

euenat: this form and *euenant* are restored with a fair degree of certainty five times in Plautine comedy (*Curr.* 39, *Epid.* 290, 321, *Mil.* 1010, *Trin.* 41),¹ each time at the end of a metrical unit and in a context of some solemnity; *eueniat* and *eueniant*, which occur 19 times in comedy, were clearly the normal forms in the common language.

184 senex: this type of pleonasm is hard to parallel in either Greek or Roman drama but cf. Ennius, *Trag.* 298–9 *neque sepulcrum . . . habet, portum corporis, | ubi . . . corpus requiescat*.

grauiter gemam: cf. *Trag.* inc. 116, Virgil, *Georg.* 3.133, Ammianus 14.5.7.

IPHIGENIA

The title *Iphigenia* is given to Ennius by Verrius, the Virgilian scholiasts,² Aulus Gellius and Iulius Rufinianus; and to Naevius by Nonius Marcellus (p. 370.23). The piece which Nonius quotes as from Naevius' *Iphigenia* is corrupt to the point of almost complete obscurity³ but since at least one piece of verse quoted with his name and no title comes from a play set on the Black Sea coast⁴ we may suppose that he adapted Euripides' *I.T.* or another tragedy on the same theme.⁵ The five pieces quoted as from Ennius' *Iphigenia* put this play without much doubt in Aulis.

Scaliger⁶ considered that Ennius adapted the extant version of Euripides' *I.A.* and most scholars have accepted his opinion. Wilamowitz suggested⁷ that *vv.* 590–7 of the extant *I.A.* is a remnant of a version of the play containing a chorus of soldiers and that Ennius adapted this version; M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis⁸ had earlier suggested that Ennius' immediate model was a tragedy based on the Euripidean *I.A.* Certainly more than one acting

¹ Cf. *Pseud.* 1030 (*aduocat*), *Rud.* 626 (*peruenat*), *Trin.* 93 (*peruenant*).

² Schol. Veron. *Ecl.* 5.88 uses Verrius' lexicon either directly or indirectly. Servius auct. *Aen.* 1.52 probably draws on the same source; Festus (p. 510.19 ff. s.v. *uasus*) may have omitted the Ennius passage from his epitome.

³ See the restorations attempted by Martotti, *StudUrb* xxiv (1950), 176, *Il Bellum Poeniticum e l'arte di Nevio* (Rome, 1955), p. 131, and O. Skutsch, *CR* N.S. 1 (1951), 146–7, viii (1958), 48.

⁴ *Trag.* 62 (Cicero, *Orat.* 152).

⁵ The ἰφίγεια of Polyidus was set among the Taurians (Aristotle, *Poet.* 16.1455a6, 17.1455b10).

⁶ *Contect. Varr. Ling.*, on 7.73.

⁷ *Hermes* lrv (1919), 51 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften* iv [Berlin, 1962], 289 ff.).

⁸ *MAT*, lxxiii (1913), 416.

IPHIGENIA

version of the Euripidean *I.A.* must have existed in theatrical circles and since Lenchantin wrote there have turned up pieces of what looks like a post-Euripidean tragedy dealing with the sacrifice of Iphigenia.¹ However the five pieces attributed to Ennius' *Iphigenia* can be interpreted as coming from an adaptation of the Euripidean *I.A.* no more free than certain other republican adaptations whose originals are certainly known. The continuing popularity of the *I.A.* in Athens and other Greek cities² and Ennius' well-evidenced predilection for Euripides give Scaliger's opinion a certain advantage over the others. Bergk³ tried to explain the divergences from the *I.A.* in terms of 'contaminatio' with Sophocles' ἰφίγεια, a play which certainly dealt with the sacrifice but was probably set in Argos rather than Aulis.⁴

A title *Iphigenia* seems to be referred to by the author of the rhetorical treatise addressed to Herennius (fr. xciii) and by Cicero (fr. xcva). Since in the one case the personages Agamemnon and Menelaus are named and in the other Achilles we may suppose that Ennius' tragedy rather than Naevius' is meant. Nonius appears to quote from Achilles' speech in an article of uncertain origin (fr. xcva).⁵

No other republican play about events at Aulis is known but both Ennius and Accius wrote a *Telephus* dealing with a later episode in the saga. Behind Ennius' *Telephus* there stood quite probably Euripides' homonymous tragedy, a tragedy to which the *I.A.* bore a striking resemblance; in both plays there was a quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaus and a speech by Achilles complaining of the delay in setting out for Troy; the baby Orestes was used in the *I.A.* by Iphigenia (on Clytemnestra's orders) to soften Agamemnon, in the *Trilaeos* by Telephus (perhaps too on Clytemnestra's orders) to impel Agamemnon to protect him against the spying Greeks; various arguments and *sententiae* appeared in both plays.⁶ A certain caution is therefore required in dealing with fragments not attri-

¹ Pap. Brit. Mus. 2560; Milne, *Cat.* p. 57 nr. 78; A. Körte, *APF* x (1932), 53.

² There are verbal allusions in Eubulus, fr. 67.10 (370), Philetaerus, fr. 4 (701), Menander, *Sam.* 329 (1602) and the Alexandrian Machon 21–4 Gow (22–3). Plautus refers to the story at *Epid.* 490–1, perhaps echoing his original. One of Euripides' two plays about Iphigenia was re-performed at the Great Dionysia of 342/1 (I.G. ii² 2320). Euripides' name and scenes from the *I.A.* appear on a Megarian bowl (nr. 10 in U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten* [Stuttgart, 1959]) of the late third century.

³ *Ind. lectt. Marburg* 1844, xiv (= *Kl. phil. Schr.* 1229). In *Commentatio de Fragmentis Sophoclis* (Leipzig, 1833), p. 15, Bergk had proposed Sophocles' ἰφίγεια as Ennius' original.

⁴ See Zichniski, *Tragödienmon Libri Tres*, p. 271.

⁵ Verrius could be the source; cf. Paulus, p. 163.12.

⁶ E.g. *Telephos* fr. 714 ~ *I.A.* 17 ff., 446 ff.; fr. 719 ~ *I.A.* 1255–75.

buted to any particular play but appearing to concern the events and the arguments of the *I.A.*

Shortly after his specific quotation of Ennius' *Iphigenia* Iulius Rufinianus quotes (fr. c1) without the name of either author or play three trochaic tetrameters addressed by an Agamemnon to a Menelaus and referring to the projected slaying of Agamemnon's daughter. Columna gave these to the *Iphigenia* on the grounds of similarity between the Latin phrases and phrases in *I.A.* 378-401. More decisive to my mind are the proximity of the specific quotation of the *Iphigenia* and the lack of any other known republican tragedy to which the tetrameters could belong.

Some anapaests quoted by Varro (fr. xcvi4, b) as spoken by an Agamemnon and attributed by Verrius (fr. xcvi c), apparently drawing on the same source,¹ to Ennius were given by Scaliger to the *Iphigenia* on the grounds of their similarity to *I.A.* 6-8. The similarity is not so very great but since it is impossible to imagine an Agamemnon speaking thus at the beginning of the *Telephus* or any other known Ennian tragedy we may accept Scaliger's opinion.

A. F. Naeke² argued that in referring to *Iphigenia* in his catalogue of patriots at *Tusc.* 1. 116 (fr. xciv) Cicero had in mind the actual wording of a passage of Ennius' *Iphigenia* based on *I.A.* 1475-6, $\delta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\ |\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \Phi\omicron\rho\upsilon\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}\ \epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\upsilon\upsilon$. Düntzer added the parallel *I.A.* 1484-6 $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu,\ \epsilon\iota\ \chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\ |\ \alpha\tilde{\omicron}\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\ \theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\ |\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\tau\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\psi\omicron\sigma\omicron$. Here as elsewhere one may be sceptical about attempts to extract the poet's phrases from Cicero's³ but Vahlen⁴ goes much too far in asserting that no reference at all is made to a poetic treatment of *Iphigenia's* death. It is perhaps true, but nevertheless irrelevant, that Cicero's phrases show no trace of poetic rhythm. It is true, but again irrelevant, that the parallels adduced from the *I.A.* are not verbally close. It is not true that the metaphor in *sanguis hostium eliciatur sanguine suo* is sufficiently mild to be Cicero's own making, that it is no bolder than, for example, that in *oriens incendium belli Punici suo sanguine restinxisset*. The words, as I shall argue later, recall the language of sacred practice and it is well known how fond Ennius was of importing the Roman sacred language and the ideas informing this language into his adaptations of Attic tragedy.

¹ See J. Kretzschmer, *De A. Gelli fontibus* 1 (Diss. Greifswald, 1860), pp. 16, 41, 45, F. Mentz, *Comm. phil. Jen.* iv (1890), 51, R. Reitzenstein, *M. Terentius Varro und Johannes Maurolycus*, pp. 32-3, G. Goetz, *BPhW* xxi (1901), 1034, R. Kriegshammer, *Comm. phil. Jen.* vii (1903), 80.

² *Ind. lectt. Bonn* 1822, III (= *Opusc.* 186).

³ See the attempts of Düntzer, *RhM* v (1837), 444, Bergk, *Ind. lectt. Marburg* 1844, xiii (= *Kl. phil. Schr.* 1256), Strzelecki, *Eos* xliii (1948), 161.

⁴ *Ind. lectt. Berlin* 1879/80, 14 (= *Op. ac.* 1101).

Study of the organisation of Cicero's argument gives positive grounds for thinking that he is not speaking with his own voice but alluding to the words of another writer. He is discussing the examples of patriotic self-sacrifice given by 'rhetores'. As a rule he brings forward the name of the hero or heroine (*repetunt ab Eretheo cuius filiae... Codrum* [?]. . . *Menoecus non praetermittitur... Harmodius in ore et Aristogiton... Lacedaemonius Leonidas, Thebanus Epaminondas uiget*) and describes his or her deed with a preterite verb (*mortem expetiverunt... se in medios inimicit hostes... largitus est patriae suum sanguinem*). *Iphigenia's* name, on the other hand, is not formally introduced like the other names and her deed is described in the present tense. Furthermore her death makes the number of mythical examples four, whereas one would expect three to balance the historical ones. I would suggest therefore that Cicero took the daughters of Erechtheus, Codrus and Menoecus from his philosophical source and added *Iphigenia* as an afterthought with a speech from a Latin tragedy in mind. The present tense of *eliciatur* would suit such a speech but is quite out of place in Cicero's discourse. Ennius' *Iphigenia*, which Cicero knew well, was very probably the tragedy quoted.

Dobree¹ assigned the trochaic pieces of a stichomythic dispute between an Agamemnon and a Menelaus quoted by Cicero at *Tusc.* 4. 77 to the *Iphigenia* on the grounds of their similarity to sentences in *I.A.* 317-33. Ribbeck and Vahlen both accept Dobree's idea. However the *Iphigenia* is not the only republican tragedy known that could have contained such a dispute. Hartung² gave the pieces to Ennius' *Telephus*.

In a letter to Atticus (13. 47. 1) Cicero alludes unmistakably to a tragic speech addressed to an Agamemnon—*postquam abs te Agamemno non ut uenirem (nam id quoque fecissem nisi Torquatus esset) sed ut scriberem tenigit auris nuntius, extemplo instituta omisi; ea quae in manibus habebam abieci, quod iusseras edolauit*.³ Cicero's identification of his addressee with the mythical Agamemnon means of itself very little⁴ but the words *extemplo*⁵ and *edolauit*⁶ and the

¹ *Aduersaria* II (Cambridge, 1833), p. 373; cf. Düntzer, *RhM* v (1837), 444. Earlier scholars had mistakenly referred the pieces to a quarrel between Atreus and Thyestes.

² Cf. Varro in *epistula Iulii Caesaris* (Nominus, p. 263. 3): *quem simul ac Romanus uenisse mi adigit auris nuntius extemplo* [scilicet in curriculum contuli] *propere pedes*.

³ Cf. the passages of Plautus discussed by Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.* pp. 95 ff. (= *Elementi*, pp. 89 ff.), Cicero, *Att.* 1. 18. 3, *S. Rosc.* 98, *Rhet. inc. Her.* 4. 46, Fortunatianus, *Ars rhet.* 3. 7; cf. also the Athenian nicknames listed by Anaxandrides, fr. 34.

⁴ Elsewhere in Cicero only at *Q. Rosc.* 8, absent from Caesar, common in drama.

⁵ Elsewhere only at Varro, *Men.* 59 (quoting Ennius) and 332.

catalectic trochaic dimeter *tetigit aures nuntius*⁵ are clearly of dramatic origin. *Iusseras* was not a natural word for Cicero to use in correspondence with Atticus. Ladewig² argued that Cicero had in mind Ennius' version of *I.A.* 607-34, the scene in which Clytemnestra arrived from Argos with Iphigenia in obedience to Agamemnon's first letter.³ Other tragic contexts are imaginable.

Düntzer⁴ compared the words *Thelis illi mater* attributed by Varro to Ennius at *Ling.* 7.87 with a passage of the first choral ode of the *I.A.*, 207-8 Ἀχιλλῆα | τὸν ἄ Θέτις τάξε. Vahlen printed the three words among the fragments of the *Iphigenia*, comparing *I.A.* 701 and 708. The *Achilles*, the *Hecatoris Iytra* and the *Telephus* are equally likely to have contained such a reference to Achilles' parentage.

A. Grilli⁵ argued that Cicero's words at *Tusc.* 2.33, *sin tectus Volentis armis, id est fortitudine, resiste*, refer to Ennius' version of *I.A.* 1072-3 ὄπλων ἠφαιστοπόνων | κατορθυμένος ἔνδρα. Cicero may refer to a poetic account of the armour of Achilles but Ennius' *Iphigenia* is not the only possible source.

F. Skutsch⁶ argued that Cicero's words at *Tusc.* 3.57, *nec siletur illud potentissimi regis anapaestum qui laudat senem et fortunatum esse dicit quod inglorius sit atque ignobilis ad supremum diem peruenitur*, refer not to Euripides, *I.A.* 16-18 but to Ennius' version. He seems to have convinced A. Klotz.⁷ He was clearly right to think that Cicero had a Latin tragedian's verses in mind. Scholars now assume that in the case of direct verse quotations Cicero always draws on a Latin poet unless he names a Greek as the author⁸ and the same assumption should be made in the case of indirect quotations. *Illud potentissimi regis anapaestum* refers to a Latin verse just as surely as does *qui hoc anapaesto ciantur* at *Fin.* 2.18 where the run of the argument allows him to quote directly. However the Agamemnon of the *Iphigenia* was not the only *rex potentissimus* of republican tragedy and the sentiment in question not by any means an uncommon one.⁹

¹ Cf. Plautus, *Poeni.* 1375-6 *quod uerbum auris meas | tetigit, Rud.* 233 *certo uox muliebris auris tetigit meas.*

² *Anal. scen.* p. 15.

³ The most recent attempt at restoration is that of Strzelecki, in *Charisteria Thaddaeo Sinko . . . oblata* (Warsaw, 1951), 344. See the more sceptical approaches of F. Skutsch, *RhM* LXXI (1906), 618 (= *Kl. Schr.* 308), and Dahlmann, *MusH* VII (1950), 216-18.

⁴ *RhM* V (1837), 443.

⁵ *Aene* X (1957), 75.

⁶ *RhM* LXXI (1906), 611 (= *Kl. Schr.* 302).

⁷ *Scenariorum Romanorum Fragmenta I* (Munich, 1953), p. 101.

⁸ Cf. Przychocki, *Eos* XXXI (1929), 215 ff.

⁹ Cf. Euripides, *Hipp.* 1028 ἢ τῶν δλοίμων ἀκλεῆς ἀνώνυμος, *Ion* 621 ff., Seneca, *Thy.* 393 ff. Cicero's philosophical source probably quoted Euripides, *I.A.* 16-18 (cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 467E-F, 471C, 474D).

* At *Div.* 2.56-7 the notion that the crowing of cocks has a supernatural divinatory significance (cf. *Div.* I.74) is refuted. Cicero takes from his source Democritus' explanation of the well-known fact that cocks crow before dawn and adds *qui quidem silentio noctis, ut ait Ennius, fauent faucibus rursis cantu plausuque premunt alas* (see fr. CLXXXIX). It is hard to say whether *silentio noctis* is meant to repeat or to complement *ante lucem*. In either case Ennius' anaepasts must be interpreted to refer to the noise of the cocks. A reference to their silence would be quite absurd. The point is that cocks crow any old time and do not need divinity to prompt them. However that may be, the passages from the *I.A.* prologue compared by Ribbeck¹ and Vahlen,² 9-11 οὐκουν φθόγγος γ' οὐτ' ὀρνιθων | οὐτε θαλάσσης· σιγαὶ δ' ἀνέμων | τῶνδε κατ' Εὐριππον ἔχουσιν, 156-7 λευκαίνει | τῶδε φῶς ἦδη λάμπουσι· ἦδός, refer to the particular situation by the Euripus. Ennius' anaepasts, unless Cicero has altered them drastically, seem to have referred to the behaviour of cocks in general.³

In his letter consoling Heliodorus for the death of Nepotianus (*Epist.* 60.14.4) St Jerome appears to draw from Cicero's now lost *Consolatio*⁴ an Ennian *sententia*—*plebes in hoc regi amestiat: loco licet | lacrimare plebi, regi honeste non licet* (fr. CCXX)—similar to *I.A.* 446-9 ἢ δυσγένεα δ' ὡς ἔχει τι χροῖον. | καὶ γὰρ δακρῦσαι βῆδλως αὐτοῖς ἔχει, | ἀπαιτῶν τ' εἰρεῖν. τῶ δὲ γενναίῳ φύσιν | ἀνολβα ταῦτα. On the grounds of this similarity Columna assigned the two trimeters to the *Iphigenia* and all editors have followed him. However such similarities can be treacherous where *sententiae* are concerned and no assignments should be based upon them. Homer's gods and heroes wept freely, likewise those of fifth-century Attic tragedy.⁵ But the social etiquette of the Athenian aristocracy of the late fifth century condemned the public display of emotion.⁶ So too that of the Roman republican aristocracy if we may judge from Pacuvius' alteration of Sophocles' *Νίπτρος*, Cicero's approval of this alteration,⁷ and Cicero's own treatment

¹ *Quaest. scen.* p. 254, *Die röm. Trag.* p. 95.

² *Ind. lecti. Berlin* 1888/9, 10 (= *Op. ac.* I 409).

³ Columna, C. F. W. Mueller and F. Skutsch, *RhM* LXXI (1906), 610 (= *Kl. Schr.* 301), include *silentio noctis* in the Ennian fragment. Zillinger, *Cicero und die afrikanischen Dichter*, p. 115 n. 1, gives it to Cicero.

⁴ See A. Luebeck, *Hieronimus quos nouerit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit* (Leipzig, 1872), pp. 105 f., 157, Kunst, *De S. Hieronymi studiis Ciceronianis*, p. 142.

⁵ Cf. Sophocles, *Tr.* 1046-111, *Phil.* 785-820.

⁶ See Plato's attack on the poets for allowing the heroes to moan and beat their breasts: *Politeia* 10.605c.

⁷ *Tusc.* 2.49.

of Sophocles' Τροχ(ι)ται.¹ One could imagine the sentiment of *plebes in hoc regi antestat: loco licet lacrimare plebi, regi honeste non liceat*² in several of Ennius' tragedies.

XCIII

The words which the rhetorician quotes are plainly of tragic origin and make good sense but do not form a recognisable metrical unit.³ It does not follow that because the memoriser is advised to think of actors preparing to perform a scene of Ennius' *Iphigenia* (see above, p. 319) the words necessarily come from this play.⁴

XCIV

For the rationale of Cicero's discourse see above, p. 321. *Sanguis* is to be understood with *hostium* from the previous sentence. Very probably the polyptoton *sanguis sanguine* (for which see above on v. 180) stood in the speech of Iphigenia which Cicero has in mind.

Sanguinem elicere was a common medical term (*T.L.L.* v ii. 367. 22 ff.) but the usage here is clearly metaphorical. The blood of the enemy will be made to flow like water from a fountain or rain from the sky (*T.L.L.* v ii. 367. 71 ff.) I suggest that Ennius parodied the language used in prayers to *Iuppiter elicuis* at the *aquaelicium*.⁵

XCV

At *Rep.* I. 30 the tragic verses are directed in the first instance at C. Sulpicius Gallus, an aristocrat famous for his knowledge of astronomy, and in the second at those who would prefer to discuss a vision of two suns reported as a *prodigium* rather than the sedition threatening the welfare of the state. At *Div.* 2. 30 *physici* in general are the object of attack.

Donatus (*Ter. Ad.* 386) appears to have in mind the story of the natural philosopher Thales and the slave girl recounted by Plato (*Theait.* 174A) and many others (Hippolytus, *Phil.* I. I, Diogenes Laertius I. 34, Aristides, *Or.*

¹ *Tusc.* 2. 20-2: the hero's cries of pain at 1081-5 are omitted from an otherwise fairly close version.

² Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 845-7 *haec ubi rex didicit lacrimas introrsus obortas | deuorat et clausum pectore uultus habet. | flere palam non uult, exemplaque fortia seruat, Met.* 13. 474-5 *at populus lacrimas quas illa (i.e. Polyxena) tenebat | non tenet.*

³ The usual reading *iam domum itionem reges Atridae parant* produces a trimeter with the highly unusual division of syllables *Ai-ri-dae*. The transmitted reading makes equally good if not better sense (for the construction cf. Plautus, *Aul.* 201-2, *Stich.* 283) but produces a trochaic tetrameter lacking one trochee and afflicted with the same unusual division of syllables.

⁴ Cf. Bergk, *Ind. lecti. Marburg* 1844, xiv f. (= *Kl. phil. Schr.* I 230 f.), C. Pascal, *RFIC* xxxvi (1898), 30.

⁵ See Aust, *RE* v ii (1905), 2366-7, s.v. *elicuis*, Latte, *Röm. Rel.* pp. 78 f.

48. 85, Tertullian, *Nat.* 2. 4, Schol. Lucian, p. 147 (Rabe) to illustrate the common man's distrust of philosophical speculation. The words in *Syrum* could be interpreted as referring to Thales; for the story of his Phoenician ancestry cf. Diogenes Laertius I. 22. Certainly Donatus had Thales in mind.¹ The words which Donatus puts in the slave girl's mouth obviously come in corrupted form from the tragic Achilles' speech. I suggest that some earlier commentary upon Terence's play contained not only the story of Thales and the slave girl but also a clearly designated quotation from the *Iphigenia* and that in the course of time and successive epitomisations the two elements of the original note became conflated.

For Cicero's loose mode of introduction at *Rep.* I. 30, *ille de Iphigenia Achilles* 'the famous words of Achilles in the *Iphigenia*', cf. *De orat.* 3. 217 *Atreus fere totus* 'almost everything said by Atreus', *Fam.* 7. 6. 2 *Medeam coepi agere* 'I have begun to act the role of Medea', *Att.* 12. 45. 3 *tu uero peruolga Hirrtium* (~ 12. 47. 3 *Hirri librum... diuolga*), Horace, *Sat.* 2. 3. 11 *stipare Platona Menandro* et al.

The tragic verses have been much emended since the discovery of the palimpsest fragment of the *De republica*.² The emendations offered are extremely unconvincing and one may doubt whether the words and phrases transmitted are sufficiently anomalous to justify the search for replacements. Both tragedy and comedy mingle catalectic and catalectic tetrameters in speeches of elevated tone; very often, as here, a catalectic verse concludes a series of acatalectic ones (cf. Plautus, *Aul.* 727-30). I should put a question mark after *obseruationis* and interpret the first verse as 'what right have astrologi to look for signs in the sky (and give men like us advice on how to conduct the affairs entrusted to us)? Ennius' Latinity is admittedly peculiar. The normal phraseology would be *quid astrologis signa in caelo obseruatio est?* (cf. Plautus, *Amph.* 519 *quid tibi haec curatio est rem, uerbero, aut matitio?*, *Asin.* 920 *quid tibi hunc receptio ad te est meum uirum?*, *Aul.* 423 *quid tibi nos tactios?* et al.)³ The subjunctive verb indicates impatient expectation of the answer et al.)⁴ The subjunctive verb indicates impatient expectation of the answer nihil; cf. Plautus, *Mil.* 615 *quis homo sit magis meus quam tu s?*, *Amph.* 576-7 *quid hoc sit | hominis?* The postponed *quid* and the locution *quid... obserua-*

¹ For Thales as the archetypal *sapiens* cf. Plautus, *Bacch.* 121 ff., Capt. 274 ff., *Rud.* 1001 ff.

² Cf. the way in which Cicero glosses the story of Anaxagoras' reception of the news of his son's death with a speech by a tragic Telamo, *Tusc.* 3. 28, 3. 58; his quotation of both Euripides and Ennius on the real nature of the supreme god at *Nat. deor.* 2. 65.

³ For an account of the emenders' attempts see K. Ziegler, *Hermes* LXXV (1937), 495-501.

⁴ See T. Bögel, *NJbb Suppl.* xxviii (1903), 57 ff., Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 1^a, p. 253, G. Pasquali, *RAI* vii iii (1941), 29 ff.

tionis perhaps also indicate impatience on the speaker's part. *Astrologorum* is the most difficult word to defend. In third and second century drama genitives accompanying verbal nouns in *-tus* are normally subjective while those accompanying verbal nouns in *-tio* (*-sio*) are objective.¹ Nevertheless the word cannot be emended and to take it with either *signa* or *nemo* is even harder to justify. One finds the pronominal adjective replacing the dative at Plautus, *Cas.* 261 *me sinas curare ancillas quae mea est curatio*. *Persa* 586 *tua mers est tua indicatio* et al. and subjective genitives of nouns all through official inscriptions of the late second century (e.g. C.I.L. I² 583. III *de ea re eius petitio nominisque delatio esto*, VI *quacstio eius praetoris esto*).

At I.A. 919-74 the Euripidean Achilles denounces the Greek leaders one after the other, describing Calchas as an unreliable adviser: 956-8 *τις δὲ μάντις ἔστ' ἄνθρωπος, ἢ οὐδ' ἄλλ' ἄληθῆ, πολλὰ δὲ ψευδῆ λέγει | τυχῶν, ὅταν δὲ μὴ τυχῆ, διοίχεται*. Calchas' mode of divination is not mentioned in the I.A. But elsewhere in early Greek epic and tragedy he is talked of as an *οἰωνοπόλος*, that is the equivalent of the Roman *augur*.² Earlier in the I.A. (520-1) Agamemnon and Menelaus, with Calchas in mind, denounce diviners as a class. Such general denunciations of diviners are common in Attic tragedy (e.g. Sophocles, *Ant.* 1055, Euripides, *Hel.* 744 ff., fr. 795).

The anti-intellectual sentiments of the Eumian Achilles are common in Attic tragedy (e.g. Sophocles, fr. 671 *μισῶ μὲν ὅστις τάφραν ἰεροσκοπέι, Euripides, Hel.* 757 *γνώμη δ' ἄριστη μάντις ἦ τ' εὐβουλίαι*, fr. 913 *μετεωρολόγων... σκολιὰς ἀπάτας ὤντολιμηρὰ γλῶσσ' εἰκοβολαί περιτῶν ἄφρονῶν, οὐδὲν γνώμης μετέχουσα, 973 μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκόζει κάλῳς*). Whether or not astrological divination was known in fifth-century Athens³ the tragedians certainly excluded it from the heroic world. The Aeschylean Prometheus does not reckon it among the types of divination he discovered for men.⁴ He talks of the stars only as guides to the seasons.⁵ There is remarkably little talk of the stars in either Ionian epic or Attic tragedy; they were of interest to farmers rather than to men of state. The only possible tragic reference to divination by the stars is in Euripides' account of Melanippe's learned mother Hippo: fr. 482 *πρῶτα μὲν τὰ θεῖα προὔμμεν-τέυσσο | χρησμοῖσι σαφέσιν ἑστέρω ἔπ' ἄντολας*.⁶

¹ See A. W. Blomquist, *De genitivi apud Plautum usu* (Diss. Helsingfors, 1892), pp. 111 ff., Marouzeau, *MSL* xviii (1914), 146 ff.

² See Homer, *Iliad* 1.68-72, 13.70, Euripides, *I.T.* 662, Propertius 4.1.109 ff.

³ See W. Capelle, *Hermes* ix (1925), 373 ff.

⁴ *Prom.* 484-99. Cf. Euripides, *Hek.* 211-13.

⁵ *Prom.* 454-8. Cf. Sophocles, fr. 399.

⁶ Wilamowitz, *SB Berlin* 1921, 74 n. 3 (= *Kl. Schr.* 1453 n. 2), declared that *διοσημεία* only are involved. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), p. 37 n. 1, was less dogmatic.

IPHIGENIA

Roman tragedy, on the other hand, both republican and imperial, is full of talk of astrologers, the planets and the zodiac: e.g. Pacuvius 407 *nam si quae evenitura sunt provident aequiperent Ioui* (i.e. *astrologi*; see Gellius 14.1.34), Accius 331-2 *Lucifera lampade Arietem exurat Iouis*, 678-80 *peruade potum splendida mundi sidera binis* (Popma: *bigis cod.*), Seneca, *Thy.* 836, 844-66, *Herc.* f. 944 ff., *Oed.* 40, 251. Roman epic treats the heroic world similarly: e.g. Virgil, *Aen.* 3.360, 10.176, Statius, *Theb.* 3.558.

It is possible to regard Ennius' verses as coming from an adaptation of I.A. 919-74. Elsewhere without any doubt (see below on fr. cviii) Ennius inserts *sententiae* absent from his originals or rewrites *sententiae* (see above on fr. lxxxiv) with the world of experience of himself and his audience in mind. To have ridiculed Calchas as an *augur* might have given offence to his aristocratic patrons¹ but the *astrologus*, like all private diviners, was generally despised.²

186 cum Capra aut Nepa aut exoritur nomen aliquod beluarum: for the series of alternatives cf. Plautus, *Aul.* 24 *aut tui aut uino aut aliqui semper supplicat*, *Capt.* 382 *pater exspectat aut me aut aliquem nuntium*, *Truc.* 53 *aut empta ancilla aut aliquod uasum argenteum*. For the periphrasis with *nomen* cf. Euripides, *I.T.* 662-4 *τὸν τ' ἐν οἰωνοῖς σοφὸν | Κάλχοντ' Ἀχιλλεύος τ' ὄνομα, καὶ τὸν ἔθλιον | Ἀγαμέμνον'*, C.I.L. I² 581 (186 B.C.) *neue nominum Latini neue socium quisquam*, Cicero, *Fam.* 7.5.3 *huic ego neque tribunatum neque praefecturam neque ullius benefici certum nomen peto*; Vahlen, *Ind. lect.* Berlin 1878, 8 ff. (= *Op. ac.* 1.58 ff.), Löfstedt, *Eranos* x (1910), 22 ff., *Coniectanea* (Uppsala, 1950), pp. 42 ff.

Capra normally represents the constellation Αἴξ in later Latin poetry. However at *Anth. Lat.* 622.5 and 626.5 it represents Αἴγυόκερος.³ The astrological context does not demand necessarily a zodiacal constellation⁴ but makes one likely.

Nepa represents Σκορπιός in later poetry but Verrius Flaccus⁵ seems to have thought that Ennius could mean Καρκίνος.

187 caeli scrutantur plagas: Varro, *Men.* 233, Ovid, *Met.* 11.518, Seneca, *Oed.* 972 repeat the phrase *caeli plagas* as a mere periphrasis for

¹ Pacuvius comes close to attacking the state augurs at *Trag.* 83 ff.

² See Cato, *Agr.* 54 *augurum haribulum Chaldaeum nequem consuluisse uelit*, Appian, *Hisp.* 85, Plutarch, *Mor.* 201B (on Scipio and μάντις in the Roman camp at Numantia).

³ For *Capra* = Αἴγυόκερος cf. Manilius 2.179 and Housman's note.

⁴ See on the constellation Αἴξ Manilius 5.128-39.

⁵ Nonius, p. 145.12, Paulus, p. 163.12; see above, p. 319 n. 5.

caelum. Ennius' context (*exortitur*) suggests that he has the circle of the horizon in mind. Elsewhere in drama *plagae* denotes a (hemispherical, circular?) hunting net.¹ There may be the same link here as between Homer, *Il.* 5.487 ὥς ἀψίσι λίνοι ἄλδοντε πανάγγρου and Plato, *Phaidr.* 247 Β ἄκρον ὑπὸ τὴν οὐράνιον ἀψίδα προρέοντα. It is difficult however to understand within this area of metaphor Ennius, *Sat.* 65 *subulo quondam marinus propter astatat plagas* (circle of ὤκεανός?).

XCVI

At *Ling.* 7.73-5 Varro quotes Ennius' anapaests as an illustration of how the poets represent *multa nox* and turns aside to discuss the Latin names of the constellation of the Great Bear. It is certain that the latter discussion comes from the work of another scholar and highly likely that this work is also the source of the anapaests.² If so, Varro's interpretation—*multam noctem ostendere multam*—may be determined by the general structure of his discussion of poetic accounts of time rather than by the dramatic context of Ennius' anapaests.

Scaliger accepted the manuscript division of speakers at Euripides, *I.A.* 6-8 and made a similar division of speakers in Ennius' anapaests after *uidetur*.³ Hermann took over Scaliger's basic assumptions and put the division after *clipeo* to take account of *Ling.* 5.19. On any unprejudiced view the phrase in *alifonso caeli clipeo* goes with *superat*. Vahlen⁴ understood all the anapaests as uttered by the one speaker, Agamemnon, to himself. The word *uidetur* is hardly proper to a soliloquy. I therefore take *quid noctis uidetur* as a question addressed by Agamemnon to a second party and the other words of the quotation as information about the state of the sky designed to help the second party's reply. The relative positions of the stars do not of themselves fix the time of night.

The text of Varro's discussion as well as that of his quotation is corrupt and there is little hope of certain restoration. *Stellas* lacks a complement⁵ and *sublime agens* presents a quite intolerable hiatus.⁶

¹ Plautus, *Mil.* 608, 1388, *Poen.* 648, *Trin.* 237b. ² See above, p. 320.

³ Even quoting at first hand ancient writers were prone to make no reference to such divisions; cf. Cicero, *Dir.* 1.66 and above, p. 207.

⁴ *Ind. lectt.* Berlin 1888/9, 14 (= *Op. ac.* 1414).

⁵ Vahlen (*Ind. lectt.* Berlin 1888/9, 14 [= *Op. ac.* 1414], *Hermes* xliii [1908], 514) seems to have taken *stellas* as one of the objects of *agens*. F. Skutsch (*Rhm* lxi [1906], 605 [= *Kl. Schr.* 296]) took it as the object of *superat*, comparing Plautus, *Stich.* 365 *commodum radius sese sol superabat ex mari*. Neither explanation gives a very clear image. Ribbeck (*Coroll.* p. xxv) saw the difficulty.

⁶ Leo, *Ausg. kl. Schr.* 1906, pointed out that *agens* might be treated as having suffered iambic shortening. But this phenomenon is comparatively rare in tragedy even in iambo-trochaic verse (for anapaests cf. Accius 290).

Turnebus' *sublimis agens* and Vahlen's *sublime agians* remove the hiatus. *Sublimum agens* would be a simpler change.¹ For the hiatus *sublimum agens* cf., in anapaestic verse, Plautus, *Bacch.* 1193 *mentem amabo*, *Circ.* 137 *plorā amabo*; in dactylic verse Ennius, *Ann.* 307 *aeuum agebani*,² 332 *militum octo*, *V. ar.* 3 *Seipio iniuste*, Cicero, *Arat.* fr. 24 *etesiāe in uada ponti* (*Orat.* 152), Lucretius 6.716 *etesiāe esse*. Where hiatus in general is concerned the tradition of republican dramatic verses has it much more often after words ending in vowel + *m* than after words ending in *ē*.³ However this may simply reflect the relative frequency of words ending in *m* and *e* in the lexicon.

Varro's remark *et plaustrum appellatum, a parte totum, ut multa* perhaps contains the clue to what is wrong with Ennius' *temo superat stellas*. I take *temo* literally as the yoke-pole formed by Alioth, Mizar and Benetnasch⁴ and supply *plaustri* with *stellas*. Ennius would then be describing the relative positions of the seven stars when Mizar has reached its highest point in the sky.

In the anapaestic dialogue which opens the *I.A.* Euripides' Agamemnon either asks his aged servant or muses to himself about the appearance of the sky: 6-8 τῆς ποτ' ἄρ' ὀστήρ ὄδε πορθυέυει | σεῖσιος ἔγγυς τῆς ἔντροπρου | Πλειδὸς ἔσσων ἔτι μεστήρης;⁵ The mention of the Pleiades at the beginning of the campaigning season as still unset would have put the time somewhat before dawn. Sophocles describes Palamedes' discovery of how to divide the watches of the night by the stars at fr. 399. 8 ff. and Euripides twice elsewhere (*Rhes.* 528 ff., *Phaeth.* fr. 773. 19 ff.) uses the Pleiades to fix the time. The Bear is never so used in Attic tragedy. In classical Roman poetry, on the other hand, whatever the position of the observer, the position of the Bear seems regularly to fix the time of night and that of the Pleiades the season of the year. The parallelism of phrase ἔσσων ἔτι μεστήρης ~ *sublimum agens etiam atque etiam noctis iter* confirms to some extent the external indications that the Greek and Latin anapaests are linked. Why Ennius changed the seven stars of the Pleiades for the seven of

¹ For the form see Nonius, p. 489. 7. A number of adjectives swing in early Latin between *-us -a -um* and *-is -e* (*fulvius, promius, sterilis* et al.).

² Cicero, *Brii.* 58; cf. Timpanaro, *SIFC* N.S. xxi (1946), 53.

³ See Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus und Verschleifung*, pp. 16 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Souda* P 295 βυμός . . . καὶ τῆς Ἄρκτου οἱ κάρκ τὴν οὐρανὸν γ' ἀστῆρες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, Cicero, *Arat.* fr. 16 (*Nat. deor.* 2. 109) *Arctophylax uulgo qui dicitur esse Bootes | quod οὐρανὸν ἀδιφύοντα πρᾶσεκαυτὸν Ἄρκτου* (~ *Aratus* 92-3 τὸν ῥ' ἀσῆρες ἔτικαλοῦσι βοώτην | οὐνεχ' ἀκαξατὶς ἐπικαλούμενος εἰσβῆται Ἄρκτου), Ovid, *Met.* 10.446-7 *tempus erat quo cuncta silent interque triones | flecterat obliquo plaustrum temone Bootes*.

⁵ For the interpretation of the Greek see Housman, *CR* xxviii (1914), 267.

the Bear it is hard to say.¹ Ancient critics were much divided on the precise significance of Euripides' words.² Rome's different position on the globe and the different times of the year at which her dramatic festivals were held may have made astronomical observations comprehensible in Athens at the time of the Great Dionysia seem ludicrous when literally translated. In any case the Latin Agamemnon's question is a different one from the Greek.

188 quid noctis uidetur: 'how late do you think it is?'; cf. Plautus, *Amph.* 153-4 *qui me alter est audacior homo . . . qui hoc noctis solus ambulem?* 164, 292, 310, *Curc.* 1. For the omission of personal pronouns in high dramatic style see above on *v.* 17.

188-9 in altisono | caeli clipeo: it is not certain that Apuleius, *Socr.* 2 refers to this passage; for repetition of phrases in drama see above on *fr.* xxxiv.

For images presenting the visible sky as a hemispherical container and their absence from Attic tragedy see above on *fr.* xxxii. The only classical ancestors of Ennius' shield image are the descriptions of Achilles' shield and its decoration by Homer (*Il.* 18.483-9) and Euripides (*El.* 464-9).

190-1 sublimum agens | etiam atque etiam noctis iter: 'making its nightly way still high in the sky'. Comedy and classical prose employ regularly the phrases *iter facere, conficere, perficere* (cf. Plautus, *Cas.* 968, *Merc.* 913, *Persa* 221); *iter agere*, etc. are absent. For Ennius' phrase cf. Ovid, *Ars* 2.84 *altius egit iter*, *T.L.L.* 1 1382.69 ff.

Etiam atque etiam normally means 'again and again' (cf. Plautus, *Aul.* 614, *Trin.* 674) but for Ennius' usage cf. Gellius 2.30.3 *a uento quidem iamudum tranquilla sunt, sed mare est etiam atque etiam undabundum*.

XCVII

Verrius Flaccus commonly quoted republican poetry in metrical units and the words which Festus transmits here will form an iambic trimeter if the first syllable of *Acherontem* is treated as short. But Plautus has this name frequently enough for there to be no doubt about the prosody regular on the early second century stage. We must suppose that Festus' quotation or the tradition is defective and treat the words as an incomplete trochaic tetrameter.

¹ Cf. Virgil's imitation of *Od.* 5.270 ff. at *Aen.* 3.512 ff. and Macrobius' discussion (*Sat.* 5.11.11).

² See Theon Smyrn. *De astr.* xvi, p. 202 Martin; there seems to have been agreement about what is meant at *Rhes.* 527 ff. and general condemnation of Euripides' ignorance.

Columna thought that Ennius was adapting *I.A.* 1503 θανούσα δ' οὐκ ἐνόησεν and later scholars have adduced other passages uttered by the Euripidean Iphigenia after her decision to go willingly to her death: 1375 κερθασεῖν μὲν μοι δέδοκται, 1506-9 λαμπροδοῦχος ἄμειρα | Διός τε φέγγος, ἔρερον ἔρερον | αἰδῶνα καὶ μοῖρον οἰκήσομεν. | χάρει μοι, φίλον φάος. There are closer verbal parallels in other plays: e.g. Euripides, *Hek.* 414 ἀπειμι δὴ κάρτω, *Hek.* 1022 Φερσφορνεῖος ἦψω θαλάμους, *Heraclides* 1247 εἰμι γῆς ὕπτο, *Tr.* 460 ἦψω δ' ἔς νεκρούς. From 1368 Iphigenia makes no mention of the underworld; at 1437 ff. she forbids any of the customary funeral rites and her wish is almost instantly approved; she is to be the possession of Olympian Artemis, not of Pluto. Before her change of heart Iphigenia expresses several times (1219, 1250-1, 1281-2) the traditional Greek horror of the underworld. *Acherontem obibo* etc. should therefore be treated as coming from an adaptation of some utterance by the Euripidean Iphigenia before *v.* 1368.¹

192 Acherontem obibo: cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 4.20 *uitae metas ultimas obiret*. The phrases *mortem obire* and *diem (suum) obire* are frequent in comedy, *obire* does not occur in other contexts.

Etruria seems to have been the intermediary between Ἀχέρον, one of the rivers of the heroic underworld, and *Acherus*, the underworld itself in the imagination of early second century Romans.²

Mortis thesauri: cf. the alleged epitaph of Naevius, *ap. Gell.* 1.24.2, *postquamst Orca traditus thesauro*. For the personification of *Mors* cf. Plautus, *Capt.* 692 *ob scelus tuas te Morti misero*, *Cist.* 640 *recipe me ad te Mors amicum et beneuolam*. The third and second century dramatists usually speak of *Orca*. Ennius' grandiose phraseology alludes obliquely to the name *Dis pater* given to the Greek Πλούτων when he was introduced to the Roman state cult in 249.³ For similar obliquity cf. Sophocles, *O.T.* 29-30 μέλος δ' Ἄιδης στενεγμοῖς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζεται; for the explicit etymology Ennius, *Var.* 78 *Pluto Latine est Dis pater, alii Orcaui uocant*, Cicero, *Nat. deor.* 2.66. The Greek borrowing *thesaurus* occurs frequently in comedy, usually in the singular; the plural is always accompanied by other signs of stylistic elevation (Plautus, *Aul.* 240, *Mil.* 1064, *Pseud.* 628, *Truc.* 245).

¹ M. L. Cunningham has interpreted the fragment as a question and compared *I.A.* 1219 τὰ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς μὴ μ' ἰδῆν ἀνεγκάστis; see O. Skutsch, *HSCP* lxxi (1967), 142.

² See Pasquali, *Studi Etruschi* 1 (1927), 291 ff. (= *Pagine meno stravaganti di un filologo*, pp. 163 ff.). Ἀχέρον often indicates the underworld in Hellenistic poetry: cf. Asclepiades, *A.P.* 5.85.3 et al.

³ See Latte, *Röm. Rel.* pp. 246 ff.

obiacent: not elsewhere in republican drama; tragedy has the simple *iacere* 4 times, comedy 16. Ennius chooses the unusual compound for the sake of word play with *obibō*; cf. *his expetimī* at v. 23 and *incinctae* at v. 26.

XCVIII

The speaker bids someone whom he esteems either to come towards him (cf. Plautus, *Mil.* 828 *procede huc*, Terence, *Eun.* 470 *procede tu huc*, Seneca, *Tr.* 705 *huc e latebris procede tuis*) or to move away (cf. Plautus, *Capt.* 954 *age tu illuc procede*); Ennius could be adapting either *I.A.* 1-2 δ πρόσβυ δόμων τῶνδε πρόποθεν | στειγχε (Vahlen) or 139-40 ἄλλ' ἴθ' ἐπέσσων σὸν πόδα, γήρῃ | μηδὲν ὑπέικων (Scaliger). The πιστότης of Agamemnon's servant is a constant theme of Euripides' play (*vv.* 45, 114, 304, 867).

193-4 gradum proferre pedum, | nitere, cessas: for the imperative in parenthesis cf. Aeschylus, *Theb.* 435 τοῖδδε φωτὶ, πέμπτε, τίς ξυστήσεται; ; *Choc.* 779 ἀγγέλλ' ἰούσα, πρόσσε, τόπεστολάμενα, Ennius, *Ann.* 201 *dono, ducite, doque*, Plautus, *Merc.* 111-12 *ex summis opibus uiribusque usque experire, nitere, | erus ut minor opera tua seruietur*, Catullus 14.21-2 *uos hinc interea, ualete, abite | illuc unde malum pedem attulistis* et al. Some modern scholars put a stop after *nitere* and make the infinitive *proferre* its object—a construction absent from Caesar and Cicero but common enough in the historians and dactylic poets and therefore possible in archaic tragedy.

Plautus, *Men.* 754 has *gradum proferam* in bacchiacs. For the periphrasis *gradum...pedum* cf. Euripides, *Tr.* 333-4 ποδῶν | φέρουσα φιλῶντων βῶσιν, Lucretius 5.914 *trans maria alta pedum nisus ut ponere posset*.¹ Verrius must have understood *gradum* as an internal object of *procede*.

194 o fide: the doctrine reported at Servius auct. *Aen.* 1.113, *quidam uelint fidem amicum, fidelem seruum dici*, appears to be refuted by this verse, v. 237, Ritschl's almost certain restoration of Plautus, *Most.* 785, and Livy 33.28.13. But it is clear from the comparative rarity of *fidus* in comedy (5 occurrences as against 24 of *fidelis*) and classical prose and from the contexts of occurrence that it conveyed much more emotion than *fidelis* and was more likely to appear in the dialogue of social equals. Applied to a person of servile status it perhaps indicated an out of the ordinary affection on the part of the speaker. Bergk's supplement *o fide (senex)* is quite unnecessary; the absence of *fidus* as a substantive from our record of early Latin loses significance when one considers how rarely even the adjective occurs.

¹ No real parallel is provided by Pollio *ap.* Gell. 10.26.4 *transgressus a transgrediendo dicitur, idque ipsum ab ingressu et a pedum gradu appellatum*.

XCIX

The structure of the soldiers' argument is clear despite several corrupt words: a general statement about the employment of *otium* is followed by a reference to the particular dramatic situation. This structure has many parallels in republican drama: where stichic iambic trimeters are used at Plautus, *Poen.* 627 ff., *Pseud.* 767 ff.; where iambic tetrameters are used at Plautus, *Rud.* 290 ff.; where trochaic tetrameters are used at Pacuuius, *Trag.* 366 ff., Plautus, *Bacch.* 540 ff., *Poen.* 504 ff., Terence, *Ad.* 855 ff., *Eun.* 232 ff.; where different types of verse are mingled at Plautus, *Amph.* 633 ff., *Epist.* 166 ff., *Men.* 571 ff., Caecilius, *Com.* 142 ff. One cannot decide what metre Ennius gave his soldiers' words on *a priori* grounds. It is, however, significant that no such argumentative structure begins in the middle of a metrical unit.

Three kinds of measurement have been tried: one in stichic trochaic tetrameters,¹ one in corresponding lyric strophes,² and one in a mixture of trochaic lengths.³ The third kind requires least alteration to the words transmitted.

The first thirteen words transmitted form a trochaic dimeter and a catalectic trochaic tetrameter without diaeresis but with caesura after the fourth arsis.⁴ The extended word play, *otio...negoti...negotium...negotium...negotium* has few analogues in Attic drama (cf. however Philemon, fr. 23.3-4 ὁ λοιδορῶν γάρ, ἄν ὁ λοιδορούμενος | μὴ προσποιῆται, λοιδορεῖται λοιδορῶν) but seems to have been considered a stylistic ornament in early second century Rome (cf. Ennius, *Sat.* 59-62 *nam qui lepide postulat alterum frustrari | quem frustratur frustra eum dicit frustra esse. | nam qui sese frustrari quem frustra sentit, | qui frustratur is frustra est si non ille est frustra*, Plautus, *Amph.* 33-6, *Capt.* 255-6, *Pseud.* 704-5, Terence, *Andr.* 258-9). The interpretation of *negotium* in *negotio* has given difficulty. Vahlen offered the translation 'sehr viel Arbeit'. E. H. Warmington 'when he is awork at work'.⁵ There is no parallel however for this particular kind of expression in republican drama although it is common in Attic (cf. Euripides, *I.T.* 197 φόνος ἐπὶ φόνῳ, ὄχεα ὄχεσιν et al.) and appears occasionally in classical Latin dactylic poetry (cf. Ovid, *Ars* 1.244 *et Venus in uinis ignis in igne fuit*). It would be better to translate the thirteen words as 'the man who has no job to do and does not know

¹ Cf., most recently, O. Skutsch, *RhM* xcvi (1953), 193 ff.

² First by Ribbeck, most recently by O. Crusius, *Die Responsion*, pp. 114 ff. (cf. Strzelecki, in *Tragicca* 1, 58).

³ Cf. Vahlen, *Hermes* xv (1880), 262.

⁴ For this type of tetrameter, which is comparatively rare, see W. Meyer, *Abh. Bayer. Ak.* xvii (1886), 75 ff.

⁵ *Remains of Old Latin* 1 (London, 1935), p. 309.

how to employ the resulting leisure has more difficulty than when there is difficulty in a job on hand'. For the two meanings of *negotium* cf. Donatus, Ter. *Andr.* 2 *negotium modo pro molestia et cura, non labore*. For the switch of meaning in polyptoton cf. above on v. 105 (adjectives) and Plautus, *Bacch.* 323 *uicium uicium nescio, Capt.* 741 *post mortem in morte nihil est quod metumam mali, Epid.* 113 *in re dubia re iuuat, Mil.* 4 *praestringat oculorum aciem in acie hostibus, Pseud.* 90 *ante tenebras tenebras persequi, Terence, Haut.* 41 *mea causa causam hanc iustam esse animum inducite, Accius, Trag.* 109 *mala auxere in malis, 422 neque uita ulli propria in uita est.*

Three other treatments of the thirteen words are worth mentioning. Bothe wrote *otio qui nescit uiter* as the end of a catalectic tetrameter. There is however a strong presumption that Ennius' discourse begins a metrical unit and Bothe's reading assumes a tetrameter without either diaeresis or caesura after the fourth arsis. Timpanaro suggested¹ that *otio qui nescit uti* should either be kept as the second half of a full tetrameter or changed to *qui uti nescit otio*. This has an order of words more modern in type than the one transmitted (cf. Plautus, *Poen.* 210 *negoti sibi qui uolet uim parare, 627 uiam qui nescit*) and it would be difficult to explain the corruption. Taking up a suggestion of A. M. Dale, O. Skutsch supplemented the thirteen words as follows: *otio qui nescit uti* (*quom otio est, in otio*) *plus negoti habet quam, quom est negotium, in negotio*. This is free from metrical anomalies and the mode of expression attributed to Ennius perhaps no more twisted than that transmitted at Sat. 59-62.

The two word-groups, *cui quod agat institutum est in illis negotium* and *otioso initio animus*, are defective in sense and metre. Clearly one refers to the busy and the other to the idle and almost certainly the original rhythm was trochaic. No convincing restoration has been offered.²

Gellius introduces his quotation with the words *in eius tragoediae choro inscriptos esse hos uersus legitimus*. Similar language is to be found at Varro, *Ling.* 6.94, *quare una origine initici et initicis, quod in choro Proserpinae est, et pellexit*, and *Gloss. Lat.* 1.128, *apud Romanos quoque Plautus comoediae choros exemplo Graecorum inseruit*. Varro could be referring to a tragedy *Proserpina*; the glossator's source must have had in mind the fishermen of the *Rudens* (290 ff.) or the *aduocati* of the *Poenulus* (504 ff.). Ennius' 'chorus' was composed of soldiers and of such there is no trace in the extant version of Euripides' *I.A.*³ The Attic odes were sung and danced by women of Chalcis come out of mere curiosity to look at the army assembling at Aulis. Their content was to a quite unusual degree unconnected with the action of the

¹ SIFC N.S. XXI (1946), 76 f.

² O. Skutsch suggested *cui quod agat institutum in otio est negotium* and *otioso in otio* (*aeger*) *animus*.

³ Verses 589 ff. have been, however, so interpreted. See above, p. 318.

I.A. There is no sign that Ennius adapted the text of any of them. Students of Roman tragedy seem all to have assumed that Ennius replaced them with utterances of the troop of soldiers. The only matter of dispute is the play from which Ennius extracted his soldier chorus.

There is no need to assume that Ennius made such radical alterations to the *I.A.* The soldiers, like the attendants of the Euripidean Hippolytus (designated *χορός* by our manuscripts),¹ may have appeared on the stage only once, accompanying Achilles to the tent of Agamemnon (*I.A.* 801-1035). In any case only the soldiers of Agamemnon could have been present throughout the action of the play and the utterance of the Ennian soldiers marks them plainly as Achilles' Myrmidons; the boredom and impatience of these were proverbial: cf. Homer, *Il.* 2.778-9 ... οἱ δ' ἄρχὸν ἀρηϊφίλον ποθέοντες | φοίτων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατὰ στρατὸν οὐδὲ μάχοντο, Euripides, *I.A.* 812-18 γῆν γὰρ λιπῶν Φόρσαλον ἠδὲ Πήλεα | μένω 'τι λεπταῖς ταῖσις' Εὐρύτου πνοαῖς, | Μυρμιδόνος ἰσχυῶν· οἱ δ' ἄει προσκείμενοι | λέγουσ'. Ἀχιλλεῦ, τί μένομεν; πόσον χρόνον | ἔτ' ἐκμετρήσαι χερὶ πρὸς Ἰλίου στόλον; | δρᾶ γ', εἴ τι δράσεις, ἢ ἄπ' οἴκοδε στρατὸν, | τὰ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν μὴ μένων μελλήματα, *Téléphos* in Pap. Berol. 9008 II 13-24 τί μέλλετ'; οὐ χρεῖν ἦσυχον κείσθαι πόδα... αἰεὶ ποτ' ἐστὲ νοχλαεῖς καὶ μέλλετε | ῥήσεις θ' ἔκοστος μυρίας καθήμενος | λέγει, τὸ δ' ἔργον οὐβδραμοῦ πορεύεται. | κίχλω μὲν ὡς ὄρα[τε] δρῶν ἔτοιμος ὦν | ἦ[κ]λω, στρατὸς τε Μυρμιδῶν, καὶ πλάσω[ομαι] | [τὰ τ]ῶν Ἀτρειδῶν οὐ μένων] μελλήματα, Accius, *Trag.* 611-12 *iam iam stupido Thesala somno | pectora languentique senentique*. Terence admits himself to importing the persons of the parasite and the soldier into his adaptation of Menander's *Εὐνούχος* (19 ff.) and to adding a whole scene to the *Ἀδελφοί* (6 ff.). Donatus reports that he imported the persons of the freedman Sosia, the lover Charinus and the slave Byrria to the *Ἀνδρῶν* (*ad vv.* 14, 301; cf. Ter. *Andr.* 9 ff.) and that of the young man Antipho to the *Εὐνούχος* (*ad v.* 539). Terence never speaks of these alterations to the dramatic structure of Menander's plays as coming from his own creative imagination; he always claims the authority of a scene in another comedy. It therefore makes some sense to ask what tragic scene Ennius would have claimed as authority for the soldiers he imported into his adaptation of the *I.A.* Scholars in the past have asked a slightly different question but their answers could in principle be adapted to this new one.

Bergk² tied *otio qui nescit uti plus negoti habet quam cum est negotium in negotio* with a *sententia* quoted by Stobaeus (30.6) from Sophocles' *Ἰσχυεῖνα* —

¹ 61; cf. Aeschylus, *Eum.* 1032, Euripides, *Phaethon* fr. 781. 14.

² *Ind. lectt. Marburg* 1844, XIV (= *Kl. phil. Schr.* 1.229); cf. *De Frag. Sophoclis*, p. 15, Welcker, *Die griech. Trag.* p. 110.

τίκται γὰρ οὐδὲν ἑσθλὸν εἰκότα σχολή (fr. 287), and deduced that Ennius replaced the odes of Euripides' play with versions of those of Sophocles' besides making other alterations.

The tie is not a close one. The Sophoclean *sententia* would be more likely uttered by a general than men of lower rank; it breathes the same spirit as Euripides, *I.A.* 1000-1 στρατὸς γὰρ ἀθρόος, ἀργὸς ὢν τῶν οἰκοῦσθαι, | λέσχας πονηρὰς καὶ κοκοστούμους φιλεῖ.¹ It concerns the man who has acquired leisure through some chance rather than from his own deliberate effort and the socially deleterious effect of such leisure. The Ennian *sententia* on the other hand concerns the man who does not know how to manage the leisure that comes to him and the personal effect of this ignorance. Even if the tie were a close one it would not show any structural link between Ennius' play and Sophocles'. Ennius at least once, perhaps twice (frs. cv, cviii), makes his Medea utter *sententiae* quite absent from his Euripidean original without apparently making any structural alteration to that original.

Where *sententiae* are concerned in Roman tragedy and comedy it may be a mistake always to look for a dramatic source. At least twice (frs. lxxxiv, cv) Ennius can be shown altering a *sententia* of his original in terms of his own experience of Roman life. Here he may be composing with the arguments of contemporary Greek philosophical schools² in mind rather than any dramatic context. Such detailed psychological analysis is scarcely appropriate in the mouths of soldiers. The mental effects described—*animus nescit quid velit*... *incerte errat animus, praeter propter uitam uiuitur*—are those suffered by Democritus' ἀνοήμονες (fr. 202 τῶν ἀπένοντων φρέγονται, τὰ δὲ παρόντα... ἀμολδύνουσσι), by the love-sick Phaedra (Euripides, *Hipp.* 181-5) and by those ignorant of the Epicurean science of living and dying (Lucretius 3.1057-67).

Leo³ suggested that Ennius' soldiers were the chorus of Euripides' Τηλέφος. His only argument was that some anapaests quoted by Priscian (*Gramm.* 2.512.21) from Accius' *Telephus*—*iam iam stupido Thessala somno pectora languentque senenique*—prove Euripides to have employed a chorus of soldiers. They prove nothing of the sort, even if it were certain, as it is not, that

¹ O. Skutsch suggested that Sophocles' trimeter refers to the particular situation at Aulis and takes up a generalisation about leisure made in an earlier choral ode.

² On philosophical discussion of σχολή/otium see F. Boll, 'Vita contemplativa', *SB Heidelberg, Phil.-hist. Kl. Abh.* viii, 1920 (= *Kl. Schr.* 303 ff.), W. Jaeger, 'Über Ursprung und Kreislauf des philosophischen Lebensideals', *SB Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1928, 390 ff. (= *Scripta Min.* i 347 ff.), J. L. Stocks, *CQ* xxx (1936), 177-87, Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 212-13, J.-M. André, *Recherches sur l'otium romain* (Paris, 1962), pp. 27 ff.

³ *De Trag. Rom.* p. 15 (= *Ausg. kl. Schr.* i 204), *Gesch.* p. 192 n. 3.

Accius adapted Euripides. If soldiers did form the chorus of the Euripidean Τηλέφος they would have been Agamemnon's Argives, not Achilles' Myrmidons. One could imagine a sub-chorus of Myrmidons accompanying Achilles to Agamemnon's palace. However the fact that in the Berlin papyrus Achilles himself describes the Myrmidon discontent seems to rule out this possibility. We shall have to look outside the Τηλέφος for the origin of Ennius' soldiers but Leo's method of looking at the dramatic substance of the trochaic verses rather than their general argument remains the one to follow.

Mariotti¹ sees something of an 'andatura stilistica sommissa e conversativa' in the discourse of Ennius' soldiers, 'persone di categoria inferiore'. It is true that their manner of speaking does not possess the finished elegance of a Ciceronian oration or philosophical dialogue and that their vocabulary contains no element that we should think absent from the common language of the early second century. But one could say this of probably most of the sententious passages of republican tragedy and comedy. Peculiarly poetic vocabulary masses in the narrative and descriptive passages of the speeches of all social categories in tragedy. In the elaboration of phrasal patterns the discourse of Ennius' soldiers marks itself off even from the most ornate of the paratragic monodies of Plautine comedy; one notes the forward position of verbs and relative clause, the frequency of impersonal verbs, the asyndeta, the personification of *animus*, the extended word play with *otio*... *negoti*... *negotium*... *negotio*, the polyptota *negotium in negotio* and *cui (quod) quod*, the ascending tricolon with anaphora *id agit id studet ibi mentem atque animum delectat suum*, the ascending doublet *mentem atque animum*, the etymological figure *uitam uiuitur*; all of these phenomena occur in comedy but nowhere in such mass as here.

198 ibi mentem atque animum delectat suum: for *ibi se delectat* or *ibi delectatur*. The doublet occurs in comedy only at Plautus, *Trin.* 454 *satin tu sanis mentis aut animi tui* and is rare in classical prose. Dactylic verse has it (Lucretius 1.74, 3.142, Horace, *Epist.* 1.14.8, Virgil, *Aen.* 6.11 et al.) perhaps partly on the analogy of Homer's κροσθῆν καὶ θυμὸν ἴκωνεν (*Il.* 2.171), κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν (4.163), τοιόνδε νόον καὶ θυμὸν (4.399).

199 totioso initio animus: Lipsius' *otioso* in *otio animus* can be taken in two ways: 'the mind in idle idleness' or 'the mind of a man idle at a time of idleness'; for the first cf. Cicero, *Planc.* 66 *cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otiosum* (Naevius, *Trag.* 35 *acrem acrimoniam*, Plautus, *Aul.* 215 *mala... malitia*,

¹ *Lezioni su Ennio*, p. 119. Cf. G. Luck, *Über einige Interjektionen der lateinischen Umgangssprache* (Heidelberg, 1964), p. 52.

Capt. 774 *amoenuitate amoena*, *Cas.* 217 *nitioribus nitidis*, *Epid.* 120 *pretio pretioso*, *Mil.* 959 *pulchram pulchritudinem*, *Poen.* 134 *gratas gratias*, *Pseud.* 882 *suavi suavitatem*, *Lucretius* 1. 826 *sonitu . . . sonanti*, 3. 993 *anxius angor*; for the second cf. *Cicero*, *Cael.* 1 *quibus otiosis ne in conuuiui quidem otio liceat esse* (*Plautus*, *Circ.* 533 *iratus iracundia*, *Merc.* 191 *negotiosi eramus nos nostris negotiis*, 844 *laetus laetitia*).

animus nescit quid uelit: cf. *Lucretius* 3. 772 *quidue foras sibi uult membris exire senectis*, 1058 *quid sibi quisque uelit nescire*, *Livy* 41. 20. 4 *nescire quid sibi uellet quibusdam uideri*. The omission of the pleonastic reflexive pronoun perhaps raises the level of the style.

200 em neque domi nunc nos nec militiae sumus: *em* is rare outside republican drama; it precedes statements at *Plautus*, *Asin.* 336 *em ergo is argentum huc remisit*, *Bacch.* 274 *em accipitina haec nunc erit*. Here it seems to indicate an exasperated tone of voice. In a tragedy of the classical period it would be an extreme colloquialism; one cannot be sure about its exact status in early second century Latin.

Domī . . . militiae is official phraseology; cf. *Terence*, *Ad.* 495-6 *una semper militiae et domi* | *fuitimus*, *Cicero*, *Manil.* 48, *Mur.* 87, *Pis.* 1, *Lig.* 21 et al.

202 incerte errat animus: for *animi incerti erramus*. The Attic tragedians commonly apply ἄλιστα, πλανάσθαι, πλανᾶσθαι, φοιτᾶν to mental behaviour. For the Latin phraseology cf. *Ennius*, *Trag.* 215-16 *era errans . . . animo aegro*, *ap. Cic.* *Tusc.* 3. 5 (fr. CLXXIV) *animus aeger semper errat*, *Plautus*, *Merc.* 347 *tantus cum cura meost error animo*, *Pacuvius*, *Trag.* 302 *triplici pertimefactus maerore animi incerte errans uagat*, *Lucretius* 3. 463-4 *morbis in corporis animus errat* | *saepe animus*, 3. 1052 *animi incerto fluitans errore uagaris*, *Cicero*, *Carm.* fr. 47. 1 *ignaris homines in uita mentibus errant*.

praeter propter uitam uiuitur: the opposite of *recte uiuimus* (cf. *Horace*, *Epist.* 2. 2. 213); the philosophical notion of living as an exact skill, like, for example, carpentering, is implied.

Salmasius changed *uitam* to *uita*. A scribe could have mistaken *praeter propter* for a preposition. On the other hand the accusative dependent on the impersonal *uiuitur* has companions in republican drama which are difficult to explain away: *Plautus*, *Cas.* 185 *presumis ne modis despiciatur domi*, *Mil.* 24 *epityra estur insanum bene*, 254 *inducamus uera ut esse credat quae mentibitur*, *Pseud.* 817 *teritur sinapis scelera*, 1261 *ubi manimia mannicula opprimitur*. The rarity of the construction may simply reflect the rarity of the impersonal passive in comedy (*uiuitur* occurs only at *Plautus*, *Persa* 17, *Trin.* 65, *Terence*, *Haunt.* 154).

For the etymological figure cf. *Plautus*, *Epid.* 386-7 *cogitarent postea uitam ut uixissent olim in adulescentia*, *Merc.* 473, *Mil.* 628, 726, *Persa* 346, 494, *Turpilius*, *Com.* 143, *Cicero*, *Verr.* 2. 118 et al.

C

As often in rhetorical treatises¹ the illustration refers not only to the text of the dramatic speech but also to the mode of utterance; the words quoted scarcely of themselves illustrate ὀγκυνάκτησις. The Agamemnon of Euripides' *I.A.* is at his angriest in the scene of his quarrel with Menelaus. Accordingly scholars since Columna's day have wanted to put the Latin words in an adaptation of this scene, although there are no obvious verbal correspondences.

The words *Menelaus me oburgat* would be spoken more naturally about Menelaus in his absence than to his face directly.² *Regimini* should be interpreted as 'my command of the Greek armada' rather than 'Menelaus' domineering behaviour' (cf. *Trag.* inc. 29 *prois demet abs te regimen Argos dum est potestas consili*). The Latin Agamemnon is describing the opposition that has arisen between his office and the welfare of his family. Accordingly I propose that *Ennius'* trochaic tetrameter be treated as coming from an adaptation of the scene preceding that of the confrontation of the two brothers. Some sort of stimulus can be seen in the iambs 84-6 κἀμὲ στρογγυεῖν ἦκῃτα Μενέλαο χόριν | ἐίλοντο σύγγρονόν γε. τᾶξίωα δὲ | ἄλλος τις ὄψε' ἄντ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν τόδε. The anapaests 22-3 καὶ τὸ πρόστιμον (Nauack: φιλόστιμον codd.) | γλυκὺ μὲν, λυπηρὸν δὲ προσιστάμενον refer in general to the troubles that positions of worldly honour can bring.

My interpretation implies that the Latin Agamemnon put up a much stronger resistance to the proposed sacrifice than either the Euripidean Agamemnon claimed (97-8 οὐδ' ἴμ' ἀδελφὸς πάντα προσφέρων λόγον | ἐπίεισε πλῆγον δεινὰ) or the Euripidean Menelaus allowed (360 ὅστιμος ἔσθαι ὑπέστης παῖδα). Recognition of the force of circumstances rather than base ambition would have motivated his decision to acquiesce. The Euripidean Agamemnon would have been a most contemptible and unheroic figure. *Ennius*, if my interpretation is right, gave him a character more in harmony with the one which the Athenian philosophical schools and Roman aristocratic tradition thought appropriate to the statesman. Comparable are the alterations made by *Pacuvius* to the character of Sophocles' Ulysses (*Cicero*, *Tusc.* 2. 48) and by *Terence* to Menander's Micio (*Donatus*, *Ad.* 938).³

¹ Cf. *Charistius*, p. 364. 21 (*Trag.* inc. 123-4), 374. 8 (*Trag.* inc. 120-2).

² They could be an angry aside; cf. *Plautus*, *Circ.* 572 f.

³ For the 'Stoicising' of the heroes in epic poetry see Norden, *Aen.* VI 2, p. 154.

203 **Menelaus me obiurgat; id meis rebus regimen restitat**: Bentley's simple alteration produces a regular trochaic tetrameter. The fact that the intensive *restitare* is rare in archaic Latin compared with the positive and even rarer in classical Latin stands probably to the favour of *restitat* here; the same is true of many recorded intensives in *-itare*. For the predilection of tragedy for intensive forms see above on *v.* 68.

According to Festus, p. 348. 15: *REGIMEN pro regimento usurpant poetae*. The extant texts do not seem to have *regimentum*; *regimen* occurs only here in republican drama, not at all in Caesar, Cicero and Sallust, five times in Livy. For the predilection of tragedy for nominal formations in *-men* see above on *v.* 13.

Restitat takes the place of expected *obstat*, *obest* (cf. Lucretius I. 110 *ratio nulla est restandi*, 2. 450 *aerique quae claustris restantia uociferantur*), perhaps for the sake of the triple alliteration at the end of the verse.

CI

In the Euripidean Agamemnon's attacks on his brother (*L.A.* 317-412) there is nothing as rhetorically figured as these three trochaic tetrameters; the nearest to them in form and substance are verses of Menelaus' speech of reconciliation: 481-4 καὶ σοι προειπὼς μῆτι' ἔπτοκτελινει τέκνον | μῆτι' ἀνθελέσθαι τοῦμόν. οὐ γὰρ ἔνδικον | σὲ μὲν στενεύειν, τὰμὰ δ' ἠδέως ἔχειν, | θνήσκειν τε τοὺς σοῦς, τοὺς δ' ἔπιούς ὄραν φάος.

204 **ego proiector quod tu peccas**: usually interpreted' as a syntactic graccism: i.e. ἐπιτιμῶμαι, 'mihī proicitur quod...'. Timpanaro² pointed out that *proicio/proiecto* is unexampled in the meaning normal to *obicio/obiecto* and offered the quite satisfactory interpretation 'io sono messo innanzi come capro espiatorio, sono esposto al biasimo pubblico a causa della tua colpa'. For the type of argument cf. Plautus, *Epid.* 139-40 *men piacularem oportet fieri ob stultitiam tuam, | ut memum tergum tuae stultitiae subdas succidanem?* Ribbeck punctuated this and the next correctly as positive statements; the future indicative sometimes occurs in repudiating questions (e.g. Plautus, *Men.* 198 *ego saltabo?*), the present never, as far as I can see.

tu delinquast ego arguor: Stephanus' *delinquis* produces a metrical anomaly (see above on fr. XII) but quite good sense. O. Skutsch suggests³

¹ Cf. R. Frobenius, *Die Syntax des Ennius* (Diss. Tübingen, 1910), p. 81, Kroll, *Studien*, p. 249, Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II, p. 412, J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich, 1965), p. 33.

² *Maia* III (1950), 28. He would now, however, interpret (letter to O. Skutsch) 'I am being sacrificed in your interest' (cf. Catullus 64. 81-2).

³ London seminar, 29 November 1954; see now *HSCPh* LXXI (1967), 133 ff.

that *arguor* is a displaced gloss on *proiector* and replaces it with *iuam* (cf. Horace, *Carm.* 3. 6. 1 *delicta maiorum immeritus lues*).

206 **reconciliatur**: only once in comedy (Plautus, *Capt.* 33; *reconciliassere* occurs at *Capt.* 168, 576) as against *conciliare* 14 times.

neceur: a word normally applied to criminal homicide (see above on *v.* 178) and the extermination of unwanted children, slaves, criminals and *prodigia* (see above on *v.* 18). The accepted notion that it refers to base to killing without bloodshed¹ appears to be contradicted by this passage and Pacuvius, *Trag.* 329. Both passages have a highly emotional tone and the speakers may be emphasising the word's brutal associations rather than its literal meaning.

CII

Ribbeck set these words in an adaptation of the lament uttered by the Euripidean Iphigenia after the rejection of her plea to Agamemnon (*vv.* 1279-335), comparing in particular her apostrophe to Helen (*vv.* 1333-5 ἰὼ ἰὼ, | μεγάλᾳ πῆθεα, μεγάλᾳ δ' ὄχηα | Δουράδαις τιθείσα Τυδάρης κόρηα). Vahlen set them in an adaptation of the dialogue between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra about the proposed marriage (*vv.* 691-741), comparing in particular *vv.* 735-7 (— οὐ καλὸν ἐν δῶλῳ σ' ἐξομλεῖσθαι στρατοῦ. — καλὸν τεκοῦσαν τὰμὰ μ' ἔκδοῦναι τέκνα. — καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μῆ μόνος εἶναι κόρος).

The attempt to find verbal parallels between Greek and Latin, here as so often elsewhere, falsifies interpretation of the Latin. In a play about the Trojan expedition one would naturally interpret the words *quae nunc te iudiae et uastae uirgines sunt* as part of a complaint uttered by a woman against the commander: because of his actions the young women of Greece have been left without suitors and the means of bearing children. The plight of the women of Greece during the siege of Troy is a constant theme of the speeches and odes of tragedy: cf. Euripides, *Hek.* 322-5, *Hel.* 1125, *Or.* 1134-6, *Tr.* 379-81. The Euripidean Clytemnestra makes no such complaint in her attack upon Agamemnon (*vv.* 1146-208) but it would not be out of place in a free Latin version.

207 **uiduae et uastae uirgines**: the *uidua* and the *uirgo* are normally differentiated (e.g. Plautus, *Circ.* 37-8 *dum te abstineas nupta uidua uirgine...*

¹ Cf. Festus, p. 158. 17 *NECI DATVS proprie dicitur, qui sine uulnere interfectus est, ut ueneno aut fame, 190. 5 OCCISVM a necato distingui quidam, quod alterum a caedendo atque ictu fieri dicunt, alterum sine ictu, Priscian, Gramm. II 470. 14 f., Wölfflin, *ALL.* VII (1892), 278.*

ama quilibet) but cf. Seneca, *Ag.* 195 *uirgines uidae*, Apuleius, *Met.* 4.32 *Psyche uirgo uida domi residens*. For the tautology cf. Aeschylus, *Pers.* 288-9 *ὡς πολλὰς Περσίδων | ἔκτισαν εὐνίδας ἢ δ' ἀνάνδρους*, Sophocles, *O. T.* 1502 *χέρους . . . κάχυτους*, Euripides, *Hipp.* 547 *ἀνάνδρων τὸ πρῖν καὶ ἀνυμφῶν*, Cato, *Agr.* 141 (prayer to Mars) *uti tu morbos uisus inuisosque, uidiuertatem uastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibebiss defendas auer-runesque*, Plautus, *Pseud.* 69-70 *λαγνικὴ uoluptatum mi omnium atque ibidem tibi | distractio discidium uastities uenit*.

MEDEA EXVL; MEDEA

The title *Medea exul* is given to Ennius three times by Nonius (frs. cixc, cxia and b)¹ and once by a Virgilian commentator, the so-called Probus (fr. cx)². The Latin of the three pieces quoted is quite close to the Greek of three passages of Euripides' extant *Mēdeia*.³ The other titles given to republican tragedians which consist of proper name and adjective may all be treated as transliterations or translations of the titles of the Attic originals.⁴ Such titles were applied to Attic plays by grammarians wishing to distinguish two plays about the one hero or heroine by the one author. Among the seventy tragedies of Euripides known to the scholars of Alexandria there was one apart from the extant *Mēdeia* which dealt with the Colchian woman. But this is regularly quoted in our sources as *Alyeús*. We should therefore suppose that *Medea exul* was a title applied by grammarians to an adaptation of Euripides' *Mēdeia* so as to distinguish this script from another by Ennius about *Medea*.⁵

¹ Pp. 39.2, 261.21, 292.20 probably depend on Lindsay's list 27 'Alph. Verb'.

² Probus' work exists only in humanist apographs of a lost medieval codex. Certain things in it could not possibly come from the mouth or pen of M. Valerius Probus Berytius. Whether or not the core of the work belongs to him is an insoluble problem; see Marx, C. *Lucilii carminum reliquiae*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1904), p. lxxii, J. Aistermann, *De M. Valerii Probi Berytii uita et scriptis* (Diss. Bonn, 1910), pp. 72 ff., Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius*, p. 10.

³ Fr. cxi was compared with Euripides vv. 49-51 by Stephanus; fr. cix with Euripides vv. 250-1 by Muretus (*Var. Lectt.* iv 7); fr. cx with Euripides vv. 1251-4 by Scaliger (*Coniect. Var. Ling.*, on 7.9).

⁴ See *Introduction*, p. 58.

⁵ Hyginus, *Fab.* 25 gives the ὑπόθεσις of Euripides' *Mēdeia* under the title *Medea*; *Fab.* 26 an account of the birth of Medea to Aegeus and the exile of Medea from Athens for witchcraft under the title *Medea exul*; the latter could be but does not look like the ὑπόθεσις of a tragedy.

MEDEA EXVL; MEDEA

There is further and stronger evidence both that Ennius adapted the *Mēdeia* of Euripides and that he wrote another tragedy about *Medea*. This second tragedy was set in Athens. There is nothing either for or against the supposition that it adapted the *Alyeús* of Euripides.

The title *Medea* is given to Ennius by Cicero (fr. ciii d), Varro (fr. cxxii a) and Donatus (fr. cii m) once each, by Priscian twice (frs. ciii o, ciii p)² and by Nonius five times (fr. cxii b, cxii, cxiv, cxv, cxvi)³ to Accius by Nonius sixteen times⁴ and Priscian once;⁵ to Pacuvius in error twice by Macrobius and once by a Virgilian scholiast.⁶ Of the seven pieces quoted with Ennius' name one (fr. ciii) is said by Cicero (*Fin.* 1.4) to come from an adaptation of Euripides, and is used by Latin writers on logic and rhetoric to illustrate a fallacious type of argument (Rhet. inc. *Her.* 2.34, Cicero, *Inu.* 1.91, *Top.* 61, *Fat.* 34, Quintilian, *Inst.* 5.10.84, Iulius Victor, *Rhet.* 12) where Greek writers use the prologue of Euripides' *Mēdeia* (Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 8.9.27), and in fact follows fairly closely the Greek of Euripides

¹ The fact that the trimeter quoted by Varro at *Ling.* 7.9 does not form a sense unit and its mode of introduction (contrasting with the one discussed above on fr. xi) show that it comes from another grammarian's collection. In the seventh book Varro refers frequently to Aurelius Opilius, Servius Clodius and 'glossematum scriptores'. Reitzenstein, Dahlmann and Schröter have shown (see *Introduction*, p. 53 n. 5) how a mass of undigested glossographical material was jammed into the schematic framework of this book.

² The quotation at *Gramm.* II 320.15 occurs in an article of the sort which goes back at least to Flavius Caper and perhaps even as far as the source of Varro, *Ling.* 7.33. That at *Gramm.* III 423.35 probably comes from an earlier writer on metric (cf. 418.10). The view of Marx (*Ind. lectt. Greijswald* 1891, 10 ff.) and Jeep (*Philologus* lxxviii [1909], 12 and 16 n. 27) that Priscian drew it from Rhet. inc. *Her.* 2.34 is implausible. The quotations of Ennius, Accius and Turpilus in the treatise on Terence's metres are all lengthy and come from the beginnings of plays as do those of Plautus and Terence. Accius' plays like Terence's seem to have been chosen in alphabetical order. Most quite certainly could not have entered Priscian's treatise *via* a rhetorician and we should not treat the Ennius quotation as any different from its companions.

³ The source in all cases is probably Lindsay's list 27 'Alph. Verb'.

⁴ Pp. 12.6, 16.9, 16.13, 89.5, 90.5, 159.13, 179.25, 235.1 (?), 237.43, 307.21, 323.12, 362.5, 422.30, 467.37 and 504.10 from Lindsay's list 5 'Accius 1'; p. 467.21 from list 27 'Alph. Verb'.

⁵ *Gramm.* II 336.18.

⁶ The error at *Sat.* 6.1.36 could come from Macrobius misreading his source (on which see CQ N.S. xiv [1904], 289 ff.). That at *Sat.* 3.8.7 is shared by Servius auct. *Aen.* II.543 and must come from Donatus. Varro gives the correct title (drawing upon the ultimate common glossographical source) at *Ling.* 7.34.

THE TRAGEDIES OF
ENNIUS

THE FRAGMENTS
EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY

BY
H.D. JOCELYN
*Reader in Latin in the
University of Sydney*



CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1967