

απα *quidlibet*) but cf. Seneca, *Ag.* 195 *uirgines uidiuae*, Apuleius, *Met.* 4.32 *Psyche uirgo uidiua domi residens*. For the tautology cf. Aeschylus, *Pers.* 288–9 ὡς πολλὰς Περίσβω | ἔκτισαν εὐνίδος ἦδ' ἀνάνδρου, Sophocles, *O.T.* 1502 χέρσου . . . κάγ' ἄμους, Euripides, *Hipp.* 547 ἀνάνδρον τὸ πρὶν καὶ ἀνυμφον, Cato, *Agr.* 141 (prayer to Mars) *uti tu morbos uisus inuisosque, uidiuerat inuistidinetique, calamitates intemperiasque prohibebis defendas auertenesque*, Plautus, *Pseud.* 69–70 *hanc uoluptatum mi omnium atque ibidem tibi | distractio discidium iustitias ueniit*.

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 *Alkēus*. 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. cx 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 Aegaeus 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 *Alkēus* of Euripides.

The title *Medea* is given to Ennius by Cicero (fr. ciiid), Varro (fr. cxxiia)¹ and Donatus (fr. ciiim) once each, by Priscian twice (frs. ciio, ciip)² and by Nonius five times (fr. cxivb, 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. cii) 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 Optilius, 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. Greifswald* 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. 407.21 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 [1964], 289 ff.). That at *Sat.* 3.8.7 is shared by Servius auct. *Aen.* 11.543 and must come from Donatus. Varro gives the correct title (drawing upon the ultimate common glossographical source) at *Ling.* 7.34.

vv. 1-8.¹ Petrus Victorius joined two together to form (fr. cxii) what are clearly the opening verses of a tragedy set outside the walls of heroic Athens.² The remaining four pieces have no close verbal parallels in the Greek of Euripides' Μηδεια but it could be argued that they have a place in an adaptation of this play no freer than that of the 'Εκλόβη'.³

Varro's quotation at *Ling.* 7.9 (fr. cxii a) is the plainest of the signs pointing to the existence of two plays by Ennius about Medea. Some have tried to push the words *asta atque Athenas*... *contempla* into adaptations of speeches and odes of the Euripidean Μηδεια: Plank⁴ into the speech made by Medea after the departure of Aegeus, vv. 764-810; Ladewig⁵ into the ode delivered by the chorus after Medea's revelation of her plans of vengeance, vv. 824-65; Pascal⁶ and N. L. Drabkin⁷ into the speech in which Aegeus promises Medea refuge in Athens, vv. 719-30. These four scholars all think that the speaker is talking of Medea's future domicile in Athens and conjuring up a picture of it in the present. This is the way in which prophets moved by the spirit of a god talk, e.g. the Cassandra of Ennius' *Alexander*. It is not appropriate to any personage of the freest adaptation of the Μηδεια imaginable.

Vahlen⁸ argued that Cicero and Varro give no sign of knowing a second play by Ennius about Medea and that Nonius quotes pieces of the adaptation of the Μηδεια under the title *Medea* as well as under the title *Medea exul*. He explained away *asta atque Athenas*... *contempla* with the hypothesis that Ennius had combined in one monster tragedy the action of Euripides'

¹ This was first pointed out by A. Politianus, *Miscellaniorum Centuria Prima* (Florence, 1489), cap. 27.

² *Var. Lectt.* xiv 16. Cf. Scaliger, *Coniect. Varr. Ling.*, on 7.9. It is possible that a common glossographical source lies behind Varro, *Ling.* 7.9 and Nonius, p. 470.4 (= list 27 'Alph. Verb'): Varro excerpted the second trimeter without worrying about the sense while Nonius, who in excerpting actual texts liked to quote units of sense, excerpted the words *asta atque Athenas anticum opulentum oppidum contempla*. Victorius made Ennius' original a lost play by Euripides; P. Elmsley, *Euripidis Medea* (Oxford, 1818), p. 66 made it the Aiyevs.

³ With fr. cxiii Stephanus compared Euripides, vv. 1069-70; with fr. cxiv Plank, *Q. Ennii Medea*, p. 96, compared v. 1258, Ribbeck v. 764, Vahlen v. 752; with fr. cxv Elmsley, *Euripidis Medea*, p. 151, compared vv. 431-2, Vahlen vv. 627-34; with fr. cxvi Columna compared vv. 131-3, Vahlen vv. 772-3, O. Skutsch, in *Nauticula Chiloniensis: studia philologica F. Jacoby... oblata* (Leiden, 1956), 112, v. 67.

⁴ *Q. Ennii Medea*, pp. 97-8.

⁵ *RFIC* xxvii (1899), 3.

⁶ *The Medea Exul of Ennius* (New York, 1937), pp. 10 ff. (tentatively).

⁷ *E.P.R.*³, pp. ccvii-ccviii, 162.

Μηδεια with that of his Aiyevs. Vahlen's view of things is now the orthodox one.¹ It will not stand up to a rigorous check.

There is admittedly no sign that Cicero knew of a *Medea* set in Athens. But many plays cited in Nonius' dictionary give no certain sign of their presence in Cicero's writings (e.g. Ennius' *Andromeda*, *Erechtheus*, *Hectoris Iytra*, *Hechuba*, *Nemea*, *Phoenix*, *Telephus*). Cicero's knowledge was that of the cultivated amateur, not the scholar.

Varro, although a piece of the Athenian *Medea* appears at *Ling.* 7.9, need not have known this play at first hand as he did the Corinthian *Medea*. His mode of quotation (see above, p. 343 n. 1) suggests that he took the piece from an earlier scholar's collection.

We can deduce little about the construction of Nonius' source, list 27 'Alph. Verb'. The introductory words *Ennius Medea* can be treated as an abbreviation of *Ennius Medea exule*, but equally well of something like *Ennius Medea Atheniensis*. Extant Greek anthologies, lexica and scholia, by dropping the distinguishing epithet, frequently leave us in doubt as to which of Euripides' Melanippe, Alcmeco and Phrixus scripts is being quoted.

The *Medea exul* which Vahlen visualises, in which a large and involved action reaches its climax in Corinth and is followed by another action set in another city at at least several years' remove, is not historically credible. No surviving contemporary adaptation of comedy exceeds by more than a few verses the length of fourteen hundred², and we can reason that second-century audiences did not allow more licence to tragedy. Even considerable pruning of the choral odes and the omission of a detachable scene like that involving Aegeus would not have reduced the length of the Corinthian section of Ennius' alleged tragedy much below a thousand verses. Aeschylus' 'Αγυμεινον and Ευμειδος, Sophocles' Τροχ(ι)νι(σ)τ, Euripides' 'Ανδρομύχνη, 'Ικετιδες and Σθενεβοιτα have actions spread over long intervals of time. Sophocles' Αιως and Euripides' 'Εκλόβη have actions which can scarcely be said to possess unity in the Aristotelian sense. But nothing we know resembles Vahlen's hypothesised monster; nor is there any good evidence that the Roman adapters of comedy and tragedy ever employed such a combinatory technique.

¹ It seems to have been accepted with varying degrees of enthusiasm by F. Skutsch (*RE* v [1905], 2594), Leo (*Gesch.* pp. 187 ff., 193 n. 1), Terzaghi (*SIFC* N.S. vi [1928], 191), Drabkin (*The Medea Exul*, pp. 10 ff.), Warming-ton, Klotz and Heurgon. C. Bailey (*CR* xviii [1904], 171) was sceptical.

² The *Pseudolus* has 1335 verses in our texts; the prologist remarks (v. 2) *Plautina longa fabula in scaenam venit*, the slave Pseudolus (v. 388) *nolo his iterari; sat sic longae fuerit fabulae*. The *Casina* has 1018 verses; the matron Cleostrata remarks (v. 1006) *hanc ex longa longiorem ne faciamus fabulam*.

One might try to salvage Vahlen's general theory by postulating only a small scene at the end of the *Medea exul* showing Medea's arrival in Athens. Our texts have what looks like a scene based on Sophocles' Ἀντιγόνη added at the end of Aeschylus' Ἐπιτάφιος. Some of our texts have added to the end of Terence's *Andria* a scene in which Charinus and Phylumena are betrothed.¹ Our texts of Plautus' *Captivi* and *Poenulus* show obvious traces of similar interference with Plautus' original versions. The prologue of Terence's *Adelphi* admits to the insertion of a scene into the action of Menander's comedy by the adapter. However the shift of scene from Corinth to Athens remains very difficult to accept (see above, p. 165).

The *Medea exul* was well known outside the ranks of lexicographers. We therefore expect to find among the unattributed quotations of tragedy made by Cicero, Varro and the rhetoricians quite a number belonging to it. The search for such quotations has not however always been sufficiently critical. Cicero knew at least two other tragedies about Medea: Pacuvius' *Medeus*,² which dealt with the reunion in Colchis between Medea and the son she bore to Aegeus, and Accius' *Medea*,³ whose scene has been set by one scholar or another in practically every place mentioned in the stories about Medea.⁴ Quotations of tragedy referring to Medea and accompanied by the name of Ennius should go to the *Medea exul*. Where Ennius is not mentioned too

¹ See O. Skutsch, *RhM* c (1957), 53 ff.

² *Off.* 1. 114, *Nat. deor.* 3. 48.

³ *Nat. deor.* 2. 89; one of the trimeters quoted by Cicero appears under Accius' *Medea* at Nonius, p. 90. 5; Priscian, *Gramm.* III 424. 9 quotes six as by Accius in *Argonautis*. H. Keil (in app.) argued that Priscian drew on Cicero and that the title *Argonautae* was a mere error. However Priscian goes on to quote passages unknown elsewhere from Accius' *Persidae*, *Phoenissae* and *Telephus* in that order. All four seem to come from prologues and we should suppose that they came directly from texts to the source of Priscian's metrical treatise (see above, p. 343 n. 2). An even closer alphabetical arrangement appears in the titles if we suppose that the first play bore the title *Argonautae uel Medea* (cf. Aeschylus' Ὀρχυες ἢ Ἐκτροπος λῆτρος, Accius' *Stasiastae uel Tropacum* and *Aeneidae uel Decius*). Nonius would have used one, Priscian the other. Stephanus gave Accius two separate plays *Argonautae* and *Medea*, arguing (*Addenda*, p. 428) that Nonius was in error at p. 90. 5. Ribbeck (cf. Manutius on Cic. *Fam.* 7. 6, Bothe, *RhM* v [1837], 259) abolished not only the play but even the title *Argonautae*.

⁴ In Colchis at the end of the heroine's wanderings by Welcker (*Die griech. Trag.* pp. 1214-16); in Athens by Mercerus (on Nonius, p. 237. 43); in Corinth by Scaliger (*Coniect. Varr. Ling.* on 7. 9), in Scythia by Ribbeck (*In Tragicos Romanorum Poetas Coniectanea. Specimen I*, pp. 25 ff., comparing Apollonius Rhod. 4. 315 ff. with the verses quoted by Cicero); in Colchis at the beginning by Manutius (on Cic. *Fam.* 7. 6) and Ladewig (*Anal. seni.* p. 18).

many possibilities are open for a firm decision to be made. Similarity with the text of Euripides' Μηδεια is a quite treacherous guide. Study of Nonius' quotations of the *Heubia* shows that Ennius departed radically from the wording of his original even more often than he adhered to it.

Turnebus¹ assigned the two trimeters quoted at *Trus.* 3. 63 (fr. cvr) to the *Medea exul*. Columnna printed the Euripidean passage Turnebus had in mind: *Med.* 57-8. Succeeding editors have all followed Columnna.

Politianus² compared the pieces quoted in *Fam.* 7. 6 (fr. cva) with Euripides, *Med.* 214 ff. Manutius³ argued that there is no parallel for the tetrameter *qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit neququam sapit* in the extant Μηδεια but that it is rather like a Greek trimeter quoted by Cicero at *Fam.* 13. 15. 2 as by Euripides⁴ and assigned it to the second Ennian *Medea* postulated by Victorius and Scaliger. Columnna accepted Manutius' argument. Later editors have not. The substance of *qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit neququam sapit* is in fact no further removed from that of Euripides, *Med.* 294-301 than is the substance of the previous *sententia* from *vv.* 215-18. In any case, just as Athenian actors excised and transferred almost at will the general statements about religion, morality, society and politics they found in the scripts of classical tragedy and comedy,⁵ so too did the Roman adapters of these scripts. Donatus, or his source, could not find the substance of Terence, *Andr.* 959-60 in Menander's Ἀνδρία but did in the Εὐνοῦχος. There is no trace, however, in Terence's adaptation of the latter play. The substance of Caecilius, *Com.* 143 is apparently absent from the speech of Menander's Πόλιον which is being adapted. Ennius was much admired by early first century rhetoricians for the quality of his *sententiae*.⁶ He seems to have used them much more frequently than did succeeding tragedians. They were an orator's device as much as clausula rhythm, antithesis, the figures of speech and thought and the rest and the handbooks of rhetoric gave precise instructions on their proper use.⁷ It is likely that Ennius handled them with more art than any analogy with the behaviour of Athenian actors might suggest.

¹ *Aduersariorum tomus II* (Paris, 1565), xxv. 5.

² *Miscell.* 1. 27.

³ On Cic. *Fam.* 7. 6; in volume VI of the edition published by Aldus (Venice, 1579). The 'Scholia' of 1540 do not discuss the matter.

⁴ This had already been pointed out by Stephanus.

⁵ Euripides, *Bakchai* 1028 is plainly inserted in our text from *Medeia* 54. *Andromache* 330-2, considered objectionable in its present context by Didymus and many later scholars, is ascribed by Stobaeus (104. 14) to Menander. See C. W. Friedrich, *Die dramatische Funktion der euripideischen Gnomem*, p. 232.

⁶ See *Rhet. inc. Her.* 4. 7.

⁷ Cf. Aristotelic, *Rhet.* 2. 21. 1394a-1395b, *Rhet. inc. Her.* 4. 24, Quintilian, *Inst.* 8. 5. 1-8.

Columna compared the tetrameter, *neque tuum unquam in gremium extollas liberorum ex te gemis*, quoted by Cicero at *Orat.* 155 (fr. clxx), with Euripides, *Med.* 803-4 οὐτ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ γὰρ παῖδος ὄψεταί ποτε | ζῶντος τὸ λοιπὸν and editors included it in the *Medea exul* until they were persuaded by Elmsley and Bergk⁴ to put it in the *Phoenix*. It is plainly a curse and, if placed in the *Medea exul*, would suit best an adaptation of Medea's taunts at Jason at the end of Euripides' play.

Four pieces of trochaic verse referring to Medea are quoted by Cicero at *Nat. deor.* 3. 65-7 (fr. cviii). The first three must come from the one speech by a tragic Medea. It would be difficult to make this speech concern any situation in Medea's life except that dealt with by Euripides' Μήδεια. The three pieces should therefore go into the *Medea exul*. With the third Columna compared Euripides, *Med.* 399-400² and Plank *vv.* 371-5.³ With the first Osann compared *vv.* 365-9.⁴ No parallel of any kind can be found for the second in the Euripidean text but since it forms a *sententia* this is not surprising. Ribbeck's placing of it among the *inertia incertorum* is quite unjustified. The fourth piece gives an account of Medea's flight from Colchis and the slaughter of her brother.⁵ Neither the Euripidean Medea nor any of her friends alludes outright to this deed.⁶ Jason throws it up at her after the slaying of his own children: 1334-5 κρουούσα γὰρ δὴ σὸν κόσιν παρῆστιον | τὸ καλλίπρωρον εἰσέβης Ἀργούσ σκάφος. This is the version of the story told by Sophocles (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 228). The Latin tetrameters give a different one. However in order to put them in the *Medea exul* one need only make the assumption that Ennius gave one of Euripides' choral odes a new content. Greater changes than this to the Attic classics are well evidenced in the Roman adaptations.⁷ Osann⁸ and Bothe put them in the *Medea exul*, Ribbeck and Vahlen⁹ excluded them. Vahlen's stated reason was the lack of correspondence in Euripides' Greek. A better reason would be the possibility of putting them in other plays known to Cicero. The problem is a difficult one and study of Cicero's mode of quotation does not help. Different poets' handlings of the one legend are sometimes indicated (*Tusc.* 3. 62, 4. 69), sometimes not (*Tusc.* 3. 28, 39, 58).

¹ See below, p. 389.

² Q. *Ennii Frag.* p. 323. He did not include the three tetrameters in his actual collection.

³ Q. *Ennii Medea*, pp. 100-2.

⁴ *Anal. crit.* pp. 117-18.

⁵ Cf. Cicero, *Manil.* 22, Ovid, *Epist.* 6. 129-30, *Trist.* 3. 9. 27-34.

⁶ Medea herself comes nearest at *v.* 257; contrast the nurse at *v.* 32, the chorus at *vv.* 431 ff., Medea at *vv.* 476 ff.

⁷ See above, pp. 333 ff.

⁸ *Anal. crit.* p. 125.

⁹ Cf. *Ind. lectt. Berlin* 1877, I ff. (= *Op. ac.* I 34).

The pieces quoted by Cicero at *De orat.* 3. 217 (fr. civ) and *Tusc.* 4. 69 (fr. cvii) could hardly go anywhere except into an adaptation of the encounter between Medea and Jason, Euripides, *Med.* 446-626. With the first Stephanus compared *vv.* 502-4, with the second *vv.* 530-1.

In discussing the relations between his client and Ptolemaeus at *Rab. Post.* 28-9 Cicero quotes three royal utterances from tragedy: *ergo aderat uis, ut ait poeta noster, quae 'summas frangit infirmatque opes' . . . nemo nostrum ignorat etiam si experti non sumus consuetudinem regiam. regum autem sunt haec imperia 'animadvertite ac dicto pare et praeter rogatum t' sit piet' et illae minae 'si te secundo lumine hic (hoc codd.) offendero moriere', quae non ut delectemur solum legere et spectare debemus, sed ut caere etiam et fugere discamus. Scalliger¹ assigned the second two to Ennius' *Medea exul*, comparing with the first Euripides, *Med.* 321 ἄλλ' ἔξ' ἰθ' ὄς τάχιστα, μὴ λόγους λέγειε and with the second *vv.* 352-4 εἴ σ' ἡ πῖουσα λαμπρὸς ὄψεταί θεοῦ | καὶ παῖδος ἔνδρος τῆσδε τερόνων χθονός, | θσανῆ. Whatever one may think of the first identification both pieces must be assigned to the one speech or series of speeches. Such a striking statement as *si te secundo . . .* might be recalled in any circumstances² but an unremarkable scrap like *animadvertite ac dicto . . .* would hardly be quoted except in conjunction with something remarkable from the same context. The behaviour of Ribbeck and Vahlen (in his second edition) in assigning one and not the other to the *Medea exul* is hopelessly unsystematic and makes a demonstrably false assumption about the fidelity of Roman dramatic adaptations to the wording of their originals. The Creon of the *Medea exul* is a possible speaker of the two pieces but so too are several other monarchs of republican tragedy. The first piece quoted by Cicero could, but need not, be given to the same speaker.³*

There is nothing to be said either for or against Ladewig's assignation of the trimeter quoted by Cicero at *Deiot.* 25, *perant amici dum inimici una intercidant*, to Ennius' adaptation of the speech made by Medea after the chorus's attempt to dissuade her from her plan for vengeance.⁴

K. O. Mueller identified the words *ut tibi Titania Trivia dederit stirpem liberum*, quoted by Varro at *Ling.* 7. 16 as by Ennius (fr. cxci), with Euripides, *Med.* 714-15 οὐτως ἔπος σοὶ πρὸς θεῶν τελεσφόρος | γένοιτο παῖδόν. Vahlen found an equally if not more plausible context in the *Andromeda* (see above, p. 262).

Three anonymous pieces from extant rhetorical writing, *miseri sunt qui uxores ducunt—at tu duxisti alteram* from *Rhet. inc. Her.* 2. 39, *quam magis*

¹ *Coniect. Varr. Ling.*, on 7. 9.

² As it is by Cicero himself at *Att.* 7. 26. 1.

³ Terzaghi (*BFC* xxxii [1925], 16) assigned it to the *Medea exul*.

⁴ *Anal. scen.* p. 17.

αετιμια urget tam magis ad male faciendum uiget from Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.3.15, non commemoro quod flatroni statui oppressi et domi ista uirore et segetis armata ~ conis saeui sopiuit impetu non quod domauit uiros et segetis armatae† manus from Charisius, pp. 372.19 and 374.1, have been assigned to the *Medea exil.* Only the third with its fairly certain reference to the Colchian dragon need be seriously considered. Scriuerius printed it among the fragments of the *Medea exil* with the wording of H. Putschius' text non memoro, quod draconis sopiui impetum; non, quod uiros domauit et segetis armatae manus. Plank complained of the lack of a verbal parallel in Euripides and Welcker¹ supplied νν. 476-82 ἔσωσά σ', ὡς ἴσασιν 'Ελληνων ὄσοι | τούτων συνεισέβησαν Ἀργῶν σκάφος, | πεμφθέντα τεύχερον πυρηνόων ἐπιστάτην | ζεῦγλησι καὶ σπερούντα θανάσιμον γύην· | δράκοντά θ', ὅς πάγχυρυσον ἀπτόχων δέρας | σπιεραὺς ἔσωζε πολυπλόκοις ἀτυπὸς ὄν, | κτεινῶσ' ἀνέσχον σοι φάος σωτήριον.² The uncertainty of the text makes further discussion profitless.³

CIII

(a) These nine trimeters are said by Cicero at *Nat. deor.* 3.75 to have been spoken by *illa anus*, 'that famous old woman', i.e. *Medea's* nurse. They must have been the opening verses of Ennius' *Medea exil* for at *Fin.* 1.5 Cicero refers to the whole play as *uittam ne in memore*; ancient writers commonly referred to poems by means of their opening words.⁴ The context of Priscian's quotation at *Gramm.* III 423.35 ff. suggests the same conclusion; the examples of comic trimeters in his treatise on Terence's metres all come from the prologues and opening scenes of plays; those of tragic trimeters look as if they come from similar places. Thus the theory once propounded by Fraenkel's according to which Ennius' tragedy opened with a dialogue between the paedagogus and the nurse with the paedagogus making the first utterance cannot be seriously entertained.

Behind Ennius' Latin lie the first eight trimeters of Euripides' *Μήδεια*:

εἴθ' ὄφεα' Ἀργούσ' ἢ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος
Κόλχων ἔς αἶαν κτανέες Στυμληγῶδες,

¹ *Die griech. Trag.* p. 1378.

² The *sopiui* of the Latin tragedian makes his account closer to that of Apollonius Rhod. 4.123 ff.

³ Cf., most recently, S. Boscherini, *SIFC* N.S. xxx (1958), 106-15. Boscherini's point that Accius would have written *dracontis* is unhelpful; classical rhetoricians and their scribes would have normalised to *draconis*.

⁴ Cf. Theocritus 14.30, Propertius 2.24.2, Ovid, *Trist.* 2.261, 534, Persius 1.96, Martial 4.14.13-14, 14.185.2.

⁵ *Hermes* LXXVII (1932), 355 f.; not reprinted in *Kl. Beitr.*

μηδ' ἐν νόπτισσι Πηλίου πρῶεῖν ποτε
τιμηθεῖσα πύκη, μηδ' ἐρετιμῶσα χέρας
ἀνδρῶν ἄριστων, οἳ τὸ πάγχυρυσον δέρας
Πηλῖα μετήλθον. οὐ γὰρ ἄν δέσποινα' ἐμῇ
Μήδεια πύργους γῆς ἔπλευσ' ἰωλκίαις
ἔρωσι θυμὸν ἐκπλάγεις' ἰκάνους.

These were designed to suggest the atmosphere created by Jason's decision to marry Creon's daughter and by *Medea's* angry reaction as much as to narrate the background of the plot. The sudden mention of an earlier element in the traditional story at ν. 3 and the anaphoric repetition μη . . . μηδ' . . . μηδ' much more unusual and striking in Attic trimeters than a similar phenomenon would be in Latin trimeters, indicate the nurse's nervous distraction. Euripides' verses were much admired in antiquity for their arrangement.¹

As occasionally in his adaptation of the 'Εκάβη Ennius preserves the bones of Euripides' grammatical arrangement (see above on ffs. LXXXIV and XCII): the series of negative wishes, the relative clause, the independent apodotic sentence. He removes some of the Euripidean flesh and adds some of his own. The dressing is typically Roman with little counterpart in Euripides' Greek.

The nurse's first wish with its rich geographical detail and the magnificent image of the Argo swooping like a bird through the Clashing Rocks is omitted, the second is filled out into two and the content of the third together with that of the relative clause is put into a relative clause and an adverbial explaining the etymology of the name Argo. Thus the events of the traditional story are referred to in chronological sequence. Whatever Ennius' motives were in securing this sequence they were pretty certainly in accord with the teaching of contemporary rhetoricians.² Euripides made the heroes themselves row the Argo; Ennius abandons this detail, perhaps thinking it inappropriate for men of the first social rank to perform such a menial task. Ennius may also have had contemporary naval expeditions in mind when he had his Argo built of fir-wood instead of the traditional pine. Ennius' etymology is his own but a commentary upon the *Μήδεια*, as well as his own individual love of etymologising, may have provoked him to include it; the mode of expression—*non nominatur nomine*—suggests the academic commentator with his mind on the present rather than a personage, albeit a minor one, of the heroic saga.

¹ Cf. *Med. hyp.* ἐπιανείνται δὲ ἡ εἰσβολὴ διὰ τὸ παθητικῶς ἔγον ἔχειν καὶ ἡ ἐπεσεργασία· μηδ' ἐν νόπτισσι καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· ὅπερ ἀγνοήσας Τιμοχίδας τῶ ὑστερῶ φησι πρότερον κερήσθαι, ὡς Ὀμηρος.

² Cf. Cicero, *Inv.* 1.29 aperte atheni narratio poterit esse si ut quidque primum gestum erit ita primum exponatur et rerum ac temporum ordo seruabitur ut ita narrentur ut gestae res erunt aut ut potuisse geri uidebuntur.

Many of the words and forms used by Euripides in his eight trimeters were quite absent from everyday Attic. A few of Ennius' must have been rare in contemporary Roman speech but none could be labelled purely poetic. On the other hand, whereas Euripides played discreetly with only four sounds ϵ , ρ , σ , and τ , Ennius plays extensively with α , β , γ , ϵ , η , θ , ι . He adds the etymological figure *nominatur nomine*, more striking than the usual type because of its pleonasm, substitutes periphrases for nouns (*abiagna*... *trabes* ~ $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\tau\eta$) and verbs (*inchoandi exordium cepisset*; *effret pedem* ~ $\epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon$) and loads his sentences with words conveying more weight than information (*securibus*... *ad terram*... *inchoandi*... *arietis*... *impetio regis*... *errans*... *saeuo*). The degree of rhetorical embellishment is not however so high as when Attic trimeters are turned into verses to be accompanied by the *tibiae* (cf. fr. LXXXIV).

208-9 *utinam ne... securibus | caesa accidisset... ad terram*: ~ $\epsilon\iota\theta'$ $\omega\sigma\epsilon\lambda'$... $\mu\eta\delta'$... $\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\ \pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ | $\tau\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha$.

It is possible that the readings of our codices reflect the rhetorician's own belief about the text. Cicero clearly believed the nurse to have said *caesa accidisset abiagnae* (see *Top.* 61 in *his trabibus*). However the statements of Varro at *Ling.* 7.33 and Priscian at *Gramm.* II 320.15 ff. must go back ultimately to a grammarian's examination of a text and, at least where Ennius is concerned, should be preferred to those of rhetoricians and literary amateurs relying on memory. The readings at Priscian, *Gramm.* III 423-35 ff. may be mediæval corruptions.

Accidere, 'cadere', occurs frequently in tragedy (4 times elsewhere ~ 5 *cadere*); it is relatively uncommon in comedy (7 times ~ 29 *cadere*).

208 in *nemore Pelio*: ~ $\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\ \Pi\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$.

Nemus, 'a grove of trees revered as belonging to a deity', was a word of the sacral language, absent from comedy (where *salsus* is common) and rare in classical prose.

The so-called 'poetic singular' is not common in the remains of republican tragedy but is in those of Ennius' *Annales* (85, 224, 277, 299, 439, 472, 484, 533).

The use of the adjective instead of the genitive of the noun raises the tone above the commonplace; cf. Livius, *Trag.* 35 in *Pelio*... *ocri* and above on ν . 100.

209 *abiagna... trabes*: ~ $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\eta$.

For the periphrasis cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 2.112 *trabibus contextus acernis*, 6.181 *fraxineaeque trabes*.

Elsewhere the Argo is always said to have been made of pine wood (Herodotus 4.179, Euripides, *Andr.* 863, Apollonius 1.386, 525, Catullus

64.1 ff., Horace, *Epod.* 16.57 f., Propertius 3.22.11 ff., Ovid, *Am.* 2.11.2, *Met.* 1.94 f., Anon. *Culex* 137, Phaedrus 4.7.4 ff.). Mere caprice may have dictated Ennius' alteration¹ but his liking for sound play (better achieved with *abies* in this context than with *pinus*) and for rewriting the heroic myth in contemporary terms must be considered. A fir-wood Argo suggested to Ennius' audience a military expedition whereas a pine-wood one would have suggested commercial enterprise.²

210-11 *neue inde naus inchoandi exordium | cepisset*: for *exordium cepisset* there are good early parallels: Plautus, *Poen.* 2 *inde militi principium capiam*, Varro, *Rust.* 3.1.10 *initium capiam hinc*, Cicero, *Phil.* 5.35 *a Bruto... capianus exordium*, *Fin.* 5.23, *Leg.* 1.8, 2.7 *a ceteris dis immortalibus sunt nobis agendi capienda primordia*, *T.L.L.* III 324.1 ff.; for *exordium coepisset* the parallels are late and in authors ignorant of republican drama: Columella 3.6.4 *sol in eandem partem signiferi per eosdem numeros redit per quos cursus sui principium coeperat*, Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.79 *initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae coeptum*, Ammianus 26.6.19 *principia incaute coepita et tenere*, *T.L.L.* III 1427.84 ff.

For the pleonastic gerund *inchoandi* cf. Plautus, *Mil.* 637 *ut apud te exemplum experitundi habebas, ne fitas† foras*, *Poen.* 34 *domum sermones fabulandi conferant*. For *nauem inchoare* cf. Livy 21.26.8. The word is rare in republican drama.

According to Servius, *Aen.* 6.252: *est uerbum sacrocinum*.

The metaphor from weaving may have been still alive in Ennius' *exordium*: cf. *Ann.* 477 *idem campus habet texturinum nauibus longis*.³ The word occurs elsewhere in republican drama only at *Trag.* inc. 181.

211-12 *quae nunc nominatur nomine | Argo*: for the etymological figure cf. Sophocles, *Phil.* 605 $\delta\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\ \delta'$ $\omega\upsilon\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$, Euripides, *Ion* 80-1, 800, Pacuvius, *Trag.* 239 *quis tu es uulter quae me insueto nuncupasti nomine?*, *Trag.* inc. 97, Plautus, *Asin.* 780, Terence, *Phorm.* 739. Ὀνομαζέειν and *nominare* are normally unaccompanied. For etymological figure in general see above on ν . 6-7.

212-13 *quia Argiui in ea delecti uiri | uecti petebant*: ~ $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ | $\delta\upsilon\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\iota\omega\upsilon\ \omega\iota'$... $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\lambda\theta\omicron\upsilon$.

This is the text that must have stood in the archetype of our manuscripts of the anonymous rhetorician's treatise and, with the exception of *delecti*, in

¹ At Euripides, *Hel.* 229 ff. the ship that took Paris to Sparta is made of pine, at *Hel.* 631 ff. of fir.

² See Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 5.7.1, Livy 28.45.18, *RE* 2 IV 1 (1932), 2216 ff., s.v. *Tanne*.

³ Cf. also, in a different context, Plautus, *Pseud.* 399-400.

that of Cicero, *Tit.* 1.45, where it is confirmed by the context of Cicero's discourse. Priscian, *Gramm.* III.424.5-6 offers the possible but much less good *qua uenti Argiui dilecti uiri petebant illam*. Imitations of Ennius' phraseology by Lucretius (1.86 *ductores Danaum dilecti, prima uirorum*) and Virgil (*Ecl.* 4.34-5 *altera quae uenat Argo | delectos heroas*) put *dilecti* beyond reasonable doubt.

The main verbal idea seems to be carried in the participle: 'because in her (N.B. the emphatic position of *in ea*) were carried the *Argiui* who went in search...'. The etymological explanation given by Ennius for the name *Argo* lies behind Cicero, *Arat.* 277 *Argolicam... nauem* (contrast *Aratus* 504) and *Manilius* 1.694 *Argiuntique ratem*. It is not to be found in Greek writings; the nearest is Hegesander's ὅτι ἐν Ἄργεϊ τῇ πόλει κατασκευάσθη.¹ It makes complete sense and does not contradict the traditional story only if *Argiui* is interpreted not as 'men of Peloponnesian Argos' but as 'Graeci of the heroic age'. This was a regular usage of the republican stage; cf. Ennius, *Trag.* 330 *eloquere eloquere res Argiuntum proelio ut se sustinet* (the Argives and others fighting before Troy), *Plautus, Amph.* 208 *abituus agro Argiuis* (the soldiers of the Theban king Amphitruo). Ennius himself probably concocted the etymology.² *Plautus* was given to introducing his own etymologies in comedy; cf. the Latinate explanation of *Epidamnus* at *Men.* 263.

It is hard to say whether with *dilecti* Ennius is making explicit an element of the traditional story neglected by Euripides (cf. *Apollonius* 3.347-8 τῆ δ' ἐργυρίδμενος Πανρυχάδος εἴ τι φέριστον | ἠρόφων, *Theocritus* 13.17-18 φρίστης... ποσσὲν ἐκ πολλῶν προλεγεύμενοι, *Apollodorus* 1.9.16) or merely heightening the tone of the nurse's speech with a technical term of the Roman military language (cf. *T.L.L.* VII.452.83 ff.).

213 **pellem inauratam arietis**: ~ τὸ πύργυρυσσον δέρας.

Comedy has *auratus* three times, *inauratus* not at all.

214 **Colchis, imperio regis Peliae, per dolium**: ~ Πελίῳ.

The preposition is omitted before *Colchis* as often in tragic style; see above on *v.* 43.

Imperio regis Peliae reminds modern scholars of Apollonius' βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνη Πελίῳ (1.3) but was probably designed to remind Ennius' audience of the style of official Roman military reports; cf. *C.I.L.* I² 626 (133 B.C., dedication to Hercules) *L. Mummi L. f. cos. duct. auspicio imperioque eius Achaia capt. Corinto deleto Roman rediit triumphans*. The *ductus* was Jason's and, in the view of the hostile nurse, there existed no valid *auspicium* at all.

¹ *Elym. mag.* s.v. Ἄργος, Tzetzes, *Lycophr.* 883.

² Cf. B. Biliński, in *Tragica* 1, 88 ff.

The designation of Pelias as *rex* both reflected the style of official reports,¹ in order to elevate the tone of the nurse's discourse, and grasped at contemporary Roman political prejudice, in order to excite sympathy for the plight of the nurse and her mistress.

Per dolium marked the behaviour of the Argonauts as reprehensible by both heroic (cf. Euripides, *I.A.* 1457 δόλω δ', ἀγεννώδ' Ἀτρέος τ' οὐκ ἄξιός) and contemporary Roman standards (cf. *Livy* 1.53.4 *minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo*, 42.47.5 ff.).

215 **nam nunquam...domo efferret pedem**: ~ οὐ γὰρ ἄν... πύργους γῆς ἐπλευσ' ἰωλκίσις.

Remote past apodotes, both dependent and independent, seem normally to have been expressed by the imperfect rather than the pluperfect subjunctive in the Latin of republican drama; see Thomas, *Recherches*, pp. 199 ff.

Nunquam is often merely a strong *non* in republican drama; cf. *Donatus, Ter. Andr.* 384, 410.

Domo abire is the usual phrase in comedy (*Plautus, Amph.* 502-3, *Epid.* 46, *Merc.* 12, *Stich.* 29, *Trin.* 1010, Terence, *Eun.* 661). *Pedem efferre* appears in elevated contexts in Plautine comedy (*Bacch.* 423, *Capt.* 456-7, *Merc.* 831) as do similar periphrases with *pes*. The only thing parallel in Terentian comedy is *Andr.* 808 *nam pol si id scissem nunquam huc tetilissem pedem*, a verse uttered under great emotional stress.

Medea's homelessness is referred to later in the Euripidean prologue (*vv.* 31 ff.) and often during the action of the play (*vv.* 328, 431, 441, 642, 798).

215-16 **era errans mea... | Medea animo aegro**: ~ δέσποιν' ἐμή | Μηδεΐα.

The Euripidean chorus refers to *Medea's* mental aberration at *vv.* 431-2: σὺ δ' ἐκ μὲν οἴκων πατρῶων ἐπλευσας | μαινόμενα κρεδίῳ.

Only the metrical pause separates *Medea's* name from the designation of her status in the Euripidean prologue. Ennius raises the tone by widening the gap; contrast Ennius, *Trag.* 291-2 *a socri* | *Oenomaio*, *Plautus, Capt.* 26 *medicus Menarchus emit*, *Cist.* 171 *dat eam puellam meretrici Melaeinidi* and compare Sophocles, *O.T.* 826-7, Euripides, *El.* 763-4, *Hipp.* 51-3, 581-2, *Tr.* 861-2, *Plautus, Bacch.* 589.

For the phraseology of *errans...animo aegro* cf. Ennius, *Trag. ap. Cic. Tit.* 3.5 (see fr. CLXXIV) *animus aeger semper errat*, *Plautus, Merc.* 18-31 *nam quoniam haec cuncta uitia sectari solent...aegritudo...sed amori accedunt etiam haec quae dixi minus...error...*

Era is the normal appellation in comedy; *domina* occurs only at *Plautus, Cist.* 773, *Stich.* 296, Terence, *Haut.* 298, 301, 628.

MEDEA

¹ Cf. *v.* 292 *Oenomaio* *rege* and above on *v.* 34.

216 **amore saeuo saucia**: ~ ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλογέισ' ἰόσσωσι.

For the wounding effect of love cf. Euripides, *Hipp.* 392 ἐπέει μ' ἔρωος ἔτροσσην, Theocritus II.15, 30.10, Callimachus, *A.P.* 12.134-1, Plautus, *Cist.* 298, *Persa* 24, Lucretius I.34, 4.1048, Virgil, *Aen.* 4.1, Propertius 3.21.32, 3.24.18, Ovid, *Ars* I.21-2, 166, 257, Seneca, *Ag.* 188-9.

*Ἐρώς, normally δεινός (Euripides, *Hipp.* 28 et al.), never receives an epithet of the character of *saeuus* in Attic tragedy. Ennius' phrase appealed to later Latin poets; cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 8.47-8 *saeuus amor docuit natiorum sanguine matrem* | *commaculare manus*, *Aen.* 4.532 *saeuit amor*, Lygdamus 4.65-6 *saeuus amor docuit ualidos temptare labores*, | *saeuus amor docuit uerbera saeuia pati*, Seneca, *Med.* 849-51 *quoniam cruenta maenas* | *praeceps amore saeuo* | *rapiunt?*

CIV

There are grounds for thinking that Cicero's quotation is as defective as those of Terence, *Enn.* 46-9 at *Nat. deor.* 3.72, *Enn.* 114-15 at *Att.* 7.3.10, and *Andr.* 117-28 at *De orat.* 2.327, which would cause some difficulty in the absence of a direct tradition of Terence's comedies.

Ennius' apparent trimeters must come from an adaptation of the Euripidean *Medea*'s verbal assault on Jason, *vv.* 465-519. One would expect Ennius to have turned such a highly emotional utterance into musically accompanied verse, especially as he did so with Jason's reply (see fr. cvii). Both Attic tragedy and Roman comedy on occasion insert a series of trimeters into musically accompanied scenes but always for good cause: Aeschylus, *Pers.* 176-214 (narration of dream); Euripides, *I.A.* 402 to end of scene (sharp drop in emotional tone); Plautus, *Amph.* 1006 to end of scene, *Cist.* 747 to end of scene, *Curr.* 635 to end of scene (sharp drop in emotional tone); *Rud.* 1338 to end of scene (recitation of oath); *Bach.* 997 to end of scene, *Persa* 501-12, 520-7, *Pseud.* 998 to end of scene (reading of letter); *Stich.* 762-8 (piper takes time off for a drink); Terence, *Andr.* 215-24, *Enn.* 323-51, *Haut.* 265-311 (narration). In Accius' *Brutus* Terquinius recounts his dream in trimeters (*Trag. Praet.* 17-28) while the *coniectores* interpret it in trochaic tetrameters (29-38). Ennius' Andromache seems to have described Hector's death in trimeters and expressed her own emotions in musically accompanied verses (*Trag.* 78-94). There is no reason why Ennius' *Medea* should descend to trimeters for rhetorical questions like *quo nunc me uortam?* *quod iter incipiam ingredi?* In any case such tautological phrasal doublets normally occur in musically accompanied verses rather than trimeters (see above on v. 19).

One could treat the trimeters as 'lyric', like those at Plautus, *Bach.* 669, *Epid.* 24, 46-7, 177, *Stich.* 300 et al. The unusual arrangement of

words at the beginning of the verse υ-ι, υ-ι-ι might be excused by a musical setting.

After her rhetorical question νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι; the Euripidean *Medea* poses a dilemma: πρότερον πρὸς πατρός δόμου, | οὓς σὸι προδοῖσα καὶ πτότρον ἀφικόμην; | ἢ πρὸς τολαινας Πελλιάδας; καλῶς γ' ἄν οὖν | δέξαιτο μ' οἴκος ὧν πατέρα κοτέκτων (502-5). The fact that Ennius' *domum paternamne?* *anne ad Peliae filias?* does not follow the Euripidean dilemma closely would not of itself be significant. But such dilemmata seem regularly, in both Greek writing² and Latin,³ to be formed like Euripides, *Med.* 502-5. Furthermore the famous dilemma of Caius Gracchus, *quo me miser conferam?* *quo uortam?* in *Capitoliumne?* *at fratris sanguine madet. an domum?* *matremne ut miseram lamentantem uideam et abiectam?* (Cicero, *De orat.* 3.214; cf. Cicero, *Mur.* 88, Ps. Sall. *Inu.* 1), must have been uttered with Ennius' *Medea* in mind. Norden⁴ thought that the absence of the customary answers to each question of the dilemma in the Ennian fragment showed that Gracchus' inspiration lay elsewhere. Things are the other way about. The presence of the answers in the Gracchan fragment may show that Cicero misquoted Ennius.

217 **quod iter incipiam ingredi**: the pleonastic *ingredi* is added to make the phrase longer than the preceding one (see above on v. 19). Plautus has *iter incipere* three times (*Cas.* 164, 817, *Merc.* 913), *iter incipere* once (*Truc.* 130), *iter capere* once (*Bacch.* 325). For *ingredi incipere* cf. Cicero, *Catil.* 3.6, Phaedrus 5.7.17.

218 **domum paternamne**: contrast Plautus, *Rud.* 116 *ad alienam domum*, *Stich.* 506 *in patriam domum*. But even if the text of the trimeter were above suspicion there would be no need to understand an *ad ἄπὸ κοινοῦ* (on the analogy of Plautus, *Asin.* 163, *Pseud.* 124 et al.). Tragic style frequently dispenses with prepositions (see above, v. 43). *Domus patria*, 'home of my father', occurs only here in republican drama; *domus patria* was the regular phrase (Plautus, *Merc.* 831, *Stich.* 506, Ennius, *Trag.* 84); for *patermus* as a synonym of *patrius* cf. Plautus, *Stich.* 88 (paratragic), Pacuvius, *Trag.* 144, 328.

¹ For an attempt to emend out of existence this and other tragic examples of the arrangement see Havet, *RPh* xiv (1890), 33 f.

² Cf. Sophocles, *Ai.* 457 ff., Euripides, *Hek.* 1094 ff., *Herakles* 1281 ff., *I.T.* 96 ff., Diodorus 13.31.1.

³ Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 185-6, Catullus 64.177 ff., Sallust, *Iug.* 14.17, Virgil, *Aen.* 4.534 ff., Seneca, *Med.* 451 ff.

⁴ *Die antike Kunstprosa* I, edition of 1915, *Nachträge*, pp. 13 ff.

Cicero advises his friend Trebatius to take the same attitude towards being an expatriate as did Medea in Ennius' tragedy. He quotes three trochaic verses verbatim, the first two being revealed by their rhythm and vocabulary (*gessere, patria procul, aetatem agerent*), the third by its mode of quotation as well. It has long been realised that in his account of the context Cicero interweaves Ennius' words and phrases with his own.¹ Quite foreign to the style of his correspondence are the phrases *quae Corinthum arcem altam habebant*,² and *matronae opulentae optumates*.³ The superlative form of the verbal participle *gypsatisissimis* would have indicated considerable violence of feeling even on the stage.⁴ It is quite out of keeping with Cicero's urbane admonitions to Trebatius. The alliterative phrase *uitio . . . uerterent* also stands out. It is common in drama⁵ but absent elsewhere in Cicero's letters and formal writing.⁶

Sixteenth and seventeenth century scholars gave to Ennius a form of words like *matronae opulentae optumates quae Corinthum arcem altam habetis* corresponding with Euripides' Κορινθίαι γυναικες; Bentley⁷ the trochaic tetrameter *quae Corinthum arcem altam habetis matronae opulentae optumates*. It would be in Ennius' manner to expand a simple vocative with adjectives and a relative clause, especially when turning trimeters into musically accompanied verses (see above on ν. 34). A post-classical Attic tragedy has Medea addressing the women of Corinth with a similar relative clause: [φιλαί] γυναικες αὐ Κορινθίων πῆδον | [οικεῖ]τε χάρος τῆσδε πατρώους νόμοις.⁸ However the order of words in Bentley's text with the relative

¹ Cf. Sest. 121, *De orat.* 1.199, *Diu.* 1.132, *Tusc.* 1.69.

² Cicero does not have *urbem, oppidum* etc. *habere* elsewhere; however such phrases are common in the historians (see T.L.L. vi iii. 2401. 29 ff.).

³ *Opulentus* does not occur elsewhere in Cicero's own letters and is rare in his formal writings. The asyndeton bimembre has no real parallel among those collected by C. A. Lehmann, *Quaestiones Tullianae* (Prague and Leipzig, 1886), pp. 24 ff., and H. Sjögren, *Erano* xvi (1916), 32 ff. The formulaic *certa clara* at *Att.* 16. 13 A. 2 is the nearest. There are plenty in drama; see above on ν. 9.

⁴ Cf. Plautus, *Asin.* 282-3 *maximas optumitates gaudio eferatissimas | suis eris ille una mecum pariet, gnatioque et patri, Aul.* 723 *perditissimus ego sum omnium in terra, 824-5 ego te emittam manu | scelerum cumulatissime ?*, *Capit.* 775, *Cas.* 694, *Curc.* 16, *Men.* 698.

⁵ Cf. Plautus, *Amph.* 1142 et al. (not in Terence).

⁶ *Uitio dare* occurs at *Off.* 1.71, 1.112, 2.58.

⁷ *Emendationes Cic. Tusc.* p. 26.

⁸ Pap. Brit. Mus. 186 (Milne, *Catal.* 77): cf. Euripides, *Hipp.* 373-4 Τροζήνιαι γυναικες, αὐ τῶσ' ἐσχέρτων | οἰκέτε χάρος Πελοπίδας προνώτων.

clause preceding the vocative *matronae* has no exact parallel that I can find in republican drama.¹ The older texts on the other hand leave it difficult to explain why Cicero adopted such an unusual order of words in his own sentence. If a guess has to be made at Ennius' exact words I would suggest *uos Corinthum arcem altam habetis matronae opulentae optumates*. There is no equivalent of these words in Euripides' play but the adaptation of the 'Εκὼβῆη provides many parallels for the freedom I am allowing Ennius.

Petrus Victorius² took *illa manibus gypsatisissimis* to be Ennius' description of a Medea who acquired her white complexion by means of cosmetics. Jacobus Nicolaus³ argued that the phrase was Cicero's own description of the male actor playing the role of Medea and drew attention to Isidore, *Etyim.* 10. 119, *notum autem hypocriritae tractum est ab specie eorum qui in spectaculis contexta facie incedunt distinguentes uuluum caeruleo minioque colore et ceteris pigmentis, habentes simulacra oris lineae gipsata et uario colore distincta, nonnumquam et colla et manus creta perungentes ut ad personae colorem peruenirent et populum dum in ludis agerent fallerent; modo in specie uiri modo in femininae . . .* The passage of Isidore is now neglected⁴ but Jacobus Nicolaus' explanation of Cicero's discourse seems to be universally accepted.⁵

Jacobus' explanation multiplies hypotheses unnecessarily. Cicero does not mention the stage, except in a notional way with *quoniam Medeam coepi agere* much later in his letter. *Illa manibus gypsatisissimis* must reflect Medea's description of herself or her report of someone else's description. There was a contrast between *uos matronae opulentae optumates* and *ego peregrina manibus gypsatisissimis*. The normal whitening cosmetics were, in Attic drama, ψιψυθίον (Aristophanes, *Ekkles.* 878, Eubulus, fr. 98 et al.) and, in Roman, *cerussa* (Plautus, *Most.* 258) and *creta* (Plautus, *Truc.* 289-94). The only mention of γυψος/gypsum used for this purpose is at Rufinus, *A.P.* 5. 19, as far as I can see (contrast *A.P.* 11. 374 and 408). It may have been used in elaborate preparations for very dark complexions or persons wishing to disparage the use of

¹ Cf., however, Plautus, *Amph.* 1066 *exurgite . . . qui terrore meo occidistis prae metu*.

² *Var. Lectt.* xx 13. Cf. Turnebus, *Aduersariorum libri XII* (Paris, 1564), xii 18 (comparing Valerius Flaccus 2. 150 and Rufinus, *A.P.* 5. 19).

³ *Misc. Epiph.* π 8 (in Gruterus, *Lampas*, v Suppl., 309 ff.).

⁴ Cf. for example Blümner, *RE* vii ii (1912), 2100. 19 ff., s.v. *Gypsum*, Warnecke, *RE* viii ii (1913), 2118. 40 ff., s.v. *Histrio*, Bieber, *RE* xiv ii (1930), 2082. 53 ff., s.v. *Maske*.

⁵ T. B. L. Webster and O. Skutsch, in *Nauicula Chiloniensis*, 110 n. 1, vary this explanation slightly: ' . . . oder könnte etwa Cicero *Εἴρ.* 30 πῶλλευκον δέτην ungenau als πῶλλευκον χεῖρα in Erinnerung gehabt und diese schneeweisse Hand scherzhaft, da es sich um Schauspieler handelte, als *gypsatisissima* bezeichnet haben?'

creta may have deliberately misdescribed it as *gypsum*, a substance normally used for decorating walls and ceilings.¹

The substance of *ne sibi uitio illae uerterent quod abesset a patria* certainly appeared in Ennius' play, the expression *uitio uertere* probably. Attempts at complete restoration could not hope to be universally convincing. O. Skutsch² makes the plausible suggestion *ne mihi uitio uos uortatis exiit a patria quod absum*.

In Euripides' *Μηδεία* the heroine's first entry is preceded by a lyric dialogue between the nurse and the chorus of Corinthian citizen women. The latter express friendship and sympathy for Medea, distaste for what they consider to be Jason's wrongdoing. Neither here nor elsewhere in the play do they criticise anything in Medea except her violent reaction to Jason's behaviour. When Medea enters she is afraid lest the Corinthian women regard her as an arrogant person (*vv.* 214-21)³ and a foreigner hard to get on with (*vv.* 222-4).⁴ She is depressed by the thought of how defenceless her foreignness makes her (*vv.* 252-8; cf. *vv.* 591, 801-2). Euripides makes considerable play with the fact that his heroine is not a Greek, giving her most of the characteristics associated in fifth-century Athens with foreign women, proneness to excessive lamentation, servility before men in authority, inability to understand broken promises, knowledge of magic and witchcraft.⁵ He repeats over and over again the theme of her absence from home (*vv.* 32-5, 166, 255-6, 328, 431-8, 502-3, 642-51, 798-9) but allows only Jason to make it a matter of reproach (*vv.* 1329-32). Medea and the Corinthian women treat each other as being of equal dignity.⁶

Behind Ennius' contrast of the Corinthian *matronae opulentae optimatae* and the barbarian Medea *manibus gypsatis* must lie Euripides, *Med.* 252-8:

ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς πρὸς σέ κἀμ' ἦκει λόγος·
 σοὶ μὲν πόλις θ' ἦδ' ἔστι καὶ πατὴρὸς δόμοι
 βίου τ' ὄνησις καὶ φίλων συνουσία,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἔρημος ἄπολις οὐδ' ὑβρίζουμαι
 πρὸς ἀνδρῶς, ἐκ γῆς βαρβάρου λελησιμένη,
 οὐ μητέρ', οὐκ ἔδελαφόν, οὐχὶ συγγενῆ
 μεθοριώσασθαι τῆσδ' ἔχουσα συμφορῶς.

¹ See Blümner, *RE* vii ii (1912), 2094 f. Pliny (*Nat.* 35. 199) speaks of *creta* being used to mark the feet of slaves in the market; Tibullus (2. 3. 66) and Ovid (*Am.* 1. 8. 64), both writing emotively rather than descriptively, use the verb *gypsaere* in this connection.

² In *Nauicala Chilonensis*, 109.

³ For the Athenian dislike of σεμνότης see Euripides, *Hipp.* 91 ff., *Alk.* 799 ff.

⁴ For the Athenian attitude to foreigners see Aeschylus, *Hik.* 200 ff., Euripides, *Hik.* 891 ff.

⁵ Cf. D. L. Page, *Euripides: Medea* (Oxford, 1938), pp. xviii ff.

⁶ Note Medea's form of address Κορινθιαί γυναικες at *v.* 214; φίλαι at *vv.* 227, 377, 765, 1116, 1236.

Significantly Ennius uses the word *matronae* rather than *mulieres*. The Corinthian women are bound to their mates by *iustum matrimonium* and hence protected by all the majesty of the city-state's law and custom. Medea, by implication, is only a *concubina*. Her powdered limbs make even plainer her foreignness and friendlessness. A fair complexion was much prized in Rome and Greek-speaking communities¹ and seems to have been a common indicator of class.² Considering the attitude to cosmetic aids in Greece,³ an attitude reflected plainly in Plautus' adaptations of Attic comedy,⁴ it is unlikely that any women except foreign-born harlots used them in early second century Rome.

The formal structure of Ennius' *sententia*

A $\overline{\text{multi}}^{\text{A}^1}$ $\overline{\text{suam rem bene gessere}}$ at $\overline{\text{publicam patria proci}}$; $\overline{\text{A}^2}$

B $\overline{\text{multi}}^{\text{A}^1}$ $\overline{\text{qui domi aetatem agerent}}$ $\overline{\text{propterea sunt improbat}}$

imitates that of Euripides *Med.* 214-17

A $\overline{\text{οἷσα γὰρ πολλοὺς}}$ $\overline{\text{βροτῶν}}$

$\overline{\text{σεμνοὺς γεγῶτας}}$ $\overline{\text{τοὺς μὲν ἑμμάττων ἄπο}}$, $\overline{\text{A}^1}$

B $\overline{\text{τοὺς δ' ἐν θυμαίοις}}$. $\overline{\text{οἱ δ' ἀφ' ἡσύχου ποδῶς}}$

$\overline{\text{δύσκαλειαν ἐκτίσαντο}}$ $\overline{\text{καὶ ῥαθυμίαν}}$

However not only are Euripides' trimeters replaced with musically accompanied trochaic verses and the triple alliteration of *publicam patria proci* and the anaphora of *multi* . . . *multi*⁵ but a different accusation is replied to, one of

¹ Cf. Catullus 13. 4, Propertius 2. 13. 53, Chariton 2. 2. 2; for defence of a dark one cf. Theocritus 10. 26-9, Asclepiades, *A.P.* 5. 210, Philodemus, *A.P.* 5. 121, Virgil, *Ed.* 2. 15-18, 10. 38-9.

² Cf. Cicero, *Ps.* fr. 8, Propertius 1. 4. 13, Horace, *Epist.* 1. 18. 3-4, Lucian, *Parasit.* 41.

³ Cf. Xenophon, *Oik.* 10, Lucian, *Dial. deor.* 20. 10.

⁴ *Most.* 258 ff., *Truc.* 289 ff.

⁵ Anaphora of adjectives, nouns and verbs is very uncommon in the trimeters of Attic tragedy and comedy. It is quite common in the trimeters of Roman comedy and very common in the long musically accompanied verses (see Hauffner, *Untersuchungen*, p. 84).

peregrinatio rather than *σημνότης*. *Grauitas* is probably the nearest Latin equivalent of *σημνότης* and that of course was no vice at Rome. Absenting himself from the family circle left a Roman open to serious rebuke.¹ The Ennian *sententia* drew on the experience of Roman magistrates, whose *provinciae* had begun in recent times to be commonly assigned abroad, and on the language with which they boasted of political and military success.²

The second *sententia* quoted by Cicero probably comes from Ennius' adaptation of Medea's address to Creon, Euripides, *Med.* 292-315. It would have replaced the *sententia* on σοφία at *vv.* 294-301:

χρή δ' οὔποθ' ὀστις ἀρτίρων πέφυκ' ἀνήρ
 παίδας περισσῶς ἐκιδιάσκεσθαι σοφούς·
 χωρὶς γὰρ ἄλλης ἤς ἔχουσι δργίαις
 φθόνον πρὸς ἄστων ἄλφάνουσι δυσμενῆ.
 σκαοῖσι μὲν γὰρ καινὰ προσφύρων σοφῶ
 δόξεις ἄχρεῖος κοῦ σοφὸς πεφυκέναι·
 τῶν δ' αὖ δοκούντων εἰδέναι τι ποικίλον
 κρείσσων νομισθεῖς ἐν πόλει λυτρὸς φανῆ.

These verses were full of meaning for the Athenians of the fifth century but had little for the Romans of the early second, among whom traditional wisdom had not yet been seriously challenged. Ennius' replacement was a commonplace of vulgar talk among both Greek and Latin speakers.³

¹ Cf. Naevius, *Com.* 92-3 *primum ad uirtutem ut redeatis* (Fabricius: *reductis cod.*) *abentis ab ignauia* | *domi* (Ribbeck: *domos cod.*) *patres patriam ut colatis potius quam peregrī probra* (Ribbeck: *probro cod.*), Cicero, *Planc.* 29 *ut uiuat cum suis, primum cum parente — nam meo iudicio pietas fundamentum est omnium uirtutum — quem ueretur ut deum, Cael.* 18 *reprehendistis a patre quod semigrarit. quod quidem in hac aetate minime reprehendendum est. qui cum et ex publica causa iam esset mihi quidem molestiam sibi tamen gloriosam uictoriam consecutus et per aetatem magistratus petere posset, non modo permittente patre sed etiam suadente ab eo semigrarit.*

² Cf. Cicero, *Cat.* 3. 15 *quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conseruata re publica constituta est, Pis.* 97 *sin autem aliquid speraueras, si cogitaras id quod imperatoris nomen, quod laureati faeces, quod illa tropaea plena dedecoris et risus te commentatorum esse declarant, quis te miserior, quis te damniator, qui neque scribere ad senatum a te bene rem publicam esse gestam neque praesens dicere ausus es?* Plautus parodies the phraseology at *Ampli.* 195-6 *me a portu praemisit domum ut haec nuntium uxori suae | ut gesserit rem publicam ductu imperio auspicio suo, 523-4 operam hanc surripui tibi | ex me prius ut prima scires rem ut gessissem publicam.*

³ Cf. Aeschylus, *Prom.* 473-5 κακὸς δ' ἱστρος ὡς τις ἐς νόσον | πεισὼν ἀθυμῆς καὶ σεαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχεις | εὐρεῖν ὀπιλοῖς φαρμάκους ἰστίσιμος, Euripides, *fr.* 61 μισῶ σοφὸν (ὄντ') ἐν λόγισιν, ἐς δ' ὄνησιν οὐ σοφόν, *fr.* 905 μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὄντις οὐχ' αὐτῶ σοφός (= 'Mentander', *Monist.* 457 Jäkel), Plato, *Hipp.* *meiz.* 283a τὸν σοφὸν αὐτὸν αὐτῶ μέλιστα δεῖ σοφὸν εἶναι, Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem* 52 ὁ

219 *patria procul*: the preposition is absent only here in republican drama; contrast Plautus, *Capt.* 551 *proin tu ab istoc procul recedas* et al.

220 *qui domi aetatem agerent propterea sunt improbatī*: Wesenberg wrote *quod*; Vahlen suggested tentatively *quia*, thinking no doubt of palaeography and Plautus, *Capt.* 174-5 *quia mihi natalis dies | propterea a te uocari ad te ad cenam uolo, Mil.* 1257 *quia me amat propterea Venus fecit cam ut diuinaret*. But relative and principal clauses tend to be loosely arranged in old Latin, particularly where the relative precedes (see above on *vv.* 177-8, below on *v.* 228).

221 *nequiquam*: avoided by Caesar and Cicero, preferred to *frustra* by the classical poets but, according to Wölfflin (*ALL* II [1885], 9) 'in der archaischen Literatur... keinen bestimmten Charakter trägt'. The situation is in fact far from clear. Tragedy has *nequiquam* twice, *frustra* not at all. Terence has *nequiquam* only once (*Haut.* 344), *frustra* 11 times. Plautus has *nequiquam* 24 times and *frustra* 24 (including the locution *frustra esse* 14); both words occur preponderantly in musically accompanied verse, *frustra* more so than *nequiquam*. It therefore looks as if in Ennius' day *nequiquam* belonged fully to the common language but very soon after dropped out, to be employed henceforth only by poets and poeticising historians.

CVI

These two trimeters must come from Ennius' adaptation of the conversation between the paedagogus and the nurse, Euripides, *Med.* 49-95. They reflect the wording of *vv.* 56-8:

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐς τοῦτ' ἐκφέβηκ' ἄλγυθόνος,
 ὡσθ' ἱμερὸς μ' ὑπήλαθε γῆ τε κούρανῶ
 λέξαι μολούση δούρῳ δεσπολῆς τύχος.

Ennius adds only the word *play miseram*... *miserias*.

222 *cupido cepit*... *me*: republican drama has *cupido* quite rarely (not elsewhere in tragedy, 5 times in comedy) compared with *libido*. For Ennius' locution cf. Terence, *Hec.* 88-9 *edepol te desiderium Athenarum arbitror | Philotium cepisse saepe*.

ἡμῶν δὲν αὐτῶ χρήσιμος οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλων φρόνιμον ποιήσιεν, N.T. Mark, *Euhag.* 15. 31 ἄλλους ἔσοσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύνασται σῶσαι, Plautus, *Truc.* 495-6 *sine uirtute argutum ciuem mihi habeam pro praefica*, | *quae alios collaudat, eapse sese uero non potest*, Pacuuius, *Trag.* 348 *odi ego homines ignaua opera et philosopha sententia*, Phaedrus I. 9. 1-2 *sibi non cauere et alii consilium dare | stultum esse*, Ovid, *Art.* 1. 84 *quique alius cauit non cauet ipse sibi*.

proloqui: compare Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 10-11, 6. 133-4 and contrast Livy 1. 6. 3 *Romulum*... *cupido cepit*... *urbis condendae*, 32. 5. 3, 33. 38. 11, 38. 16. 4, 40. 21. 1. Grammarians' dispute about the extent to which the Ennian type of expression is a conscious graecism where it occurs in Augustan poetry. In the passage under discussion Ennius is unlikely to have retained the Greek syntax if it was grossly inconsistent with contemporary Latin usage. One finds in fact a state of apparent anarchy in comedy where the infinitive and the gerund are concerned. Plautus has *occasio est* with the infinitive 3 times, with the gerund 4; *tempus est* with the infinitive 3 times, with the gerund 6.

223 Medeai miserias: Turnebus' emendation restores the iambic rhythm. The manuscripts of Cicero's writings frequently modernise archaic forms in quotations of dramatic verse: e.g. *De orat.* 2. 193 *extinxisisti*, *Off.* 3. 98 *percepisset*, *Tusc.* 3. 26 *socero*, 3. 28 *sciebam*. The manuscripts of Plautus comedies either corrupt the genitive in *-ai* where it occurs or modernise it to *-ae*.²

The genitive in *-ae* appears to have been normal in tragedy. Epic had *-ai* (Ennius, *Ann.* 16, 33 *bis*, 119, 191, *203, *343, *489) and *-as* (see Priscian, *Gramm.* II 198. 8 ff.) quite frequently as well as *-ae*. Plautine comedy had *-ai* occasionally in formulaic and stylised passages.³

CVII

In her denunciation of Jason (*vv.* 465-519) the Euripidean Medea speaks of their relationship as one of φίλια (*vv.* 470, 499) and implies that she had thought him an ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ (*vv.* 465, 488, 498, 518, 586, 618). She mentions in passing the χάρις (*v.* 508) she had shown him. Jason accepts the definition of their relationship (*vv.* 549, 622) but argues that it was not so much the socially honourable feeling of χάρις that motivated her actions as sexual lust (*vv.* 527-31 Κύπριον νομίζω τῆς ἐπιῆς ναυκληρίας | σώττειρον εἶναι θεῶν τε κἀνθρώπων μόνην. | σοὶ δ' ἔστι μὲν νοῦς λεπτός — ἀλλ' ἐπιφθονός | λόγος διελευθῖν, ὡς Ἔρωσ σ' ἠνάγκασε | τόξους ἀφύκτοις τοῦμῶν ἐκῶψαι δέμας, 555, 568-75). Medea interprets Jason's actions similarly (*vv.* 623-4). Neither party makes anything of Medea's juridical status⁴ and the chorus refers to Medea as Jason's ἄλοχος (*v.* 578).

¹ Cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Synr.* II, *Stil.* p. 351.

² See Leo, *Pl. Forsch.*, pp. 342 ff.

³ See Leumann, *MusH* II (1945), 253 n. 37, IV (1947), 121 (= *Kl. Schr.* 125 n. 2, 143).

⁴ But cf. *vv.* 591-2 οὐ τοῦτό σ' εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ βάρβαρον λέχος | πρὸς γῆρας οὐκ εὐδοξον ἐξέβανέ σοι.

Ennius' trochaic tetrameter with its antithesis and rhyming metra¹ reflects the stylistic traditions of the Roman stage and the ethical notions of Roman society as much as it does Euripides' trimeters and their substance. For the fifth-century Athenian χάρις was the attitude of a man volunteering to do something to which he was not bound.² This for the Roman was *benignitas* or *benefolentia* rather than *honos*. Cicero distinguishes the two attitudes at *Off.*

2. 21: *quaecumque igitur homines homini tribuunt ad eum augendum atque honestandum, aut benevolentiae gratia faciunt, cum aliqua de causa quempiam diligunt, aut honoris, si cuius virtutem suspiciunt quemque dignum fortuna quam amplissima putant, aut cui fidem habent et bene rebus suis consulere arbitrantur, aut cuius opes metuant, aut contra, a quibus aliquid expectant, ut cum reges popularesue homines largitiones aliquas proponunt, aut postremo pretio ac mercede dicuntur.* Plautus and Terence normally use the word *honor* in this subjective sense where persons of comparable social status are concerned, e.g. citizen man and wife: Plautus, *Stich.* 48-9 *nolo ego soror me credi esse immemorem viri | neque ille eos honores mihi quos habuit perdidit*. Terence, *Haut.* 687 *quam ego scio esse honore quous dignam.*

A tone of irony or high-falutin banter is to be detected in contexts like that of Plautus, *Mil.* 1074 ff., *Truc.* 589 ff. The formulae *honoris causa* and *honoris gratia*³ should not be identified completely with the Attic χάρις τινός, εἰς χάριον, χάριτος ἔνεκα.⁴ I suggest therefore that Ennius made his Medea speak of the *honor* she paid Jason in adaptation not of Euripides, *Med.* 508 σοὶ χάριον φέρουσα but of the whole tone of *vv.* 465-519. Ennius' language assimilated Medea's status to that of *uxor* (γυνή γαμετή), whereas in legal reality she would have been only a *concubina*.⁵

224 amoris magis quam honoris... *gratia:* cf. Cicero, *Pis.* 65 *coniuium publicum non dignitatis causa inibit*... *sed plane animi sui causa*. Seneca, *Contr.* 1. 6. 9 (Latro) *puellam non misericordia molam sed libidine et ideo non esse beneficium.*

CVIII

Behind Ennius' tetrameters lie Euripides, *Med.* 364-75:

κακὸς πέτρακται πανταχῇ· τίς ἀντρεψί;
ἀλλ' οὔτι ταύτη ταῦτα, μὴ δοκεῖτέ πῶ.
ἔρ' εἶσ' ἀγῶνες τοῖς νεοσθι νυμφίοις
καὶ τοῖσι κηδεύσασιν οὐ σμικροὶ πόνοι.
δοκεῖς γὰρ ἂν με τόνδε θεωπεύσασι τότε,

¹ See above on *v.* 8.

² See Fraenkel on Aeschylus, *Ag.* 182 f.
³ Plautus, *Amph.* 486, 867, *Asin.* 191, *Aul.* 25, *Mil.* 620, *Poen.* 638, *Stich.* 338, Terence, *Phorm.* 928.

⁴ As is done by F. Mehmel, *Philologus* xc (1935), 505 f.

⁵ Cf. Hecuba's description of Cassandra at Ennius, *Trag.* 181.

εἰ μή τι κερδαίνουσαν ἢ τεχνολομένην;
οὐδ' ἂν προσεῖπτον οὐδ' ἂν ἠψάμην χερσίν.
ὁ δ' ἔξ ἑταυροῦτος μορῆς ἀφίκετο,
ὡστ' ἔξον αὐτῶ τὰμ' ἐλεῖν βουλεύματα
γῆς ἐκβαλόντι, τῆνδ' ἀφῆκεν ἡμέραν
μείναι μ', ἐν ἣ τρεῖς τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν νεκρούς
θήσω, πατέρα τε καὶ κόρην πόσιν τ' ἐμόν.

and 399-400:
πικρὸς δ' ἐγὼ σφιν καὶ λυγρὸς θῆσω γάτους,
πικρὸν δὲ κῆδος καὶ θυγῆς ἐμῆς χθονός.

Ennius imports the *sententia* — *qui uult quod uult ita dat se res ut operam dabit*, the metaphors *mentis traueria* and *repagula quibus... recludam*, and the elaborately arranged pair of antitheses *mihī maerores illi luctum, exitium illi exitium mihī*.

Cicero breaks off his quotation of the tetrameters at one point, expecting his readers to fill in the gap for themselves.¹ Vahlen restored the beginning of the third tetrameter with the almost certain *ni ob rem*² and placed the query mark immediately afterwards. However heavy pauses are rare after the first trochee in Ennius' tetrameters and in those of the other third and second century playwrights. Ennius' mode of expression is usually much fuller. I suggest therefore that with *parumne ratiocinari uideatur et sibi ipsa nefariam pestem machinari*? Cicero twists the content, if not the wording, of the remainder of the tetrameter into his own argument about the potential evil of reason.³ In any case Cicero shows no tendency to break quotations at pauses of sense where he does not break them at pauses of metre.

Language like *qui est uersus omnium seminator malorum* usually appears when Cicero quotes full metrical units (*Fam.* 13.15.2, *Diu.* 1.17, 2.12, 2.25, *Nat. deor.* 3.79, *Rep.* 5.1, *Off.* 3.82, *Tusc.* 1.106, 2.26, 4.63, *Fin.* 2.105, *Cato* 16) or the beginning of one (*Att.* 2.19.3, *Cato* 1). But *qui uult quod uult ita dat se res ut operam dabit* is a trochee short either at the beginning or internally. Three fifteenth-century codices supply an *esse* after the first *uult* but this destroys the figure of speech. A *semper* before *se* does less damage to Ennius' rhetoric and its loss in the tradition is more easily explained.⁴

225 *nequaquam istuc ibit*: ~ οὐτῆ τούτῃ τούτῃ. *Sic abire* seems to have been the normal phrase (cf. Terence, *Andr.* 175, Catullus 14.16, Cicero, *Att.* 14.1.1, *Fin.* 5.7, Seneca, *Herc.* f. 27).

¹ Cf. *frs.* xv b, xvii a, xxvii a.

² *Ind lect.* Berlin 1877, 1 ff. (= *Op. ac.* 1.34 ff.).

³ Cf. the manner of quotation at *Sest.* 121.

⁴ O. Skutsch, in *Nauticula Chilonensis*, 110 ff., inserts the transmitted six and a half trochees directly after *ni ob rem*.

magna inest certatio: 'there is plenty of fighting ahead'. Verbal nouns in -*sis* are usually accompanied by *est*; for the use of *in-* to form poetic compounds see above on *v.* 26.

226-7 *nam ut ego illi supplicarem tanta blandiloquentia | ni obrem: ~ δοκεῖς γὰρ ἂν με τόνδε θωπεύσαι ποτε, | εἰ μή τι κερδαίνουσαν ἢ τεχνολομένην*; Ribbeck's *illi* is enforced not by Euripides' τόνδε but by the *ille* of *v.* 229 and the *illi... illi... illi* of *vv.* 230-1. *Vt* frequently introduces questions about impossible or incredible acts and situations in the dialogue of Latin drama; cf. Plautus, *Baech.* 197-8 *egon ut quod ab illoc attingisset nuntius | non impetratum id aduenienti ei redderem?*, 375, *Mil.* 962, *Rud.* 1063, 1244, *Truc.* 441, Terence, *Andr.* 618, *Phorm.* 304. The normal mode of introducing such questions was plainly with *egone ut* but Ennius perhaps wished to emphasise *illi* rather than *ego*.

Blandiloquentia does not occur elsewhere in archaic or classical Latin. Plautus, *Trin.* 239 has *blandiloquentulus* and Laberius, *Mim.* 106 *blandiloquens*. *-loquentia* type nouns are rare: Plautus has at *Rud.* 905 *uaniloquentia*, *Trin.* 222 *subtililoquentia*, Novius, *Atell.* 38 *tolutiloquentia*, *Trag.* inc. 110 *superbiloquentia*, Cicero, *Orat.* 191 and *Fam.* 13.15.2 *magniloquentia*, *Brut.* 58 *suauiloquentia*.¹ They must have been created originally by the adapters of tragedy.

For *ni ob rem* cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 525-6 *non pudet | uanitatatis? — minime diuin ob rem*, Sallust, *Iug.* 31.5 *id frustra an ob rem faciam in uostra manu situm est Quirites*.

228 *qui uult quod uult ita dat semper se res ut operam dabit*: cf. Caecilius, *Com.* 290-1 *fac uelis: | perficies*.

The figuration of *qui uult quod uult* is common in Greek² and Latin³ dramatic writing. For the sentiment cf. Cicero, *Att.* 14.1.2 *de quo quidem ille ad quem deuerti Caesarem solitum dicere: 'magnum refert hic quid uelit sed quicquid uult ualde uult'*.

For *ita dat se res* cf. Terence, *Hec.* 380 *omnibus nobis ut res dant sese ita magni aique humiles sumus*, Cicero, *Att.* 3.23.5 *ut se initia dederint*.

Dat has a future reference; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 100 *nam mi calido das sanguine poenas*.

For the lack of close syntactic connection between relative and principal clause cf. Ennius, *Trag.* 256 *ea libertas est qui pectus purum et firmum gestitat*, Plautus, *Asin.* 323 *em ista uirtus est quando usus qui malum fert*, Terence, *Hec.*

¹ Cf. Seneca *ap.* Gell. 12.2.7.

² Cf. Aeschylus, *Ag.* 67, 1287, *Choe.* 780, *Eum.* 679, Sophocles, *O.T.* 1376 *O.K.* 273, 336, *Tr.* 1234, Euripides, *El.* 85, 289, *Med.* 1011, *Or.* 79, *Tr.* 630.

³ Cf. Plautus, *Epid.* 554 *memini id quod memini*, *Most.* 1100 *quod agas id agas*, *Trin.* 242 *qui amat quod amat* (cf. *Merc.* 744), *Poen.* 874 *qui homo eum norit norit*.

608 *istuc est sapere qui ubiqumque opus sit animinum possit flectere*, Com. inc. 76
onus est homo qui sustinet rem publicam, Cicero, *Leg.* 2. 19 *qui secus faxit deus*
ipse uindex erit.

229 *ille trauersa mente*: ~ ὁ δ' ἔξ τοσοῦτον μωρίας ἀφίκετο. For
 Ennius' metaphor cf. Cato *ap. Gell.* 6. 3. 14 *secundae res lactitia transuersum*
trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intelligendo, Seneca, *Epist.* 8. 4 *coepit*
transuersos agere felicitas.

229-30 *mi hodie tradidit repagula | quibus ego iram omnem*
recludam: ~ τῆνδ' ἀφῆκεν ἡμέρον | μεῖναι μ', ἐν ἡ... The Euripidean
 Medea refers to her anger later in the speech: *Med.* 395-8 οὐ γὰρ . . . χερσῶν
 τῆς αὐτῶν τοῦμὸν ἐγγυνηί κέσθρ. It is a major theme of the play (*vv.* 91,
 93 f., 99, 172 f., 176 f., 260 f., 271, 395 ff., 446 f., 520, 589 f., 615, 870, 878 f.,
 898, 909).

Repagula are regularly the bars placed across the leaves of a door on the
 inside (Cicero, *Verr.* 4. 94, *Diu.* 1. 74, Apuleius, *Met.* 1. 14. 1, Paulus, *Fest.*
 p. 351. 3 f. *repagula sunt quae patefaciendi gratia ita figuruntur ut e contrario op-*
portantur. haec et repages dicuntur). It is difficult to interpret closely Ennius'
 metaphor. The same area provides Plautus' quite intelligible metaphor at
Truc. 603 *meamque iram ex pectore iam promam*.

230-1 *atque illi perniciem dabo, | mihi maerores, illi luctum,*
exitium illi, exilium mihi: ~ τρεῖς τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν νεκροῦς θήσω,
 πικρῶν τε καὶ κόρην πόσιν τ' ἐμὸν . . . πικροῦς δ' ἐγὼ σφιν . . . The sur-
 face meaning of the Greek is belied by the action of the play. Only the king's
 daughter will be destroyed. Jason will not die; his children will. If Cicero
 reports Ennius' Latin correctly, Ennius substituted vagueness and confusion
 for dramatic irony. *Maerores* must allude to the plan to kill Jason's children
 but this has nothing to do with the grief she is going to impose on Creon.
 One might assume a *lacuna*¹ in Cicero's quotation after *dabo* and take the
 next verse as referring to the vengeance to be wreaked on Jason much more
 explicitly than do Euripides' verses. The Greek play does not refer to the
 killing of Jason's children until *v.* 792.

The nouns *perniciēs* and *perniciēs* are confused in Cicero's manuscripts as
 they often are in those of Plautus. I see no way of sorting out the confusion.
 The phrase *perniciem dare* must have been based on *malum dare*, a phrase
 which refers regularly in comedy to the punishment of slaves. Cf. Seneca's
letum dare (*Med.* 17-18).

Maeror normally occurs in the singular in both tragedy (5 times) and

¹ Cf. the passage discussed above, pp. 356 f..

comedy (14 times). The plural occurs elsewhere at Plautus, *Capt.* 840, 841,
Epid. 105.

Luctus occurs 9 times in tragedy and only twice (Plautus, *Vid.* fr. 2,
 Terence, *Hec.* 210) in comedy. This perhaps reflects a difference of subject-
 matter rather than one of style.

CIX

Behind Ennius' trochaic verse¹ lie the trimeters, Euripides, *Med.* 248-51:

λέγουσι δ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀκινδύουον βίον
 ζῶμεν κατ' οἴκους, οἱ δὲ μέρανται δορί·
 κακῶς φρονούντες· ὡς τρίς ἔν παρ' ἀσπίδα
 στῆναι θέλωι· ἔν μελλῶν ἢ τεκεῖν ἀπασ.

232 *sub armis*: in the first century certainly and in the second probably in
armis and *armis* were the regular expressions of the common language (see
 T.L.L. II 597. 26 ff.); only the poets and the historians (Anon. *Bell. Afr.*
 42. 2, Livy 9. 37. 4, 28. 15. 4) used *sub armis*.

uitam cernere: a most peculiar phrase, paralleled only at Ennius, *Ann.*
 195-6 *non campanantes bellum sed belligerantes*, | *ferro non auro uitam cernamus*
uitrique. The verbs *cernere*, *decernere* and *decernere*, when used in the
 present manner (see above on *v.* 166), are regularly accompanied by *de* and
 the ablative; cf. Cicero, *Quinct.* 43, *Phil.* II. 21, *Att.* 10. 9. 2, Virgil, *Aen.*
 12. 765 et al.

CX

These words come from Ennius' adaptation of the first strophe of the
 dochmiac prayer uttered by the Euripidean chorus as Medea leaves the stage
 to kill her children: *vv.* 1251-60:

ἰὼ Γᾶ τε καὶ παμφανῆς
 ἀκτῆς Ἀελίου, κερτίδερ' ἴδετε τῶν
 ἀλομένων γυναικας, πρὶν φονίαν
 τέκνοις προσβαλεῖν χεῖρ' αὐτοκτόνου
 ἴσῶς γὰρ ἀπὸ χρυσεῖς γονᾶς
 ἐβλασταν, θεοῦ δ' αἰμά τι πῆναιψ
 φῶβος ὑπ' ἀνέρων.
 ἀλλά νιν, ὦ φῶς διογενεῖς, κάτειρ-
 γε κοτᾶτασων, ἔξελ' οἴκων τάλαι-
 ναν φονίαν τ' Ἐρινύν ὑπαλάστωρον.

Since the time of Vossius scholars have usually wanted to arrange Ennius'
 words in catalectic trochaic tetrameters.² At least two alterations to the

¹ O. Skutsch, however, emends to produce trimeters: *nam ter sub armis*
malum uitam cernere | *quam semel modo parire*. See *HSCPh* LXXI (1967), 137.

² Osann, *Anat. crit.* p. 123, produced 3½ cretic tetrameters.

paradosis, in places where sense and Latinity appear quite sound, are needed to produce the required tetrameters. Furthermore it seems unlikely that a stage adaptation which turned the relatively calm trimeters 364-409 into stichic tetrameters should use the same form of verse as a replacement of the excited dochmiacs 1251-70.

Ennius' words can be divided into three rhetorical units. The units of verse in republican drama, particularly in the early period, tend markedly to coincide with units of rhetoric. Any attempt to analyse the rhythm of Ennius' words must take account of this tendency.

The first unit, *Iuppiter inque adeo summe Sol qui res omnis inspicis*,¹ can be treated as a cretic trimeter followed by a catalectic trochaic dimeter. In proposing this scansion Strzelecki² compared Plautus, *Epid.* 330 is *numinum nullum habes nec sodali tuo in te copias*, which appears in a dialogue of tragic character along with other types of cretic verse, trochaic verses and iambic.

The second unit, *quique tuo lumine mare terram caelum coittines*, is metrically obscure but sound in sense.³ Strzelecki scanned the words transmitted as two catalectic trochaic dimeters.

The first part of the third unit, *inspice hoc facinus priusquam fit*,⁴ forms a possible trochaic dimeter.⁵ The second part is corrupt. Bothe's *prohibestis scetis* satisfies the sense of the whole passage, the stylistic level⁶ and palaeography. The metre however remains obscure.

In adapting the Euripidean ode Ennius preserved the salient features of its

¹ Vahlen's *spicis* (*RitM* xiv [1859], 566 [= *Ges. phil. Schr.* 1.406]) destroys a common type of sentence arrangement in which a verb of the preceding relative clause is taken up in the principal (see above on v. 8). Where co-ordinate clauses are concerned simple verbs frequently pick up their compound forms (see above on fr. ix); less frequently compound picks up simple (e.g. in such pleonastic doublets as Plautus, *Amph.* 551 *sequor subsequor*, *Poen.* 221 *poliri expoliri*, 223 *lauando eluendo*, Caecilius, *Com.* 212 *ploro atque imploro*, Terence, *Eum.* 962 *dico edico*, Ennius, *Trag.* 337 *neque pati neque perpeti*).

² *Eos* xliii fasc. 2 (1947), 98 n. 52, in *Tragica* 1, 55.

³ Vahlen's *quique tuo cum lumine* spoils the sense; likewise Leo's *qui igneo tuo lumine* (*De Trag. Rom.* p. 14 [= *Ausg. kl. Schr.* 1.203]).

⁴ The indicative *fit* is unexceptional in early Latin; cf. Plautus, *Capt.* 831-2, *Cur.* 210, *Truc.* 115, Terence, *Phorm.* 1037.

⁵ *Priusquam* is much more often an anapaest than a bacchius in republican drama; see Lindsay, *E.L.V.* p. 212.

⁶ The form occurs only in apotropaic prayers of great solemnity: Plautus, *Aul.* 611, *Pseud.* 13-14, Cato, *Agr.* 141.2, Cicero, *Leg.* 3.6, 3.9, Contrast Terence, *Andr.* 568 *quod di prohibeant*, *Haut.* 1038, *Hec.* 207, *Ad.* 275. The only other -ss- form of a second conjugation verb in republican drama seems to be at Plautus, *Asin.* 603 (*licessit*).

grammatical framework, the address to the Sun, the imperative verb of seeing, the adverbial reference to the crime to come and the imperative verb of preventing. However, while Euripides made the Corinthian women give expression to traditional religious ideas still valid for at least some members of his fifth-century Athenian audience, Ennius put in their mouths an amalgam of traditional Roman religious thought and Hellenistic philosophical speculation.¹ For the special poetic vocabulary of Greek choral lyric Ennius substituted the words and formulae of the Roman sacred language.

A major theme of the Athenian tragedy was the punishment of Jason for perjury through the destruction of his children. Hence the constant complaints by the heroine and her friends centering on Jason's breaking of his oath rather than his act of taking a new consort (*vv.* 21-2, 161-3, 168-70, 208-9, 439, 492, 1391-2) and the elaborate description of the binding of Aegeus (*vv.* 734-55). At the culminating point of the drama, as Medea enters the palace to carry out a just act of vengeance, the Corinthian women beseech Earth and Sun to prevent her. These are the deities by which not long ago on the very stage Medea made Aegeus swear and by which, we are given implicitly to understand, on the fatal day in Colchis Jason himself swore. They are asked to remove an 'Eπιϋύς from the house. This 'Eπιϋύς is not Medea herself but a real demon,² one of those who in the world of epic and tragic poetry³ (probably too in that of Euripides' audience) were supposed to punish perjury among other misdemeanours. She is urging Medea on to destroy Jason's children in punishment for Jason's crime rather than waiting to punish Medea for the act she has not yet committed. This act, a crime as well as an act of justice, will be dealt with by another 'Eπιϋύς.⁴

Sophisticated Greeks of the second century, even in Athens, would have found the ideas underlying the words of Euripides' chorus hard to fathom and there were no precise parallels in Roman religious belief. It is not surprising that Ennius did not try to reproduce them. In any case it is possible

¹ Scholarly discussion has concerned itself solely with the replacement of Earth by Iuppiter. According to Ribbeck (*Die röm. Trag.* p. 157) 'der Name Iuppiter war populärer als die uralte Mutter Erde...'. G. Herzog-Hauser (*Comment. Vindob.* 1 [1935], 48) added some psycho-analytical sophistication, suggesting that Ennius' preference for the father-god Iuppiter over the mother-god Earth reflects the patriarchal structure of Roman society. R. Goossens (*Latomus* v [1946], 288-91) approached the same narrow question from another angle, suggesting that in Ennius' text of the Greek play stood the word δᾶ (= γᾶ) and that this was misunderstood by Ennius, who learnt the West Doric dialect of Greek in Tarentum, where δᾶ would have been the equivalent of Ζῆϋ.² So one of the scholiasts; *contra* Page on v. 1260.

³ Cf. Homer *Il.* 19.258-65.

⁴ Cf. Jason's curse, *vv.* 1389-90 ἄλλ᾽ ὅσ' 'Eπιϋύς ἄλέσει τέκνον | φοιῶν τε Δίκη.

that he had abandoned Euripides' subtly sympathetic view of Medea and presented her simply as a foreign-born *concubina* opposing her master's arrangements of his own affairs (see above on frs. cv, cvii, below on v. 237). His chorus appears to be requesting *Iuppiter prodigialis* (cf. Plautus, *Amph.* 739) and the Αθήρ in which this deity dwells and whose nature he shares to make some sign by which the Corinthians might be warned of Medea's evil intentions and thus enabled to prevent *scelus* affecting their community. In his epic poem on his own consulship Cicero writes of *Iuppiter* much more explicitly in terms of philosophical theory (*Carm.* fr. 3. 1-5 [*Diu.* 1. 17]) —*principio aethereo flammatus Iuppiter igni | vertitur et totum conlustrat lumine mundum | mentisque divina caelum terrasque petessit, | quae penitus sensus hominum uitasque retentat | aetheris aeterni saepia atque inclusa cauernis*—before describing the *prodigia* sent to warn Rome of the troubles in store for her.

The substance of *inspice hoc facinus priusquam fit* (~ κατιδετ' ἴδετε τὸν | ὀλομέναν γυναικᾶ, πρὶν φοινίον | τέκνοις προσβλαβεῖν χέρ' αὐτόκτων) looks on the surface to be absurd. But as early as the time of the composer of *Od.* 20. 351 ff.¹ gods and human seers were wont to see future events as if they were happening in the present before their very eyes. Many philosophers regarded all events, past present and future, as linked together and capable of being known by an intelligent divine cosmic principle; in their view human seers foresaw the future in so far as their minds were connected with a principle which observed the eternal process unaffected by temporal divisions. Some philosophers identified this principle with the lower atmosphere and their theory lies behind Philemon's prolonging *Ἀήρ: fr. 91 ὄν οὐδὲ εἰς λέληθεν οὐδὲ ἐν ποιῶν | οὐδ' αὖ ποιήσων οὐδὲ πεποιτηκῶς πάλαι | οὔτε θεὸς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπος, οὐτὸς εἰμ' ἔγω, | Ἀήρ, ὃν ἄν τις ὀνομάσειε καὶ Δίῳ*. Other philosophers, perhaps Heraclitus and Empedocles and certainly the Stoics, made the fiery upper atmosphere the source of prophetic knowledge:² *inspice hoc facinus priusquam fit* would be a natural prayer to address to the Αθήρ of Stoic theology.

Probus took the relative clause *quique tuo lumine mare terram caelum conitines* as co-ordinate with *qui res omnis inspicit* and thus qualifying *Sol*.³ The verb *conitines* will hardly apply to the normal activity of the sun⁴ and for this

¹ See above on vv. 43-4.

² Cf. Ps. Hippocrates, *De carnibus* 2 δοκέει δέ μοι δὲ καλέομεν θερμὸν ἀθάνατὸν τε εἶναι καὶ νοεῖν πάντα καὶ ὄρνῃ καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ εἰδέναι πάντα ἔοντα τε καὶ ἐσόμενα. τοῦτο οὖν τὸ πάλαιστον, ὅτε ἐπαράχθη ἄπαντα, ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ἀνωτάτω περιφορῆν, καὶ αὐτὸ μοι δοκέει αἰθέρα τοῖς παλαιστοῖς εἰρηθεῖν.

³ Cf. Plautus, *Amph.* 677-8, *Capt.* 271, *Men.* 549, 1133-4, *Mil.* 1229, *Poen.* 1189, *Rud.* 28-9, 128-9, Terence, *Andr.* 485, *Haut.* 444-5.

⁴ Vahlen adduces Ennius, *Ann.* 542-3 *qui fulmine claro | omnia per sonitus arcei, terram mare caelum*. But the antecedent here was plainly *Iuppiter* or *aether*.

reason Janus Rutgersius' conjectured *conitines*. On the other hand the clause as transmitted makes an excellent description of the αθήρ, the outer element of the Empedoclean four.² I therefore suggest that *quique tuo lumine mare terram caelum conitines* is co-ordinate with *Iuppiter* and *Sol*³ and refers to the divinised αθήρ in an allusive manner common in ancient prayers; cf. Homer, *Il.* 3. 276-9 Ζεὺ πάτερ . . . Ἥέλιος . . . καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ὑπέροφθε καμώντας | ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον (contrast 19. 258), Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 315-19 Ζεὺ μεγαλόνημι χρυσοθύρα τε | Δῆλον δὲ ἔχεις ἱερᾶν. | καὶ σὺ παγκρατέες κόρα γλαυκῶτι χρυσόλογγε πόλιον οἰκοῦσα, περιμύχρητον, Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 12-15 *tuque o . . . Neptune et caelo nemorum cui pinguis Caes | ter centum niuei tondent dimeta iuueni, Seneca, Med.* 1-4 *tuque genitidis tori | Lucina custos, quaeque dominuram freta | Tiphyn nouam fenare docuisti ratem, | et tu profundi saepe dominator maris*.

Probus' interpretation might be saved by supposing that Ennius identified in a very bold way Ἥλιος and Αθήρ. Varro remarks (*Rust.* 1. 4. 1) that *eius* (i.e. *agriculturae*) *principia sunt eadem quae mundi esse Ennius scribit, aqua terra anima et sol*. These are plainly the Empedoclean four.⁴ Stoic theological

¹ *Variarum lectionum libri sex* (Leiden, 1618), vi. 1.

² Cf. Empedocles, fr. 38 γὰρ τε καὶ πόντος πολυκύμων ἠδ' ὑγρὸς ἄηρ | Ἴτρον ἠδ' αἰθήρ σφύγγων πρὶ κύκλον ἄπαντα, Achilles, *Eisag.* 5, p. 36. 19 Maass Ζήνων γούν δὲ Κριτιεύς . . . οὐρανὸς ἔστιν αἰθέρος τὸ ἔσχατον . . . τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πόντος περιέχει πλὴν αὐτοῦ, Cicero, *Nat. deor.* 2. 58 *mundi qui omnia complexus suo coeret et continet, 101 restat ultimus et a domiciliis nostris altissimus omnia cingens et coerens caeli complexus, qui idem aether vocatur, extrema ora et determinatio mundi, in quo cum admirabilitate maxima igneae formae cursus ordinatos definitunt . . . e quibus sol, 117 quem complexa summa pars caeli quae aetheria dicitur. Euripides gives no sign of acquaintance with the theory of four elements but he frequently talks of the atmosphere as a whole embracing the earth: *Ba.* 292-3 μέρος τι τοῦ χθον' ἐγκυκλωμένον | αἰθέρος, fr. 919 κορυφή δὲ θεῶν δὲ πέριξ χθον' ἔχων | φανερωστ' αἰθήρ, fr. 941 ὄρεξ' τὸν ὑποῦ τοῦδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα | καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχουθ' ὕγρας ἐν ἀγκάλαις; | τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἠγοῦ θεόν. Cf. Aristophanes, *Neph.* 264 ἄηρ δὲ ἔχεις τὴν γῆν μετέωρον, Pacuvius, *Trag.* 86-7 *hoc uide circum supraque quod complexu continet | terram, Lucretius* 5. 318-19 *uere hoc circum supraque quod omnem | continet amplexu terram*.*

³ Cf. Plautus, *Circ.* 473 *ibi dem erunt scorta exoleta quique stipulari solent, Stich.* 4-5, Terence, *Hec.* 478. At Plautus, *Bach.* 1087, *Circ.* 480 et al. there is one grammatical antecedent but two notional ones.

⁴ In a fragment of the *Annales*—521-2 *corpore Tartarino prognata paluda uirago, | cui par imber et ignis spiritus et grauis terra*—an Italian underworld demon appears to be identified with the Νεῖκος of Empedocles; see Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius*, pp. 10 ff., E. Bignone, *RFIC* N.S. vii (1929), 10 ff. (= *Studi sul pensiero antico*, pp. 327 ff.), H. Fränkel, *Hermes* LXX (1935), 62 ff.; contra, W.-H. Friedrich, *Philologus* xciii (1948), 291 ff.

treatises, while keeping Ἥλιος and Αἰθήρ distinct, nevertheless disputed as to which should be identified with the Ζεύς of traditional cult.¹

234 **Iuppiter tuque adeo summe Sol:** for *tuque* introducing a further addressee cf. *Carm. deu. ap. Macr. Sat.* 3.9.11 *Tellus mater teque Iuppiter obtestor*, Virgil, *Aen.* 8.71-2 *nymphae... tuque o Thybri*, Livy 1.32.10 *audi Iuppiter et tu Iane Quirine*, Seneca, *Phaedr.* 9.59-60 *o magna parens Natura deum | tuque igniferi rector Olympi*. The same ἀπὸ κοινοῦ arrangement is common in Greek dramatic prayers; cf. Aeschylus, *Theb.* 109-48, 151-65, Euripides, *Kykl.* 350-4, 599-605, *Hel.* 1093-8, Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 315-26.

For *adeo* in invocations cf. Turpilus, *Com.* 118-19 *te Apollo sancte... usque adeo uenti*, Virgil, *Georg.* 1.5-25 *uos o clarissima mundi | lumina... tuque adeo... Caesar*.

For the epithet of Sol cf. Cicero, *Rep.* 6.9.

qui res omnis inspicis: for relative clauses in invocations of deity see above on v. 4. For the content of this clause cf. Homer, *Il.* 3.277 Ἥλιός θ' ὅς πάντ' ἑφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, Aeschylus, *Choe.* 985-6 ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε | Ἥλιος, *Prom.* 91 τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ, fr. 192.5 ὁ πανόπτης Ἥλιος, Sophocles, *O.K.* 869 ὁ πάντα λεύσων Ἥλιος.

235 **mare terram caelum:** such tricola were probably common in the formulae of the sacred language; cf. *Carm. aug. ap. Varr. Ling.* 7.8 *conspicione conspicione cortumione, Carm. euoc. ap. Macr. Sat.* 3.9.7-8 *eique populo ciuitati metum formidinem obliuionem iniciatis, Carm. deu. ap. Macr. Sat.* 3.9.10 *illam urbem Carthaginem exercitumque... fuga formidine terrore completatis*, Livy 8.25.10 *quod bonum faustum felix Palaepolitani populoque Romano esset, tradere se ait moenia statuisse*. For this particular tricolon cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 542-3 *qui fulmine claro | omnia per sonitus areet, terram mare caelum, Plautus, Amph.* 1055 *uidentur omnia mare terra caelum consequi, Trin.* 1070 *mare terra caelum di uostram fidem, Terence, Ad.* 790 *o caelum o terra o maria Neptuni, Afranius, Com. tog.* 9 *mare caelum terram ruere ac tremere diceres, Cicero, Fin.* 5.9 *ut nulla pars caelo mari terra, ut poetice loquar, praetermissa sit* (contrast S. Rosc. 131 *caius natus et arbitrio caelum terra mariaque reguntur*), *Tusc.* 5.105 *et in hoc ipso mundo caelum terras maria cognoscimus, Ac.* 2.105 *oculis quibus iste uexter caelum terram mare intuebitur*.

236 **inspice hoc facinus priusquam fit:** for the singular verb following a plurality of divine invocations cf. Aeschylus, *Prom.* 1091-3 ὁ μητρος εἰρήης σέβος, ὁ πάντων | αἰθήρ κοινὸν φῶς εἰλίσσων. | ἑσορᾷς μ' ὡς ἐκδῶκα

¹ Cf. Cicero, *Ac.* 2.126.

πάσχω; Sophocles, *El.* 86-9 ὦ φάσο ἄγγον | καὶ γῆς ἰσόμοιρ' ἀήρ, ὦς... ἦσθου, Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 315-19 Ζεῦ μεγαλώνυμε χρυσολόρα τε... καὶ σὺ... ἐλθέ δεῦρο.

The etymological figure *facinus facere* occurs once elsewhere in tragedy (*Trag. inc.* 64), is extremely common in Plautus (*Am.* 220, *Bacch.* 641, 682, 925 et al.) but rare in Terence (only at *Eun.* 644; in trochaic tetrameters). Cf. Sophocles, *O.T.* 1374 ἔργα... ἐργοασμένα, Euripides, *Hek.* 1072 ἔργον ἐξείργαστο.

prohibessis scelus: the word *scelus* here denotes the state of religious unhealthiness which will arise from the act rather than the act itself; cf. Livy 22.10.5 *si quis clepsit ne populo scelus esto neue cui cleptum erit*.

CXI

Ribbeck and Vahlen printed Mercerus' restoration of the second of Ennius' two trimeters—*quid sic te extra aedis exanimata eliminas?* F. Skutsch argued in favour of Stephanus' and Columna's restoration—*quid sic extra aedis exanimata eliminis?* Lindsay's analysis of the composition of Nonius' lexicon permits a more systematic restoration.

Nonius' lexicon has two articles on *eliminare*, one in the first book at p. 38.29-p. 39.7 illustrating the lemma *extra limen eicere* and one in the fourth book at p. 292.20-33 illustrating two lemmata, *exire* and *excludere*. Four quotations of drama appear in both articles. The source of the first article, both lemma and illustrative quotations, is Lindsay's list 27 'Alph. Verb' (possibly list 26 'Gloss iii'). One should not expect to find disharmony between lemma and quotations here. The second article appears in a book whose lemmata are dictated by Nonius' own arrangement of the material, one designed to show that individual words have a multiplicity of meanings. Nonius twists the material provided by his sources, often in an extremely unintelligent manner, to fit his new lemmata. At p. 292.20 ff. he makes the quotations of Ennius' *Medea exul* and Accius' *Meleager*, which at p. 38.29 ff. illustrated the lemma *extra limen eicere*, illustrate the quite different lemma *exire* along with a quotation of Accius' *Phoenissae*. The latter quotation comes from list 5 'Accius i', the former from list 27.²

² When composing p. 292.20-33 Nonius must have imagined he could read something like *aniqua erilis fida custos corporis quid sic extra aedis exanimata*

¹ *Glossa III* (1912), 387 (= *Kl. Schr.* 487).

² Lindsay seems to me quite wrong in assigning the quotation of Accius' *Meleager* to list 27 at p. 39.5 and to list 8 'Accius ii' at p. 292.25, especially as similar corruptions appear at both places. No significance need be seen in the position of the quotation of Ennius' *Medea exul* at the head of the p. 292.20 ff. article.

eliminat in list 27 and took the verb *eliminat* as intransitive and the noun *custos* as its subject. But the lemma in list 27 was something like *ELIMINARE, extra limen etere* and could not have been effectively illustrated by such a sentence; in any case the descriptive phraseology attaching to *custos* requires a noun in the vocative rather than the nominative case. I therefore propose *quid sic te extra aedis exanimatam eliminat* as the second trimeter quoted by the compiler of list 27, already corrupt in Nonius' copy, transferred along with the lemma of list 27 at p. 38.29 and placed under a different and inappropriate lemma at p. 202.20.¹

Ennius' two trimeters have been regarded since the sixteenth century as an adaptation of the address of the Euripidean paedagogus to the nurse, vv. 49–51:

πρόλοτον οἴκων κτήμα δεσποίνης ἑμῆς,
τί πρόσ πύλασσι τῆδ' ἔγους' ἔρημιον
ἔσθηκος, σῦτῆ θρεομένη σαυτῆ κακά;

P. Maas² objected that the word *exanimata* has no counterpart in the Greek and would more aptly apply to the nurse's reaction to the catastrophe of 1271–8. There is considerable weight in Maas's second point. Euripides pictures the nurse as sympathetic with Medea (vv. 54–6, 78–9) and afraid of where her anger might lead (vv. 37, 90 ff. et al.) but not distraught. Nevertheless Ennius' adaptations of the nurse's utterances employ language of greater emotional colouring than the Greek (215–16 *errans* . . . *animio aegro amore saevo sanicia*, 222–3 *miseram* . . . *miserias*) and the same exaggerating tendency may be in play here.

The present tense normally indicates that the personage referred to enters the stage at the moment of speaking (e.g. Plautus, *Most.* 419 *sed quid tu egredere Sphaerio?*), the perfect that he or she has been there for some time (e.g. Plautus, *Amph.* 1078–9 *sed quid tu foras | egressa es?*). Accordingly Fraenkel argued³ that the Ennian paedagogus was already on stage when the nurse entered. For reasons which I have given above (p. 350) this could not have been the case. But the link between the Latin trimeters and Euripides, *Med.* 49–51 need not be abandoned. *Eliminas*/-t can be treated as a resultative present along with Plautus, *Amph.* 368 *immo equidem tunicis consutis huc aduenio, non dolis*, *Mil.* 1299 *a matre illius uenio*, *Most.* 440 *triennio post Aegyptio aduenio domum*, Turpilius, *Com.* 52–3 *me curae somno segregant | forasque noctis excitant silentio*.⁴

¹ If the transmitted text of the quotation of Accius' *Phoenissae*, *egredere exi efer te elimina urbe*, is correct this quotation does illustrate correctly the lemma *exire*.

² *Hermes* LXVII (1932), 243 f.

³ *Hermes* LXVII (1932), 355–6.

⁴ See G. Monaco, *SIFC* N.S. xxiv (1950), 249–53. Nevertheless it must be admitted that *eliminare*, an emphatically perfective verb, could not have been used thus in the common language.

237 *antiqua*: ~ *παλαιόν*; a solemn and honorific word when applied to persons (Plautus, *Bacch.* 261, *Curc.* 591, Terence, *Phorm.* 67, *Aprissus ap. Varr. Ling.* 6.68), but not markedly poetical like the Greek *παλαιός*.

erilis fida custos corporis: ~ *οἴκων κτήμα δεσποίνης ἑμῆς*. The nurse came into Jason's possession along with Medea. Ennius' use of the word *custos* rather than *ancilla* is perhaps meant to emphasise that Medea has not the status of a *matrona*, that Jason regards her as a *concubina* who needs watching. Elsewhere in republican drama *custos* is used of the attendants of unmarried young men¹ and women² of free status, of *concubinae*³ and *meretrices* of servile status,⁴ never of *matronae*.

Fidus was a word of great solemnity, not normally applied to slaves; see above on v. 194. For its substance cf. Euripides, *Med.* 821 *ἐς πάντα γὰρ δὴ σοὶ τὰ πιστὰ χροῦμεθα*.

For the periphrasis *erilis corporis* (= *erae*) cf. the Attic tragedians' use of *δέικος* (e.g. Aeschylus, *Eum.* 84 *κτανεῖν . . . μητρῶον δέικος*, Euripides, *I.A.* 417, *Med.* 388, 531 et al.), Ennius, *Trag.* 241 *optima corpora*, Naevius, *Trag.* 21–2 *uos qui regalis corporis custodias | agitat*, Accius, *Trag.* 547 *pinnigero non armigero in corpore*, Ennius, *Ann.* 93–4 *cedunt de caelo ter quatitor corpora sancta | autium*, 521 *corpore Tartarino prognata paluda uirago*, Lucretius 1.770–1 *terrae . . . corpus*, 2.232 *corpus aquae*, 2.472 *Neptuni corpus*, Virgil, *Aen.* 5.318 *ante omnia corpora*, 6.21–2 *septena quotannis | corpora natorum*, 11.690–1 *Orstlöchum et Buten duo maxima Teucrum | corpora*, Ovid, *Met.* 3.58 *fidissima corpora*. For the stylistic level of the adjective, see above on v. 100; for that of *erilis* see Löfstedt, *Syntactica* I², pp. 116 ff.

238 *quid . . . te . . . eliminat*: ~ *τί . . . ἔσθηκος*. *Quid* only once elsewhere in republican drama so far as I can see governs a transitive verb (Terence, *Eum.* 162). Questions are normally introduced by *quid* adverbial or *quid est quod*. But the high tragic style much affects abstract nouns and incorporates as the subjects of transitive verbs; see above on v. 17.

The noun *limen* had much more solemn associations for the Roman mind⁵ than did οὐδός et sim. for fifth-century Athenians. It occurs in comedy only in very formal contexts (Plautus, *Cist.* 650, *Merc.* 830, *Mil.* 596, *Most.* 1064,

¹ Plautus, *Asin.* 655, *Capt.* 708, *Merc.* 92, Terence, *Phorm.* 287.

² Plautus, *Truc.* 812.

³ Plautus, *Mil.* 146, 153, 271, 298, 305, 467, 550.

⁴ Plautus, *Curc.* 76, 91, *Truc.* 103.

⁵ See K. Meister, 'Die Hausschwelle in Sprache und Religion der Römer', *SB Heidelberg, Phil.-hist. Kl. Abh.* III (1924/5). On the verse of the Arval hymn *satur fu fere Mars limen sati sta berber* see Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (Lund, 1939), pp. 146 ff.

Terence, *Hec.* 378), in tragedy once in an elaborate periphrasis (Accius 531 *ab limine caeli*).¹ The verb *eliminare* occurs three times elsewhere in republican tragedy; according to Quinilian, *Inst.* 8. 3. 31, *inter Pomponium ac Senecam . . . esse tractatum an 'gradus eliminat' in tragoedia dici oportuisset*. Elsewhere in extant literature it occurs only at Pomponius, *Atell.* 33, Varro, *Men.* 459 and Horace, *Epist.* 1. 5. 25. It was clearly a creation of the tragedians.

sic: ~ τῆνδ' ἔγους' ἐρημίαν.

extra aedis: ~ πρὸς πύλασι. Plautus has *ex aedibus* and *extra portam* regularly. Terence's *interdico ne extulisse extra aedis puerum usquam uelis* (*Hec.* 563) apes the style of public edicts. Pomponius *eliminabo extra aedis coniugem* (*Atell.* 33) is plainly paratragic.

exammatam: ~ αὐτῇ θροεμένη σουτῇ κακά.

CXII

This fragment comes from a play set in Athens; see above, p. 344.

Elmsley² compared Ennius' two trimeters with the opening of Sophocles' Ἡλέκτρα, a play set on the citadel of heroic Argos before the palace of the king: 1-10 ὦ τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτῆ | Ἀγαμέμνονος πᾶ, νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἐξεστὶ σοι | παρόντι λεύσειν, ὦν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' εἰ. | τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἄργος οὐπῶθεις τόδε, | τῆς οἰστροπληγῆος ἔλαος Ἰνέχου κόρης | αὐτῇ δ', Ὀρέστα, τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ | ἀγορὰ Λύκειος· οὐς ἀριστέρῃς δ' ὅδε | Ἥρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναός· οἱ δ' ἰκάνομεν, | φάσκεαι Μυκῆνος τὸς πολυχρύσους ὄρν, | πολλῶφορόν τε δῶμα Πέλοπιδῶν τόδε. With this comparison in mind Wilamowitz³ set Ennius' play before the palace of Aegaeus in the Κῆητοι south of the citadel. One would expect the king's palace to be on the citadel. In any case the imperative *aedisa* suggests that the person addressed is walking across the stage in front of the audience and the phrase *opulentum oppidum* that he or she has the entrance to the citadel facing at the end of the road. Whether we interpret the two trimeters in terms of the topography of fifth-century Athens⁴ or according to

¹ Meister finds in Attic drama only Aeschylus, *Choe.* 571 ἐμείψω βῆδων ἐρείλων πυλῶν.

² *Euripidis Medea*, p. 66.

³ *Burg und Stadt von Kekrops bis Perikles*, *Philologische Untersuchungen* 1 (Berlin, 1880), p. 128 n. 48.

⁴ The site of the Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει (Clem. *Alex. Protr.* 3. 45; cf. *I.G.* n^o 1078. 14-15. 41) is now established with certainty on the north-west slope of the Ἀκρόπολις; that is on the left of the Panathenaic Way as one proceeds from the Dipylon gate; see T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* VIII (1939), 207-12, ix (1940), 268, E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* XVIII (1949), 134-6, H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* XXXIX (1960), 334-8.

the normal conventions of the Roman stage¹ we must imagine the action of Ennius' play as taking place before the precinct of the underworld deities, Demeter, Kore and Plouton. A better parallel is provided by the opening of Sophocles' Οἰδῖπτος ὁ ἐπὶ Κολωνῶ, a play also set outside the citadel of Athens and in front of a precinct of chthonic deities: 14-16 πότερ τολαί-πρωρ' Οἰδῖπτος, πύργοι μὲν οἱ | πόλιν στέγουσιν, ὡς ἄπ' ὀμμάτων, πρόσω· | χῶρος δ' ὀδ' ἰρός.

239 Athenas anticum opulentum oppidum: the words *oppidum* and *urbs* were differentiated in early second century Latin as ἀκρόπολις and ἔστυ. Plautus normally uses *oppidum* in contexts of real or metaphorical siege and occasionally where the city as a whole is concerned (*Men.* 73, *Mil.* 88, *Poen.* 175, 560, 994, 1403). Terence, however, twice (*Andr.* 342, *Ad.* 715) uses it clearly of the residential quarters and public places, in contexts where Plautus uses *urbs* (*Epid.* 195, 197, 719, *Merc.* 175, 805, *Stich.* 113).

With the alliterative phrase *opulentum oppidum* Ennius is perhaps playing with an etymology (cf. Varro, *Ling.* 5. 141 *oppidum ab opi dictum quod munitur opis causa ubi sinit*) as well as with sound. Livy, who in other contexts is as shy of *opulentus* as are Caesar and Cicero, employs the phrase repeatedly (1. 2. 3, 2. 63. 6 et al.) along with *urbs opulenta*.

The epithet *antiquus* would reflect the feelings that fifth-century Athenians had about their city; cf. Euripides, *Med.* 824 Ἐρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἄλβιοι.

240 templum Cereris: Ennius probably refers here to the τέμενος rather than the ναός. *Templum* is never used unambiguously of the god's *aedes* in republican drama.

For *templum Cereris* ~ Ἐλευσίνιον cf. Plautus' *Cereris uigiliae* (*Aul.* 36, 795 ~ October festival of Eleusinian deities).

CXIII

Of the five pieces quoted by Nonius as from Ennius' *Medea* this has the closest verbal and thematic parallel in Euripides' Μήδεια, Medea's farewell to her children at 1069-73: δὸτ', ὦ τέκνα, | δὸτ' ἀσπράσσοσθαι μητρὶ δεξιῶν χεῖρα. | ὦ φιλιτάτη χεῖρ, φιλιττον δέ μοι στόμα | καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον εὐγενεῖς τέκνον, | εὐδαίμονοῖτον. There are similar passages in other plays (e.g. Euripides, *Hek.* 409-10, *Tr.* 757-63, fr. 362. 32-3) but it

¹ Travellers from abroad seem regularly to have entered from the audience's left; see Plautus, *Amph.* 333, *Men.* 555, *Rud.* 156, Terence, *Andr.* 734. The Attic convention may have been different; see *Introduction*, p. 20.

is difficult to imagine one, especially one addressed to a plurality, in a play about Medea set in Athens.

Nevertheless there are difficulties in the traditional identification. *Salvete* alone is normally a term of greeting and the closest parallels with the Ennian fragment in Roman drama are Plautus, *Circ.* 305-7 *o mea opportunitas* | *Curculio exoptate salve*... *saluom gaudeo* | *te aduenire. cedo tuam mi dexteram*, *Epid.* 548-59 *salua sies*... *cedo manum*. — *accipe*, *Poen.* 1259-61 *hic pater est uoster, date manus*. — *salue insperate nobis* | *pater; te complecti nos sine cupite atque exspectate* | *pater salue* (cf. Euripides, *I.T.* 902-3, *Ion* 517-19, Seneca, *Thy.* 508-9). In farewells *salue* seems always to be accompanied by *uale* (Plautus, *Asin.* 592-3, *Capt.* 744, *Cist.* 116, *Circ.* 522, 588, *Merc.* 830). If the Ennian fragment does come from a greeting and does belong to the Athenian *Medea* it is still difficult to give it a plausible context. The metre is hard to establish and the words transmitted by the codices of Nonius' lexicon may be corrupt.

241 optima corpora: for this periphrasis see above on *v.* 237.

242 cete: 3 times elsewhere in tragedy against *date* once; only once in comedy (Plautus, fr. 160) against *date* 46 times. There was more life in *cedo* (128 times in comedy against *da* 70).

CXIV

The descriptive relative clause makes it likely that we have here an address to *Sol* rather than a piece of narrative. For the relative clause in invocations of deity see above on *v.* 4; for the use of the third person verb in invocations cf. Homer, *Il.* 17. 248-50 *ὦ φίλοι*... *ὄϊ... πίνουσιν κατ'σημαίνουσι*, Ennius, *Ann.* 620 *uosque Lares tectum nostrum qui funditus curant*, *Trag.* inc. 35 *Danaï qui parent Atreidis quam primum arma sumite*.

"*Ἥλιος*" is invoked thrice in Euripides' *Μήδεια* and often elsewhere in tragedy. He was the grandfather of Medea (Euripides, *Med.* 404 ff., 934 ff.) and thus particularly likely to be invoked in any play about this heroine.

243 candentem in caelo sublimat facem: for "*Ἥλιος*"/*Sol* strongly personified as a man with a torch cf. Theodectes, fr. 10. 1-2 *ὦ κολληφγγῆ λομπρόδ' εἰλισσων φλογός* | "*Ἥλιε*, Lucretius 5. 401-2 *Solque cadenti* | *obitus aeternam suscepit lampada mundi*, 976 *dum rosea face Sol inferret lumina caelo*, Seneca, *Herc. f.* 37-8 *Sol*... | *binos propinqua tinguit Aethiopus face*. The conventional image of fifth-century Attic tragedy was that of a man driving a four-horse chariot (Sophocles, *Ai.* 845-6 et al.) but cf. Euripides, *I.A.* 1505-7 *ἰὼ ἰὼ*. | *λαμπροδούχος ἀμέρα* | *Διός τε φέγγος*...

Candere occurs twice elsewhere in republican tragedy, is absent from comedy and classical prose.

For the tragic character of *sublimis* see above on *v.* 3. *Sublimare* occurs only here and at Cato, *Orig.* 2. 63 in literature before the time of Apuleius.

CXV

The theme of Medea's lustfulness runs all through Euripides' *Μήδεια* but the only possible parallels for this fragment as a whole are the nurse's words at *vv.* 6-8 *οὐ γὰρ ἄν δέσποινα* | *Μήδεια πύργου γῆς ἐπλευσ'* | *ἰωλακίς* | *ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐπλογεῖτο* | *Ἰσκονος* turned by Ennius as *nani nunquam era errans mea domo efferret pedem* | *Medea animo aegro amore saenio saucia*,¹ and the chorus' words at *vv.* 431-2 *σὺ δ' ἔκ μὲν ὄκλον παρτίων ἐπλευσός* | *μυνομένην κροδίξ*. There would be nothing against placing the fragment in a free version of the choral ode *vv.* 627-62 or the long speech made by Jason after the discovery of his murdered children (*vv.* 1323-50), but a play about Medea set in Athens could contain it equally well; Aegeus had to banish her from this city after an attempt on the life of Theseus.²

244 tmedej cordis cupido corde: there is some evidence that Euphorion employed a form *Μήδη* (fr. 14.3 Powell) but one ought not impose on republican drama either the termination -e or variation in the form of a proper name³ towards an obscure Alexandrinism. The obvious connection between Euphorion's *Ἥλ* (fr. 153 a) and the *gau* and *cael* of Ennius' epic poetry (*Ann.* 574, 575) has no relevance here.

Cordis...*corde* should probably be allowed to stand; cf. *Carm. Sal.* ap. Varr. *Ling.* 7. 27 *diuom deo*, Plautus, *Circ.* 388 *ubi reliquiarum reliquias conderem*, *Stich.* 126 *edepol uos lepide temptati nostrumque ingenium ingeni*, *Trin.* 309 *dum uiuit uictor uictorum chuet*, *Truc.* 24-5 *Venus* | *quam penes amantium summa summamurum redit*, Seneca, *Med.* 233 *nam ducem taceo ducum*, *Thy.* 912 *regumque regem*.

For *cupido corde* cf. Ennius, *Trag.* ap. Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 5 *animus aeger*... *cupere nunquam desinit* (see fr. C1XXIV), Plautus, *Bacch.* 1015 *ego animo cupido*... *fui*, *Mil.* 1215 *moderate animo*; *ne sis cupidus*, Terence, *Haut.* 208 *animus ubi semel se cupiditate deuincit mala*, 367 *ut illius animum cupidum inopia incenderet*, *Phorm.* 821-2 *eiusmodi in animo parare cupiditates* | *quas*... *mederi possis*. Comedy doubles *animus* with *cor* (Plautus, *Pseud.* 1321) or replaces it with the physical organ (Plautus, *Epid.* 146, Caecilius, *Com.* 79) in high-falutin contexts.

¹ Plank thought that Nonius had misquoted Ennius' prologue.

² Hyginus, *Fab.* 26. 1.

³ Ennius has *Medea* at *v.* 216, *Medeci* at 223. Cf. Plautus, *Pseud.* 869.

If this were a comic fragment one would most naturally interpret it as spoken by an eavesdropper standing on stage. In a tragedy it is likely to have been spoken by the chorus hearing something off stage or by a character who has just entered the stage and speaks of what he has heard from off' (resultative present; see above on fr. cxi) or by a character reporting a past act of eavesdropping (historic present). As far as *aucupant* is concerned Columna's identification of the fragment with Euripides, *Med.* 131-2 and O. Skutsch's with *Med.* 67-9 are possible. But *fructus* is damning to them both. Nothing overheard in the Μήδεια profits the hearer or anyone else.

245 fructus uerborum: for this type of periphrasis see above on *v.* 21.

aures aucupant: the metaphor is from fowling. This and related metaphors are common in early comedy (e.g. Plautus, *Mil.* 598-9, 607-8, 955, 990, *Mos.* 473, *Stich.* 102, Caecilius, *Com.* 62-4). They are absent from Terence and from the copious remains of fourth and third century Attic comedy. It is likely that they originated in Roman tragedy (cf. Pacuvius 185 *locutiones hic nostrum ex occulto clerit*, Accius 292) as an extension of such locutions as Homer, *Il.* 1. 201 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπειτα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, Aeschylus, *Hik.* 657-8 ἄκ στομμάτων ποτῆισθω φιλότιμος εὐχά, *Prom.* 115 τῆς ἀχῶ . . . προσέειπα μ' ἀφεγγής, 555 τὸ διαφιθίδιον δέ μοι μέλας προσέειπα, Accius, *Trag.* 449 *stimul ac nota uox ad aures accidit*, Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 380-1 *uerbis | quae tūto tibi magna uolant*?

MELANIPPA

The title *Melanippa* is given to Ennius three times by Nonius using Lindsay's list 27 'Alph. Verb' and once each by Gellius, Macrobius and Priscian; to Accius once by Varro (*Ling.* 7.65) and once by Nonius using list 28 'Alph. Adverb' (p. 154.15). *Melanippus* is given to Accius eight times by Nonius using list 5 'Accius 1' (pp. 15.23, 85.4, 219.1, 233.22, 234.23, 485.31, 500.14, 521.8) and once using list 28 'Alph. Adverb' (p. 349.2), three times by Verrius (Festus and Paulus, pp. 180.28, 320.27, 340.25; cf. p. 256.15), and once by Cicero (*Tusc.* 3.20); to Ennius once by Nonius after a series of entries from list 5 (p. 469.7). The attributions at Varro, *Ling.* 7.65

¹ Cf. Sophocles, *O. T.* 634 ff., Euripides, *Herakleidae* 474 ff.

² Cf. Plautus' parodies: *Amph.* 325-6 *uox mi ad aures aduolauit* (*Merc.* 864, *Rud.* 332) — *ne ego homo infelix fui*, | *qui non alas interuelli i uolucrum uocem gestito*.

MELANIPPA

and Nonius, pp. 154.15 and 469.7 are clearly erroneous.¹ The *Melanippa* referred to by Cicero at *Off.* 1. 114 is probably the Ennian tragedy quoted by the grammarians, although Cicero gives no other sign of knowing this play.

Two tragedies about Melanippe, the daughter of Aeolus, were composed by Euripides. One, Μελανίππη ἡ σοφή,² dealt with how, when the twins the heroine had borne to the god Poseidon and secretly exposed were discovered being suckled by a cow, Aeolus, on the advice of his father Hellen, decided to have them burnt as prodigies. Melanippe, having received the task of dressing them in funeral robes, delivered a speech criticising Hellen and explaining the apparent prodigies in naturalistic terms. Euripides' other tragedy, Μελανίππη ἡ δεσμώτης, dealt with an episode in the later life of the twins.³

The first fruitful attempt to interpret the fragments cited under the title *Melanippa* was made by Bergk,⁴ who assigned frs. cxi, cxx and cxxi to a version of Euripides' Μελανίππη ἡ σοφή and cxxii and cxxiii to one of the Μελανίππη ἡ δεσμώτης. Scholars since have usually tried to interpret all six fragments as coming from a version of the Μελανίππη ἡ σοφή.

CXVIII

The prose hypothesis of Euripides' Μελανίππη ἡ σοφή describes the heroine as κόλλαι διαφρούσασα. The Ennian passage referred to by Gellius must have been uttered by someone with Melanippe's illegitimate offspring in mind.

For the substance of the Ennian passage cf. Euripides, fr. 928 οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλές (Grotius: ἀφελές *codd.*) | περαιτέρω τὸ κόλλος ἢ μέσον λαβεῖν.⁵ Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 101 *foedera seruasset si non formosa fuisset*, *Am.* 3. 4. 41-2 *quo tibi formosam si non nisi casta placebat? | non possunt ullis ista coire modis*, 3. 14. 1 *non ego ne pecces cum sis formosa recuso*, *Epist.* 16. 290 *lis est cum forma magna*

¹ Deltius appears to have thought that Accius' tragedy was a *Melanippa*. Welcker, *Die Griech. Trag.* pp. 854 ff., and Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus* II, pp. 375 ff., pressed the fragments into a version of Euripides' Μελανίππη ἡ δεσμώτης. Scaliger, *Coniect. Varr. Ling.*, on 7.65, said all that is necessary.

² For the prose hypothesis see the rhetorical work published by H. Rabe, *RAM-xxiii* (1908), 145 f., and Pap. Oxy. 2455, fr. 2, col. 1.

³ See Hyginus, *Fab.* 186, Pap. Berol. 5514, 9772, Wilamowitz, *SB Berlin* 1921, 63 ff. (= *Kl. Schr.* 1 440 ff.), Pickard-Cambridge, in *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* III (Oxford, 1933), 117 ff.

⁴ *RAM* III (1835), 71-3.

⁵ Compared by Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus* I, p. 116, and assigned to Μελανίππη ἡ σοφή.

THE TRAGEDIES OF
ENNIUS

THE FRAGMENTS
EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY

BY

H.D. JOCELYN

*Reader in Latin in the
University of Sydney*



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