduco* etc.; so that shortenings, like *in ōcculto* *Capt.* 83, *tib(i)-ōptemperem* *Most.* 896, *quid ābstulisti* *Aul.* 645, occupy to some extent a position by themselves. *In-ōcculto* etc. go naturally into the same class with *volūptātis*, *adōptatus* (whence *adōptaticium*

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*Poen.* 1045); but cases like *quid abstulisti*, where the accent does not fall on the second syllable of the Compound, should be classed with the instances, quoted by Klotz pp. 69 sqq., of pairs of monosyllables, like *quid ab sodali*. For the separableness of a Preposition in a Compound is shewn not only by the usage of Tmesis in the old literature (e.g. *disque tulissent Trin.* 833), but also by the fact (mentioned by Buchhold *de Paromoeoseos usu*, p. 47), that Plautus allows Alliteration with the first syllable of the second element of a prepositional Compound, e.g. *Merc.* 384 *solus se in consilium seuocat*, when that syllable is accented. (When the initial syllable of the Compound has the accent, or the ictus, it alone has the power of alliterating, e.g. *Epid.* 256 *calidi conducibilis consili*.) *Tibi addam Epid.* 474 is on a par with *pol etsi Aul.* 421. But though we may scan *quid exprobras Trin.* 318, with a prepositional Compound, it does not follow that we may scan *quod hostica Capt.* 246; nor does *tibi addam* give a sanction for *per hortum Stich.* 614.

Dr Klotz thinks that any bacchiac trisyllables with the last syllable elided, e.g. *profect(o)*, *bibend(um)*, *harund(o)*, may be treated as iambic disyllables, and shorten their second, now become their final, syllable. He has certainly failed to adduce strong enough evidence for the shortening of a naturally long syllable in this way, e.g. *Aul.* 599 *Érül(e) imperium ediscat* (in *Pseud.* 168 read: *introbite...celebra*); and even his instances of syllables long by position are not altogether satisfactory. *Profecto* (a rare scansion, Brix ad *Mil.* 186. The word *profecto* cannot stand, as it is often said to do, for *prō facto*) may possibly be correctly written *\*profico* (*profecto* is wrongly given in the MSS (P) in *Truc.* 495 for *præfica*, in *Pseud.* 256 for *proh(?)*). *Scelēstus* is changed by Fleckeisen (*Neue Jahrb.* 1891) to *scele-rus*, though in *Most.* 504, *scelēstae sunt aedes*, the shortening is satisfactorily explained by the accentuation *scelestaē-sunt*; so *molestaē-sunt Mil.* 69 (Skutsch *Forsch.* i. p. 108), and perhaps *modēsti-sint Trin.* 831 (anap.), *necūquām-litem Poen.* 489, just as *voluptas* has the second syllable shortened in *voluptās-mea*.

The alleged cases of shortening in the penultima of a Superlative, e.g. *simillumae Asin.* 241, I have treated in the *Classical Review* vi. p. 342. In the trochaic line of the *Asinaria*

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we should read not *pórtitorum símillumae sunt* but *pórtorum símillumae sunt*, the first word being the (Plautine) Gen. Pl. of *portus* (cf. *versorum* Laber. 55 R.), or a by-form of *portitorum*, like *portorium* for *port(it)orium*. The mere ictus of the verse can hardly have had the power of shortening a syllable (as *Philoxéne salve Bacch.* 1106 (anap.)). Even in anapaestic metre where the ictus tramples rough-shod over the accent of the words, it does not lengthen a final *s* in ‘position,’ in lines like *Trin.* 827 *usús sum in alto*; Att. *Trag.* 534 R *dictús Pro-metheus* (cf. *Epid.* 541). The impossibility of scanning a bacchiac trisyllable as an anapaestic, e.g. *senēcta* (unnecessarily so scanned in *Most.* 217), unless when the natural accent of the word precedes or follows the shortened syllable (e.g. *senēctán Cas.* 240 (anap.); *pérind(e) Stich.* 520 (cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* vi. 743 *éxinde*; Prisc. xv. 9 p. 67 *déinde, súbinde, périnde*); *Philíppus* (Gk. Φίλιππος), and perhaps *tálēntum* (Gk. τάλαντον); with the probably foreign word *sátēllites* and possibly *ságitta*), is well seen in an anapaestic line, *Poen.* 1188, beginning *Rebus mīs agundis*. To secure an anapaest for the second foot, Plautus could not use the Plural of the Possessive, *Rebús mēis ágūndis*, or *Rebús meis ágūndis*, but had to avail himself of the rare Gen. Sing. of the Personal Pronoun *mīs agūndis* (The quantity of *mīs* is shewn by Enn. *A.* 145 M. *ingens cura mīs cum concordibus aequiperare*, on which see Prisc. XIII. p. 3 K.; *tis* on the other hand had long *i*, if the Palatine MSS. are right in Plaut. *Mil.* 1033 *quia tis egeat*, an anapaestic line. Should we read *quia tis ea egeat*?). In the line of the *Poenulus* the Palatine MSS. have faithfully preserved *mīs*, while the Palimpsest has altered it to the more familiar *meis*. The trisyllabic (dactylic) form of *avunculus* used by Plautus does not imply shortening of the second syllable. It is a peculiarity of the vocalic consonant *v* to drop out between two vowels irrespective of their quantity e.g. *di(v)inus, obli(v)iscor*.

That there should be MS. readings which offer difficulties, e.g. *Poen.* 922 *ero ūni* (I need hardly add *Stich.* 165 *cōtidie*), and other examples quoted in the books of Klotz and C. F. Müller, is only to be expected, considering the state of the text of Plautus; but I think that an unprejudiced inspection of

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Plautine versification, as a whole, will confirm these two rules:

(1) that no syllable was shortened in the metre of the Dramatists, which was not shortened (partially or completely) in the ordinary pronunciation of their time<sup>1</sup>.

(2) that a naturally long vowel was never shortened by the Law of Breves Breviantes, unless in a final syllable.

The usage of Lucilius with regard to the Breves Breviantes Law is discussed by Dr Skutsch in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1893, XLVIII. p. 303. He finds in Lucilius' iambic and trochaic metres six examples of the shortening of a syllable long by position:

Lucil. 27. 20 M. fácit idem quod illí qui inscriptum ex pórtu  
exportant clánculum.

27. 11. re ín secunda tóllere animos, ét ín mala demít-  
tere.

27. 40. árdum misërrimum átque infelix lígnum sabu-  
cúm uocant.

28. 46. Sócraticum quiddám tyranno mísisse Arístippum  
aútumant.

29. 90. únde dómũm uix rédeat uixque hoc éxuat se....

29. 96. híc me ubi uidit, súppalpatur, cápũt scabit,  
pédés legit.

Of these the second and fourth are easily removed by omitting *et* in the second, and by reading *misse* in the fourth. In the fifth, as Dr Skutsch himself remarks, we may scan *únd(e) domũm uix*. The last is a conjectural emendation of the MSS, which rather point to Mueller's reading:

híc me ubi uidit, súbblanditur, pálpatur, capút scabit,  
pédés legit,

<sup>1</sup> To the evidence, cited in the first part of this article, of the operation of the Breves Breviantes Law in the actual pronunciation of the words *cavillator*, *ministerium*, *calefacere*, and *ave*, may be added, for the last of these words, the story in Phaedrus *App.* 21 of the man who mistook for this salut-

ation the caw of a crow; and for the similar Imperative *cave*, Cicero's story (*Div.* 2. 40) of Crassus mistaking *Cau-neas* (*sc.* *ficus vendo*) for *cave ne eas*; also the spelling *causis* for *cave sis* in Juvenal 9. 120. Servius (*ad Aen.* 6. 779) says that *vidēn* was the pronunciation of his time.

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though the metre of the last half of the first line of this couplet is certainly as ungraceful as the subject. The third example I have already treated in the *Classical Review* vi 343, where I have tried to shew that a scansion like *miserrimum* would not be tolerated even by the Dramatists. The first hand of that excellent MS. of Nonius, the Harleian, gives in this line not *miserrimum*, but *miserinum*, which Mueller changes to *miserulum*. It is possible that *miserinum* is right, for Ullmann in a recent number of the *Romanische Forschungen* (7. 190) quotes *miserina* from a Roman inscription (*Bull. Comm. Arch. di Roma*, 1888, 37), a form which he regards as the foretype of Italian adjectives in -ino like *bellino*, *pochino*.

In Lucilius' hexameters we have an example of the Breves Breviantes Law in 9. 29 M.:

r. non multum abest hoc cacosyntheton atque canina (MS *a re non* &c.)  
si lingua dico 'nihil ad me'

(i.e. the sound of *r* is like the growl of a lazy dog, like 'what care I?' in dogs' language), where Mueller's corrections of the MS. reading to *r nonnullum habet...utque...sic...ar me* are unnecessary. The *ore corrupto* of 9. 1, and the *natura corruptum* of Lucr. 6. 1135, hardly come under the Breves Breviantes law, but are rather to be compared to *omitto* for *ommitto*, *reduco* for *redduco* etc. In the passage of Consentius (p. 400, 8 K.) where this scansion of Lucilius is mentioned, it is possible that an example of shortening by this law is quoted from a hexameter of Ennius; but the passage, as it stands in the MSS., is unfortunately corrupt. They read: sicut Lucilius 'ore corrupto': dempsit enim unam litteram per metaplasmum r: et Ennius

&  
huic statuam statui maiorum obatu athenis;

et hic quoque per metaplasmum dempsit litteram r. This line of Ennius, possibly from his *Saturae*, may indeed have contained some scansion like *et orbatur*, with neglect of the lengthening by position before *rb*, or as Consentius puts it, 'with omission of the letter *r*'. But a passage in Pompeius

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(p. 283, 13 K.): dicitur barbarismus, quando dico ‘mamor’ pro eo quod est marmor...et ut puta si dicas ‘relliquias’ pro eo quod est reliquias, suggests that the ‘omission of the letter *r*’ referred to may have been in the fourth, not in the penultimate word of the line; for the ‘barbarismus’ mentioned by Pompeius may quite well have been not a mere mispronunciation of his time, but (like *relliquiae*) a scansion found in early poetry.

W. M. LINDSAY.

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## 'THE PROSODY OF MICO THE LEVITE.

THE following is taken from Ludwig Traube's account of MICO in the 3rd volume of Dümmler's *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*. At the time when it was written, Traube's work was only just in printing, but the kindness of the author allowed me to use the pages containing Mico before the volume was actually published. I had however, before receiving Traube's printed copy, made a collation (Aug. 1891) of the best ms. at Brussels.

Mico Leuita was a Levite or deacon of the Abbey of S. Riquier in Picardy, two miles from Abbeville<sup>2</sup>. He often calls himself *small* (*paruus*, *paruulus*, *pusillus*). *incipiunt paruae glosae de diuersis libris excerptae a pusillitate Miconis*.

He lived from 825 to 853, and was a teacher of boys. He wrote a number of works both prose and verse; a book of *Epigrammata*, another of *Aenigmata*; perhaps *Epistolae*; and the prosodial work before us.

In his preface addressed to 'all lovers of wisdom' Mico states that the idea of drawing up such a work was suggested by a stranger who while sojourning with the monks of S. Riquier found fault with their reading particularly on the score of quantity. This led him to examine the Latin poets and, when he found words in which the length or shortness of a syllable was doubtful, to set side by side with each word an

<sup>1</sup> This lecture on Mico was read to the Oxford Philological Society in Feb. 1892, and some months later was delivered by me at the New Schools, Dec. 3 of the same year.

<sup>2</sup> The abbey had been founded by S. Richarius A.D. 630—638. It is or-

dinarily called Centula or vicus Centulus: Turribus a centum Centula nomen habet. The Benedictine Harulphus wrote a Chronicle of the abbey in 4 books, which was continued to 1088 A.D.

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instance, first the word, then the instance, lastly the name of the author or book. He adds that it was alphabetical, in order to facilitate reference: '*currit enim commode per alphabetum, ut facilius inueniatur, quod ab amante requiritur*,' where *amante* is the 'lover of wisdom,' i.e. the curious student.

Traube infers that this treatise of Mico was held in high estimation from the number of copies existing of it. There are two in the Royal Library at Brussels, the first and best of which (10,066—10,077) Traube makes the basis of his edition. This is the MS. I collated. The first page is to a great extent obliterated. The date, which Traube thought of cent. XII., I should have considered to be not later than X. or XI. This MS. is called by Traube *B*; the other Brussels MS., which is of inferior value, *b*. Besides these Traube had collations of

1. A Brit. Mus. MS Burney 357, cent. XII/XIII.
2. Erlangen, xv.
3. Halberstadt, XII.
4. Heidelberg.

There are, besides, an XIth cent. at Paris (1928), a Leyden MS. mentioned by Riese; one which was at Toul in the XIth century, and another at Louvain, cited by Heinsius, are also known to have been in existence: but Traube thinks that the Louvain codex which is described by Heinsius as '*admodum uetus*' may be one of the two at Brussels.

Of the extent to which Mico's Prosody was read we may judge from the fact that a verse in it

Cattus in obscuris cepit pro sorice picam

which Mico ascribes to one *Sophocles*, is quoted exactly in the above form, not with either of the variants found elsewhere, Cattus in *obscuro* c. pro s. *pigam*, and is ascribed similarly to *Sophocles* in a Phillipp's glossary of the XIIth cent.

The number of words, thus prosodially treated, is in the numeration of Traube 413. After the last word *Zizania* follows FINIT OPUS MICONIS, then 10 elegiac lines

Ipse Micon paucos studui decerpere sticos  
Alfaque per betum figere marginibus,