rival. Perhaps it was this religious duty (just like Heracles' sacrifices
with a good pretext to dispatch Philomela with the messenger

:lcker's 'proposal to incorporate the episode of Dryas ... in his
ıt, in fact, Welcker says (387) after quoting Hyginus' text is: 'Der Tod
:her Zwischenfall', but he immediately discredits this version of the
ıedy than to tragedy. Actually, it was Welcker who first associated
nicus.
efault of any evidence pointing to a more effective opening, which

a better place in a similar context than in a prologue, as suggested by
hen desperately tries to invent an appropriate speaker.
on the well-known Paestan fragment (T.B.L. Webster *Monuments*
3ICS Suppl. 20] [1967] 152), described and discussed by M. Bieber
first ascribed it to Sophocles' play.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE ROMAN THEATRE

E.J. Jory

It is perhaps as well to remind ourselves from time to time of the fact that our knowledge of the Ancient World is largely conditioned by chance, by the survival for 2000 years or more of scattered pieces of archaeological and epigraphic evidence and above all by the preservation of a small, and perhaps unrepresentative, sample of that World's literature. Consequently the picture we build up is not consistent, it is full of lights and shadows according to the wealth or paucity of the surviving evidence. No one has contributed more to the systematic synthesis of this scattered and scanty material in the area of the theatre than the late Professor T.B.L. Webster to whose memory these observations are dedicated.

There are some aspects of ancient life about which we think that we know a great deal – and there are others of which we admit that we know very little. And always there is the risk that we place so much emphasis on the evidence that has chanced to survive that our picture is distorted. There is the further risk that our classical training, concentrating as it does on the close study and analysis of literary texts, may lead us to form hasty and ill-considered judgements when such are lacking. I think that it is not unfair to say that this has generally been the case with attitudes to theatrical entertainment in Rome. The latest text of a stage production which has survived in its entirety is the *Adelphi* of Terence which was first produced at the Funeral Games of Aemilius Paulus in 160 B.C.[1] There were, of course, play revivals and we have scattered references to these revivals, notably in Cicero, down to the middle of the first century B.C. and even at irregular intervals in the Empire.[2] But for most scholars, interest in the Roman stage and study of stage entertainment ends with the death of Terence, or at the latest with that of Accius. Of the two most quoted works in English on the Roman theatre, Duckworth's *The nature of Roman comedy* devotes only five of its over five hundred pages to productions after the death of Accius and Beare's more general *Roman stage* allots only eight of its almost four hundred pages to the same topic. The absence of later literary texts has led to the assumption that sophisticated theatrical entertainment was a feature of Republican life which all but disappeared with the arrival of Imperial rule. More than that – even where it is acknowledged that such entertainment continued, the further assumption is made that later productions were inferior. In the two works cited above and in many others there are references to degeneration and trivial and degrading performances.[3]

But the non-literary evidence suggests quite a different picture. It was more than a hundred years after the performance of Terence's *Adelphi* that Rome saw the construction of its first permanent stone theatre. And the example set by Pompey in 55 B.C. was soon followed by Balbus in 13 B.C. and Marcellus either in the same year or in 11 B.C.[4] Suddenly, long after the writing of literary drama for public performance seems to have come to a halt, Rome was provided with three permanent and luxurious buildings devoted to scenic entertainment. And whatever political self-interest prompted the erection of these splendid monuments, their very existence indicates the importance of theatrical entertainment in the life of the people of Rome at the time

of transition from Republic to monarchy. As the centuries passed, enthusiasm for the theatre both increased in intensity and spread throughout the Romanized world. The great age of theatre building was in the first three centuries of our era.

Again, the number of days on which scenic entertainment was featured in the regular Roman festivals continuously increased throughout 700 years. It rose from eleven in the time of Plautus through about fifty-five at the death of Julius Caesar to one hundred and one in the mid-fourth century A.D.,[5] and the frequency of the *instaurationes* as well as of funeral and votive games meant that these figures represent only the minimum number of days in each year on which scenic performances were staged. Thus the evidence of the literary texts is misleading. The heyday of the Roman theatre was not in the Republic but in the Empire.

Precisely what went on in the theatres of the Empire is more difficult to establish, but there is considerable evidence to suggest that the general taste of the theatre-going public remained remarkably stable, and the thrust of this paper will be to set the changes we can observe within the framework of a basic continuity which persisted over hundreds of years.

The Theatre and the Gods

Let us start with the connexion between the theatres, the performances in them and the Gods. *Ludi Scaenici*, that is, scenic games, stage performances, were introduced to Rome from Etruria in the form of graceful dances to the accompaniment of the flute in 364 B.C. This was part of an attempt to appease the Gods and dispel a plague.[6] The experiment was unsuccessful on this occasion but the link between the *ludi scaenici* and the Gods remained. Scenic games came to form a regular part of many of the annual religious festivals while they were also performed at funerals and victory celebrations dedicated to the Gods in fulfilment of military leaders' vows. The games were preceded by a procession to the theatre from a temple, prescribed sacrificial rites and the symbolic placing of a chair in the theatre for the honoured God, Emperor or deceased member of the Imperial family.[7] And the connexion between the Gods and the stage performances was emphasized even in the siting of the theatres. These always seem to have been constructed in the neighbourhood of temples, often in such a position as to allow the Gods to watch the performances. When Pompey's political opponents objected to his planned permanent theatre in 55 B.C., Pompey was able to claim that the theatre was merely an adjunct to a shrine. He announced it not as a theatre but as a temple of Venus under which, he said, he had placed steps for watching the games. The fact that his sophistry may not have been universally accepted as a genuine belief[8] does not invalidate the premises on which he constructed it, and the link between shrines to the Gods and theatre constructions has been traced right through the centuries of Rome's theatrical buildings.[9] It was this link more than any other factor which provoked the violent attacks on the theatre by the Christian Fathers.[10]

The Theatre as Part of Roman Entertainment

But musical and dramatic performances were not the only form of entertainment at the shows; the *spectacula* and the *scaenici* had to compete for their audiences with the other offerings which went under the general name of *ars ludicra*, 'professional entertainment' or 'show business',[11] and which took place contemporaneously at the same venue.

Some idea of the general atmosphere in a theatre at a time
reached its peak of popularity can be gained from the su
Terence, a comedy which flopped on two occasions in the lat
successfully at the third attempt. The speaker of the prologi
manager, director who produced all of Terence's plays, a
survives, the prologue to the second performance, we have th
Mother-in-Law. When it was first presented an unprecedent
that it couldn't be seen or heard because the spectators had
rope-walker'. We have more from a second prologue, the pı
present you with *The Mother-in-Law* which I have never be
storm has overtaken it ... When I first began to produce it
match, the mobs of retainers, the general din, the shouting of
to drive me prematurely from the stage ... I put it on again, al
when a rumour spread that a gladiatorial combat was to b
shouting and creating a disturbance as they fought for thei
hold my ground. Now there is no disturbance, there is peac
perform'.[12] According to the *didascaliae*,[13] the first production
rope-walker or boxing match, was at the *ludi Megalenses*, a r
interrupted by the prospect of a gladiatorial combat, at the fi
160 B.C., a special occasion. Nonetheless the audience reacti
boxing matches and gladiatorial combats all had their p
dramatic performances, and it is quite clear that the audier
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were obviously a bustling, cheerful, noisy throng out for a d
best entertainment on offer. The atmosphere must have rese
concert, with the temporary wooden theatre building and s
itinerant pedlars, and the thousands of spectators, rather tha
or the Shakespearean theatre at Stratford.

Terence was writing in the mid-second century B.C. whe
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taste of the theatre-going public, the types of perform
atmosphere seem to have varied little over the centuries, e
established. At the games of Lucius Anicius, unusual becaus
artists, the foreign virtuosi were forced to adapt their pres
battle in which real boxers also took part.[15] Much later, th
(*sescenti*) in a performance of *Clytemnestra*, 3000 *crateres* in
cavalry engaged in battle on stage may not have been to Cice
delighted the popular audience.[16] The spectators who filled
the morning were the same individuals who in the afternoon
Rome's first 'amphitheatre',[17] and gladiators were set to perf
fateful Ides of March in 44 B.C.[18] Horace, with echoes of bot
touches and complains of the plebs interrupting a play with
knights' enthusiasm for the spectacle of *equitum turmae pe*
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Some idea of the general atmosphere in a theatre at a time when the writing of drama had just reached its peak of popularity can be gained from the surviving Prologues to the *Hecyra* of Terence, a comedy which flopped on two occasions in the late 160's B.C. before being performed successfully at the third attempt. The speaker of the prologues was Ambivius Turpio the actor, manager, director who produced all of Terence's plays, and from the first prologue which survives, the prologue to the second performance, we have this fragment. 'This play is called *The Mother-in-Law*. When it was first presented an unprecedented calamity befell it with the result that it couldn't be seen or heard because the spectators had stupidly set their hearts on a tight-rope-walker'. We have more from a second prologue, the prologue to the third performance. 'I present you with *The Mother-in-Law* which I have never been able to put on in silence. Such a storm has overtaken it . . . When I first began to produce it a great deal of talk about a boxing match, the mobs of retainers, the general din, the shouting of the women spectators all combined to drive me prematurely from the stage . . . I put it on again, all went well for a while this time, then when a rumour spread that a gladiatorial combat was to be presented, the crowds flocked in, shouting and creating a disturbance as they fought for their places, so much so that I couldn't hold my ground. Now there is no disturbance, there is peace and quiet, now I have a chance to perform'.[12] According to the *didascaliae*,[13] the first production, cut short by anticipation of a tight-rope-walker or boxing match, was at the *ludi Megalenses*, a regular religious festival; the second, interrupted by the prospect of a gladiatorial combat, at the funeral games of Aemilius Paulus in 160 B.C., a special occasion. Nonetheless the audience reaction was similar. Tight-rope-walkers, boxing matches and gladiatorial combats all had their place in early shows alongside the dramatic performances, and it is quite clear that the audience were not at all sure what sort of entertainment to expect, let alone the title of any play, the author, or the names of the cast. They were obviously a bustling, cheerful, noisy throng out for a day's enjoyment and looking for the best entertainment on offer. The atmosphere must have resembled that of a fair-ground, or a pop concert, with the temporary wooden theatre building and seats, the food and drink stores, the itinerant pedlars, and the thousands of spectators, rather than the muted confines of the Old Vic or the Shakespearean theatre at Stratford.

Terence was writing in the mid-second century B.C. when temporary stages were sometimes erected at venues shared with other forms of public and private entertainment,[14] but the catholic taste of the theatre-going public, the types of performances presented, and the general atmosphere seem to have varied little over the centuries, even when permanent theatres were established. At the games of Lucius Anicius, unusual because of the presence of numerous Greek artists, the foreign virtuosi were forced to adapt their presentations and extemporize a mock battle in which real boxers also took part.[15] Much later, the presence of 'thousands' of mules (*sescenti*) in a performance of *Clytemnestra*, 3000 *crateres* in the Trojan horse and infantry and cavalry engaged in battle on stage may not have been to Cicero's taste, but the spectacle obviously delighted the popular audience.[16] The spectators who filled the two *caveae* of Curio's theatre in the morning were the same individuals who in the afternoon watched the gladiatorial displays in Rome's first 'amphitheatre',[17] and gladiators were set to perform in the Theatre of Pompey on the fateful Ides of March in 44 B.C.[18] Horace, with echoes of both Terence and Cicero, adds his own touches and complains of the plebs interrupting a play with demands for bears and boxers, of the knights' enthusiasm for the spectacle of *equitum turmae peditumque catervae* and a triumphal *pompa* which caused performances to last for as long as four hours, of the displays of wild animals and of the general din.[19] Augustus took great pleasure in watching boxing-matches in the theatre,[20] Galba showed his entrepreneurial flair when as praetor in charge of the Floralia, a

festival where light entertainment always seems to have predominated,[21] he introduced an elephant walking on a tight-rope, and a similar story is told of Nero.[22] Acrobats and tight-rope-walkers re-appear in Juvenal, and another fifty years on the picture seems much the same. Among the attractions in the theatre at Carthage, Apuleius lists mimes, comedians, tragedians, tight-rope-walkers, magicians, pantomimes and even philosophers. A similar variety show was put on by Carinus in the late third century.[23] Can it really be argued that this is very different from the situation in the second century B.C.?

Theatre Buildings and Scenery

Roman accounts of the origins of scenic games emphasize primitive celebration at rustic festivals which preceded the introduction of religious dances on a stage in 364 B.C. and the adoption of dramatic presentations on the Greek model in 240 B.C.[24] Down to 55 B.C. and the construction of Pompey's theatre, the stages on which these dramas were performed and the theatres in which they were viewed were temporary wooden structures, but we should avoid any tendency to equate 'temporary' with 'crude' and 'unsophisticated': an assumption for which there is little evidence or justification.[25] Theatrical activity was intimately connected with three interlocking facets of Roman life, worship of Gods, the honouring of the dead, and individual self-glorification or, put another way, with religious ceremonial, eulogy of the family and vote-winning. All three aspects tend to stimulate and encourage extravagant display and excessive expenditure, and what evidence we have suggests that such display and expenditure were regular features of theatrical shows from a very early period.

As early as the beginning of the second century, we find the Senate taking measures to curb expenditure on both votive games and the regular festivals. In 186 a limit was placed on how much of the money collected for the purpose from the conquered cities of Aetolia M. Fulvius was permitted to spend on the games he had vowed to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and an identical restriction was placed on expenditure for the votive games of Q. Fulvius in 179. In 182 the demands imposed on Roman subjects both in Italy and overseas by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus to finance his aedilician games were so crippling that the Senate passed a decree which prevented such impositions and thus either explicitly or implicitly limited the outlay on the regular festivals.[26] Although these measures were partly prompted by a concern for Rome's subjects, the need for them shows that even at that time the cost of the games was manifestly excessive. And granted that M. Fulvius was a patron of the poet Ennius whom he took with him on his Aetolian campaign, that Greek Dionysiac artists came to Rome in honour of his victory and that there is the distinct possibility that Ennius' work on the capture of Ambracia was performed at these games, it seems likely that the scenic entertainments he presented were on the same lavish scale that Livy records for the games in general.[27]

By this time Roman commanders and Roman soldiers had come into more or less regular contact with the impressive Greek theatres of Italy, Sicily, mainland Greece and Asia, and although we have no details of the planned theatrical structures of 179 and 154 it is difficult to accept that they were not to be modelled on or adapted from Greek precedents.[28] If so, then we see once again the emphasis on grandeur that the early Roman scenic games engendered. When we reach the first century the evidence is much more extensive, and yet the startling temporary structures described for this period must have themselves had a series of only slightly less extravagant precedents. We need only recall the elaborately painted *scaenae frons* in the theatre

of Claudius Pulcher in 99 B.C., the awnings introduced by Ca
60 B.C. to protect the spectators from the mid-day sun, the ar
Libo's theatre in 63, the silver stages of Antonius and Muren
of Catulus in the same decade, the enormous three-tiered st
beams decorated with thousands of statues erected by Ae
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The Sophisticated Spectator

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appropriate[33] and the experts in the audience could recogni
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tragedy and comedy, but we have almost no knowledge of ho
Imperial period. We can however judge something of what th
been from the evidence of the pantomime dance, a type o
popular after the death of Julius Caesar and which came
stage.[35]

Pantomimes (in literary sources the noun always refers to
were silent solo dancers who interpreted with movement an
the accompaniment of a variety of musical instruments in
castanets and even organs. Each production, as in tragedy, v
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interact, the characters in the pantomime were portrayed s
the rôles in a sequence of interlinked but consecutive solo
representing character and emotions (ἤθη καὶ πάθη), and
was the use of the hands and fingers. So dominant was t
expression 'talking with the hands' becomes almost a clic
pantomime builds pictures with his hands as though using
gives us a detailed account of how the famous pantomime P
theme, the story of the love of Ares and Aphrodite.[37] This pe
the criticisms of Demetrius the cynic and took place in
dispensing with all vocal and instrumental accompanime

of Claudius Pulcher in 99 B.C., the awnings introduced by Catulus in 78 and Lentulus Spinther in 60 B.C. to protect the spectators from the mid-day sun, the architecturally outstanding roof over Libo's theatre in 63, the silver stages of Antonius and Murena, the gold of Petreius and the ivory of Catulus in the same decade, the enormous three-tiered structure of marble, glass and gilded beams decorated with thousands of statues erected by Aemilius Scaurus in 58 B.C. and the ingenious dual-purpose double theatre of Curio in 52 B.C. to see the continual desire for ostentatious innovation.[29] Thus the evidence we have suggests that, from the beginning of the second century B.C. at the latest, theatrical performances were presented in a context of spectacular and competitive displays of wealth and influence which lasted well into the Imperial period, when rivalry between successive Emperors further inflamed the already existing tendencies to excess.

The Sophisticated Spectator

There are a number of references to audience reactions in the theatrical productions of the Republic which point to keen attention to the detail of both play and acting on the part of some of the spectators of Roman drama. 'If an actor makes a movement that is a little out of time with the music or recites a verse that is one syllable too short or too long he is hissed and hooted off the stage', says Cicero.[30] Furthermore the strict training in gesture and voice production undergone by the actors would have been unnecessary unless the audience could appreciate the results.[31] Precise delivery was demanded of the actor and movement of the dancer,[32] casting had to be appropriate[33] and the experts in the audience could recognize the character about to speak from the first note blown by the flute-player.[34] All of these examples are drawn from observations of tragedy and comedy, but we have almost no knowledge of how these dramas were presented in the Imperial period. We can however judge something of what the attitudes of the audience may have been from the evidence of the pantomime dance, a type of entertainment which only became popular after the death of Julius Caesar and which came to dominate the Roman imperial stage.[35]

Pantomimes (in literary sources the noun always refers to the performer rather than the genre), were silent solo dancers who interpreted with movement and gesture a libretto sung by a choir to the accompaniment of a variety of musical instruments including flutes, pipes, cymbals, lyres, castanets and even organs. Each production, as in tragedy, was based on a story from mythology or history and, unlike a dramatic performance where the characters appear on stage together and interact, the characters in the pantomime were portrayed successively, as the actor interpreted the rôles in a sequence of interlinked but consecutive solo dances. The dancer concentrated on representing character and emotions (ἤθη καὶ πάθη), and the most important aspect of his art was the use of the hands and fingers. So dominant was the movement of the hands that the expression 'talking with the hands' becomes almost a cliché, and Cassiodorus tells us that the pantomime builds pictures with his hands as though using the letters of the alphabet.[36] Lucian gives us a detailed account of how the famous pantomime Paris danced a particular pantomime theme, the story of the love of Ares and Aphrodite.[37] This performance was undertaken to silence the criticisms of Demetrius the cynic and took place in the reign of Nero, the pantomime dispensing with all vocal and instrumental accompaniment.

That is what he did; enjoining silence upon the stampers and flute-players and upon the chorus itself, quite unsupported, he danced the amours of Aphrodite and Ares, Helius tattling, Hephaestus laying his plot and trapping both of them with his entangling bonds, the gods who came in on them, portrayed individually, Aphrodite ashamed, Ares seeking cover and begging for mercy, and everything that belongs to this story, in such wise that Demetrius was delighted beyond measure with what was taking place and paid the highest possible tribute to the dancer; he raised his voice and shouted at the top of his lungs: 'I hear the story that you are acting, man, I do not just see it; you seem to me to be talking with your very hands!'

We can only marvel at the range of abilities that was demanded by the performance; the pantomime had to dance male and female rôles in succession, he had to portray the emotions of love, rage, jealousy, cunning, shame and fear in the leading rôles of Ares, Aphrodite and Hephaestus – and in the minor rôles of the Gods and of Helius, convey to the audience on the one hand the snivelling character of the informer, on the other the boisterous rugby change-room humour of the Gods. It must have been essential for his whole appearance, his gait and his deportment to change in each act to conform with the character whose rôle he was dancing. Changing the mask must have been a help, as well as the change of costume, and the music surely contributed to the dramatic illusion, a forerunner perhaps of our background music or mood music. Nonetheless the pantomime was working within a very restricted range of options. The pressure on him when each characterization was limited to a single scene, and the whole story made up of a series of vignettes in every one of which he was sole performer in the spotlight, must have been enormous. And this story is only one example; other myths presented the same or similar demands: 'Indeed', says Lucian, 'the most surprising part of it is that within the selfsame day we are shown at one time Athamas in a frenzy, at another Ino terrified, later on the same dancer is Atreus and the next Thyestes; then he becomes Aegisthus or Aerope; yet they are all but a single man'.[38]

Such sophistication demanded keen attention from the audience, in particular an audience without opera-glasses and seated fifty yards or more from the stage; and in fact we have plenty of evidence that the audiences were alert, sophisticated and critical of inappropriate casting or inept performances. In Antioch, for example, on one occasion when a very tiny dancer came on stage to dance the rôle of the mighty warrior Hector, the audience shouted in chorus 'Hey, Astyanax! Where's Hector?', and Luxorius levels the same sort of criticism against a pygmy (girl) dancing the tall Andromache in sixth-century Carthage. Then there was another occasion when an audience took exception to a very tall pantomime dancing the rôle of Capaneus making his assault on the walls of Troy: 'You don't need a ladder', someone cried out, 'Step over the wall'. If these examples can be said to show a ready wit and a good eye for the ludicrous rather than a sophisticated appreciation of the dance, there are others where we are left in no doubt about what the audience expected. Lucian is highly critical of a performance he himself saw when the dancer, dancing the story of the birth of Zeus, with Cronos eating his children, slipped into portraying the misfortunes of Thyestes because the similarity of the theme, eating of children, had led him astray. Clearly the audience knew both stories, and how they should be danced.[39]

Again there are several stories connected with the famous pantomime Pylades, preserved by Macrobius, which tell us a great deal about the art of pantomime and its appreciation. Pylades had a young pupil called Hylas whom he had trained so well that they eventually became rivals

in public performances. On one occasion when Hylas was d
reached the words τὸν μέγαν 'Αγαμέμνονα 'Great Agame
large, tall man. Pylades was in the audience and, unable to
'You're making him tall, not great'. At this, the audience took
the same story, making him put his money where his mouth
to the same words τὸν μέγαν 'Αγαμέμνονα he portraye
taking the stance of Rodin's famous sculpture, for, as he sa
much as thinking on behalf of everyone. We see here how su
correspondingly how alert and sensitive the audience need
occasion, when Hylas was dancing the rôle of the blind Oe
and never putting a foot wrong, Pylades made just one critic
audiences were as appreciative of the refinements of the art
was dancing the role of *Hercules Furens*, and the audience
thought that he was not preserving the gait and rhythm a
strangely hesitant, or perhaps drunk. Angrily Pylades tor
dancing the role of a madman!'.[40]

On the other hand, a pantomime could go too far in strivi
Ajax, who had gone mad after his defeat by Odysseus in the
so carried away by his impersonation that he rushed across
man who was keeping time with the iron shoe, snatched a flu
hit the unfortunate Odysseus who happened to be standin
with it, that he was only saved from death, says Lucian, by hi
interesting, and I quote direct. Lucian tells us that 'the whole
and shouting and flinging up their garments, for the riff-
ignorant took no thought for propriety and, unable to distin
bad, thought that this sort of display was the pinnacle of min
more refined (ἀστειότεροι), on the other hand, understood
going on, but instead of showing their disapproval by keepi
the absurdity of the dancing'. Later on the same day, whe
identical rôle of Ajax, he portrayed the madness with such r
for keeping within the conventions of dance.[41] Elsewhere to
not lapse into bad taste, for example by exaggerated interpr
or manliness as savagery or bestiality.[42]

Thus in the pantomime audiences of the Empire we see th
vulgarity that we noted in the dramatic audiences of the
Roman theatrical entertainment, it is a case of '*plus ça cha*

Notes

1. The date is taken from the didascalic notice. The sceptical att
Mattingley in *Athenaeum* 37 (1959) 148–173, while valuable
justify wholesale rejection of the evidence, but see further his
5 (1963) 12-61.
2. Presentation of complete Roman dramas in the Empire is r

in public performances. On one occasion when Hylas was dancing the role of Agamemnon and reached the words τὸν μέγαν 'Αγαμέμνονα 'Great Agamemnon', Hylas attempted to portray a large, tall man. Pylades was in the audience and, unable to bear this interpretation, shouted out 'You're making him tall, not great'. At this, the audience took a hand and forced Pylades to dance the same story, making him put his money where his mouth was, so to speak. When Pylades came to the same words τὸν μέγαν 'Αγαμέμνονα he portrayed the great man thinking, possibly taking the stance of Rodin's famous sculpture, for, as he said, nothing befitted a great leader as much as thinking on behalf of everyone. We see here how subtle the interpretation could be, and correspondingly how alert and sensitive the audience needed to be to appreciate it. On another occasion, when Hylas was dancing the rôle of the blind Oedipus, moving with great assurance and never putting a foot wrong, Pylades made just one critical comment, 'You can see'. But not all audiences were as appreciative of the refinements of the art as Pylades. One day Pylades himself was dancing the role of *Hercules Furens*, and the audience started mocking him because they thought that he was not preserving the gait and rhythm appropriate to a dancer. He seemed strangely hesitant, or perhaps drunk. Angrily Pylades tore off his mask and said, 'Idiots, I'm dancing the role of a madman!'.[40]

On the other hand, a pantomime could go too far in striving after realism. A dancer portraying Ajax, who had gone mad after his defeat by Odysseus in the contest for the spoils of Achilles, was so carried away by his impersonation that he rushed across the stage, ripped the clothes off the man who was keeping time with the iron shoe, snatched a flute from one of the accompanists and hit the unfortunate Odysseus who happened to be standing nearby such a blow over the head with it, that he was only saved from death, says Lucian, by his cap. The reaction of the audience is interesting, and I quote direct. Lucian tells us that 'the whole theatre went mad with Ajax, leaping and shouting and flinging up their garments, for the riff-raff (συρφετώδεις) and the totally ignorant took no thought for propriety and, unable to distinguish what was good from what was bad, thought that this sort of display was the pinnacle of mimicry of the emotion of madness. The more refined (ἀστειότεροι), on the other hand, understood well and were ashamed of what was going on, but instead of showing their disapproval by keeping silent, they applauded to cover up the absurdity of the dancing'. Later on the same day, when a rival pantomime was acting the identical rôle of Ajax, he portrayed the madness with such restraint and delicacy as to win praise for keeping within the conventions of dance.[41] Elsewhere too Lucian stresses that dancers should not lapse into bad taste, for example by exaggerated interpretations of daintiness as effeminacy, or manliness as savagery or bestiality.[42]

Thus in the pantomime audiences of the Empire we see the same mixture of sophistication and vulgarity that we noted in the dramatic audiences of the Republic. As with other aspects of Roman theatrical entertainment, it is a case of '*plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*'.

Notes

1. The date is taken from the didascalic notice. The sceptical attack on the value of the *didascaliae* by H.B. Mattingley in *Athenaeum* 37 (1959) 148-173, while valuable in pointing out inconsistencies, does not justify wholesale rejection of the evidence, but see further his article 'The chronology of Terence' *RCCM* 5 (1963) 12-61.
2. Presentation of complete Roman dramas in the Empire is rarely recorded but may not have been as

exceptional as generally assumed, at least in the first century. Tragedy continued to be written for the stage, and by men of consular rank, as the case of Pomponius Secundus makes clear (Tac.*Ann.* 11.13 cf. Quint. *I.O.* 10.1.98, Pliny *Ep.* 7.17). Quintilian claims that Pomponius and Seneca disputed in their prefaces whether the phrase *gradus eliminat* was suitable tragic diction (*I.O.* 8.3.31), a tenuous link between the two which may or may not be relevant both to the authorship and public performance of 'Seneca's' tragedies. An inscription from Aeclanum shows that both Menandrian and native Latin comedies were still being composed perhaps for public performance (*CIL* 9.1164 = *ILS* 2953) as is also suggested by Quintilian (*I.O.* 11.3.73). The *actores comoediarum* Demetrius and Stratocles seem to have performed in the theatre, possibly Terence (*I.O.* 11.3.178–82), as did other *comoedi* (*I.O.* 6.2.35 cf. 11.3.112). Tragedy was known (Sen. *Ep.* 80.7–8) and other *actores scaenici* were connected with performances of great poetry (*I.O.* 11.3.4) but precisely what form these presentations took is unclear. A *togata*, the *Incendium* of Afranius, was performed under Nero (Suet. *Nero* 11), and an Atellane farce, played as an exodium, which dealt with the story of Paris and Oenone, brought about the downfall of its consular author Helvidius Priscus under Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 10). A carved mask from Khamissa with the inscription EUNUC from the second century theatre there probably refers to the Terentian play, St. Gsell *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa*, vol. I. *Khamissa* 111. Donatus mentions contemporary performances of the *Andria* where female roles were performed by actresses (*as Andr.* 716.1) Hist. Aug. *Hadrian* 19.6 records performances of comedy and tragedy in the theatre, and evidence for the attribution of roles to actors in some MSS of Plautus and Terence also indicates a life for the plays in the early Empire, see my ' "Algebraic" notation in dramatic texts' *BICS* 10 (1963) 75; H.D. Jocelyn *The tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge 1967) 49f.

3. 'When we ask what kinds of performances took place in these buildings, the answer is doubtful and disappointing. Such information as we possess suggests that the entertainment normally provided in the imperial theatres consisted of trivial or degrading performances, whether mime, recitation, pantomime or even gladiatorial combat', W. Beare *The Roman stage* (3rd ed.) (London 1964) 233.
4. Theatre of Pompey: W. Drumann and P. Groebe *Geschichte Roms* IV (2nd ed.) (Leipzig 1908) 526–530; of Balbus: Suet. *Aug.* 29; Dio 54.25; Pliny *NH* 36.60; of Marcellus: Suet. *Aug.* 29; Dio 53.30.5; 54.26.1; Pliny *NH* 8.65. See also M. Bieber *The history of the Greek and Roman theater* (2nd ed.) (Princeton 1961) 181ff.
5. L.R. Taylor 'The opportunities for dramatic performances in the time of Plautus and Terence' *TAPA* 68 (1937) 284–304 and *CIL* I² 299–300.
6. Livy 7.2.1–7.3.2; cf. Val. Max. 2.4.4.
7. For the *pompa*, see Tertullian *de spectaculis* 10.1–2 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.71, and cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.22–25; for the chair, Dio 44.6.3, 53.30.6, 58.4.4, 72.31.2, 73.17.4, 75.4.1; Tac. *Ann.* 2.83; V. Ehrenberg and A.H.M. Jones *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (2nd ed.) (Oxford 1955) 94a 50–54; J.A. Hanson *Roman theater-temples* (Princeton 1959) 81ff., and especially L.R. Taylor 'The *sellisternium* and the theatrical *pompa*' *CP* 30 (1935) 122ff. and *CP* 32 (1937) 230 ff.; also S. Weinstock 'The image and chair of Germanicus' *JRS* 47 (1957) 146 ff. For worship of the emperor see Ehrenberg and Jones 102.5ff.; *AE* 1927, 158; *AE* 1947, 53; and POxy. 2476.1ff. On the general question of the theatre and the gods see A. Piganiol *Recherches sur les jeux Romains* 137ff. and W. Weismann *Kirche und Schauspiel* (Würzburg 1972) passim.
8. Tertullian *de spectaculis* 10.5. Yet Pliny says that Pompey's games celebrated the dedication of the temple of Venus Victrix (*NH* 8.20 cf. Aul. Gell. *NA* 10.1.7), see S. Weinstock *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971) 93, and the allegations made by Cicero against Clodius in 57 B.C., however coloured by legal rhetoric (*de harusp. resp.* 21–26), show that the religious aspects of the *ludi scaenici* were then a significant factor in Roman political and social life; cf. Hanson op. cit. (n. 7) 45f. The situation seems unchanged even in Quintilian's time (*IO* 3.8.28f.). For political factors influencing opposition to the theatre see E. Frézouls 'Le theatrum lapideum et son contexte politique' in H. Zehnacher (ed.) *Théâtre et spectacles dans l'antiquité* (Brill 1983) 193ff.
9. For Pompey's theatre, see Tertullian *de spectaculis* 10.5; Aul. Gell. *NA* 10.1.6–7; Pliny *NH* 8.20; Suet. *Claudius* 21.1; for the earlier theatres, Hanson op. cit. (n. 7) 1 59ff.

10. See e.g. Tertullian *de spectaculis* 4–15; J.H. Waszinck *Vig. Chri*
11. Cf. W. Beare *The Roman stage* (2nd ed.) (London 1955) 10f. 231 n. 2.
12. Prol. 1.1–5; 2.29–30, 33–36, 38–44.
13. For the value of the *didascaliae*, see n.1 above.
14. The scanty evidence for the sites of early scenic performances is It is clear that in some funeral games the *forum* was the s presentations (Livy 31.50.4, 200 B.C.). Gladiatorial games were *funebres* in 264 B.C. (Livy *Ep.* 16; Val. Max. 2.4.7) and since the f the dead of distinguished families (Polybius 6.53) this may h before the building of amphitheatres, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 9.7.16; Suet. J 17, 85–86. Under the Emperors gladiators are still found in the scenic performances were presented in the Circus Maximus Polybius 30.22.1. L. Anicius employed this venue to stage the e the games to celebrate his victory. See Walbank ad. loc., who cit *BCH* 23 (1899) 564f. (1) 28. For possible use of the Circus on
15. Athenaeus 615d.
16. *Ad fam.* VII.1.2. The celebrations in the theatre included both m 39.38.
17. Pliny *NH* 36.116–120. Doubt has often been expressed about the way of either proving or disproving it. The *lex coloniae geneti duoviri* at Urso should in each year celebrate four full days of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, thus for the first time making *ludi sc* an annual religious festival: FIRA 1.182 LXX *II viri . . . in suo r Iuoni Minervae deis deabusq(ue) quadrididuom m(aiore) p(art decurionum faciunto . . .* Ennodius informs us (Panegyric in The in 105 B.C. the consuls Rutilius and Manlius introduced gla games, a statement which may be an inference from the story i employed instructors from the gladiatorial school of Aurelius S F. Bücheler argues that the two statements are independ Gladiatorenspiels' *RLM* 38 (1883) 476–479. G. Ville *MAH* 72 (1 fact, although gladiatorial games took the place of chariot-rac 42 B.C. (Dio 47.40.6), such cases were exceptional and the co Roman religious festivals in the early years of Augustus' reign gladiators at the Panathenaic festival in Athens (Dio 5 *Sittengeschichte Roms* (10th ed.) (Vienna 1934) II 51ff. and K.
18. App. *BC* 2.118; Dio 44.16.2; Nic. Damasc. 26 cf. N. Horsfall
19. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.184–207. For displays of animals in the theatre see length of performances of plays see P. Walcot *Greek drama* (
20. Suet. *Aug.* 44.3, cf. 45.2.
21. Ovid *Fasti* V 348–354.
22. Suet. *Galba* 6, cf. Pliny *NH* 8.5; Suet. *Nero* 11; Dio 61(62) 17.
23. Apuleius *Florida* 18 – *hic alias mimus halucinatur, comoedus ser periclitatur, praestigiator furatur, histrio gesticulatur ceterique omn artis est . . .* cf. ibid. 5 and Hist. Aug. *Carinus* 19.1. Solo recitals *Ecl.* 6.11, Donatus *Vita Verg.* 90.
24. Livy 7.2; Val. Max. 2.4.4; Horace *Ep.* 2.1.139–213; Verg. *Geor* Tibullus 2.1.51–8.

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ctaculis 10.1–2 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 2.71, and cf. Verg. *Georg*.
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10. See e.g. Tertullian *de spectaculis* 4–15; J.H. Waszinck *Vig. Christ*. 1 (1947) 13ff.
11. Cf. W. Beare *The Roman stage* (2nd ed.) (London 1955) 10f. and, for *ars ludicra*, *Hermes* 98 (1970) 231 n. 2.
12. Prol. 1.1–5; 2.29–30, 33–36, 38–44.
13. For the value of the *didascaliae*, see n.1 above.
14. The scanty evidence for the sites of early scenic performances is discussed by Hanson op. cit. (n. 7) 9–26. It is clear that in some funeral games the *forum* was the site of both dramatic and gladiatorial presentations (Livy 31.50.4, 200 B.C.). Gladiatorial games were first introduced in Rome as part of *ludi funebres* in 264 B.C. (Livy *Ep*. 16; Val. Max. 2.4.7) and since the forum was the focal point for honouring the dead of distinguished families (Polybius 6.53) this may have been a regular site for such games before the building of amphitheatres, cf. Cic. *Phil*. 9.7.16; Suet. *Julius* 39.1 and see Hanson op. cit. (n. 7) 17, 85–86. Under the Emperors gladiators are still found in the forum, Suet. *Aug*. 43. That on occasion scenic performances were presented in the Circus Maximus is clear from Athenaeus XIV 615 = Polybius 30.22.1. L. Anicius employed this venue to stage the extraordinary display of Greek artists at the games to celebrate his victory. See Walbank ad. loc., who cites as a parallel from Hellenistic Greece *BCH* 23 (1899) 564f. (1) 28. For possible use of the Circus on another occasion see Livy 41.27.
15. Athenaeus 615d.
16. *Ad fam*. VII.1.2. The celebrations in the theatre included both musical and gymnastic performances, Dio 39.38.
17. Pliny *NH* 36.116–120. Doubt has often been expressed about the veracity of this story, but there seems no way of either proving or disproving it. The *lex coloniae genetivae Ursonensis* (44 B.C.) prescribes that *duoviri* at Urso should in each year celebrate four full days of *munera ludosue scaenicos* in honour of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, thus for the first time making *ludi scaenici* and *munera* a simple alternative at an annual religious festival: FIRA 1.182 LXX *II viri . . . in suo mag(istratu) munus ludosue scaenicos Iovi Iuoni Minervae deis deabusq(ue) quadrididuom m(aiore) p(arte) diei, quot eius fieri poterit, arbitratu decurionum faciunto* . . . Ennodius informs us (Panegyric in Theod. 284.15 Hartel 85 p. 213, 25 Vogel) that in 105 B.C. the consuls Rutilius and Manlius introduced gladiatorial combats at the regular scenic games, a statement which may be an inference from the story in Valerius Maximus (2.3.2) that Rutilius employed instructors from the gladiatorial school of Aurelius Scaurus to train his legionaries, although F. Bücheler argues that the two statements are independent, 'Die staatliche Anerkennung des Gladiatorenspiels' *RLM* 38 (1883) 476–479. G. Ville *MAH* 72 (1960) 305–307 rejects Ennodius' story. In fact, although gladiatorial games took the place of chariot-races in the Circus at the games to Ceres in 42 B.C. (Dio 47.40.6), such cases were exceptional and the combats were still not part of the regular Roman religious festivals in the early years of Augustus' reign (Dio 54.2). Augustus himself exhibited gladiators at the Panathenaic festival in Athens (Dio 54.28). See in general L. Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* (10th ed.) (Vienna 1934) II 51ff. and K. Schneider in *RE* Suppl. III 760ff.
18. App. *BC* 2.118; Dio 44.16.2; Nic. Damasc. 26 cf. N. Horsfall *G&R* 21 (1974) 195–196.
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24. Livy 7.2; Val. Max. 2.4.4; Horace *Ep*. 2.1.139–213; Verg. *Georg*. 2.380ff. Tertullian *de spectaculis* 5–12, Tibullus 2.1.51–8.

25. Contemporary literary evidence and firm archaeological data were as lacking to the Romans who wrote about the earliest period as to modern scholars.
26. Livy 39.5.6–12; 39.22.1-3; 40.44.8–12.
27. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.3; Livy 39.22.1.
28. Livy 40.51.3; *Ep.* 48; Val. Max. 2.4.2; cf. L.R. Taylor *Roman voting assemblies* (Ann Arbor 1966) 29–32 with 124–125 n. 44. For a *scaena* in 174 B.C. see Livy 41.27.6.
29. Pulcher, Pliny *NH* 35.23; cf. Val. Max. 2.4.6; Cic. *Verr* 2.4.6 and 133. Catulus and Spinther, Pliny *NH* 19.23; Val. Max. 2.4.6; cf. Lucretius 4.75–83; 6.109; Libo, Pliny *NH* 36.102; Antonius and Murena, Pliny *NH* 33.53; Val. Max. 2.4.6; Cic. *pro Mur.* 40, Petreius, Val. Max. 2.4.6; Catulus, Val. Max. 2.4.6; Scaurus, Pliny *NH* 34.36; 36.5–6, 50, 113–115, 189; Val. Max. 2.4.6–7; Curio, Pliny *NH* 36.116–120, see J. Linderski 'The aedileship of Favonius' *HSCP* 76 (1972) 181ff. Curio's theatre was still standing in June 51 B.C. Cic. *ad fam.* 8.2.1; cf. K. Latte *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960) 129 n. 2. In 79 B.C. the Luculli, jointly curule aediles, had erected a *versatilem scaenam*, Val. Max. 2.4.6, cf. Vitr. 5.6.8.
30. *Paradoxa* 26 (tr. H. Rackham) cf. *Orator* 173, *de orat.* 3.196.
31. Training in the *palaestra*: Cic. *Orator* 14; *de orat.* 3.83 cf. 3.220, of the voice *de orat.* 3.86; Plut. *Mor.* 623a13.
32. Cic. *de fin* 3.24; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 813F for Greek actors.
33. Cic. *de off.* 1.114, cf. *ad. Att.* 4.15.6.
34. Cic. *Acad.* 2.20 and 2.86; cf. Jocelyn op. cit. (n. 2) 253f.
35. For the date see *BICS* 28 (1981) 157. Important studies of Imperial pantomime are: O. Weinreich *Epigrammstudien* 1: *Epigramm und pantomimus* (Heidelberg 1948); V. Rotolo 'Il pantomimo' *Quad. dell' Ist. di Filol. dell' Univ. di Palermo* 1 (1957) 221–347; E. Wüst *RE* XVIII 2, 833–869 s.v. Pantomimus; L. Robert 'Pantomimen im griechischen Orient' *Hermes* 65 (1930) 106–122; M. Kokolakis *Pantomimus and the treatise* περὶ ὀρχήσεως (Athens 1959). Useful collections of evidence for mime and pantomime are to be found in M. Bonaria *Mimorum Romanorum fragmenta: Fasti mimici et pantomimici* (Genoa 1955) and *Romani mimi* (Rome 1965).
36. Cassiodorus *Var.* 4.51.9, and see Weinreich op. cit. (n. 35) 140ff.
37. Lucian *de saltatione* 63, cf. Homer *Od.* VIII 266–320.
38. Lucian *de salt.* 67.
39. Astyanax and Capaneus, Luc. *de salt.* 76; Andromache, *PLM* 4.398 n. 464 (= 24 ed. Rosenblum). Chronos *de salt.* 80. Cf. note 33 above.
40. *Sat.* 2.7.12–16. Similar constraints were placed on Greek dramatic actors, Plut. *Mor.* 813F (see n.32).
41. *de salt.* 83–4. A similar story is told of Aesopus when he was playing the part of Atreus, Plut. *Cic.* 5.5 cf. Cic. *de div.* 1.80. Cicero speaks differently of Aesopus' control of his emotions in *Tusc.* 4.55.
42. *de salt.* 82.

SOPHOCLES' *ELECTRA* F

J.H. Kells

That I was invited to edit *Electra* in the Sophocles series
Classics (1973) I owe largely to Tom Webster. And this thou
play were fundamentally opposed to his own (which he l
fairness and integrity was such that he thought I should be
(then, and still to some extent now, heretical). When the b
Stanford – with some misgiving because I thought it might o
I received the kindest letter from him in answer, saying
persuaded. 'I really must try *lecturing* upon it again', he said
not think that his untimely death allowed him an opportuni
following after-thoughts would succeed in fully persuading l
taken issue with me. For I think that (as often happens with
that arouse violent opposition in others) I stated mine exagg
now. I failed to hold strong points. I omitted others. I am sti
took of the play is on the whole right. And that even of tho
have still not grasped some of its essential points.

The first and major issue, all I suppose would agree, i
Sophocles) willed the matricide (Webster and others), whet
(Jebb and others), or whether he would have condemned it.
to the last view.

Dramatically the oracle is all but swept aside (by Orestes
to believe that Sophocles meant his audience to pay it little
oracles were *not* to be treated, as J.T. Sheppard demons
mentioned but so infrequently, it would seem, read ('*Electra*:
2-9). Sheppard collected numerous examples, one at least
friend of Sophocles, Herodotus – a man of all men whom on
to the ground for the vibrations of Greek religious conscien
Pactyes to his death?' asked the Cymaeans of Apollo of Bra
the oracle. 'That cannot be right', thought a wiser Cymaea
Unwritten Law'. And he consulted Branchidae again, in
persisted Apollo: 'extradite him!' – but added, 'so that yo
impiety, and not come to the oracle any more to ask it questi
(Hdt. 1.157–160). You were not to ask oracles leading questi
heart, you should act upon it. Otherwise, so far from enlight
on to your destruction for the impiety you had conceived
unknown speaker in an unknown Sophoclean play
θεὸν τοιοῦτον ἐξεπίσταμαι, / σοφοῖς μὲν αἰνικτῆρα θε
κἂν βραχεῖ διδάσκαλον: 'Only the fool thinks the orac

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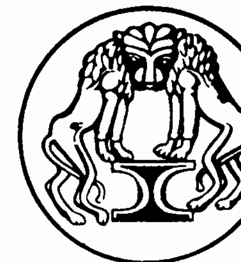

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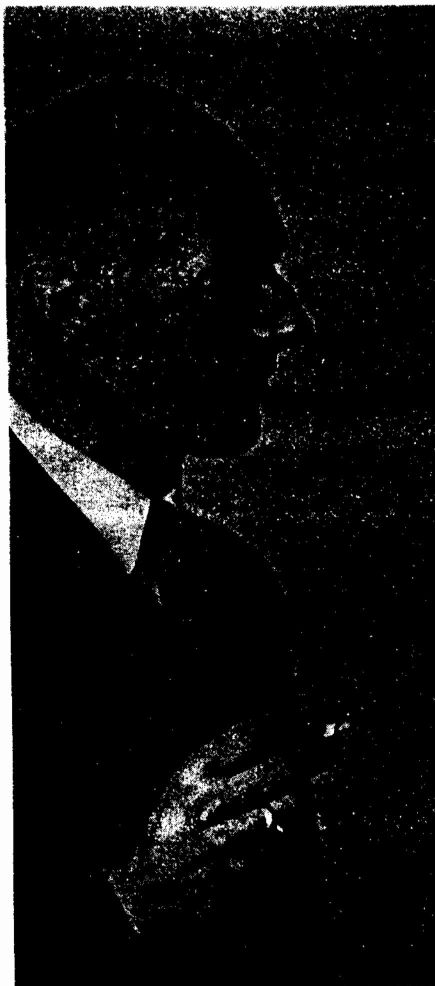

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF T.B.L. WEBSTER

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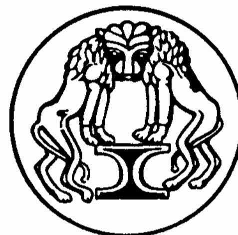
Edited by
J.H. Betts, J.T. Hooker & J.R. Green



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