

I. ATHENIAN DRAMA AND THE ROMAN FESTIVALS

The twenty-two dramatic treatments of Greek heroic legend whose remains are discussed in this volume were adapted from Athenian tragedies between the years 203 B.C. and 169 for performance at *ludi scaenici*. These *ludi scaenici* formed an important element both of the regular yearly festivals managed by the civil magistrates in honour of Iuppiter, Apollo, Ceres, Magna Mater and Flora and of those held for some special purpose, such as to thank a deity for a magistrate's military success or to honour the spirit of a deceased member of the ruling class.¹ They were believed to have been introduced to Rome from Etruria in 364 as a means of placating the divine senders of a plague.² The old agricultural festivals of the so-called Calendar of Numa, which continued to be managed by the priests, had no place for them.³ The earliest adaptation of an Athenian play which scholars of the first century B.C. could find recorded was performed at *ludi scaenici* in 240, the year following the first capitulation of Carthage to Roman arms.⁴

¹ See Habel, *RE Suppl.* v (1931), s.v. *ludi publici*, 608 ff., L. R. Taylor, *TAPA* LXVIII (1937), 284 ff. For the continuing religious associations of the *ludi scaenici* see J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 3 ff.

² Cf. Festus, p. 436.23 ff., Livy 7.2, Valerius Maximus 2.4.4.

³ Naevius (*Com.* 113) identified the old *Liberalia* with the Attic $\Delta\iota\omega\nu\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha$. Plautus however (*Cist.* 89, 156, *Curr.* 644, *Pseud.* 59) seems to have thought the differences too great to justify the identification. Tertullian's statement (*De spect.* 10.19) that scenic games were properly called *Liberalia* is based on second-hand theorising rather than firm knowledge.

⁴ H. Mattingly Jr., *CQ N.S.* VII (1957), 159-63, produces no good reason for doubting the veracity of the *antiqui commentarii* consulted by Varro (*Gellius* 17.21.42), Atticus and Cicero (*Brut.* 72, *Tusc.* 1.3, *Cato* 50). Accius, whose *Didascalica* set the first production of a play by Livius Andronicus in 197,

Scholars and literary amateurs of the first century B. C. regarded those plays of the previous two centuries whose scenes were set in Greece as being the work of the men who wrote the Latin acting scripts and yet were conscious that particular Greek tragedies and comedies underlay them all.¹ The Greek philosophical dialogues which Cicero adapted were full of quotations from Attic drama. Cicero sometimes replaced these with quotations from the scripts of Latin stage adaptations and sometimes with his own translations of the verses quoted. In the first case he either left the quotation anonymous or named the Latin adapter while in the second he always named the Greek

may have been quite well aware that Naevius and Plautus had produced plays before this date (see W. Hupperth, *Horaz über die scaenicae origines der Römer* [Diss. Köln, 1961], pp. 5 ff., 10 ff., H. Dahlmann, 'Studien zu Varro, "De poetis"', *Abh. Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. Mainz, Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl.* 1962, Nr. 10, 29 ff., C. O. Brink, 'Horace and Varro', *Entretiens Hardt* ix [1963], 192). E. Fraenkel seems to have based his view that Livius produced only one play, and that a tragedy, in 240 (*RE* Suppl. v [1931], s.v. *Livius*, 598 f.) on Cicero, *Brut.* 72, *Tusc.* 1.3, *Cato* 5. These passages should not be pressed nor, it must be admitted, should Gellius' words *Livius poeta fabulas docere... coepit*. However according to Cassiodorus (*Chronica*) Livius produced both a tragedy and a comedy in 239. This date is a clear error for 240 but the rest of Cassiodorus' statement may be reliable. For Livius as the founder of both comedy and tragedy cf. Donatus, *De com.* 5-4, *Gloss. Lat.* 1 128, s.v. *comœdia*, 1 568, s.v. *tragoedia*.

¹ There is nothing in ancient discussions of republican tragedy and comedy to support the statement frequently made in modern times that the Latin poets occasionally wrote quite independently of particular Greek models (cf. J. J. Scaliger, *Coniectanea in M. Terentium Varronem de lingua Latina* [Paris, 1565], p. 6, H. Columna, *Q. Ennii Poetae Vetusissimi quae supersunt Fragmenta* [Naples, 1590], p. 408, F. Nieberding, *Ilias Homeri ab L. Attio Poeta in Dramata Conuersa* [Conitz, 1838], p. 3, T. Ladewig, *Analecta Scenica* [Neustrelitz, 1848], pp. 8, 29, 38, G. Boissier, *Le poète Attius* [Paris, Nîmes, 1857], p. 60, W. S. Teuffel, *Caecilius Statius, Pacuvius Attius, Afranius* [Tübingen, 1858], pp. 23, 29, U. von W., in T. von Willamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die dramatische Technik des Sophokles* [Berlin, 1917], p. 315 n. 1, J. Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* [Leipzig, 1903] p. ccvii [very tentatively], E. M. Steuart, *AJPh* xlvii [1926], 276, J. Heurgon, *Ennius* n [Paris, 1958], p. 143). Cicero, *Fin.* 1.7 refers to the relations between Ennius' *Annales* and Homer's epics; *Gloss. Lat.* 1 568, s.v. *tragoedia* (*tragoedias autem Ennius FERRE omnes ex Graecis transtulit*), to plays on Roman historical themes such as the *Sabiniae* (cf. Horace, *Ars* 285-8).

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dramatist.¹ Scholars normally at this time gave the name of the Latin poet and his Latin title when quoting from an acting script but very occasionally gave the title of the Greek original; on one occasion a play is quoted with the name of the author of the original as well as that of the adapter.² The writers of the third and second century acting scripts were by now thought of with varying degrees of admiration as the fathers of an indigenous Roman literature and it is clear that performances of these scripts were advertised with their names to the fore.

When the early adaptations were being made a different attitude to them probably prevailed among the managers of the *ludi scaenici* and the citizens who attended the theatre. The literary and artistic culture that had spread out from Athens over the whole Greek-speaking world was then making the same appeal to certain of the Roman governing class as it had to the rulers of Etruria and other barbarians in earlier centuries. The works that had been produced for performance at the festivals of Dionysus were among the brightest jewels of that culture. They could have been produced in the original Greek at the Roman *ludi*, as in later times they perhaps sometimes were,³ but one of the purposes of the *ludi* was to impress the peers of the presiding magistrate and their clients. To many of these Greek culture in its less adulterated forms was an alien and suspect thing. The pride of the majority in Roman race, language and tradition was satisfied by the form in which the Greek works were presented; the enthusiasm of the minority

¹ Cf. G. Przychocki, *Eos* xxxii (1929), 215 ff., Fraenkel, *Gnomon* vi (1930), 663. Seneca followed Cicero's practice; contrast *Epist.* 115. 14-15 with 95. 53 and 102. 16.

² See below, p. 59.

³ The evidence collected by F. G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclicus* (*RhM* Suppl. II, Bonn, 1839-41), pp. 1323 ff., is of an ambiguous kind. Polybius 30. 22, Tacitus, *Ann.* 14. 21, Plutarch, *Brut.* 21 do not necessarily refer to drama at all. Suetonius (*Jul.* 39, *Aug.* 43) talks of performances by 'omnium linguarum histriones'.

for classical Greek culture by their advertisement as the works of the classical Athenian tragedians and comedians. Slaves and foreign immigrants did the work of adaptation and it is unlikely that their names carried much weight while they lived. The uncertainty among Roman scholars about the authorship of certain comic scripts popularly ascribed to Plautus¹ may have been partly due to failure by the magistrates of earlier times always to record the Latin poet's name in their *commentarii*. A Sophocles might be made a magistrate at Athens but at Rome a magistrate could be pilloried for having an Ennius in his retinue.²

The opening speech of the *Rudens* describes a storm as follows (83-8): *pro di immortales, tempestatem quouismodi | Neptunus nobis nocte hac misit proxuma. | detexit ventus uillam — quid uerbis opust? | non ventus fuit uerum Alcumena Euripidi, | ita omnis de tecto deturbauit tegulas; | inlustriores fecit fenestrasque indiit*. It is unclear whether the speaker has in mind a stormy reaction by the heroine of Euripides' play to her husband's accusations³ or a real storm within the action of that play;⁴ likewise whether the identification stood in the Diphilian original⁵ or was added by Plautus himself.⁶ In any case one cannot imagine such a state-

¹ Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 25 (?), Varro, *Ling.* 6. 89, Gellius 3. 3.

² For the traditional Roman suspicion of the maker of verses cf. Cato, *Mor.* 2 *poeticae artis honos non erat; si quis in ea re studebat aut sese ad conuicia adplicabat grassator uocabatur.*

³ Cf. Plautus, *Amph.* 812 ff.
⁴ So R. Engelmann, *Ann. Ist. corrisp. Arch.* XLIV (1872), 16, *Beiträge zu Euripides I: Alkмене* (Berlin, 1882), p. II, *Archäologische Studien zu den Tragikern* (Berlin, 1900), pp. 59-60.

⁵ So S. Vissering, *Quaestiones Plautinae* I (Amsterdam, 1842), p. 42, T. Bergk, *Ind. lecti. Marburg* 1844, XI (= *Kl. phil. Schr.* I 225), Ladewig, *Anal. scen.* p. 5.

⁶ So Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin, 1922), p. 68 (= *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* [Florence, 1900], p. 64); cf. the *Addenda* to the Italian translation, p. 403. The addition of the Greek poet's name suggests Plautine authorship; for the late fourth century method of referring to famous tragedies cf. Menander, *Epirr.* 767 *πρωκλήν ἐπὶ σοι δῆσιν ἐξ Αὐγυῖς ὄλην* (contrast Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 134 ff.).

ment being made on the Roman stage unless a play about Alcmena had already appeared there and been advertised as being in some sense Euripides' Ἀλκμήνη. Admittedly there is no undisputed evidence elsewhere for the existence of an adaptation of this play,¹ but considering the fragmentary record of third and second century dramatic production² we should not be surprised to find such a reference in the *Rudens*. The prologues of the *Poenulus* (v. 1) and the *Ennuchus* (vv. 9, 19-20) refer to Latin versions of Greek plays in this way although it was theatrically possible for the speakers to use the first century's customary mode of reference if it had then been in general use.

The only Greek plays which are said by knowledgeable ancient authorities to have been adapted for performance at Roman *ludi* in the late third and early second centuries were originally composed for the festivals of Dionysus at Athens in the fifth, fourth and early third centuries.³ The only dramatists among the famous Greeks mentioned in Plautus' comedies are the Athenians, Euripides,⁴ Diphilus and Philemon.⁵ The forms of comedy written by Epicharmus and others at Syracuse in the fifth century and by Rhinthon at Tarentum in the third and the imitations of Athenian drama made by Machon and the

¹ O. Ribbeck (see *Corollarium in Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*⁶ [Leipzig, 1871], p. LXIII) took Marius Victorinus, *Gramm.* VI 8. 6 ff. to refer to tragic personages rather than to titles; hence *Alcumena* does not appear in his 'index fabularum'. Plautus, *Amph.* 91 ff. can be plausibly interpreted as referring to the play postulated. See also below, p. 63.

² Of the 130 comic titles once attributed to Plautus we now know only 53. Several tragic titles occur only once or twice in our sources, sometimes even without the Latin adapter's name (*Laomedon* at Schol. Veron. Verg. *Aen.* 2. 81; *Penthesilea* at Festus, p. 206. 3).

³ Bergk, *Commentationum de Reliquiis Comediae Aetolicae Antiquae Libri II* (Leipzig, 1838), p. 148, explained the fragment of Varro's *De poetis* quoted by Priscian, *Gramm.* II 469. 9—*deinde ad Siculos se adplicauit*—as referring to Plautus (cf. Horace, *Epist.* 2. 1. 58) but thought that Varro was speaking generally of the reputed *πρωτος εὐρητης* of the comic genre.

⁴ *Rud.* 86.

⁵ *Most.* 1149. Philemon was not, of course, an Athenian by birth.

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tragedians of the 'Pleiad' for the festival of Dionysus established at Alexandria by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247)¹ obtained for themselves a certain literary notoriety and it is not utterly impossible that plays from Alexandria² and Magna Graecia³ were adapted for the Roman stage. Ennius adapted non-dramatic works by Epicharmus, Archastratus, Sotades and Euhemerus for the private delectation of his aristocratic patrons and perhaps imitated Callimachus' Ἀῖῶνα in the proem of his epic *Annales*⁴ but the public presentation of dramatic works outside the classical Athenian repertoire would have been quite another matter. As late as 45, when a large number of poetical works from Alexandria and other Hellenistic centres had achieved a sort of second-grade classical status and were being enthusiastically studied and imitated by poets writing in Latin, Cicero chose adaptations of the non-dramatic poems of Euriphon to set against what he believed to be a version by Ennius of a Euripidean tragedy.⁵ New plays continued to be presented at the Dionysiac competitions of Athens until well into the first century A.D.⁶ but no playwright productive

¹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* I (Berlin, 1924), pp. 166 ff.

² So A. Rostagni, *RFIC* XLIV (1916), 379-97 (= *Scritti Min.* II II 3-22); cf. M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis, *MAT* LXII (1913), 389 ff., *Ennio* (Torino, 1915), pp. 62 ff. For detailed criticism of Rostagni's argument see N. Terzaghi, *AT* LX (1925), 660 ff. (= *Stud. Graec. et Lat.* [Torino, 1963], 686 ff.).

³ So T. B. L. Webster, 'Alexandrian Epigrams and the Theatre', in *Miscellanea di studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Torino, 1963), 331-43, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London, 1964), pp. 269 ff., 282 ff., 290 f.

⁴ So K. Diltney, *De Callimachi Cyathia* (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 15 f., F. Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 34 ff., S. Mariotti, *Lezioni su Ennio* (Pesaro, 1951), p. 60, O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (London, 1953), p. 10; contra E. Reitzenstein, in *Festschrift R. Reitzenstein* (Leipzig, 1931), 63 ff., R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* I (Oxford, 1949), p. 11, G. Marconi, *RCCM* III (1961), 224 ff.

⁵ *Thsc.* 3. 45. For Cicero's belief (apparently false) that Ennius' *Andromacha* was an adaptation of a tragedy by Euripides see *Opt. gen.* 18.

⁶ Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 19. The competition for new plays was over by the late second century (Lucian, *Enc. Dem.* 27). Οἱ περὶ τοῦ Διονύσου θεῶντρα often included tragic and comic poets as well as actors (see below, p. 16).

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between 240 B.C. and the fall of the Roman senatorial regime seems to have gained more than an ephemeral repute. Ziegler's view¹ that the Latin playwrights adapted contemporary Greek work thus lacks all probability.

Besides the six classical Athenian dramatic poets Roman audiences are reported to have seen in Latin linguistic dress Aristarchus, a contemporary of Euripides whose name figured in accounts of the development of tragedy and from whose hand seventy titles were known to ancient scholars,² Alexis, Posidippus, Apollodorus and Demophilus.³ Only the last mentioned is absent from the Greek record but that may be an accident and there is no good reason to suppose that the original of the *Asinaria* was composed either outside Athens or by a contemporary of Plautus. Of the comedians Menander was plainly the one most often performed and of the tragedians Euripides.

The classical six had certainly acquired most of their later pre-eminence in Greece by 240 B.C. A competition for actors held at Athens in 254 employed three old satyr plays, three old tragedies and three old comedies, one each by Diphilus, Menander and Philemon.⁴ Aristophanes' comedy Βότρυχοι shows Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides standing out in public esteem as early as the end of the fifth century. From

¹ *RE* 2 VI II (1937), s.v. *Tragoedia*, 1984.

² *Souda* A 3893 Adler. A third century B.C. papyrus (*Flinders Petrie Papyri Part II*, ed. J. P. Mahaffy [Dublin, 1893], pp. 158-9 [= nr. 1594 Pack²]) contains scraps of what looks like a collection of epigrams addressed to famous poets; in them and their titles are legible the names Aristarchus, Astydamas and Cratinus. See R. Reitzenstein, *BPhW* XIV (1894), 155-9.

³ *At. Epist.* 2. 1. 163 ff. Horace is talking generally. He names Thespis because of his fame as the πρώτος εὐπετής of tragedy; cf. above, p. 7 n. 3, on the reference to Epicharmus at *v.* 58.

⁴ See B. D. Merritt, *Hesperia* VII (1938), 116 ff., A. Körte, *Hermes* LXXXI (1938), 123 ff., A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 123 f.

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the record of theatrical revivals in Athens and elsewhere¹ and the character of allusions to tragedy in fourth and third century comedy² it is clear that Euripides' popularity far surpassed that of the other two quite early and continued to do so.

Menander gained a similar position among comedians, although exactly when is hard to say.³ Nevertheless for some time other tragedians and comedians continued to have their works revived. There are recorded performances of tragedies by the fourth-century poet Chaeremon and the otherwise unknown Arcestratus⁴ and performances of comedies by Anaxandrides, Posidippus and Philippides.⁵ The scholars of the Alexandrian Museum thought Ion and Achaeus worthy to stand beside Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides,⁶ doubtless in obedience to a common opinion. The Ptolemaic rubbish tips of Oxyrhynchus and other Greek settlements of the Egyptian countryside provide evidence of a taste in tragic poetry more extensive

¹ For the literary and inscriptional evidence see Welcker, *Die griech. Trag.* pp. 1275 ff., A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (Freiburg, 1886), pp. 390 f., Njbb xxiii (1909), 36 ff., Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 100 ff., M. Kokolakis, Πάτριον xii (1960), 67 ff. The evidence from figurative monuments collected by Webster (CQ xiii [1948], 15 f., *Hermes* lxxxvii [1954], 205 ff., *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play* [BICS L Suppl. xiv (1962)]) is ambiguous; it has to be interpreted with the aid of knowledge provided by literature and lapidary inscriptions; it does not provide new knowledge.

² See A. Pertusi, *Diomiso* xvi (1953), 27 ff., xix (1956), 111 ff., 195 ff.

³ On Menander's posthumous fame see A. Dain, *Maia* xv (1963), 278 ff. The material concerning comedy in late antiquity collected by Webster (*AJA* lxxvi [1962], 333 ff.) refers almost exclusively to Menander.

⁴ *I.G.* v 2.118 (saec. II a Chr. = *S.I.G.*³ 1080). Given the context, Webster's view (*Hellenistic Poetry and Art*, p. 16) that Arcestratus was a contemporary poet seems most unlikely. L. Moretti's doubts (*Athenaeum* xxxviii [1960], 272) as to whether *I.G.* xii 1.125 (saec. II a Chr.) refers to the classical Sophocles are likewise unjustified.

⁵ *I.G.* II² 2323a (Anaxandrides 311), 2323 col. iii (Posidippus 181), col. v (Philippides 155).

⁶ *Anecd. Graec.* Par. iv 196.20, Tzetzes, *Proleg. Lyc.* p. 3. 8 Scheer.

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and catholic than that possessed by the schoolmasters of the urban centres of later antiquity.¹

Where playwrights were concerned the tragic and comic repertory of the third and second century Roman theatre probably reflected that of contemporary Greek theatres. But in actual plays the Romans seem to have had their own taste. Many scholars have noted the extraordinary preponderance among surviving tragic titles of those connected with the Trojan cycle of heroic legends.² These legends had long been of particular interest to the ruling families of Greek states of recent origin; in these there was a keen desire to find the same links with the heroic past as Argos, Thebes and Athens possessed.³ The wanderings of the Greek and Trojan heroes after the destruction of Troy were easily embroidered to suit any state in the Mediterranean area. The families of the cities of Etruria and Latium, as of other non-Greek speaking communities, early took an interest in the legends that fascinated their Greek neighbours. Long before the earliest adaptation of an Attic tragedy speakers of Latin imitated as best they could the sounds of the Greek heroes' names⁴ and were accustomed to see representations of incidents from the legends on works of art.⁵ There is

¹ On the comparatively large number of Euripidean plays absent from the selection of the later schools which are represented in Ptolemaic papyri see C. H. Roberts, *MusH* x (1953), 270. The proportion of tragic papyri which cannot be attributed to the classical trio seems to be much greater among the Ptolemaic than among the Roman; cf. nos. 169 ff. and 1707 ff. in the second edition of R. A. Pack's catalogue (*Ann Arbor*, 1965).

² E.g. Welcker, *Die griech. Trag.* pp. 1344, 1350, Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik* (Leipzig, 1875), p. 632.

³ Cf. T. J. Dunbabin, *PBSR* xvi (1948), 11 ff., for the claims of South Italian cities to be founded by Greek heroes after the fall of Troy.

⁴ On the inscriptions on the Praeneste mirrors and caskets (*C.I.L.* I² 547-70) see R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 315 ff. On the forms of names used by the early poets see J. Wackernagel, *Philologus* lxxxvii (1931), 143 (= *Kl. Schr.* I 755).

⁵ See I. S. Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B.C.* (London, 1940 [Studies and Documents xiii]), *passim*.

good evidence that by the end of the third century many Roman aristocrats liked to think of themselves as the descendants of the Trojans led to Latium by Aeneas.¹ At least one family, the Mamili of Tusculum, was advertising itself by the end of the second century as sprung from Ulysses.² During the first century the Iulii claimed descent from Aeneas himself and the Memmii from Mnestheus.³ These genealogical obsessions must have been encouraged by the constant performance of the old adaptations of tragedy at the *ludi* but it would not be fanciful to see in them one of the forces directing the choice of the magistrates who first had the adaptations made in the third and second centuries.

II. THE HELLENISING OF THE ROMAN STAGE

The history of the *ludi scaenici* down to 240 is wrapped in obscurity. The accounts which serious scholars wrote have come down to us in somewhat garbled form and it is clear that they were based much more on Greek theories about the origins of Attic drama⁴ than on documentary evidence about

¹ The time of this story's birth and the speed of its growth are disputed. For the extreme views on either side cf. J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris, 1942), pp. 451 ff., A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor, 1963), pp. 278 ff.

² See Festus, pp. 116.7 ff., Livy 1.49.9, Dionysius Hal. 4.45.1, F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (Stuttgart, 1920), p. 65 (on numismatic evidence).

³ See Alföldi, 'The Main Aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic', in R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland (edd.), *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to H. Mattingly* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 79 f.

⁴ See F. Leo, *Hermes* xxxiv (1889), 67 ff. (= *Ausg. kl. Schr.* 1.283 ff.), xxxix (1904), 63 ff., G. L. Hendrickson, *AJPh* xv (1894), 1 ff., xxx (1898), 285 ff., F. Solmsen, *TAPA LXXVIII* (1947), 252 ff., J. H. Waszink, *Vigiliae Christianae* II (1948), 224 ff., K. Meuli, *MusH* xii (1955), 206 ff., Brink, *Entretiens Hardt* ix (1963), 175 ff.

what went on in Rome before 240. Nevertheless some elements of these accounts seem to come from intelligent observation of post-240 stage practices and their general evolutionary approach is preferable to that of certain modern idealist accounts.

The survival of words of probable Etruscan origin, like *histrio*, *persona*¹ and *scena*,² in the vocabulary of first-century theatrical practice suggests that some of the early performers did come from Etruria and may have brought Etruscan theatrical ways with them. The word *satira* itself can be plausibly interpreted as Etruscan.³ The word must have denoted at one time some sort of stage performance. It can hardly be a mere invention on the model of Aristotle's τὸ σατυρικόν.⁴ All, however, that Livy's story at 7.2.4 ff. implies is that the *histriones* presented on a *scena* at public festivals arranged by pipe music and in a variety of metrical patterns accompanied by pipe music and called *satirae*. There is no suggestion that these *satirae* involved consistent acts of impersonation.⁵ Indeed the use of the word as a book title by Ennius, Pacuvius⁶ and Varro⁷ and what we know of the form of their books⁸ carries the very opposite suggestion.

¹ See W. Deecke, *Etruskische Forschungen und Studien* vi (Stuttgart, 1884), p. 47, F. Skutsch, *ALL* xv (1908), 145, P. Friedländer, *Glotta* II (1910), 164, v. Blumenthal, *RE* xix i (1937), s.v. *Persona*: 1. *Die Theatermaske*, 1036 ff.

² See W. Schulze, *Kühns Zeitschr.* II (1923), 242 (= *Kl. Schr.* 638 f.); A. Ernout discusses objections raised to Schulze's view in *BSL* xxx (1929), 122 n. 2 (= *Philologica* I [Paris, 1946], p. 50 n. 2).

³ See P. Meriggi, *Studi Etruschi* XI (1937), 157, 197, B. Snell, *SIFC N.S.* xvii (1940), 215 f. For criticism see F. Altheim, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* (Frankfurt am M., 1951), pp. 363 ff.

⁴ The title *Satira* attributed to the scenic poets Naevius (Festus, p. 306.29), Pomponius (Gramm. II 200.7, 282.16) and Atta (Isidore, *Orig.* 6.9) looks like a useful piece of evidence but does not materially help the argument.

⁵ Talk of 'dramatic' *satira* is confused and misleading.

⁶ Diomedes, *Gramm.* I 485.32 ff.

⁷ Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.93.
⁸ The *quattuor libri satularum* mentioned by Porphyrio (Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.46) and quoted by Nonius, Macrobius and the Danieline Servius must be a late arrangement. There is no getting round the plain words of Diomedes (Suetonius): *olim carmen quod ex uariis poematibus constabat satira vocabatur quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius.*

The aristocracies of Etruria imported from Greece and had made by local artists objects decorated with pictorial representations of the heroic legends as early as the sixth century.¹ Etruscan or Etruscianised names were given to the gods and heroes.² A writer of the late second or early first century, a certain Volnius, is said³ to have composed tragedies in the Etruscan language. Modern scholars have often suggested that Volnius worked in a tradition that went back beyond 240. The idea is not an improbable one but unambiguous evidence is lacking. Excavation of tombs has produced frescos portraying many aspects of pre-240 scenic performances, but so far of nothing like an Attic tragedy. The nearest approach to drama is in pictures of entertainments involving a masked performer.⁴ Vase-paintings and reliefs on cinerary urns which have heroic themes can all be easily interpreted as going back to Greek originals.⁵ One can, however, leave open the possibility that forerunners and contemporaries of the 240 B.C. Latin-speaking *histriones* performed Etruscan adaptations of the Athenian classics.

Campanian farce was performed at *ludi scaenici* in Rome during the first century and later both in Latin and in Oscan.⁶ Plautus makes an obvious reference to the stock character Bucco

¹ See J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), p. 8, L. Banti, *Die Welt der Etrusker* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 116 f., R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1964).

² See E. Fiesel, *Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* (Göttingen, 1928).

³ Varro, *Ling.* 5.55.

⁴ See S. De Marinis, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica VI* (1965), s.v. *Phersu*, 119.

⁵ A series of third-century cinerary urns (E. Brunn and G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche I-III* [Rome and Berlin, 1870-1916]) are often taken to be based on a Greek artist's versions of scenes from Euripidean tragedies. A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Strasbourg, 1923), pp. 32 ff., argued that they represent Etruscan adaptations of plays by Euripides made for performance at funeral games.

⁶ See Varro, *Ling.* 7.29, Strabo 5.233, Cicero, *Fam.* 7.1.3, Diomedes, *Gramm.* 1.489.32 ff.

at *Bacch.* 1088 and another to Manducius at *Rud.* 535. The name Maccus⁷ suggests that Plautus may at one time have been himself an actor in this kind of drama. Livy leaves it unclear when precisely he thought Campanian farce was first performed at the *ludi scaenici* but it seems likely that the aediles would have presented this kind of drama before they tried the more sophisticated Athenian kind. There were plainly no links between the *histriones* and the performers of farce in Livy's own day and it is therefore hazardous to suppose either that they had more than accidental relations in the third century or that the form of Campanian drama had any considerable influence on the form which Athenian drama assumed on the Roman stage.

The years between 240 and the middle of the next century saw considerable reorganisation of the old magisterial festivals as well as the establishment of new ones. One of the principal innovations was the regular performance of Latin versions of the classics of Attic drama. Many Greek states had reformed their ancient festivals in similar fashion or introduced new ones on the model of the Athenian festivals of Dionysus.² As early as the fifth century Archelaus of Macedon established a festival in honour of Zeus and the Muses of which scenic performances were an important element.³ Philip,⁴ Alexander⁵ and the successor kings⁶ often had tragedies and comedies performed at the monster public festivals they delighted in arranging. Even the old musical festivals of Pythian Apollo were forced to admit the Athenian newcomers, tragedy and comedy.⁷ To cater for the

¹ *Asin.* 11, *Merc.* 10, Gellius, 3.3; cf. Varro, *Ling.* 7.104 (?; Maccius F), Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*² (Berlin, 1912), p. 85.

² See W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation*³ (London, 1952), pp. 113 ff. on Greek festivals between Alexander's death and 189 B.C.

³ Diodorus 17.16.3.

⁴ Demosthenes 19.192 ff.

⁵ Plutarch, *Alex.* 4.29, Athenaeus 12.538 F.

⁶ Diodorus 20.108.1.

⁷ Plutarch, *Mor.* 674 D, Philostratus, *Soph.* pp. 238.20 ff., 269.1 ff., *Apoll.* 6.10 (pp. 109.35 ff.).

demand guilds of itinerant theatrical workers and performers, of περί τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται,¹ established themselves. Stray references in literature and a great number of lapidary inscriptions record their activities from early in the third century in most parts of the Greek-speaking world. On at least two occasions in the first half of the second century² they performed at Rome.

The Greek cities with which members of the Roman ruling class had their first direct contacts after the long period of cultural isolation following the expulsion of the second Tarquin³ were those of southern Italy and Sicily. Three of the four known dramatists of the third century came to Rome from this area. Hiero II of Syracuse visited Rome in 237, according to Eutropius⁴ *ad ludos spectandos*. Permanent theatres had been erected in the wealthier cities as early as the fifth century.⁵ Athenian drama was well known. Aeschylus visited the court of Hiero I and produced the Πέποι and the Αἰρωαῖται in Syracuse.⁶ Those Athenian prisoners taken in 413 who could recite Euripides were, according to legend,⁷ released by their admiring captors. The tyrant Dionysius not only invited Athenian poets

¹ See Welcker, *Die griech. Trag.* pp. 1303 ff., O. Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler* (Berlin, 1873), P. Foucart, *De collegiis scenitarum artificum apud Graecos* (Paris, 1873), Poland, *RE* 2 v ii (1934), s.v. *Technitai* (Nachträge), 2473 ff., Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 286 ff.

² At the *ludi* celebrated by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 186 (Liv. 39.22.2) and those celebrated by L. Scipio in the same year (Liv. 39.22.10). Cf. Polybius 30.22 for the *ludi* of L. Anicius in 167. There is no need to suppose that they performed in tragedy or comedy.

³ See Altheim, *Epochen der römischen Geschichte* 1 (Frankfurt am M., 1934), pp. 128 ff., A. Blakeway, *JRS* xxv (1935), 136, Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome*, pp. 3, 79, 107, 204 f.

⁴ 3.1-2.

⁵ On the theatre of Syracuse, which seems to have been dedicated about 460 B.C., see G. E. Rizzo, *Il Teatro Greco di Siracusa* (Milan, Rome, 1923). On the other theatres of Magna Graecia see B. Pace, *Dioniso* x (1947), 266 ff., A. von Gerkan, in *Festschrift A. Rumpf* (Cologne, 1965), pp. 82 ff.

⁷ Plutarch, *Nic.* 29.

to his court but composed tragedies himself for performance at the Athenian festivals.¹ An early South Italian kalyx krater (400-390) depicting the punishment of a thief in a stage comedy has an inscription in what is possibly Attic dialect and iambic verse.² It is probably an accident that activity by οἱ περί τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται is not recorded until the mid first century.³ Nevertheless the Dorian cities had theatrical traditions of their own, independent at least in origin of the Athenian theatre,⁴ and it is possible that the texts of Athenian plays were used by actors costumed differently from Athenian actors and on stages different in character from the Athenian.⁵ In any case one may reasonably seek the inspiration of at least some of the changes made to the Roman *ludi scaenici* between 240 and the turn of the century in the stage practices of Magna Graecia.

However one imagines the amalgam of Etruscan, Italiote Greek and perhaps Oscan elements in the practice of the late third century Roman *lustriones* it is plain that the adapters of Athenian tragic and comic scripts had to deal with a theatrical situation very different in the one case from that which faced

¹ See Niese, *RE* v (1905), s.v. *Dionysios* [1], 900 f., for references.

² See Beazley, *AJA* lvi (1952), 193, Webster, *CQ* xii (1948), 25, in *Festschrift B. Schweitzer* (Stuttgart, 1954), pp. 260 f.

³ Plutarch, *Brit.* 21 (Naples). *J.G.* xiv 12, 13 (Syracuse), 615 (Rhegium) are undated.

⁴ On the so-called Φῶλαρες see Pollux 9.149, Athenaeus 14.621F (= Sossibius).

⁵ It is only a possibility. The evidence of painted pottery will not bear the weight of the interpretations often placed upon it. Late fifth and fourth century Apulian, Lucanian and Campanian wares have representations of stage performances of both comic (see A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* [BICS L Suppl. viii (1959)]), Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy* [BICS L Suppl. ix (1960)]) and tragic (see Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*) type. The costume of the comic actors is clearly local. In the absence of fully comparable Athenian material it is difficult to pass judgment on the elaborate costume of the tragic actors. The low stage raised on columns with steps leading up to it seems quite different from what we know of the contemporary Athenian stage.

Euripides in the fifth century and in the other from that which faced Menander in the late fourth; different again from that of contemporary Athens and other Greek-speaking states.

Roman stages in stone at the time of Vitruvius differed considerably in dimensions from contemporary Greek.¹ The stages in wood of the third and second centuries no doubt differed similarly from contemporary Greek stone structures. Archaeological investigation and close study of the surviving dramatic texts have made it clear that the classical Athenian stage differed yet again in dimensions, and quite radically.²

The flat area directly in front of the stage where the Athenian choruses sang and danced was occupied by seats for part of the audience.³ Adaptations of comedy clearly dispensed with the dancing chorus. Ancient students tell us so⁴ and surviving comic scripts either do not have the actor's introduction of the first choral ode conventional in late fourth century Attic comedy⁵ or replace it with something else. Plautus writes at *Bacch.* 107: *simul hinc nescioqui turbare qui hinc it decedamus*,⁶ while Terence leaves an awkward break at *Haut.* 170.⁷ The performance of the *tibicen* indicated at *Pseud.* 573 *a* and the lecture of the *choragus* at *Cyrc.* 462-86 probably replaced choral odes in Plautus' originals. The difficulty which ancient students, who must have possessed the Greek scripts, found in imposing a five-act division on the

¹ 5.6.2, 5.7.

² See Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 5 ff., Webster, *Greek Theatre Production* (London, 1956), pp. 22, 170.

³ Vitruvius should not be taken to imply at 5.6.2 that before 194 this area was left free of spectators; see Livy 34.44.5.

⁴ Cf. Donatus, *Ter. Eun.* praef. 1.5, Euanthius, *De fab.* 3.1, Diomedes, *Gramm.* 1491.29 f. The statement at *Gloss. Lat.* 1128.6—*apud Romanos quoque Plautus comoediae choros exemplo Graecorum inseruit*—may refer to the fishermen of *Rud.* 290-324 and the *advocati* of *Poen.* 504-816.

⁵ Cf. Antiphanes, fr. 91, Alexis, fr. 107, Menander, *Epitir.* 33-5, *Perik.* 71-2, *Dysk.* 230-2.

⁶ Cf. Leo, *Hermes* XLVI (1911), 292 ff.

⁷ Cf. F. Skutsch, *Hermes* XLVII (1912), 141 ff.

Latin versions suggests that the Latin poets often covered up the breaks by rewriting the actors' dialogue. Classical tragedy differed from comedy in that the chorus sometimes had a role integral to the action and it was almost impossible for Latin adapters to remove it in these cases. Plautus appears to refer to a Roman tragic chorus at *Amph.* 91-2. Ancient students interpreted parts of Latin tragic scripts as utterances of a chorus¹ and the remains of Ennius' adaptation of Euripides' Μηδεια contain unmistakable signs² that the original chorus of Corinthian women was retained. Horace's discussion of the chorus at *Ars* 193 ff. may be based on a Greek theoretical discussion and may at times adduce arguments quite inapplicable to Roman practice,³ but it is hard to believe that the despised republican playwrights abandoned the chorus and that Horace passed over in silence such a divagation from the Attic practice he so much admired.⁴ The Roman choruses could not have danced in the classical Greek manner.⁵ The extent to which they were present

¹ Cf. Varro, *Ling.* 6.94, Gellius 19.10.12 (but see commentary on fr. xcix), Terentianus Maurus 1934.

² See *Commentary* on frs. cv and cx.

³ Cf. Latte, *Hermes* LX (1925), 5 ff., Brink, *Horace on Poetry: Prolegomena* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 114 f.

⁴ H. Plank, *Q. Ennii Medea commentario perpetuo illustrata* (Diss. Göttingen, 1867), pp. 56 ff., and A. La Penna, *Maia* V (1952), 95, seem to banish the chorus from the early republican stage. Most students allow it in some form; cf. A. G. Lange, *Vindictiae Tragoediae Romanae* (Leipzig, 1822), p. 22 n. 31, Welcker, *Die griech. Trag.* p. 1368, Grysar, *SB Vienna* 1855, 365 ff., 384 ff., O. Jahn, *Hermes* II (1867), 227 ff., Ribbeck, *Die röm. Trag.* pp. 632 ff., L. Mueller, *Q. Ennius. Eine Einleitung in das Studium der römischen Poesie* (St Petersburg, 1884), p. 79, Leo, *De Tragoedia Romana Observationes Criticae* (Göttingen, 1910), pp. 14 ff. (= *Aug. kl. Schr.* I 203 ff.), *Pl. Forsch.* 3, p. 96, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* I (Berlin, 1913), pp. 193 ff., E. S. Duckett, *Studies in Ennius* (Diss. Bryn Mawr, 1915), pp. 53 ff., Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.* p. 336 (= *Elementi*, p. 320), Wl. Strzelecki, in *Tragica* I (Wrocław, 1952), pp. 54 ff.

⁵ Post-fifth-century Attic tragedians reduced considerably the role of the chorus. There is considerable evidence that later productions of classical plays sometimes dispensed with a full chorus; cf. E. Capps, *AJA* x (1895), 287, Leo, *RhM* LI (1897), 509 ff., A. Körte, *NJbb* v (1900), 81 ff., P. Vennii, *Dioniso* XVI

during the actions of tragedies and their mode of giving utterance must remain obscure.¹

The left-hand end (from the point of view of the spectators) of the Roman stage pretty clearly was the conventional point of entry for travellers from abroad.² There is some evidence that this reversed the Attic convention.³

At Athens tragic acting and comic acting were considered quite different skills.⁴ At Rome on the other hand it was not unusual for an actor to perform in both genres.⁵ The scholars of late antiquity thought⁶ that the adapters of comedy had more than the classical Athenian trio of actors to employ.⁷ If masks were not in use before the end of the second century⁸ there had to be as many actors as characters. The early adapters of comedy seem to have taken advantage of a greater number of available actors in order to alter whole scenes of their originals. The *Stichus* is the only one of Plautus' pieces that could be easily

(1933), 3, Webster, *Hermes* LXXXII (1954), 294 ff. A third century B.C. papyrus of Euripides' Ἰππύλιτος omitting the choral lyrics has now turned up (Pap. Sorb. 2252). W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytos* (Oxford, 1964), p. 438 n. 2 compares Pap. Hib. I 4, long thought to be of Euripides' *Olives*.

¹ Leo's theory that Ennius always made the coryphaeus utter trochaic tetrameters and kept the other choreutae mute goes far beyond the evidence. At least one Ennian choral utterance (fr. cx) is more plausibly scanned as in lyric verses and Leo himself admitted lyric scansion of choral utterances in the other tragedians.

² Cf. Plautus, *Amph.* 333, *Men.* 555, *Rud.* 156, Terence, *Andr.* 734, M. Johnston, *Exits and Entrances in Roman Comedy* (New York, 1933), pp. 64 ff.

³ Pollux, 4.126. See W. Beare, *CQ* xxxii (1938), 205 ff. (= *Roman Stage*, pp. 248 ff.), Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus*, pp. 234 ff.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Politeia* 3.395A.

⁵ Cf. Plautus, *Poen.* 1 ff., Cicero, *Orat.* 109.

⁶ Cf. Diomedes, *Gramm.* I 490.27 ff.

⁷ The existence of the convention of three actors at the time when classical tragedy and classical comedy were actually written has been denied; for the evidence and discussion see Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 137 ff., K. Schneider, *RE* Suppl. viii (1956), s.v. ἑντροχαιστία, 190 ff. Menander's Δύσκολος can be arranged for three actors; cf. G. P. Goold, *Phoenix* xiii (1959), 144 f., J. G. Griffith, *CQ* N.S. x (1960), 113 ff.

⁸ See below, p. 22.

performed with three principals.¹ Terence's pieces, on the other hand, are perhaps all just actable with three. Nevertheless the didascaliae of the *Adelphi* and the *Hecyra* mention each two principals, something unparalleled in Greek didascaliae.² Terence was much more faithful than his predecessors to the texts of his originals but the producers of his plays may have still employed the traditional Roman number of actors.³ Horace's polemic at *Ars* 192 suggests that contemporary producers of tragedy at Rome still employed more than three actors.

The amount of singing required in the actors' parts in Attic drama was very much less than in the Roman versions⁴ but there is no evidence that the Athenian actors did not do their own singing. According to Livy 7.2.9-10 the Roman *histriones* merely mimed the *cantica* while a singer accompanied the *tibicen*. It is difficult to believe that tragedy and comedy were performed this way. The trochaic and anapaestic verses of Ennius' *Andromacha* quoted by Cicero at *Sest.* 120-2 were certainly uttered by the actor Aesopus. At *De orat.* 1.254 and *Leg.* 1.11 Cicero talks of the actor Roscius singing in old age. Livy may have been thinking of the contemporary pantomime.⁵

There is very little evidence as to how the *histriones* were costumed in the third century and early second. One piece⁶ suggests that tragic actors wore the dress that normally distinguished the priestly order of *flamines*. The accounts of comic costume by the Greek Pollux (4.118-20) and the Roman Donatus (*De com.* 8.6) do not tally and may reflect real dif-

¹ Cf. Leo, *NGG, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1902, 391.

² Cf. that of the Δύσκολος.

³ K. Dziatzko, *RhM* xx (1865), 591, and F. Schoell, *NJbb* cxix (1879), 41 ff., discuss the Terentian didascaliae without reaching any satisfactory conclusion.

⁴ See below, p. 29. Euripides, *Or.* 1369 ff. would have needed a highly skilled singer.

⁵ Cf. Ribbeck, *Die röm. Trag.* p. 634.

⁶ *Gloss. Lat.* I 128, 568, Servius auct. *Aen.* 4.262; see I. Hilberg, *WSJ* xiii (1891), 170 f.

ferences between Greek and Roman stage practice. Romans of the first century believed that the wearing of masks by the *histriones* in performances of tragedy and comedy was a recent innovation.¹

At Athens the writers of tragedy and comedy were usually native Athenians, sometimes of aristocratic birth. During the fourth century a number of foreigners came to the city to practise the two arts. There was a tradition of poetry held in honour by all. The prime object of the poet was to win the prize in the competition to which he submitted his work. Performers likewise were usually citizens of respectable status and competed for prizes from the year 449 onwards.² At Rome writing verse became in the course of time a respectable activity for gentlemen, acting never. In the third and early second centuries both the making of acting scripts and the performance of them were lowly activities.³ A magistrate would use either his own slaves, freedmen and clients for the spectacles he was providing at the *ludi* or hire professional poets and actors.⁴ There is no clear evidence for poetic competitions during republican times.⁵

¹ See Cicero, *De orat.* 3. 221, Festus, s.v. *personata*, p. 238. 12 ff., Donatus, *De com.* 6. 3, Diomedes, *Gramm.* 1. 489. 11 ff., C. Saunders, *AJPh* xxxii (1911), 58 ff. The sceptical attack on the tradition by A. S. F. Gow, *JRS* ii (1912), 65 ff., and Beare, *CQ* xxxiii (1939), 139 ff. (cf. *Roman Stage*, pp. 192 ff., 303 ff.) is unconvincing. Donatus' belief (*Ad. praef.* 1. 6, *Em.* praef. 1. 6) that Terence's actors wore masks was probably based on the illustrations of the text current in his day; see Leo, *RhM* xxxviii (1883), 342 f. The prologue of Plautus' *Poenulus* was spoken by one of the actors who changed his costume in some way (123, 126) in order to play one of the ordinary roles. This shows nothing about the distribution of roles within the action.

² On Athenian actors see Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 127 ff.

³ See B. Warnecke, *NJbb* xxxiii (1914), 95 ff., *RE* viii ii (1913), s.v. *Histrion*, 2117, 2125 ff. T. Frank's challenge to the orthodox view (*CPh* xxxvi [1931], 11 ff.) is unconvincing.

⁴ For the giving of a *pretium* to poets cf. Terence, *Em.* 20, Horace, *Epist.* 2. 1. 175, Gellius 3. 3, Suetonius, *Vit. Ter.* 3. 14.

⁵ Plautus, *Cas.* 17 and Terence, *Phorm.* 16-17 are clearly metaphorical; cf. Volcaci Sedigitus ap. Gell. 15. 24, Horace, *Epist.* 2. 1. 181.

Comic poets often had to plead for a quiet hearing. They ended their scripts with an appeal for applause, as in their originals,¹ but made no request for victory.² Tragic scripts seem to have ended similarly.³ There were however acting competitions.⁴ The language of Plautus, *Trin.* 706 suggests that they went back beyond the time of composition of this script.⁵

As time passed the differences between the external conditions of the Roman stage and those of the contemporary Athenian lessened but during the period when the first adaptations of classical Athenian drama were made they remained considerable and inevitably affected the poetic form of the adaptations.

III. ATHENIAN DRAMA AND THE ROMAN POETS

The only evidence for what the Latin poets themselves thought about the process of adapting the Athenian classics is found in five comic prologues from the years 166-161, those of Terence's *Andria*, *Hauton timoroumenus*, *Eunuchus*, *Phormio* and *Adelphi*. Terence can be seen struggling against two contradictory but related movements of taste, one favouring the work of the older poets against the new, the other demanding faithful versions of the Athenian classics. He appeals to the commonly

¹ Cf. Posidippus, Pap. Heid. 183; Menander, *Dysk.* 965 ff., *Epitr.* fr. 11 Körte, *Misoumenos* D → col. ii. 36-8 Turner, *Sikyonioides* in Pap. Sorb. 2272 e col. B. 11 ff. (= 420 ff. Kassel).

² There was sometimes a prayer for the success of Roman arms in the prologue; cf. Plautus, *Asin.* 15.

³ Cf. Horace, *Ars* 155, Quintilian, *Inst.* 6. 1. 52; contrast Euripides, *I.T.* 1497 ff., *Or.* 1691 ff., *Phoin.* 1764 ff.

⁴ Cf. Cicero, *Att.* 4. 15. 6. It is noteworthy that the ivy of Dionysus (see Olick, *RE* v (1905), s.v. *Ephieu*, 2838) was replaced by Apollo's palm (see Steier, *RE* xx i (1941), s.v. *Phoinix*, 401).

⁵ Plautus, *Amph.* 69 and *Poen.* 37 may be actors' interpolations from a later time.

recognised authority of Naevius, Plautus and Ennius in defence of the liberties he has taken with his originals.¹ The argument proceeds within the context of comedy but we need not suppose that Naevius and Ennius regarded the adaptation of tragedy as fundamentally different. The Athenians always kept the tragedian's craft rigidly distinct from the comedian's² and required much less originality from the tragedian in the matter of plot construction.³ At Rome on the other hand Livius and his immediate successors cultivated the two genres together and brought their respective forms much closer than they had been at Athens.⁴

Terence's thinking made the conventionally sharp ancient distinction between the subject-matter and plot of a play (*argumentum*) and the verbal manner in which the poet presented those things (*oratio, stilus*).⁵ The distinction between one *argumentum* and another was at the same time much less sharp for him than it was for certain contemporary critics and is for the modern scholar. Speaking of Menander's Περὶθῶτα and Ἀνδρία he declared: *qui utramvis recte norit ambas noverit*.⁶ The scanty remains of the Περὶθῶτα make it appear to us to have had a very different *argumentum* from the Ἀνδρία but a poet busy providing scripts for set occasions would naturally have been more struck by their similarities. Terence's predecessors appear to have been much busier than he was and we can well believe that they regarded many plays as very like others and did not

¹ *Andr.* 18-19; cf. *Haut.* 20-1.

² Cf. Plato, *Politeia* 3.395A. *Ion* 534C and *Symp.* 223D deal with an ideal situation.

³ Cf. Antiphanes, fr. 191. On the views of Aristotle (*Poet.* 9.1451b21-6, 14.1453b25) see Brink, *Horace*, pp. 103 ff.

⁴ See below, pp. 31 ff, 38 ff.

⁵ *Andr.* 9-12, *Haut.* 6, 46. Cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 6.1449b24 ff., Horace, *Ars* 40 ff., 119 ff., Plutarch, *Mor.* 347E-F (anecdote about Menander's mode of composition).

⁶ *Andr.* 10. Cf. also *Em.* 41 *nullumst iam dictum quod non dictum sit prius*.

think close fidelity to the particular *argumentum* of a play much of a virtue.

In discussing the school exercise of παράφρασις¹ and his own adaptations of Greek philosophical dialogues² Cicero, who was well acquainted with the texts of many Greek and Latin plays and knew at first hand the workings of the Roman theatre, thought it proper and persuasive to use the analogy of the behaviour of the old republican poets towards the texts of their originals.

The schools of third and second century Greece employed two exercises akin to the translation of poetical works from one language into another. In the one poetic texts were interpreted word for word in the everyday language.³ In the other a rhetorical equivalent of the substance of a poem or prose work was sought; the student had to present this substance in such a way as to please the sort of audiences he was being trained to persuade; it was important that he should use the vocabulary and mode of expression appropriate to public oratory.⁴ Roman schools took over both exercises, at first using Greek texts and then, as the indigenous literature grew in bulk, Latin ones. The continued use of Greek texts naturally came under attack and defenders of the practice tossed up the notion that the parastroph should attempt to improve on his original.⁵ This notion ceases to be surprising when one remembers the sharp ancient distinction between a work of art's substance and its verbal or material form; the one was constant and to an extent beyond

¹ *Opt. gen.* 18.

² *Ac.* 1.10, *Fin.* 1.4-7.

³ Cf. the paraphrases of the *Iliad* found on papyrus (nos. 1157 ff. in Pack's catalogue) and the literary references to the exercise collected by H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*⁸ (Paris, 1938), pp. 231 ff., G. Giangrande, *Eratos* LX (1962), 152 ff.

⁴ Cf. Plutarch, *Dem.* 8.2, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 18.19, Theon, *Progymn.* 4, *Hermogenes, Meth.* 24.

⁵ Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.5.5, Pliny, *Epist.* 7.9.3.

time and space, the other was very much fixed in its creator's particular time and could not be exactly reproduced in another's; adaptation alone was possible. The old dramatic adaptations of Sophocles, Euripides and Menander were much admired in some quarters in the mid first century and some were thought to excel their originals.¹ Accordingly Cicero argues in his treatise *De optimo genere oratorum* that the paraphrases he and others made of the Attic orators were of the same character as the dramatic adaptations and deserved the approbation accorded these.

At *Ac. I. 1-10* Cicero is concerned to rebut the view that readers who knew Greek would not bother with philosophical dialogues written in Latin. Such men, he argues, read with pleasure the Latin adaptations of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides made by the poets of the previous century, *qui non uerba sed uim Graecorum expresserunt poetarum*; they will get even more pleasure out of the philosophical dialogues of Roman writers *si, ut illi Aeschylum Sophoclem Euripidem, sic hi Platonem imitentur Aristotelem Theophrastum*. His distinction between *uis* and *uerba* is the one informing *Opt. gen. 14-23*.² The poets, in his view, did not offer a word for word representation of the substance of their originals but achieved in their own medium effects similar to those which the Athenian poets had achieved in theirs. Both sets of poets had their own excellences.

At *Fin. 1. 4-7* Cicero makes his case against those who scorned Latin philosophical dialogues more detailed and sophisticated. Such men, he argues, read *fabellas Latinas ad uerbum e Graecis expressas* and must therefore be foolish to ignore works of a more serious kind which do not merely reproduce the words of someone like Aristotle in the manner of a grammatical exercise

¹ Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. 2. 49*, Varro *ap. Suet. Vit. Ter. 3*.

² Cf. also the hexameters of Caesar and Cicero on Terence (Suetonius, *Vit. Ter. 7*).

but treat Aristotelian themes afresh in the manner of a Theophrastus. Where his own dialogues depend closely on a classical Greek philosopher they depend, he suggests, in the way that Ennius' epic depends on Homer and Afranius' *fabulae togatae* on Menander,¹ not in the way Ennius' *Medea* depends on Euripides. The character of his argument forces him to attribute less independence to the dramatic poets and more to himself than he does at *Ac. I. 1-10*.² Nevertheless he does not assimilate the republican plays completely with the grammatical kind of translation. He writes of them as possessing a literary value of their own independent of their degree of fidelity to the original Greek. He dismisses Atilius as a bad writer, not as an inaccurate translator.

Ancient scholars regarded the tragedies and comedies of the republican period as different in kind from their originals. The *argumenta* belonged to Greece, only the words to the Latin poets.³ It is easy to misunderstand their view. It was not one derogatory of the Latin poets. There would have been a strong temptation for Romans to consider the construction of a plot a smaller matter than the provision of adequate words. Such detailed comparisons of the texts of the Latin plays and their Greek originals as were made⁴ resembled those made between Latin and Greek poems united only in genre, for example

¹ Cf. Afranius, *Com. tog. 25-8*, Macrobius, *Sat. 6. 1. 1-7*.

² It was not only in his public orations that Cicero tailored his statements of fact according to circumstance and audience; one might compare with *Ac. 1. 1-10* and *Fin. 1. 4-7* his description of the *libri academici* at *Att. 12. 52. 3: apographa sunt, minore labore fiunt* (on the context of this remark see D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Towards a Text of Cicero 'Ad Atticum'* [Cambridge, 1960], pp. 61 f.).

³ Cf. Donatus, *Ter. Andr. 9 scribit enim Terentius qui uerba adhibet tantum; facit Menander qui etiam argumentum componit*. Leo, *Pl. Forsch.*,² p. 87 n. 1, compares Marcus Pomponius Bassulus, *C.L.E. 97, Menandri pauca uerbi scitas fabulas. . . ipsus etiam sedulo finxit nouas* and Pliny, *Epist. 6. 21*.

⁴ Cf. Gellius 2. 23, 11. 4, the scholia to Terence's comedies *passim*.

IV. THE FORM OF ROMAN TRAGEDY

Thirty-two tragic scripts have been transmitted to us from the Athenian theatre more or less in their entirety. Of these we possess small sections of the Latin adaptations of possibly twelve. All twelve seem to have contained a much lower proportion of that type of verse which was uttered by the actor without any accompaniment from the piper¹ than did their originals.² The remains of third and second century Latin tragedy taken together show a tendency for poets to move

¹ My argument does not require an answer to the question how Greek and Roman actors actually delivered verses while the piper was playing. At Athens stichic tetrameters were recited in a mode (πρᾶξις) different from that used for trimeters on the one hand and from that used for verses of lyric type on the other (for the sparse evidence see Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 153 ff.). Ancient editors of Latin comic scripts deployed a set of symbols—DV (*deuterium*), C (*caesura*) and MMC (*mutatis modis cantum*; see Donatus, *Ad. praef.* 7) which suggests that Roman actors used a similar triple mode of delivery. I assume that both at Athens and at Rome iambic trimeters were normally spoken without accompaniment (this is implied in such comparisons with ordinary speech as at Aristotle, *Poet.* 4. 1449 a 21–8, 22. 1459 a 10–14, *Rhet.* 3. 8. 1408 b 32–6, Cicero, *Orat.* 189–91, Horace, *Ars* 80–2) while all other types of verse received an accompaniment of some kind (cf. Aristophanes, *Orn.* 222, Menander, *Dysk.* 879, Xenophon, *Symp.* 6. 3, Plautus, *Pseud.* 573 a, *Stich.* 762, 769, Cicero, *De orat.* 1. 254, *Orat.* 183–4, *Ac.* 2. 20, *Diu.* 2. 113, *Tusc.* 1. 106). There is evidence for occasional Greek (Plutarch, *Mor.* 1140 f., Athenaeus, 14. 636 b, Lucian, *De Salt.* 27, Pap. Osl. 1413 [see SO xxxi (1955), 1 ff.]) and Roman (see *Commentary* on fr. civ; the irregularities in the distribution of the symbols C and DV in the Palatine manuscripts of Plautus are relatively very few and should be treated as errors of transmission [so Ritschl, *RM* xxxvi (1871), 616 (= *Opusc.* III 22 ff.), Bergk, *Philologus* xxxi (1872), 229 ff. (= *Kl. phil. Schr.* I 192 ff.)] rather than as evidence for republican theatrical practice [so R. Klotz, *Grundzüge altromischer Metrik* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 379 ff., A. Klotz, *Wörterb. Jhb.* II (1947), 395 f.] departures from the norm but these are too few to affect my argument significantly. I have not found it useful always to distinguish between musically accompanied stichic verses and 'lyrics'.

² For the replacement of Greek trimeters by other types of verse in particular cases see *Commentary* on frs. lxxxiv, cv, cvii, cviii, clix.

between the *Aeneid* and Homer's epics.¹ Argument about the text of a Latin play and its correct interpretation based itself on such comparisons² with a rarity that is significant. Most discussion, including that of the Latin poet's alleged misunderstanding of his original, was carried on in terms deriving from the discussion of rhetorical παράφορσις.³ Students were interested in how effectively the Latin poet used his medium in dealing with the Greek substance. We thus often find the same language used to describe his degree of success as is used of Virgil's treatment of a Homeric motif.

Modern views of the relationship between the comedies and tragedies of the early republic and the Attic plays that lie behind them have often been subconsciously coloured by the attitude to the translation of the Hebrew and Greek scriptures imposed until recently by the Christian sects upon their members; the words of the original as well as its substance were in orthodox theory sacred and should either be left alone or respected by the translator; the idioms and rhetorical modes of the translator's own culture ought not to replace those of the original.⁴ The practice of successful translators of these writings has of course always diverged to a greater or lesser extent from the orthodox theory but the word 'translation' has come to have associations that can only be misleading in the discussion of pagan Latin literature. Accordingly I make little use of it.

¹ Cf. Sidorius' comparison of the *Heqyra* of Terence with Menander's *Ἐπιπέπρωτες* (*Epist.* 4. 12).

² Cf. Donatus, *Andr.* 204, 483, 592, 801, *Eun.* 46, *Hec.* 58.

³ The σύγκρισις of two authors writing within the same genre was a regular exercise of the Greek schools; see F. Fock, *Hermes* lvm (1923), 327 ff.

⁴ Cf. Hieronymus, *Epist.* 57.

closer to Attic practice as time passed.¹ Only one script of the kind of Attic comedy adapted at Rome survives in its entirety² but the lengthy pieces of Menander's Πλόκιον and Caecilius' adaptation quoted by Aulus Gellius (2.23) and the pieces of Terence's originals quoted in the scholia confirm the accuracy of Diomedes' statement at *Gramm.* 1.490.22-3: *in Latinis... fabulis plura sunt cantica quae canuntur*.³ The difference however grew less as the second century advanced.⁴

If, as seems likely,⁵ the Latin poets not only dispensed with the choral songs of Attic comedy but modified the actors' parts at those points where, in their originals, the choral songs had been performed, the resultant continuous action would have been something very different from what Athenian audiences of the time of Menander were accustomed to see. The action of the average Attic tragedy at the time of Euripides could be said to have possessed a continuous character inasmuch as the interests of the members of the chorus were involved to a greater or

¹ Trimeters form about 40 per cent of Livius' measurable verses, 35 per cent of Naevius', 30 per cent of Ennius', 45 per cent of Pacuvius', 55 per cent of Accius'. Frequent uncertainty about the scansion of small fragments reduces the value of these figures. The difficulty of isolating choral fragments and the general uncertainty about the extent of the Roman tragic chorus' role make comparisons with Greek percentages thoroughly ambiguous. I note for what it is worth the fact that trimeters form about 65 per cent of the verses of the *Opferm.*

² On the relationship between the verse quoted by Festus, p. 174.18 as by *Plautus in Dyscolo* and Menander's Δυσκόλος see Strzelecki, *GIF* xii (1959), 305 ff., C. Questa, *RCCM* 1 (1959), 307 ff., T. Mantero, in *Menandrea* (Univ. di Genova, Ist. di Fil. Class., 1960), 125 ff.

³ Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.99 *licet Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur (quae tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima et plus adhuc habitura gratiae si intra uersus trimetros stitissent)*, Marius Victorinus, *Gramm.* vi 78.20 *scito plurimos affirmare Terentianas uel maxime fabulas metrum ac disciplinam Graecarum comoedi-arum non custodisse, id est quas Menander Diphilus et ceteri ediderunt*.

⁴ In c. 18,400 Plautine verses there are c. 8,200 trimeters (38 per cent), in c. 6,000 Terentian 3,100 (52 per cent). Menander's Δυσκόλος has 813 trimeters in 969 actors' verses (84 per cent).

⁵ See above, pp. 18f.

lesser extent in it. Nevertheless the songs of the chorus very often had little relevance to the action and were always performed away from the area used by the actors. The Latin poets did not abolish the tragic chorus but what they could do with it was limited by the fact that their choral performers had to use the same comparatively restricted area as their actors; the elaborate dancing of fifth-century Athens was impossible and without this the songs of the Attic poets would have had little theatrical value. It is possible, therefore, that they dispensed with some of the songs of their originals and pruned others severely. In any case the action of a Roman tragedy as it revealed itself in the theatre would have had much more continuity than that of any fifth-century Athenian play.

The dramatic material which the Latin poets put into musically accompanied verse differs not only in quantity but also in kind from what can be found in the scripts of classical Attic tragedy and comedy. The Attic comedians rarely went beyond the simpler stichically arranged types of verse¹ and did not allow the action to progress in scenes accompanied by music. The tragedians often gave their actors metrically complex utterances and made them take part in lyric dialogues both with the chorus and with one another. It would be difficult however to point to a long musically accompanied scene in which vital information was given and the action made serious progress.²

It is plain that the first Latin poets set the scripts of comedy and tragedy they chose to adapt in one dramatic mould and that during the time of the republic this mould was never broken

¹ F. Marx, *Plautus Rudens: Text und Kommentar* (*Abh. Sächs. Ak., Phil.-hist. Kl.* xxxviii [1928], v), pp. 254 ff., collects the little that can be found of lyric verse. There is somewhat more in the remains of the so-called 'Middle Comedy' (see Leo, *RhM* xi [1885], 164).

² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Menander. Das Schiedgericht* (Berlin, 1925), p. 169 n. 1, G. Pasquali, *Enciclopedia Italiana* xxxvii (1935), s.v. *Plauto*, 528.

despite an ever increasing desire on the part of critics for the main features of the two Attic genres to be faithfully reproduced. Two historically credible kinds of explanation have been offered of their behaviour. According to one¹ they adapted the Attic scripts to a contemporary type of musical stage performance. According to the other² they simply merged the theatrical forms of Attic tragedy and Attic comedy. The latter explanation does not cover all the facts, the former has to postulate an entity for whose existence there is little solid evidence. The issue is an important one and cannot be brushed aside with idle talk about Roman creativeness. The paucity of our knowledge of what went on during the third century in the theatres of Etruria and the Greek and Oscan speaking cities of the South makes it incapable of settlement.

The scholars who first edited and discussed the early Latin theatrical scripts found it possible to use the same general type of metrical description as had been applied at Alexandria and Pergamum to the scripts of Attic drama and other Greek poems.³ Some areas of the Latin scripts gave more trouble than

¹ Cf. Willamowitz, *NGG, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1896, 228, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin, 1921), p. 125, O. Crusius, *Philologus* LV (1896), 384, Leo, *Die plautinischen Cantica und die hellenistische Lyrik* (*Abh. Gött. Gesellschaft* N.F. 17 [1897]), pp. 78 ff., *Gesch.* pp. 121 ff., R. Reitzenstein, *NGG, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1918, 233 ff., O. Immisch, *SB Heidelberg, Phil.-hist. Kl.* xv (1923), 7, 1 ff., H. Drexler, *Plautinische Akzentstudien II* (Breslau, 1932), pp. 338 ff. These discussions concentrate their attention on Plautine comedy and more or less ignore tragedy.

² Cf. Bergk, *Philologus* XXXI (1872), 246 n. 23 (= *Kl. Phil. Schr.* I 207 n. 23), Willamowitz, *Hermes* xviii (1883), 248 f., Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.* pp. 340 ff., 366 ff. (= *Elementi*, pp. 324 ff., 346 ff.; see also *Addenda*, p. 439), *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), s.v. *Naeuius*, 632 ff.

³ Two closely related systems of description can be observed in the remains of Latin metrical discussion and traced back to Greek theorists (see Leo, *Hermes* xxiv [1889], 280 ff.). From one system come the terms *senarius*, *septenarius* and *octonarius*, which first appear in Varro (cf. Diomedes, *Gramm.* I 515. 3 ff., Rufinus, *Gramm.* VI 555. 5 ff.) and Cicero (*Orat.* 184, 189, *Thuc.* I. 106)

others. Stichic arrangements of iambic, trochaic, cretic, bacchiac, anapaestic and dactylic verses were readily discernible, although the number of departures from the classical patterns and the comparatively high degree of metrical and prosodical licence caused disquiet.¹ The two manuscript traditions of Plautine comedy and stray remarks in late grammatical writing provide evidence on how the more complex areas were divided into metrical cola.² Very little is known about how the resulting cola were analysed. Here the absence of exact Attic analogues was particularly bothersome to scholars.³

The scholars' mode of description may have encouraged the strange notion that the Latin poets got their metrical patterns from careless and incompetent examination of the scripts of Attic drama.⁴ Modern students of republican drama have found this notion unpalatable and many put forward the equally implausible one that Livius Andronicus—an immigrant Greek—deliberately altered the patterns in the light of his intuitive perception of the nature of the Latin language.⁵ Attempts have

and are still commonly used in modern discussion. Those who coined these terms do not seem to have thought that their objects of description differed in nature from Greek verses. Many ancient (e.g. Anon. *Gramm.* VI 286. 14: *hic Latine senarius quod pedes sex simplices habet, Graece trimeter quod tres ovvytylos habet appellatur*) and modern students (e.g. those who allow word accent as an element in the structure of early Latin verse) have made the two sets of terms cover differences of metrical nature. I use the terms trimeter, tetrameter and catalexis in talking of both Greek and Latin verse simply for descriptive convenience and leave the theoretical issues open.

¹ Cf. Marius Victorinus, *Gramm.* VI 81. 1 ff., Euanthius, *De fab.* 3. 3.

² See below, p. 51.

³ Cf. Charisius, p. 375. 13 ff. (*De saturnio*), Rufinus, *Gramm.* VI 561. 8 ff. (quoting a bewildered comment by Sisenna on a passage of apparent anapaests in Plautus).

⁴ Cf. Horace, *Ars* 251 ff., *Epist.* 2. 1. 69 ff. Marius Victorinus (*Gramm.* VI 78. 19 ff.) records a notion based on similar premises, to the effect that those who adapted the comedies of Menander took their metrical patterns from Aristophanes.

⁵ Cf. R. Klotz, *Grundzüge*, pp. 29 ff., Leo, *Gesch.* pp. 62 ff.

been made to argue that the catalectic trochaic tetrameter (*septenarius*)¹ and the iambic trimeter (*senarius*)² used by Livius and other adapters of Attic drama owed something to verse forms already established in Rome in 240. These attempts can be criticised in detail³ but their approach to the problem is basically sound. The Latin dramatic poets had Latin-speaking actors and a Latin-speaking audience to deal with as well as scripts in Attic Greek. It is likely that the earliest of them would have arranged the words of the new type of stage performance in patterns like those which actors were used to mouthing and audiences to hearing.

The most striking features of the Latin scripts are the presence of large blocks of verses which Attic scripts either do not show at all or do so only sporadically in lyric contexts,⁴ the presence of certain types of short verse quite absent from Attic scripts,⁵ the polymetry and absence of strophic corresponsion in extended

¹ Cf. Immisch, *SB Heidelberg, Phil.-hist. Kl. xiv* (1923), 7, 27 ff., Fraenkel, *Hermes lxxii* (1927), 357 ff. (= *Kl. Beitr.* II 11 ff.), Altheim, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, pp. 366 ff.

² Cf. Altheim, *Glotha xxx* (1930), 24 ff., S. Mariotti, *Livio Andronico e la tradizione artistica* (Milan, 1952), p. 33 n. 3.

³ Cf. G. Pasquali, *Preistoria della poesia Romana* (Florence, 1936), pp. 46 ff.

⁴ I note in the meagre remains of Latin tragic scripts blocks of acatalectic trochaic (e.g. Ennius 185-6, 296-7) and iambic tetrameters (e.g. Ennius 322-31; cf. Sophocles' satyr play $\chi\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\rho\upsilon\delta$, 238 ff.), of cretic (e.g. Ennius 81-3; cf. Aeschylus, *Choe.* 783, 794, *Hik.* 418-27, Euripides, *Or.* 1419-24; the 'cretics' of Eubulus [fr. 112] and Aristophanes are of a quite different kind [see Leo, *Die plaut. Cant.* p. 74]) and bacchiac tetrameters (e.g. Ennius 290, 293-5; cf. Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1103, 1110, *Choe.* 349-50, 367-8, *Prom.* 115, fr. 23, fr. 341, Sophocles, *Phil.* 396-7, 511-12, Euripides, *Ba.* 994, 1016, *Hel.* 642-3, *Herakles* 906, *Ion* 1446-7, *Or.* 1437-40, *Phoin.* 295, 1536, *Rhes.* 706-8, 724-6, Aristophanes, *Theesm.* 1143-4).

⁵ E.g. Livius, *Trag.* 20-2 *da mihi hasce opes, quas peto, quas precor: porrigite, optula* (— — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — —; cf. Plautus, *Most.* 690-746, *Pseud.* 1285-334; but for a different metrical interpretation see Leo, *RhM* xi (1885), 166, *De Trag. Rom.* p. 13 [= *Ausg. kl. Schr.* I 202]). On Roman 'clausulae' see Marius Victorinus, *Gramm.* vi 79. 1 ff.

lyric structures,¹ the high degree of metrical² and prosodical³ variation in some types of verse, the extremely frequent co-occurrence of metrical and rhetorical units,⁴ the regularity of certain caesurae and diaereses,⁵ the avoidance of certain shapes of words in particular metrical positions⁶ and the blurring of the sharp Attic distinctions between comic and tragic verses. There is a little evidence suggesting that certain types of verse used only in comedy at Athens appeared in both the tragic and the comic scripts of the Latin poets. An ancient writer on metric⁷ seems to have read a catalectic iambic tetrameter in a tragic script⁸ and at least two others can now be read among the extant fragments.⁹ The same writer also quotes¹⁰ a catalectic anapaestic tetrameter whose language is thoroughly tragic and several extant fragments of indubitable tragic origin are open

¹ The fragmentary transmission makes definite statements about the tragic scripts difficult but I note Ennius 43-9 + 69-73, 80-94. Similar structures are rare in Attic scripts (but cf. Euripides, *Or.* 1369 ff., Aristophanes, *Batr.* 1309 ff.). The corresponsion which F. Crusius (*Die Responson in den plautinischen Cantica* [*Philologus* Suppl. xxi 1, 1929]) and others have claimed to find in various Roman lyrics (for more recent discussion of the issue see G. Maurach, *Untersuchungen zum Aufbau plautinischer Lieder* [Göttingen, 1964]) is quite different from the Attic type.

² The use of long syllables in the 'pure' elements of iambic and trochaic metra was one of the main causes of the criticism mentioned above, p. 33. For metrical hiatus in tragedy see *Commentary* on v. 17, fr. xv, fr. xxviii, v. 126, fr. lxvi, v. 154; for 'split anapaests', etc., on fr. xii.

³ For iambic shortening in tragedy see *Commentary* on fr. ix; for *ille* (two morae), etc., on v. 33; for prosodical hiatus, on v. 173, fr. xcvi.

⁴ See *Commentary* on fr. cx.

⁵ See *Commentary* on fr. iv.

⁶ See *Commentary* on v. 126, fr. civ, fr. clx.

⁷ *Gramm.* vi 613. 12 (for the writer's identity see G. Schultz, *Hermes* xxii [1887], 265, Leo, *Hermes* xxiv [1889], 282 n., R. Heinze, *SB Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1918, 4, p. 21 n. 1 [= *Vom Geist des Römerturns*], p. 241 n. 32]).

⁸ J. Kraus (*RhM* vm [1853], 531 ff.), L. Mueller (*NJbb* xcvi [1868], 432 f.) and others have dismissed the verse quoted—*haec bellicosus* (Carrio: *bellicosus cod.*) *cui pater mater* (Carrio: *mater pater cod.*) *cluet Minerva*—as a grammatical concoction. It could also, of course, be a paratragic verse from comedy.

⁹ Pacuvius 131-2, Accius 64-5. See Strzelski, in *Tragica* I, pp. 43 ff.

¹⁰ *Gramm.* vi 614. 3.

to this metrical interpretation.¹ The so-called 'uersus Reizianus'² has been detected by modern scholars in Naevius, *Trag.* 133 and Ennius 246.⁴

The number of perceptible differences in the metrical structure of Latin comic and tragic scripts is small.

The comic scripts contain short groups of words which could be interpreted as dactylic⁵ but nothing like Ennius, *Trag.* 43-6 (four dactylic tetrameters) or 250 (dactylic hexameter).⁶ Early Latin tragic trimeters and tetrameters show, when examined in large groups, somewhat less resolution of long elements and replacement of short elements by longs and double shorts than do contemporary comic verses, less synaloephe and synizesis of adjacent vowels, less tolerance of hiatus⁷ and 'split anapaests' and less treatment of normally iambic sequences of syllables as pyrrhic. No shape of trimeter or tetrameter, however, seems to occur in comic scripts and not in tragic.⁸ Whereas comic ana-

¹ E.g. Ennius 5, 365-6. See Strzelecki, in *Tragica II* (Wrocław, 1954), pp. 93 ff.

² This verse does occur in Attic tragedy (e.g. Sophocles, *Ai.* 408-9) but is extremely rare.

³ W. M. Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1922), p. 279 n. 2.

⁴ See *Commentary* on ff. CXX.

⁵ See W. Meyer, *Über die Beobachtung des Wortaccentes in der alllateinischen Poesie* (*Abh. Bayer. Ak.* xvii, 1886), pp. 93 ff. Leo (*Die plaut. Cant.* pp. 50, 52) however argued that Plautus' — — — — — is a form of the glyconic.

⁶ More tragic hexameters may lurk among the verses quoted in our sources with only Ennius' name and assigned by Vahlen to the *Annales*.

⁷ See B. Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus und Verschleifung im alten Latein* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 225 f.

⁸ Strzelecki (*De Senecae Trimetro Iambico Quaestiones Selectae* [Kraków, 1938], pp. 94 ff.) follows F. A. Lange (*Quaestiones Metricae* [Diss. Bonn, 1851]) in arguing that tragic trimeters and tetrameters of the republican period as well as of the imperial period never have a short syllable occupying the element preceding a final cretic-shaped word or word-group. Quite savage emendation is required to make some transmitted verses conform to 'Lange's law'. However, even if such a law did bind republican tragic verses, the strong tendency of comic verses to have a long syllable at the point in question would have made its rhythmical effect scarcely perceptible to a listening audience. The operation

paests contain with great frequency¹ sequences of syllables normally iambic scanned as pyrrhic, there is little prosodic variation of any kind in tragic anapaests. The latter have diacresis between metra and divide disyllabic elements between words² rather more often than do comic anapaests. The cretic and bacchiac verses of comedy stand apart from other types of comic verse in the small amount of metrical and prosodical variation they contain³ but not, apparently, from their tragic counterparts.

This blurring of the Attic metrical distinctions springs not only from the fact that there was one and not two dramatic traditions at Rome but also from the different way in which the Latin-speaking poets and their audience viewed the personages and the subject-matter of the two Attic genres. For the average Athenian the themes of tragedy were ancient history, the heroes remote and extraordinary beings. It was fitting that they should speak in tight rhythmical patterns. Comedy on the other hand usually dealt with the contemporary life of Athens, by the late fourth century almost exclusively so. Its chief personages were city-dwelling property holders and the rhythms of their speech needed to be only sufficiently distinct from those of every day to mark their slightly elevated position in Athenian society. For Romans of the third century B.C. the personages of both genres were almost equally remote in space and time. They differed in little more than social class and poets would have

of 'Porson's law', on the other hand, helped to make a group of Attic trimeters or tetrameters rhythmically very different from a group of their comic counterparts.

¹ With much greater frequency, in fact, than iambic and trochaic verses; see A. Spengel, *Reformvorschlüge zur Metrik der lyrischen Versarten bei Plautus* (Berlin, 1882), pp. 309 ff.

² See J. Perret, *REL* xxxiii (1955), 352 ff.

³ See O. Seyffert, *De Bacchiacorum Versuum Vsu Plautino* (Diss. Berlin, 1864), A. Spengel, *Reformvorschl.* pp. 113 ff., 193 ff., G. Jachmann, *Glotta* vii (1916), 39 ff., *RhM* lxxi (1916), 527 ff.

found the sharpness of the metrical differences between the plays they were adapting meaningless from a theatrical point of view. They did not, however, totally obliterate the differences. Scholastic tradition must have had a strong hold even then.¹

The general linguistic form of the two Roman genres no more reproduced the Attic situation than did the metrical. At Athens even in the sixth century it was understood and expected that poets should use for serious themes a vocabulary remote from that of everyday life. The tragedians had audiences acquainted with several different types of poetry whose forms had been shaped in communities speaking distinct dialects of the Greek language and which enjoyed universal cultural prestige. They found a ready acceptance of the convention according to which one set of non-Attic words informed the utterances of the actors and another those of the chorus. The comedians first gained public recognition some time after the conventions of tragedy had been firmly established and always thought of their genre as the polar opposite of tragedy. By the time of Menander their normal vocabulary scarcely differed from that used in contemporary polite society.² In third-century Latium there seem to have been no commonly recognised traditions of public poetry—extempore compositions are another matter—and speakers of the Roman dialect probably already looked down on others. The Latin poets could not have reproduced the Attic situation even if they had so desired. In place of the three very distinct vocabularies of the Attic stage they offered one, based largely on that regularly used in the

¹ The formulations of some scholars (e.g. R. Klotz, *Grundzüge*, p. 22) on this issue are misleading. See Lindsay, *E.L.V.* p. 274.

² For the language of tragedy see Aristotle, *Poet.* 22.1458a18 ff., *Rhet.* 3.7.1408a10 ff. The observations concerning the two genres at Cicero, *Opt. gen.* 1, Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.8.8, 10.2.22 probably derive to some extent from Greek sources.

houses of the great Roman families¹ but drawing also on the special languages of religion,² law,³ and public administration⁴ and apt to resurrect obsolete morphology,⁵ to produce new words⁶ and to vary the usage of common words and phrases⁷ for the purpose of amplifying the tone of discourse. At the same time they indulged freely in hyperbole⁸ and metaphor⁹ and created artificial patterns of words and phrases to a much greater extent than any of the classical Attic poets.¹⁰ Some Roman critics¹¹ deplored the absence of the sharp Attic distinctions of language between republican comedy and tragedy. Nevertheless the mode of speech normal to the personages of tragedy had from the beginning a certain character of its own, being much more artificial and remote from that of every day, and was frequently aped for comic effect by the slaves of early comedy.¹² The modern student cannot often isolate in the remains of the Latin tragic scripts words and turns of phrase and

¹ For the aristocratic connections of most of the Latin poets there is good evidence. The silence of our sources in regard to the rest should not be treated as evidence of popular connections. The management of the *ludi* was firmly in the hands of the aristocracy.

² See *Commentary* on fr. IV, v. 41, v. 42, fr. XVIII, fr. XXXIV, v. 103, fr. LXXXVI, fr. CX, v. 247, fr. CXXI, v. 280, v. 287.

³ See *Commentary* on fr. XIV, vv. 48-9, fr. XXVII, fr. XLV, fr. LXIV, fr. LXXXVII, v. 272.

⁴ See *Commentary* on fr. I, vv. 5, 6, 74-5, 123, 137, fr. LXXV, vv. 173, 200, 212, 214, fr. CV.

⁵ See *Commentary* on vv. 37, 59, 79, 112, 151, 183, 248.

⁶ See *Commentary* on vv. 5, 17, 20, 25, 26, 45, 68, 91, 93, fr. XXXVIII, vv. 110, 111, 113, 115, 136, 138, 150, 169, 246, 279.

⁷ See *Commentary* on vv. 2, 33, 35, 39, 43, 44, 46, 61, 71, 72, 74-5, 76-7, 88, 95, 105, 127, 134, 156, 166, 168, 232, 267, 299.

⁸ See *Commentary* on vv. 24, 41, 73, 272, 281.

⁹ See *Commentary* on v. 3, fr. XII, vv. 35, 43-4, 53, 57, 96, fr. XLII, vv. 143, 144, 165, 171, 180, 187, 188-9, 216, 229-30, 243, 245, 304.

¹⁰ See *Commentary* on fr. I, vv. 4, 6-7, 8, 9, frs. IX, XIV, vv. 17, 19, 21, 24, 34, 39, 54, 57, 62, 63, 74-5, 76-7, 83, 87, 90, 94, 100, 105, 192.

¹¹ E.g. Horace, *Ars* 86 ff., Gellius 2.23.21. Cf. Schol. Soph. *Ai.* 1127, Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 32, Plutarch, *Mor.* 853C-D.

¹² Cf. Plautus, *Pseud.* 702-7 . . . *ut paratragoedat carnisfex.*

label them with certainty as peculiarly tragic. Nevertheless some words and phrases can be shown from their comparative frequencies in the tragic and comic scripts and the contexts in which they occur to have possessed a more elevated tone than others.¹ The Latin distinctions were ones of degree, not of kind.

As the second century advanced and the two Roman genres came more and more to be cultivated by specialist poets, the language of comedy moved away from that of tragedy and approached the common language.² That of tragedy on the other hand seems to have become more elaborate and artificial.³

Both the Attic and the Latin poets varied their metrical patterns according to the substance and tone of the actor's speech. At Aeschylus, *Pers.* 176, for example, the Queen interrupts a highly emotional dialogue with the chorus in trochaic tetrameters to recount a dream in trimeters.⁴ The dialogue in various musically accompanied metres at Plautus, *Persa* 482-548 is interrupted twice while a letter is read out in trimeters.⁵ At Plautus, *Rud.* 1338 iambic tetrameters cease as one of the actors begins to recite an oath. Such changes of metre within a scene are on the whole uncommon. A scene is usually set either in trimeters or in musically accompanied verses. In Attic scripts an increase in uncommon vocabulary and rhetorical embellishment of the phrase becomes noticeable when trimeters are

¹ See *Commentary* on *vv.* 3, 7, 9, 13, 17, 18, 21, 22, 29, 66, 89, 100, 116, 162, 178, 213, 215, 218, 219, 222, 225, 237, 238, 242 et al.

² Cf. Euanthius, *De fab.* 3-5 *tam illud est admirandum* (scil. in *Terenzio*) *quod et morem retinuit ut comoediam scriberet et temperavit affectum ne in tragoediam transiret, quod cum aliis rebus minime obtentum et a Plauto et ab Afranio et Appio et multis fere magnis comicis inuenimus.*

³ Cf. Cicero, *Orat.* 36 on the styles of Ennius and the other writers of tragedy.

⁴ Cf. the two speeches from Accius' *Brutus* quoted by Cicero, *Diu.* 1.44; the king describes a dream in trimeters, the *coniectores* give their interpretation in trochaic tetrameters.

⁵ Cf. Plautus, *Bach.* 997 ff., *Pseud.* 998 ff.

abandoned even if only stichic tetrameters replace them.¹ In the comic scripts of Plautus the difference in stylistic level between the trimeters of the action and the musically accompanied verses is very pronounced. In those of Terence this difference is much smaller but still perceptible. In the remains of the late second century tragic scripts of Accius, trimeters seem not to differ from the musically accompanied verses. The small amount of material available from early tragedy and the uncertain scansion of many small fragments make it hard for one to be positive, but the proposition that early writers of tragedy did not make a distinction between the two types of verse parallel with that made in contemporary comedy is on general grounds unlikely. There are some signs that Ennius kept the trimeters of the tragic action much less elaborate than other verses.² Prologue trimeters, as in comedy, would have occupied a special position.³

¹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *SB Berlin* 1916, 73 f. (= *Kl. Schr.* 1.423 f.).

² See *Commentary* on *v.* 9, ff. ix, v. 17, v. 19.

³ The fact that the early Latin poets imitated in their own way the genre distinctions of Greek poetry was pointed out by Ritschl (*Parerga zu Plautus und Terenz* I [Leipzig, 1845], p. 112) and Bergk (*NJbb* LXXXIII [1861], 631 [= *Kl. Phil.* *Schr.* 1.302]). The latter also remarked on the way in which the sung verses of drama (both tragedy and comedy) differed stylistically from the spoken. Important illustrations of the way epic style differed from tragic have been given by Fraenkel, *RE Suppl.* v (1931), s.v. *Livius*, 603 ff. and of the distinctions between the two types of verse within comedy by Leo (*NCGG, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1895, 415 ff. [= *Ausg. kl. Schr.* 1.49 ff.]), Fraenkel (*Pl. im Pl.* pp. 209 ff. [= *Elementa*], pp. 199 ff.), *Ittus und Akzent im lateinischen Sprechers* [Berlin, 1928], p. 93 n. 1), E. Lindholm (*Stilistische Studien zur Erweiterung der Satzglieder im Lateinischen* [Lund, 1931], pp. 94 ff.) and H. Hafliter (*Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache* [Berlin, 1934], *passim*). Hafliter asserts (p. 124) that 'die tragischen Senare im Gebrauche aller hier besprochenen Stilmittel in keiner Weise von den Langversen der gleichen Gattung sich unterscheiden'. The general approach of these scholars has been attacked by M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis (*Athenaeum* xiii [1935], 278 ff.) from the point of view of idealist aesthetics and by M. Leumann (*MusH* iv [1947], 116 ff. [= *Kl. Schr.* pp. 131 ff.]) on empirical grounds. Lenchantin contributes nothing of substance to the argument. Leumann merely reiterates that the Latin distinctions are not exactly parallel with the Greek distinctions.

Three sources have been suggested for the origin of the types of phrasal elaboration characteristic of certain parts of early Roman drama: the modes of public speaking taught in Greek schools and practised by Roman politicians,¹ the Attic $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\kappa\eta$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\varsigma$ and the formulae of Roman law and religion.² A parallel for every type of Latin elaboration can be found in the scripts of Attic tragedy but some, like alliteration, are relatively uncommon and the rate of occurrence of the others rarely approaches even that of the spoken verses of Terentian comedy. The paucity of what survives of Roman legal and religious formulae makes discussion difficult. Many were taken over as they stood by the dramatists or used as models for new creations but they never seem to have provided more than a light antique colouring to the style of an actor's speech. Our actual knowledge of third and second century Roman oratory is slight but we can guess that men prepared to tolerate the hellenisation of their community's religion and public art would not have neglected the powerful aids to political success offered by the techniques of speaking taught in contemporary Greek schools. Those Latin poets who had received their education in Greek-speaking communities could not have escaped the influence of the $\rho\eta\tau\rho\pi\epsilon\varsigma$. Those who had close personal relations with their Roman patrons could not fail to be interested in the debates of the senate, the law courts and the assemblies.³ Here, in turns of phrase and sentence with which orators raised their discourse above the commonplace and worked on the emotions of their hearers, lay ready material for dramatists trying to construct a poetic style for a people poor in distinctively poetic traditions. It seems unlikely that Cato would have delivered himself

¹ Cf. E. Norden, *Die antike Kimstprosa II* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 839, 889, Leo, *Analecta Plantina II* (Göttingen, 1898) (= *Ausg. kl. Schr.* 1123 ff.), *Gesch.* pp. 34 ff., F. Eckstein, *Philologus LXXXVII* (1921), 173.

² Cf. Fraenkel, *Pl. im Pl.* pp. 356 ff. (= *Elementi*, pp. 338 ff.).

³ For Ennius' interest in public speaking see *Ann.* 303 ff.

publicly in language more elaborate than that of his philhellenic peers and elders, and yet those long passages of his orations which are preserved usually show much more adornment than is observable even in the scripts of Attic tragedy.¹ The trimeters of comic prologues have a high degree of elaboration, Terence's at times even more than his musically accompanied verses, and it is perhaps significant that the prologists of the *Amphitruo*² and the *Hauton timorumenus*³ cast themselves explicitly as *oratores*. It would be foolish to assert that the Attic $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\kappa\eta$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\varsigma$ had no influence on poets constantly adapting Attic plays but the forms of elevated speech already familiar to third and second century Roman audiences should be considered the dominating influences.

V. ENNIUS

Like all the early poets of whom we know anything Ennius came from outside Latium and must have acquired his Latin as a second or third language. He was a Messapian of high birth⁴ who in adolescence had received a Greek literary education⁵ and in manhood had served as a soldier of fortune in one of the South Italian units of the Roman army,⁶ high enough in the

¹ R. Till (*Die Sprache Catos* [*Philologus Suppl.* xxxviii 2, 1935]) perceived this but drew the unlikely conclusion that Cato's oratorical style was influenced by that of Ennius' poetry. ² 20, 33 f., 50. ³ 11 f.

⁴ See Silius 12.393, Servius, *Aen.* 7.691, *Souda* E 1348 (Aelian). It is possible, of course, that Ennius had claimed only to come from the land of King Messapus.

⁵ This is all that Festus, p. 374.8 f. and Suetonius, *De gramm.* 1 mean by the terms *Graecus* and *semigraecus*. Whether he had received a philosophical or rhetorical training as well we cannot say for sure but the general features of his poetry and certain particular fragments (cf. among those of tragedy iv, cx, clxxxviii) suggest he had both. See H. Fränkel, *Hermes LXXVII* (1932), 308 ff., lxx (1935), 62 ff.

⁶ See Cornelius Nepos, *Cat.* 1.4, Cicero, *Cato* 10, Ps. Aulcl. Victor, *De vir. illustr.* 47.1. On Iapygian and Messapian units fighting in 225 see Polybius 2.24.11.

ranks¹ to be able to make the acquaintance of the quaestor M. Porcius Cato. He lived with one servant in his own house in the artisans' quarter on the Aventine and for some time pursued the profession of *grammaticus*.² He is known to have been on intimate terms with various politically active members of the aristocracy, at first with Cato, who brought him to Rome in his entourage in 203, and later with men of factions hostile to Cato's. The political debates of 203-169 sometimes seem³ to make themselves heard in the scripts of the tragedies he adapted for the festivals managed by his aristocratic patrons. Like Livius and Naevius he adapted comedies as well as tragedies and like Naevius he composed plays of the tragic type on themes from Roman history.

In a medieval glossary there appears in a discussion of the history of tragedy the interesting note: *tragoedias autem fere omnes ex Graecis transtulit, plurimas Euripidis* (Lindsay: *Euripides codd.*), *nonnullas Aristarchi* (Lindsay: *Aristarchus codd.*).⁴ The source of the note is obscure⁵ but there is no reason to think it an invention. It may come from one of Varro's treatises by way of Suetonius. One of Ennius' titles, *Achilles*, is attributed elsewhere⁶ to Aristarchus and four, *Alexander*, *Andromacha*, *Hecuba* and *Medea*,⁷ to Euripides. Of the seventy tragic scripts of

¹ Silius 12. 394-5 *Latinaeque superbum | iuvis adornabat dextram decus* suggests that he was a centurion, but such statements need to be treated with caution.

² I do not share Fraenkel's doubts about Suetonius, *De gramm.* 1 (*RE Suppl.* v [1931], 601).

³ See *Commentary* on frs. LXXXIV, cv.

⁴ *Gloss. Lat.* 1 568. Cf. Donatus' addition to Suetonius' *Life of Terence*, 10, *duae ab Apollodoro translatae esse dicuntur comico, Phormio et Hecyra; quatuor reliquae a Menandro.*

⁵ Cf. H. Usener, *RHM* xxviii (1873), 417 ff. (= *Kl. Schr.* iii 36 ff.). On the 'Glossary of Ansideubus' or 'Liber Glossarum' in general see G. Goetz, *Abh. Sachs. Ges., Phil.-hist.* Kl. xiii (1893), 256 ff., Lindsay, *CQ* xi (1917), 119 ff. *Glossaria Latina* 1 (Paris, 1926), p. 8, S. Timpanaro, *StudUrb.* Serie B, xxxi (1957), 178.

⁶ Plautus, *Poen.* 1, Festus, p. 282. 10.
⁷ Varro, *Ling.* 7.82, Cicero, *Opt. gen.* 18, Gellius 11.4, Cicero, *Fin.* 1.4.

Aristarchus possessed by the Alexandrian library we know from Greek sources the title of only one, Τάντροδος,¹ but of the seventy catalogued under the name of Euripides we seem to know all the titles and can guess with a fair amount of certainty at their general themes.² If the story of Ptolemy and the Lycurgean text of the classical tragedians³ has any basis in fact these could have been the only ones surviving in Athens in c. 330 B.C. and it is most unlikely that scripts of the other plays would have survived for long anywhere else. *Andromacha*, despite the statements of Varro, *Ling.* 7.82 and Cicero, *Opt. gen.* 18, cannot be regarded as an adaptation of any of the Euripidean seventy.⁴ Neither can *Aiax*, *Enmenides*, *Hectoris lytra*, *Nemea* or *Telamo*. There is nothing on the other hand in the remains of *Alexander*, *Andromeda*, *Erechtheus*, *Hecuba*, *Iphigenia*, *Melanippa*, *Phoenix*, *Telephus* or *Thyestes* to make one wish to deny Euripidean provenance. About *Athamas*, *Alcmeo* and *Gresphontes* there is doubt. The title *Medea* covers two plays, one quite certainly a version of Euripides' Μηδεία, the other possibly a version of his Αίγυψ. Vahlen is wrong to dismiss⁵ the plain statement of the glossary article that Ennius adapted more than one play by Aristarchus. There are several possibilities among the extant titles and in any case we cannot be sure that these titles exhaust Ennius' tragic production.⁶

The texts which Ennius worked from very likely resembled

¹ F. Blass, *Literarisches Centralbl.* 1893, 1434, restored ἐπι τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύου τοῦ Ἀπιδρόπου in the Flinders Petrie papyrus mentioned above, p. 9 n. 2.

² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Anatolia Euripidea* (Berlin, 1875), pp. 144 ff., W. Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* 1 iii (Munich, 1940), pp. 329 f. There are a number of titles too many; see E. G. Turner, in *Acta of the 9th International Congress of Papyrology*, Oslo 1958 (Oslo, 1962), 1 ff., for further evidence that two scripts bore the title Φοίβος.

³ Plutarch, *Mor.* 841 f, Galen, *Hipp. Epid.* 2.4.

⁴ See *Commentary*, pp. 236 ff.

⁵ See Varro, *Ling.* 5.14 (= fr. clxxxvii) and below, p. 62, 7.13 (= fr. cxc) and below, p. 62.

those found in certain third century B.C. papyri from which the Alexandrian colometry of the lyrical passages is absent.¹ Philological examination of the tragic texts had already progressed a long way by 203² and Ennius doubtless possessed and used commentaries upon them. The suggestion, however, that what they contained sometimes radically affected Ennius' own version³ seems an unlikely one. We must distinguish between versions of poems made for dramatic presentation to audiences largely ignorant of literary Greek and versions of such poems as Aratus' Φαινόμενα made for circulation in books. Only the latter were aimed at people who knew the Greek originals (and perhaps, in some cases, the scholarly apparatus as well) and who would set the versions against the originals.⁴ Ennius had no motive that we can see for worrying about the exact interpretation of the Greek tragic texts.

Unlike the classical Greek dramatists Ennius probably did not compose his own musical scores.⁵ Some of the classical scores still existed in his day⁶ but even then Greek musicians

¹ For an account of these papyri see G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 250 f.

² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Einführung in die attische Tragödie* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 134 ff.

³ Cf. Leo, *Pl. Forsch.*² p. 98, *Gesch.* p. 192.

⁴ On Cicero's version of Aratus' Φαινόμενα and the scholia see Leo, *Hermes* XLIX (1914), 192 f. (= *Ausg. kl. Schr.* I 279 f.); on Varro Atacinus and the scholia to Apollonius' epic see E. Hofmann, *WSJ* XLVI (1928), 161. Acceptance of H. Fränkel's view (*Hermes* LXVII [1932], 306; cf. Mariotti, *Livio Andronico*, p. 28) of the relationship between the scholia and Livius' version of the *Odyssey* would entail regarding this poem as quite a sophisticated piece of work.

⁵ Cf. the didascaliae to Terence's comedies and Donatus, *De com.* 8.9 *denerbia histriones pronuntiabant, cantica uero temperabantur modis non a poeta sed a perito artis musicae factis*. Cicero however talks at *Leg.* 2. 39, perhaps loosely, of 'modi Liuiani et Naeuiani'.

⁶ The discussion of Dionysius Hal. at *De comp. uerb.* II. 63-4 implies that students of his day had access to at least some of the score to Euripides' Ὀρέστρης. A iii-ii B.C. papyrus of the score to *vv.* 338-43 of the tragedy (no. 411 in Pack's catalogue) survives; see Turner, *JHS* LXXVI (1956), 95 ff.

were composing new scores for parts of the old scripts¹ and it seems likely that the music composed for the Roman *tibiae*² and that for the αὐλός of classical Athens differed as widely as did the metrical patterns imposed on the Latin and Greek words.

VI. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF ENNIUS' TRAGEDIES

Ennius' plays were well known to theatre goers in 166 B.C.³ and no doubt had been for some time.⁴ These and other plays of the early period⁵ were constantly produced at first century B.C. festivals. The last public performance of a play by Ennius which is clearly recorded took place at the *ludi Apollinares* of 54 B.C.⁶ Accius' *Terens* was performed in its entirety in 44⁷ and extracts from Pacuvius' *Armorum iudicium* and Atilius' *Electra*

¹ Cf. Latte, *Ennius* III (1954), 125 ff., III (1955), 75 f., S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *SO* XXXI (1955), 26 ff.

² An instrument that probably came to Rome from Etruria (cf. Livy 9. 30. 5-10); it is usually assumed to have been of the same character as the fifth-century Athenian αὐλός.

³ See Terence, *Andr.* 18.

⁴ Plautus, *Bacch.* 214 is the earliest evidence for the performance of old plays at the Roman festivals. Many imitations of Ennian passages, of which the most convincing is *Bacch.* 933 *o Troia o patria o Pergamum o Priame peristi senex ~ Trag.* 87 *o pater o patria o Priami domus*, have been found in the comic scripts attributed to Plautus. There is a clear reference to Ennius' *Achilles* at *Poen.* I (see *Commentary* on fr. 1) but no certainty that Plautus (d. c. 184) made it.

⁵ Varro expected the readers of his treatise *De lingua Latina* to be acquainted with the plot of a play by Livius about Teucer (7. 3) but Cicero's disdainful remarks at *Brut.* 71 suggest that only the learned knew Livius' plays at first hand. The *Equos Troianus* produced by Pompey in 55 (see Cicero, *Fam.* 7. 1. 2) was probably Naeuius' tragedy.

⁶ See Cicero, *Att.* 4. 15. 6. It is uncertain what kind of performance Ovid is referring to at *Rem.* 383, or even whether the script of Ennius' *Andromacha* was used.

⁷ See Cicero, *Att.* 16. 2. 3, 16. 5. 1, *Phil.* 1. 36. Cf. Ribbeck, *Quaestionum scenicarum Mantissa*, in *Tragicorum Latinorum Reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1852), p. 326.

were sung at Julius Caesar's funeral games.¹ At the time when Horace was composing *Epist.* 2.1.23 ff. the old poets still enjoyed great popularity in the theatre and the emperor Augustus notoriously favoured their work.² Nero (A.D. 54-68) had the *Inceridium* of Afranius staged with a realism that gained notoriety.³ Quintilian's discussion at *Inst.* II.3.178-82 suggests that at least some of the comedies of Terence were regularly performed in his time. It is difficult to tell when fresh information based on knowledge of the contemporary theatre ceased to be inserted in commentaries upon these plays but the reference to use of female actors at Donatus, *Ter. Andr.* 716 looks quite late.

Only three names of post-republican comic poets are certainly known, those of Fundanius,⁴ Marcus Pomponius Bassulus,⁵ and Vergilius Romanus.⁶ Quintilian could find none of sufficient commonly recognised standing to set beside the classical Greeks.⁷ Many on the other hand tried their hand at tragedy. The *Thyestes* of Varius was performed at the festival held to celebrate Octavian's victory at Actium⁸ and reliable witnesses attest the performance of tragedies by Pomponius in the theatre.⁹ Some wrote tragedies explicitly for private recitation.¹⁰ That other tragedians whose names are recorded intended their work for performance in the public theatres is not stated in the ancient sources and has often been denied by modern students. Ovid's *Medea* was much admired as late as Quintilian's time.¹¹ The plays of Varius, Gracchus, Pomponius and

¹ See Suetonius, *Iul.* 84.

² See Suetonius, *Aug.* 89.1.

³ Suetonius, *Ner.* II.

⁴ Horace, *Sat.* I.10.42.

⁵ C.L.E. 97.

⁶ Pliny, *Epist.* 6.21.1-4.

⁷ *Inst.* 10.1.99.

⁸ *Cod. Paris.* 7530, *cod. Casin.* 1086.

⁹ Pliny, *Epist.* 7.17.11, Tacitus, *Ann.* II.13. For relations between Pomponius and Seneca see Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.3.31.

¹⁰ See Tacitus, *Diad.* 2 ff.

¹¹ See Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.98, Tacitus, *Diad.* 12.

Seneca were drawn upon by the elder Pliny in his treatise on Latin morphology and by Caesius Bassius in his treatise on Latin metric. These treatises are probably the ultimate sources of the quotations scattered through the handbooks of late antiquity. Seneca's alone of the mythological plays written in Latin survived in their entirety until the age of printing.¹

The almost total silence of our literary sources concerning the production of complete tragedies at the festivals of Latin-speaking communities after the first century A.D.² may have no significance at all. Most extant late writers, both pagan and Christian, were hostile to the theatre³ and, if plays enjoying the educational prestige attaching to the names tragedy and comedy had been performed there, these writers would have been unwilling to advertise the fact. The notion that the mass of the population of Rome became too degenerate, both morally and culturally, to tolerate high comedy and tragedy has nothing to commend it. Gladiatorial contests and knock-about farce were without a doubt extremely popular long before the advent of the Attic type of drama and the performers of the latter always had to contend with audience behaviour which would have been unthinkable in Athens.⁴ There is no reason to think that mass tastes ever altered in one direction or the other, but some that, except during the period of economic collapse in the third century A.D., a superficial knowledge of and respect for the high poetic genres increased among the upper classes.

¹ Varius' *Thyestes* may have reached the age of Charlemagne (see A. E. Housman, *CQ* XI [1917], 42, and, *contra*, Lindsay, *CQ* XVI [1922], 180).

² The evidence is collected by Welcker, *Die griech. Trag.* pp. 1319, 1477 ff.

³ A. Müller, 'Das Bühnenwesen in der Zeit von Constantin dem Grossen bis Justinian', *NJbb* XXXIII (1909), 36 ff. (esp. 40 f.), L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*⁹ (Leipzig, 1921), vol. II, pp. I ff., 112 ff., 118 ff.

⁴ This hostility was no new thing among pagan aristocrats (cf. Cicero, *Sest.* 119, *S. Rosc.* 46, Livy 7.2) no mere reflection of Plato's ancient prejudices.

⁵ See Plautus, *Amph.* 51 ff., Terence, *Hec.* I ff., 25 ff. Cf. Polybius' description (30.22) of the *ludi* celebrated by Anicius.

Terence's work formed part of the regular syllabus of Latin literature¹ while that of the Attic dramatists was necessary reading for every student of Greek.² Roman houses of the wealthier sort were frequently adorned with figurative representations of various aspects of comic and tragic theatrical performances.³ It seems to me likely that those who managed the *ludi* would have at least occasionally paid obeisance to cultural tradition and allowed the performance of plays commonly read in the schools. One might have expected a comedy of Terence, possibly a comedy of Plautus⁴ or an Attic play according to the original script,⁵ but hardly any work of the other Roman dramatic poets.⁶

Somewhat more is known and can be conjectured about the fate of those Ennian scripts which were recorded in books and circulated among the Roman reading public.

In the early part of the second century B.C. the scripts of plays performed at *ludi scaenici* may have been seen by few people outside the actor's companies. As late as 161 Terence could claim, apparently in good faith, that he did not know that Menander's Κόλαξ had already been adapted for performance on

¹ With Cicero, Sallust and Virgil Terence formed the 'quadriga' of Arusianus Messius (see Cassiodorus, *Inst. diu.* 1.5.7).

² On knowledge of Greek in the West see P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en occident, de Macrobie à Cassiodore*² (Paris, 1948), H.-I. Marron, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*⁴ (Paris, 1958), pp. 27 ff., 631 ff.

³ For the archaeological evidence see M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 227 ff., Webster, *AJA* 1xvi (1962), 333 ff. Bieber and Webster grossly overestimate the value of this evidence. Changes in the form of artistic representations need not reflect the fashions of the contemporary theatre.

⁴ Arnobius 7.33, however, is no evidence for a performance of the *Amphitruo*.
⁵ See above, p. 5 n. 3. It is perhaps significant that Juvenal speaks of the performance of tragedy at Roman festivals (6.67 ff., 396 f.) but names Sophocles alone of actual tragedians (6.634 ff.). Even Persius refers to Menander's *Εὐνοβύος* (5.161 ff.) rather than to Terence's adaptation (contrast Horace, *Sat.* 2.3.259 ff.).

⁶ For their neglect in the schools see below, pp. 55 ff.

the Roman stage.¹ The sources of Suetonius' treatise *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* knew of no serious philological activity in Rome until the year after Ennius' death and the state of the text of the extant comedies of Plautus makes it plain that the first scientific editors had to deal with scripts which had passed through the hands of professional actors and were rarely, if ever, able to obtain a Plautine autograph.² Ennius' tragic scripts were frequently reused at the early festivals and they may have suffered the same sort of damage that can be observed in the extant text of Plautine comedy.

Editions of the *Annales* employing the conventions established at Alexandria for the editing of classical Greek poetry are recorded with the names of C. Octavius Lampadio and Q. Vargunteius³ but no ancient author mentions an edition of Ennius' tragedies. Nevertheless we may guess on the analogy of what the extant texts suggest for the comedies of Plautus and Terence⁴ that they were also edited in the Alexandrian manner, each one prefixed with διδασκαλία containing, amid other information, the title and author of the Greek original and with Ennius' name and the title commonly given to his adaptation suffixed. The discussions of the metricians⁵ and such quotations as that of *v.* 44 by Cicero at *Orat.* 155 provide solid evidence that the ancient editions presented the lyric passages divided into cola.

¹ *Enn.* 30 ff.

² For the theatrical transmission of the texts of comedy see F. Osann, *Analecta critica* (Berlin, 1816), pp. 147 ff., Ritschl, *Paregga*, pp. 88 ff.

³ Cf. Gellius 18.5.11, Suetonius, *De gramm.* 2, Fronto, p. 15.13 ff. van den Hout, *Frag. Paris. Gramm.* vii 534.4, Timpanaro, *SIFC* N.S. xxi (1946), 49 ff.

⁴ Cf. W. Studemund, in *Festschrift der philologischen Gesellschaft zu Würzburg an die XXVI. Versammlung deutscher Philologen* (Würzburg, 1868), p. 48, Leo, *RhM* xl (1885), 161 ff., *Die plant. Cant.* pp. 5 ff., *Pl. Forsch.*², pp. 29 ff., *Gesch.* pp. 356 ff., Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*³ (Florence, 1952), pp. 350 ff.

⁵ One is echoed by Cicero at *De orat.* 3.183. Cf. Varro *ap.* Rufin. *Gramm.* vi 556.7 (on Accius).

Between 169 and the period from which the first extant prose works containing literal quotations come considerable changes in Latin orthographical convention took place. There are comparatively few traces in these quotations of the orthographical peculiarities which mark early second century public inscriptions and the text of Plautus' comedies offered by the Ambrosian codex. To what extent modernisations come from the first philological edition of the tragedies rather than from the heedlessness of quoters or the scribes who copied the works of the quoters cannot now be fully ascertained.¹ One would suppose that titles were peculiarly liable to modernisation, especially those of tragedies still performed in the late republican theatre. I have tried to avoid medieval and renaissance forms in printing titles and quotations but not to impose any further rationality on the chaos of the παραδόσεις.

During the late second and most, if not all, of the first century B.C. the tragedies of Ennius and other Latin poets were read and studied intensively in schools.² They were used as a quarry by rhetoricians seeking examples of certain types of argument and figurated speech as well as by grammarians seeking unusual words and anomalous forms of accidence and syntax. Orators quoted famous passages in the Senate and the law courts.³ Literary men bandied brief, allusive quotations with each other in private letters⁴ and introduced quite lengthy

¹ Cf. the way quotations of Herodotus in Greek rhetorical works (e.g. the treatise Περὶ ὀψών) tend to lose their ionicisms.

² Cf. Rhetor. inc. *Her.* 4.7 on the copying out of Ennian *sententiae* and Pacuvian messenger-speeches; Cicero, *De orat.* 1.246 on the learning of Pacuvius' *Tenax* by heart.

³ C. Titius, 'uir aetatis Lucilianae', quite certainly alluded in a speech to Ennius 72-3 (Macrob. *Sat.* 3.13.13). L. Sempronius Atratinus may, like Crassus and Cicero (*Cael.* 18), have alluded to the *Médeia* at the trial of M. Caelius Rufus in 56 B.C. (Chirius Fortunatianus 3.7).

⁴ Cf., apart from Cicero, Varro, *Epist. Iuli Caesaris ap.* Non. p. 263.3 (~ Cicero, *Att.* 13.47.1). *Fam.* 9.16.4 shows that Pactus quoted from Accius' *Oenonius* in a letter to Cicero.

quotations into philosophical dialogues.¹ Poets made elaborate imitations not only in the genre of tragedy² but also in others, particularly that of epic.³

A very considerable amount of what we possess of Ennius' tragic writing is embedded in works of this period preserved either more or less whole, or in epitomes such as that by Pompeius Festus of the lexicon of Verrius Flaccus, or in quotations by the authors of late antiquity.⁴ Not all this comes directly from whole texts of the tragedies or even from the memory of the quoters. The practice of borrowing examples from previous writers rather than collecting them afresh had already begun in the sphere of technical writing.⁵

Cf., apart from Cicero, Varro, Γεροντοδιδάσκαλος *ap.* Non. p. 261.7. On Asinius Pollio see Tacitus, *Dial.* 21.

¹ For Virgil's *Aeneid* and tragedy see Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1-3, Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI** (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 241, 263 f., 304, 370 f.

² Cf. the quotation of the *Alcmeo* in the piece of Cicero's *Hortensius* quoted by Priscian (*Gramm.* II 250.12); of the *Médeia* in the piece of Varro's Γεροντοδιδάσκαλος quoted by Nonius (p. 261.7).

³ On the quotations of poetry in the anonymous rhetorical treatise addressed to Herennius and Cicero's *De inventione* see D. Matthes, *Listrium* III (1938), 35ff.; in the extant books of Varro's *De lingua Latina* R. Reitzenstein, *M. Terentius Varro und Johannes Mauropus* (Leipzig, 1901), H. Dahlmann, *Varro und die hellenistische Sprachtheorie* (Berlin, 1932), R. Schröter, 'Studien zur varronischen Erymologie', *Abh. Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. Mainz*, Geistes- u. Sozialw. Kl. 1989; Nr. 12; in the lexicon of Verrius Flaccus, R. Reitzenstein, *Verriani schae Epitome* (Breslau, 1887), Strzelecki, *Quaestiones Verrianae* (Warsaw, 1932). W. Zillinger, a scholar who made a very detailed study of Cicero's poetic quotations (*Cicero und die altrömischen Dichter* [Diss. Erlangen, 1911]), writes as

if Cicero always quoted either directly from a whole text or from memory of a whole text. He notes (p. 84) without offering any explanation that the mode of quotation employed in the *Orator* varies strikingly. At 164 a famous speech (Frag. inc. 80-2: probably from Pacuvius' *Iliona*) is quoted as if it were well known to the reader: *nisi forte sic loqui paenitet: 'qua tempestate Helenam Paris' et 'que sequuntur'*; Cicero's writings are full of similar quotations (e.g. *Diu.* 2.112, *Fusc.* 3.53, 3.58, etc.). At 155, on the other hand, in a discussion of anomalous accidence, two verses of tragedy (Ennius 44 and Pacuvius 82) metrically complete and yet defective in sense are quoted without apology; this is a mode of quotation frequently employed by the lexicographer Verrius Flaccus (cf. Vahlen, *E.P.R.*², p. LXVII, L. Rychlewski, *Eos XIII* (1948/9), fasc. 1, 186 ff.). It

Ennius' *Telephus* seems to have been read in the school attended by the fable writer Phaedrus (born in 17 B.C.):¹ However it is doubtful whether, at least in the schools of the capital, this and other tragedies long survived the attack of such partisans of modern poetry as Q. Caecilius Epirota and Remmius Palaemon.² Early imperial prose and poetry show no sign of the sort of acquaintance with the scripts of republican tragedy that grammar-school study might have provided. The fact that Seneca's quotations are few and mostly, if not all, at second hand is much more significant than the frequency of his denunciations.³ The links that can be found between his tragic scripts and those of the republican poets⁴ are nowhere near as extensive as those, for example, between Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ennius' *Annales* and may be due to imitation of Ovid and Varius, who, whatever formal critical views they acquired, would have remained deeply affected by what they read at school.⁵ The argument of Tacitus' *Dialogus* shows what conven-

is more likely that Cicero took the two verses from a grammarian's treatise than that he himself employed deliberately in a literary dialogue a technical mode of quotation. The quotation of two tragic verses (Trag. inc. 194-5) as if they came from a scene of Terence's *Phormio* at *Orat.* 157 indicates even more plainly Cicero's dependence on a grammatical source; this is a type of error found repeatedly in authors who take blocks of quotations from their predecessors (cf. Strzelecki, *Quaest. Verr.* pp. 3 ff., on Paulus' epitome of Festus' epitome of Verrius Flaccus).

¹ Cf. 3, epil. 33-4. It is possible that Phaedrus read the trimeter he quotes in a collection of *sententiae*. On the use of such collections in schools see K. Horna, *RE Suppl.* vi (1935), s.vv. *Gnome*, *Gnomendichtung*, *Gnomologien*, 74 ff., J. Barns, *CQ* xliiv (1950), 126 ff.

² Cf. Suetonius, *De gramm.* 16, 23. These *grammatici* followed rather than created a fashion; cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* 3.45, Horace, *Epist.* 1.19.7-8, 2.1.50-3, *Ars* 259-62, Ovid, *Am.* 1.15.19, *Trist.* 2.259-60.

³ Cf. *De ira* 3.37.5, *Epist.* 58.5, *op. Gell.* 12.2.2.

⁴ Cf. G. Carlsson, 'Die Überlieferung der Seneca-Tragödien', *Lunds Univ. Årsskrift*, N.F. Avd. 1, Bd. 21, No. 5 (1926), 58 ff. F. Strauss had denied that there were any (*De ratione inter Senecam et antiquas fabulas Romanas intercedente* [Diss. Rostock, 1887]).

⁵ Asinius Pollio wrote tragedies in conscious imitation of the republican poets (see Tacitus, *Diad.* 21).

tional attitudes were like during the reign of the Flavian emperors. For Curiatus Maternus, defending poetry against the sneers of the practical orator, Ovid's *Medea* and Varius' *Thyestes* are the classics of tragedy; Marcus Aper, defending modern oratory and attacking that of the ancients (i.e. of those after Cassius), can bring against the latter as an apparently irrefutable charge the fact that they frequently imitated the style of the republican tragedians. It would be wrong however to accept Leo's theory¹ that no one in Rome read the older republican poetry during the Julio-Claudian and early Flavian periods and that texts disappeared from libraries both public and private. The violence with which the fashionable view was expressed and remarks like that of Seneca at *Epist.* 114.13—*multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba*—suggest that some did not follow fashion.²

The fashion of admiring the old republican poets which M. Valerius Probus was supposed to have introduced³ and which made the emperor Hadrian express a preference for Ennius' epic poetry over Virgil's⁴ caused the scripts of at least some of Ennius' tragedies to be sought out and consulted. Fronto's pupil, Marcus Aurelius, the future emperor, Aulus Gellius (b. 123, educated in Rome)⁵ and Apuleius (b. about 123, educated in Carthage) seem occasionally to quote from them at first hand. But while the books of the *Annales* were often read in second-century schools⁶ the tragedies probably were not. In

¹ See *Pl. Forsch.* pp. 26 ff.

² Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.15) describes Britannicus uttering a poem that could have been the famous canticum from Ennius' *Andromacha* (fr. xxvii).

³ Suetonius, *De gramm.* 23. Signs of change can be seen in the tone of Martial at 11.90.6 and Quintilian at *Inst.* 1.8.8 (contrast 10.1.97). On Probus see N. Scivoletto, *GIF* xii (1959), 97 ff., K. Büchner, in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur* 1 (Zürich, 1961), pp. 335 ff.

⁴ Spartianus, *Hadri.* 16.6.

⁵ On Gellius' sources see L. Mercklin, *NJbb Suppl.* iii (1857-60), 633 ff., C. Hosius, *A. Gellii Noctium Atticarum Libri XX*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1903), pp. xvi ff.

⁶ Cf. Gellius 16.10, 18.5, 20.10.2.

general discussions of archaic poetry preserved from this century Ennius always figures as a writer of epic, never of tragedy; Pacuvius and Accius are usually named as the great tragedians of the Republic.¹

The only person after Apuleius who can be shown with probability to have handled a roll or codex containing an Ennian tragedy is the early fourth century grammarian Nonius Marcellus. The *Telephus* and the *Hectoris Iytra* appear to have been among those republican poems which he excerpted himself.² At some time in the fifth or the sixth century a reader of Orosius' *Historiae* consulted a copy of the seventh book of the *Annales* in order to gloss the historian's text.³ However, to judge by Macrobius' remarks about the literary tastes of his contemporaries,⁴ not even this work could have found a great many readers. The quotations of the tragedies which appear in works composed after Nonius' lexicon are probably all second or third hand. This cannot be indubitably demonstrated in every case but the frequency with which the authors of late antiquity admit to using older materials⁵ and the number of coincidences both between blocks of quotations in early and late technical

¹ See Fronto, p. 131.13, Gellius 13.2.1, Diomedes, *Gramm.* 1.490.12 ff. (Suetonius?). This had long been the orthodox view (cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.15.19, *Trist.* 2.359, Velleius 1.17.1, 2.9.3, Columella 1 praef. 30, Persius 1.76-8, Martial 11.90.6, Tacitus, *Dial.* 20, Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.97) and was perhaps as old as Horace, *Epist.* 2.1.55-6. Horace nevertheless thought Ennius' dramatic verse worthy of assault. Cicero joined Ennius with Pacuvius and Accius to form a classical tragic trio (*De orat.* 3.27, *Orat.* 36, *Opt. gen.* 18, *Ac.* 1.10, *Fin.* 1.4).

² Cf. Lindsay, *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin* (Oxford, 1901); for further analysis of the structure of Nonius' work along the same lines see Lindsay, *Philologus* LXIV (1905), 438 ff., Strzelecki, *Eos* XXXIV (1932-3), 113 ff., *De Filatio Capro Nonii Auctore* (Kraków, 1936), Rychlewska, in *Tragicæ* II, pp. 117 ff.

³ See Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius: Kriegsbilder aus Roms grosser Zeit* (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 78 ff.

⁴ See *Sat.* 1.4.17, 6.1.2, 6.1.5, 6.3.9, 6.9.9.

⁵ Cf., in particular, Priscian, *Gramm.* III 418.10 (at the beginning of a work which contains some of the longest quotations of republican tragedy extant).

writing and between arguments illustrated by particular quotations of republican poetry in early and late literary prose¹ should compel scholars to be at least hesitant in postulating a direct connection between any tragic fragment preserved in a work of late antiquity and a whole tragic text.

From this point the history of the text of Ennius' tragedies is coincident with those of the many works which carry quotations from them. Our evidence for some quotations is comparatively old (e.g. the fourth-century palimpsest of Cicero's *De republica*), for others recent (e.g. the book printed at Basle in 1521 containing Rufinian's *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis*), for some copious and good, for others (particularly lexicographical quotations) bad. I have found it necessary to express doubt concerning, or disbelief in, the $\pi\rho\alpha\tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\iota\varsigma$ at many points. Sometimes the ancient quoter had a faulty text² or misread³ or misunderstood an accurate text,⁴ but most errors must come from the inattention or incompetence of medieval scribes. Lack of knowledge of the original context often prevented them from reading obscure groups of letters correctly and continues to prevent modern scholars from correcting their errors in a manner likely to convince others.

¹ On Rufinian see Marx, *BPhW* x (1890), 1008, A. Gantz, *De Aquilae Romani et Iulii Rufiniani Exemplis* (Diss. Königsberg, 1909), W. Schaefer, *Quaestiones Rhetoricae* (Diss. Bonn, 1913); on Charisius and Diomedes, K. Barwick, *Remmius Palaemon und die römische Ars Grammatica* (*Philologus* Suppl. XV.2, 1922); on St. Jerome, C. Kunst, *De S. Hieronymi Studii Ciceronianis* (Diss. Vienna, 1918), p. 142; on the Ciceronian scholiasts, P. Hildebrandt, *De Scholiis Ciceronis Bobiensibus* (Diss. Göttingen, 1894), pp. 34 ff.; on Macrobius and the Virgilian scholiasts, H. D. Jocelyn, *CQ N.S.* xiv (1964), 280 ff., xv (1965), 126 ff.; on Priscian, L. Jeep, *Philologus* LXVII (1908), 12 ff., LXVIII (1909), 1 ff.

² Cf. the reading of v. 209 *caesae accidissent abtignae*... *trabes* (see Commentary).

³ Cf. Nonius' placing of fr. LXXXIII under the lemma *VAGAS*.

⁴ Cf. Verrius' placing of fr. xcvm under the lemma $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$, *baeulum*. Similar errors may have been made by Cicero or his source concerning the *exitium* of v. 44 (*Orat.* 155) and by Nonius' source, Lindsay's list 27 'Alph. Verb', concerning the *regredere* of v. 7 (p. 166.21).

VII. THE TITLES OF ENNIUS' TRAGEDIES

Most of the titles which head the quotations made by the ancient grammarians consist of proper names—*Achilles*, *Ajax*, *Alcmeo*, *Alexander*, *Andromacha*, *Andromeda*, *Athamas*, *Cresphontes*, *Eretheus*, *Heuba*, *Iphigenia*, *Medea*, *Melanippa*, *Nemea*, *Phoenix*, *Telamo*, *Telephus*, *Thyestes*. One title contains a Latin adjective—*Medea exul*; one the name of the author of the Attic original—*Achilles Aristarchi*; three contain Greek words not domiciled in second-century Latin—*Andromache aechmalotis*, *Eumenides*, *Hectoris lytra* (*Lytra*). Some of the spellings used by the grammarians could not possibly come from Ennius himself and there is reason to suppose that some of the very titles are equally late. Certain modern scholars have inferred from the titles *Achilles Aristarchi*, *Andromache aechmalotis* and *Medea exul*¹ that the grammarians quote from two Ennian plays about Achilles, from two about Andromache and from two about Medea. The substance of the grammarians' quotations supports strongly the idea of two Medea plays but leaves the issue open in the case of *Achilles* and *Andromacha*.²

Andromache aechmalotis should be considered along with the title *Ajax mastigophorus* which Nonius appears to attribute to Livius Andronicus at p. 207.32, the title *Philoctetes Lemnius* which Varro attributes to Accius at *Ling.* 7.11 and the titles *Phasma* and *Synaristosae* under which pieces of the comedies of Plautus otherwise known as *Mostellaria* and *Cistellaria* respectively are quoted in Verrius Flaccus' lexicon.³ What has hap-

¹ Stephanus' notion that *Hectoris lytra* and *Lytra* denote distinct plays has never found favour (*Fragmenta Poetarum Veterum Latinorum* [Geneva, 1564]).

² See *Commentary*, pp. 161 ff., 234 ff.

³ Cf. Festus, pp. 158.33, 394.18 for *Phasma* (contrast p. 166.19); pp. 390.8, 480.23 (for new evidence on the text see Fraenkel, *Philologus* LXXXVII [1932], 117 ff. [= *Kl. Beitr.* II 33 ff.]) for *Synaristosae* (contrast p. 512.10).

pened in each case is that some grammarian, not necessarily Nonius or Verrius, headed his quotation with the title of the Latin poet's Attic original taken from the διδασκαλῶν of the edition he consulted. Sheer caprice would have been his motive, not a desire to distinguish one play from another or to indicate titles actually used in the theatre for revival productions.¹

The mode of quotation used at Festus p. 282.9—*Ennius in Achille Aristarchi*—has no exact parallel in the remains of Latin lexicography. Nevertheless its similarity with the mode of reference used in the prologue of Plautus' *Poenulus*² should be treated as accidental. P. Scriverius³ thought that the quoter was trying to distinguish the play he was quoting from a second play about Achilles by Ennius; Bergk⁴ from a play about Achilles by another Latin poet. I suggest a more humdrum explanation: the quoter, not necessarily Verrius Flaccus in the first instance,⁵ was simply looking at or recalling the διδασκαλῶν at the beginning of the roll instead of the Latin title written at the end and on the στίλβος.

The titles *Eumenides* and *Hectoris lytra* would have been incomprehensible to those members of Ennius' first audiences who were ignorant of literary Greek. They do not appear outside the works of the grammarians Verrius, Nonius and

¹ Plautus, *Cas.* 32 may simply give a translation of Diphilus' title Κληροῦμενοι; there is no need to suppose that the revival performance for which some learned person composed the extant prologue was not advertised with the title *Casina*. Osann, *Anal. crit.* p. 164, lumped *Sortientes* and *Phasma* together as revival titles. Ritschl, *Parerga*, pp. 159, 165, 206, wrote more carefully; he treated *Sortientes* as a revival title and *Phasma* as a title used either for learned purposes or for stage revivals. Many later scholars (e.g. A. O. F. Lorenz, *Plautus: Mostellaria* [Berlin, 1866], pp. 2 f., Lindsay, *The Ancient Editions of Plautus* [Oxford, 1904], p. 1 n.) have adopted Osann's view of the Festus quotations alleging it to be Ritschl's.

² See above, p. 7.

³ *Collectanea Veterum Tragicorum Fragmenta* (Leiden, 1620), p. 8.

⁴ *Ind. lectt. Marburg* 1844, XI (= *Kl. phil. Schr.* I 225).

⁵ See *Commentary*, p. 161 n. 1.

Diomedes. It is possible that in the early second century the plays were advertised with other titles and that these titles were either unknown to¹ or ignored by the grammarians who used the plays as a quarry for unusual Latinity. The twenty-one comedies which ancient scholars agreed to be genuinely Plautine all had titles attaching to them which could be understood by speakers of Latin, some proper names (*Amphitruo*, etc.), some straight translations of the Attic title (*Mercator* ~ Ἐμποροσ, etc.), some of a native Latin type (*Cistellaria* ~ Συσκευαστήσσαι, etc.).² Terence retitled his version of Apollodorus' Ἐπιδικασόμενος as *Phormio* but allowed his other five comedies to be advertised with transliterations of their Attic titles although these must have been incomprehensible to many spectators. It is reasonable to suppose that Terence was following a new fashion in tune with the growing Hellenisation of the Roman stage and to suspect that all titles attaching to comedies and tragedies of earlier times which require a knowledge of Greek for their comprehension may have been bestowed by students of the Latin scripts rather than their authors.³

¹ Nonius seems to have possessed a roll containing the *Hectoris Iytra*; see *Commentary*, p. 290.

² The *fabula -aria* type of title continued to be used in the next century for freshly composed Atellan farces.

³ The small number of purely Greek titles from the third and early second century and of purely Latin titles from the late second was discussed by Osann, *Anal. crit.* pp. 161 ff., and Ritschl, *Parerga*, pp. 139 ff. Ritschl argued that theatrical practice fluctuated until Plautus established the fashion of using Latin titles. This is historically implausible and the evidence can be interpreted more economically in the way I have suggested. The trimeter *Acontizomenus fabula est prime proba* quoted by Charisius, p. 273.11 ff. may come from a prologue written for a revival performance of Naevius' version of an Ἀκοντιζόμενος (cf. Plautus, *Cas.* 31). On the other hand the practice of Caecilius and Pacuvius, like that of Terence, may well have fluctuated. The title *Hypobolimaenus Rastraria* which Nonius attributes to Caecilius on a number of occasions (pp. 16.17, 40.3, 89.14, 147.6, 176.6, 505.29) looks like a conflation of an old-style title, which must have been Caecilius' own, and a transliteration of the title of the Attic original. Since Cicero quotes the titles *Niptra* (*Tusc.* 2.48) and *Synephebi* (*Fin.* 1.4, *Opt. gen.* 18, *Nat. deor.* 3.72, *Cato* 24, *Tusc.* 1.31) and since their use gave

The title *Medea exul*, like the title *Hector proficiscens* attributed to Naevius by Priscian at *Gramm.* II 400.1, could in principle be interpreted as a mere translation of a Greek title (e.g. Μήδεια φεύγουσα) made either by Ennius himself or by a grammarian.¹ Greek grammarians commonly invented such titles when they wished to distinguish two scripts by the one poet about the one hero or heroine.² However the tragic verses quoted along with *Medea exul* clearly belong to the version of the extant Euripidean Μήδεια which is elsewhere quoted with the title *Medea*.³ Among the seventy tragedies of Euripides known to the scholars of Alexandria⁴ there was one apart from the extant Μήδεια which had the Colchian woman as a personage. But this is regularly quoted in our sources as the *Alyeús*. We should therefore suppose that *Medea exul* is a title of the type of *Parasitus piger* and *Parasitus medicus* (Plautus), *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* (Seneca), and was applied by some grammarian to Ennius' adaptation of Euripides' Μήδεια in order to distinguish it from another tragedy by Ennius about *Medea*.

A large number of fragments of tragic verse are quoted by Cicero and Varro without any mention of the title of the par-

him stylistic pain (cf. *Tusc.* 3.65 *ille Terentianus ipse se poeniens, id est éαυτὸν τιμωρόμενος*) we may suppose that no others were known for Pacuvius' version of Sophocles' Νιπτρα and Caecilius' version of Menander's Συνέφηβοι in the middle of the first century. Whether these plays ever possessed Latin titles is now anybody's guess.

¹ The titles *Faenerator* and *Subditivus* which Nonius (pp. 150.2, 543.23, 204.33, 514.31) attributes to Caecilius could be grammarians' translations of Greek titles. Nonius quotes a *Hypobolimaenus* at p. 178.16 (for *Hypobolimaenus Rastraria* see above, p. 60 n. 3) and an *Obolostates* at pp. 98.6, 154.10, 277.33, 279.40, 508.12.

² The *Souda* gives an Αἰὼς μανόμενος to Astydamas, an Ἀχιλλεύς Θεσπιοκρῆτος to Chaeremon and a Ἡρακλῆς περικαυόμενος to Spintharos. The absence of companions for these three plays in our sources is due to the rarity with which the three tragedians are quoted.

³ See *Commentary*, p. 342.

⁴ See above, p. 45.

The fragment quoted by Varro at *Ling.* 7.13 (fr. cxc)—*extemplo acceptum me necato* (Scaliger: *negato F*) *et filium*—can be got into the *Andromacha* with Vossius' change of *acceptum* to *acceptam*¹ or into the *Hecuba* with F. H. Bothe's further change of *filium* to *filiam*.²

In assigning the fragments I have followed the method of Columnna rather than that of Stephanus; more for the convenience of discussion than out of any confidence in my own ability to determine with certainty the plays which Cicero and Varro quoted on particular occasions. Nevertheless some assignments are more probable than others and I have tried to render explicit the reasoning behind those which I make.

Titles are sometimes omitted from the quotations of Festus, Nonius and Diomedes. In these cases it is unmethodical to assign the quotations to plays which are never formally quoted by these grammarians. The extant commentaries on Terence, Virgil, Horace and Cicero rarely give a title when they refer to Ennius. Where they do it is always a title we know from other sources. I am accordingly sceptical about O. Skutsch's suggestion³ that Terence quotes the first verse of an *Alcumena* by Ennius at *Em.* 590—*qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit*⁴—and that Donatus (see Ennius, *Trag.* fr. clxib) recognised the connection. In any case, while it seems reasonably certain that Plautus refers to a Latin version of Euripides' Ἀλκυμένη at *Rud.* 86,⁵ there are no good grounds for thinking Ennius the only person to have written tragedy at Rome in the early decades of the second century and thus necessarily the author of the version.

¹ *Castigationes et Notae*, p. 17 (in Scriverius, *Collectanea*).

² F. H. Bothe, *Poetae Scienti Latinorum*, vol. v (Leipzig, 1834), p. 48, compared Euripides, *Hek.* 391 ἡμεῖς δὲ μὲν ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ συμφορῆστέ. Columnna's discussion at Q. Ennii *Frag.* pp. 362-3 foreshadowed both suggestions.

³ *HSCPh* lxxi (1967), 128.

⁴ Cf. Plautus, *Rud.* I qui gentes omnes mariaque et terras movet.

⁵ See above, p. 6.

icular tragedy from which they come or their author. Sometimes, however, the hero or heroine who spoke them is named. The first editor of the Ennian fragments, Stephanus, printed under the extant titles only those fragments whose quoters made a specific assignation. Columnna and subsequent editors have with varying degrees of confidence attempted to assign for themselves the fragments which are quoted without assignation. They have assumed that Cicero and Varro knew at first hand all the plays which are named by Verritius, Nonius, Priscian and other grammarians and that they knew no play outside those named in our grammatical sources. These assumptions are not necessarily valid. Where Ennius is concerned there is no sign at all that Cicero knew the *Andromeda*, *Nemea* or *Phoenix*, few that he knew the *Athamas*, *Erechtheus*, or *Hecuba*. On the other hand he quotes no tragic verse as by Ennius which cannot be easily assigned to one of the known titles. Varro quotes two fragments as by Ennius which require textual emendation of a very unconvincing kind to make them fit any of the twenty-two plots to which we can attach titles.

At *Ling.* 5.14 (fr. clxxxvi) Varro quotes a fragment—*o terra Thraeca* (Fleckeisen: *treca F*) *ubi Liberi fanum inclutum | Maro locavit*—which would appear to the unprejudiced observer to come from the prologue of a play set in Thrace which was spoken by Maro the son of Dionysus (Liber). Leo¹ compared the opening verses of Euripides' Ἡλέκτρα: ὦ γῆς πόλιτον Ἄργος, Ἰνέχου ῥοαί, ὄθεν . . . ἔπλευσε, and Ἄλκηστις: ὦ δόμοισι Ἀδμήτῃ ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγώ . . . Ribbeck² altered *locavit* to *locavit* and interpreted the words as part of an apostrophe to the birth-place of Eumolpus in the *Erechtheus*. Vahlen³ gave them to the Polymestor of the *Hecuba*.

¹ *Gesch.* p. 187 n. 2. Cf. Bergk, *Philologus* xxxiii (1874), 291 (= *Kl. phil. Schr.* I 358).

² *Quaest. scen.* p. 262.

³ *E.P.R.*² p. 194.

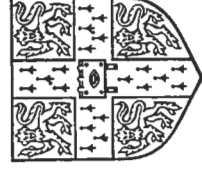
THE TRAGEDIES OF ENNIUS

THE FRAGMENTS
EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY

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