

V. Conclusions

Ovid, then, even in his earliest work was keen to experiment with the Latin language at every turn. Though he could, and did, invent with considerable panache when he found it necessary or desirable, his experimentation was by no means restricted to the coinage of new words; of equal moment was his innovatory use of existing Latin vocabulary. He was prepared to venture into poetically unexplored territory for novelty in expression and imagery, and he frequently saw the possibility of revitalizing some familiar item of verbal currency; at the same time he recognized the futility of seeking to preserve worn-out semantic distinctions. He was ever willing to adapt and exploit the language of his illustrious predecessors for humorous ends, and indeed, if there is a common factor in his many and various linguistic innovations, it is a desire to amuse his readers. Language was for Ovid a source of limitless fascination and challenge, but above all a source of superb fun.

Ovid and the Roman Stage

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Contents

Introduction	2701
I. Ennius	2707
II. Pacuvius	2716
III. Accius	2723
IV. Plautus	2729
V. Terence	2740
VI. Envoi	2742

Introduction

After Accius tragedy¹ seems no longer to have been written at Rome, except as an amusement by noble dilettanti like C. Julius Caesar, curule aedile in 90

Abbreviations:

AJP	American Journal of Philology
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
CJ	The Classical Journal
CP	Classical Philology
CQ	The Classical Quarterly
CR	The Classical Review
GIF	Giornale italiano di filologia
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
RE	Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RhMus	Rheinisches Museum
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American philological Association

¹ For Roman tragedy see K. ZIEGLER's article *Tragoedia*, RE 12 A (1937), 1981–2008, and W. BEARE, *The Roman Stage*¹ (London, 1968). For Ovid see W. KRAUS, *Ovidius Naso*, RE 18 (1942), 1910–1986, reprinted in: *Wege zu Ovid*, ed. by M. VON ALBRECHT and E. ZINN, *Wege der Forschung* 92 (Darmstadt, 1968), 67–166.

B.C.; there is no indication that his work was ever actually performed. But drama was by no means extinct as a form of public entertainment. Even if no new plays were forthcoming, the theatre nevertheless remained a significant social and cultural force. The tragedies and comedies of former times enjoyed high favour and regular revival, and there is evidence that they provided a kind of iconography by which people could interpret and sum up contemporary political affairs at Rome. At Caesar's funeral, for instance, the crowd sang a verse from a *canticum* of the 'Armorum Iudicium' of Pacuvius which neatly articulated their attitude:

*Men servasse ut essent qui me perderent?*²

The age of Cicero, in fact, marks a high point in the appreciation of a dramatic art which had survived from earlier generations, developing a classical status. People were very familiar with the old pieces, and actors made their mark in re-presenting established roles: Aesopus was greatly acclaimed in the name-part of the 'Atreus' of Accius, while Roscius' portrayal of Ballio in Plautus' 'Pseudolus' was widely admired. Cicero himself was a devotee of old Roman drama, as the numerous quotations and references in his work testify³.

Revivals, then, along presumably with published dramatic texts were an important element in the culture of the 1st century B.C., and though Ovid was born in the same year as Cicero died (43 B.C.) there is no reason to believe that the 'classical' Roman drama in one form or another did not continue to exercise an influence at Rome during Ovid's early years at least.

The 'Medea' which Ovid wrote was praised by Quintilian (10.1.98) and ranked by Tacitus (Dial. 12) with the 'Thyestes' of Varius, a piece produced and greatly honoured at the triumph of Octavian and compared by Quintilian (3.8.5; 10.1.98) to the best tragedies of the Greeks. Despite this the poet apparently disclaims having written for the theatre (Tr. 5.7.25-27):

*carmina quod pleno saltari nostra theatro,
versibus et plaudis scribis, amice, meis,
nil equidem feci — tu scis hoc ipse — theatris.*

Perhaps the meaning of this is limited to the immediate context and perhaps the poet is implying that the theatrical representations of his work at Rome (with dance and music) have taken place without his collaboration and prior knowledge or permission, the 'Medea' belonging to a quite separate category. Or maybe

² Suetonius, Julius 84.2, and frg. 45 of the play in: F. WARMINGTON, *Remains of Old Latin*², Loeb Class. Library (London and Harvard, 1957), from which I give all archaic citations. WARMINGTON's four volumes have concordances with VAHLEN, RIBBECK, and MARX. See, too, F. F. ABBOTT, 'The Theatre as a Factor in Roman Politics under the Republic', *TAPA* 38 (1907), 49-56. The antithetical structure of Pacuvius' line is to be noted, a recurring feature of the archaic style on which there will be further comment in this chapter.

³ See W. ZILLINGER, *Cicero und die altrömischen Dichter* (Würzburg, 1911). ZILLINGER points out (66ff.) that the speeches delivered between 56 and 54 are those which contain most quotations from early poets, which fact, along with the publication of the 'De oratore' in 55, illustrates Cicero's literary interests at that time.

Ovid has the 'Medea' in mind as well in the sense that it was possibly written by him to be read (a 'closet drama') and not to be produced. And maybe it always had a literary existence only, never 'incarnated' on the stage and known only to contemporary and later armchair connoisseurs for the bouquet of its Latinity and choice artistry of its construction. Who knows? At any rate it is pertinent to recall here that Virgil's 'Eclogues' were adapted for the stage in a musical setting⁴.

We are in no position to pronounce on the merits of Ovid's 'Medea'. Two lines alone survive:

servare potui: perdere an possim rogas?
(quoted by Quintilian 8.5.6)

and

feror huc illuc, vae, plena deo
(quoted by Seneca Père, *Suas.* 3.7).

There is not enough here upon which to found an academy. The poet himself announces the play at Am. 3.1.29:

nunc habeam per te, Romana Tragoedia, nomen.

The impetus for writing it perhaps came from his reading of Greek tragedy in preparation for the 'Heroides' and of Euripides' 'Medea' in particular for 12, but of course the process could have been the other way round. Why, if it gained contemporary success, did Ovid not make another attempt at the genre? "Quintilian was discussing literature with an eye to rhetorical education. We may accept his statement that this play was free from perverted ingenuity; but the taste of theatre audiences had long been debased, and it may not have come into its own until rhetorical drama intended for reading had been established in fashion by Seneca."⁵ There is no decisive argument, but there is perhaps a cumulative case

⁴ See the very illuminating book by GÜNTHER WILF, *Musica Romana: die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer* (Amsterdam, 1967), and especially 225ff., 'Virgil als Liederdichter in der Antike'. He writes (p. 255): „Bei den virgilischen Bucolica besteht kein Zweifel, daß sie gesungen wurden, da Virgils Vita deren musikalischen Vortrag im Theater bezeugt.“ Scenes from such works, too, as the 'Amores' and 'Heroides' were presumably adapted for stage production; that will be the meaning of the passage in the text from Tr. 5.7, as well as of Tr. 2.519-520:

*et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe,
saepe oculos etiam detinere tuos.*

These representations would be in the form of ballet or mime with musical accompaniment.

⁵ L. P. WILKINSON, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge, 1955), 18. Seneca himself was much addicted to reading Ovid whom he held next to Virgil in his esteem; he has nearly as many quotations from Ovid as from all other poets, Greek and Latin, apart from Virgil in his prose writings, and the influence of Ovid on the tragedies is palpable. In the matter of versification, Seneca's iambic trimeter in dramatic speeches and dialogues is closer to that of Greek tragedy than to the rugged senarius of the old Roman dramas. Like the Augustans, and in all probability under the influence of the lost 'Medea' of his admired Ovid, he would consider the verses of Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius as crude. He does not, for example, imitate the heavy Ennian

for assuming that Ovid's tragedy (as I have suggested above) was never actually staged but had a fame amongst cognoscenti which grew as sensibility altered.

Before Ovid Ennius had composed an apparently close version of Euripides' 'Medea', and Accius also had handled the legend. At Met. 8.1–424 Ovid gives Medea's story in full except for her expulsion from Corinth and the murder of her children. From this we naturally infer that these last two events had been treated in his tragedy. The twelfth Epistle in the 'Heroides' is set at a time just before the tragedy (at least in Euripides' version) begins. It precedes any interview with Jason – which would have made it otiose – and thus the murder of the children, which by its horror would have excluded Medea from the ranks of injured and sympathetic heroines. The Epistle is in the nature of an introduction to the drama (which may already have been composed or at least conceived). Medea ends with vague but dire threats (lines 207–212)⁶. Neither in the 'Heroides', then, nor in the 'Metamorphoses' does the poet treat the events which formed the plot of Euripides' 'Medea', maybe because he had done so in his own tragedy of that name.

Whatever the truth about his 'Medea', the fact of its composition alone argues that Ovid had some interest in drama. Examination of his extant works shows that he had a not inconsiderable knowledge (however acquired) of, and had responded to, drama produced by his countrymen. An assessment of his relationship to the Roman dramatic tradition is not therefore a superfluous undertaking and will be found to throw light upon his methods and attitudes.

Drama never flourished in any large and very substantial way at Rome, though the extreme position of NISARD and other French *savants* last century who rather contemptuously held that, in strict accuracy, there was no Roman tragedy has been successfully challenged by scholarship this century⁷. One great difficulty in our approach to early Roman drama is that representation of its several forms is very uneven. Tragedy depended most heavily on Euripides, for Aristotle the 'most tragic' poet. His rhetorical pathos – as well as his rationalism – found favour at Rome. Secondly comes Aeschylus, and then post-classical tragedy. Sophocles, so far as it is possible to judge, was less frequently imitated, probably being too 'Attic' for Roman taste.

THOMAS DE QUINCEY distinguished between rhetoric or "literary ingenuity" and eloquence or "urgencies of emotions and passion," and it is fitting to view

line with spondees in the second and fourth feet, and at least before a cretic ending shows a preference for elision. On the presumed rhetorical qualities of Ovid's 'Medea' see TENNEY FRANK, *Horace on Contemporary Poetry*, CJ 13 (1917–1918), 550–565, and esp. 562–564.

⁶ See the comments below in the section on Pacuvius, p. 2716ff.

⁷ As well as ZIEGLER'S and BEARE'S contributions (n. 1 above), we have F. LEO, *De Tragodia Romana* (Göttingen, 1910); O. COPPOLA, *Il Teatro tragico in Roma Repubblicana* (Bologna, 1940); P. W. HARSH, *A Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford, 1944); E. PARATORE, *Storia del Teatro Latino* (Milan, 1957), and M. BIEBER, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (Princeton, 1961). See, too, G. E. DUCKWORTH, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton, 1952); P. FRASSINETTI, *Fabula Atellana, Poetarum Latinorum reliquiae. Aetas rei publicae 6.1* (Genoa, 1953), and V. ROTOLO, *Il Pantomimo* (Palermo, 1957). Bibliography: *Actes du VII^e Congrès, Association G. Budé* (Aix-en-Provence, 1963), 166ff.

Ovid as an example of the former quality⁸. There is no evidence that he continued to declaim as an adult or maintained any close contact with rhetoricians⁹, but his earliest poetry is rhetorical in the sense just given, and his work remained so right up to the end of his life. His remarkable facility with words (which is not infrequently marred by a certain carelessness in workmanship acknowledged by the man himself¹⁰) is guided by real psychological insight. It would not then be surprising if Ovid, following his countrymen in admiring Euripides in whom verbal cleverness and psychological perception are notably joined, had handled the Medea story in a Euripidean manner¹¹. But interestingly it is Sophocles whom he mentions (*nulla Sophocleo veniet iactura cothurno*, Am. 1.15.5) in a list of poets who have won lasting fame (op. cit., 7ff.); there is no reference to Euripides (or Aeschylus).

In the same list (19–20) Ovid names Ennius and Accius:

*Ennius arte carens animosique Accius oris
casurum nullo tempore nomen habent.*

There are two other explicit references to Ennius in Ovid:

*Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi
(A. A. 3.409)*

and

*utque suo Martem cecinit gravis Ennius ore,
Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis
(Tr. 2.423).*

⁸ See GEORGE KENNEDY, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (= IDEM, *A History of Rhetoric* II), (Princeton, 1972), 410–411 (part of his chapter on Ovid), referring to *The Collected Works of THOMAS DE QUINCEY*, vol. 10, ed. by DAVID MASSON (London, 1897), 21–133, esp. 94–95, and HOYT H. HUDSON, *De Quincey on Rhetoric and Public Speaking in: Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians*, ed. by R. F. HOWES (Ithaca, 1961), 198–214.

⁹ See T. F. HIGHAM, *Ovid and Rhetoric in: Ovidiana*, ed. by N. I. HERESCU (Paris, 1958), 32–48. But HIGHAM adopts too narrow a view of rhetoric, though rightly stressing Ovid's contributions to it.

¹⁰ The Elder Seneca quotes at the end of his interesting appreciation of Ovid (*Contr.* 2.2. 8–12) a saying of the poet that *decentiorem faciem esse in qua aliquis naevos esset*. On this point see M. P. CUNNINGHAM, *Ovid's Poetics*, CJ 53 (1957–1958), 253–259. Ovid, says Seneca, knew his faults as a writer, but was fond of them (*non ignoravit vitia sua, sed amavit*, *ibid.* 12).

¹¹ H. JACOBSON'S article, *Ovid's Briseis: a Study of Her. 3*, *Phoenix* 25 (1971), 331–356, shows how Ovid presents a full and perceptive development of Briseis' character from the few basic hints in the 'Iliad', adding a Euripidean sympathy for, and understanding of, the spiritual plight of the sensitive female victim of the irrationality of war. See also H. JACOBSON'S book, *Ovid's Heroides* (Princeton, 1974) in which he offers a good critical study, and E. OPPEL, *Ovids Heroides: Studien zur inneren Form und zur Motivation* (Diss. Erlangen–Nürnberg, 1968), an important purpose of which is to refute the proposition that the 'Heroides' are substantially *suasoriae* in verse.

A further reference occurs at Tr. 2.259–260, but without mention of Ennius' name:

*sumpserit Annales – nihil est hirsutius illis –
facta sit unde parens Ilia, nempe leget.*¹²

ZINGERLE has amply shown¹³ that Ovid, „der elegante Salondichter“, was influenced, whether indirectly through Lucretius and Virgil, or directly, by the ‘Annales’ of Ennius, *hirsuta* though they may have been. But such a magnificent compilation as that by ZINGERLE, though scholars must feel deeply grateful for it, has to be used cautiously. In some ways it represents a mass of raw material on which the work of interpretation has yet to begin. When Ovid repeats a locution or a phrase or something more from an earlier Latin poet the exploitation of its contextual and other associations may well be his intention. But again it may not be. All classical poetry has grown out of the compost of all the poetry that came before. A poet may borrow from a predecessor, but this does not necessarily make what he says secondhand, for he may be using (more or less consciously) another poet to mediate between his material and his imagination. His precursors may suggest to him ways of saying what he has to say. And so when we are considering literary borrowing distinctions must be drawn: borrowings may be (1) verbal, with or without the intention of capitalising upon associative penumbrae, (2) verbal and material, and (3) verbal and structural¹⁴.

The structure of the books of the Augustan poets has occupied the attention of many scholars in recent years. The three books of the ‘Amores’ have received this kind of consideration, though none of them has revealed to sedulous critics the elaborate symmetry or numerical correspondences which are alleged to exist in Virgil’s ‘Eclogues’ or in Propertius¹⁵. An interesting excursion into this area is that of SIEGFRIED JÄKEL who argues that the elegies of the three books are laid out in a fashion which corresponds perfectly to the structure of a drama: the plot moves from the early and carefree stage of a love affair to the first difficulties, then to deceiving hope and lastly to complete breakdown in the relationship. This interpretation of the whole is supported by the study of the evolution of isolated

motifs such as jealousy, the lover as soldier, hope, etc.¹⁶. JÄKEL sums up his case (op. cit., 27) thus: „Nach den ausgeführten Beobachtungen scheint sich die Vermutung zu bestätigen, daß Ovid die uns überlieferte 2. Auflage der Amores nach seiner ‘Medea’ herausgegeben hat, denn das Kompositionsprinzip zeigt die Hand des erfahrenen Dramatikers, der aus den 3 Büchern gleichsam 3 Handlungsakte gestaltet.“ This is an intriguing suggestion not objectively provable. The dating of the amatory works is a very complex question¹⁷, but the following sequence seems likely: first edition of ‘Amores’, ‘Medea’, ‘Heroides’ (single), second edition of ‘Amores’, ‘Ars Amatoria’ and ‘Remedia Amoris’, ‘Heroides’ (double).

To sum up this introduction. The contemporary theatre and his education in the established poets (Greek and Latin) in the various genres including the dramatic were amongst the formative influences upon Ovid. To find him trying his hand at writing a tragedy and turning to drama, not just Greek but Roman also, as a means of enriching his art and his material is not therefore surprising¹⁸.

I. Ennius

As a dramatist Quintus Ennius (239–169 B.C.) preferred tragedy, with Euripides as his chief model¹⁹. In his liking for Trojan themes he continued the

¹⁶ See S. JÄKEL, *Beobachtungen zur dramatischen Komposition von Ovids Amores*, *Antike und Abendland*, 16 (1970), 12–28.

¹⁷ For an excellent discussion see H. JACOBSON’s book (n. 11 above), 300ff. On the first edition of the ‘Amores’ see also A. CAMERON, *The first edition of Ovid’s Amores*, *CQ* 18 (1968), 320–333.

¹⁸ There is a special piquancy in Ovid’s relocation of the Rape of the Sabine Women (A. A. 1.101–134) in the theatre – it was normally represented as having taken place at chariot-races in the Circus. He thus mocks the kind of censure of the theatre which we find expressed by Tacitus (Ann. 14.20), suggesting that loose conduct there, so far from arising from foreign influence, had existed from the earliest times. He also slyly glances at the segregation of the sexes; if Romulus could set up the operation in a segregated theatre, latter-day Romans are not to be blamed for pursuing amatory adventures in the same place. See the instructive article by A. E. WARDMAN, *The Rape of the Sabines*, *CQ* 15 (1965), 101–103.

¹⁹ In this study we shall, in tragedy, be concerned with Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius, and, in comedy, Plautus and (to a slight extent) Terence, as being the Latin authors in these two areas who had any significant and identifiable influence upon Ovid. For Ennius see B. SNELL, *Euripides’ Alexandros*, *Hermes*, Einzelschr. 5 (Wiesbaden, 1937); S. MARIOTTI, *Lezioni su Ennio* (Rome, 1951); E. W. HANDLEY and J. REA, *The Telephus of Euripides*, *BICS Suppl.* 5 (London, 1957); H. D. JOCELYN, *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge, 1967); O. SKUTSCH, *Studia Enniana* (London, 1967). There is a bibliography: *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1952), 195ff.; cf. H. D. JOCELYN, *The Poems of Quintus Ennius*, *ANRW* I 2, ed. H. TEMPORINI (Berlin–New York, 1972), 987–1026. See, too, A. DELLA CASA, *Ennio di fronte all’Ecuba di Euripide*, *Dioniso* 36 (1962), 63ff.; A. TULLIER, *Euripide et Ennius*, *Bull. Asscn. G. Budé* (Paris) 1962, 379ff.; A. TRAINA, *Pathos ed Ethos nelle traduzioni tragiche di Ennio*, *Maia* 16 (1964), 112ff. and 276ff.

¹² The reference must surely be to Ennius.

¹³ A. ZINGERLE, *Ovidius und sein Verhältnis zu den Vorgängern und gleichzeitigen römischen Dichtern* (Innsbruck, 3 vols., 1869–1871; reprinted Hildesheim, 1967). On Ovid and Ennius’ ‘Annales’, vol. 2, 1ff. Ennian drama, too, had its effect on our poet.

¹⁴ See the discussion by S. STRZYLA in the third chapter of his ‘Latin Tragedy in Virgil’s Poetry’ (Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków, 1970), and the comments of P. T. EDEN in his review, *Gnomon* 45 (1973), 617–619.

¹⁵ I say ‘elaborate symmetry’ advisedly, for it is not to be denied that in Virgil’s ‘Eclogues’ (and probably also in Propertius) there is a certain degree of intended structural symmetry and correspondence. But some contemporary scholars have carried this approach far beyond what is reasonable and credible. On the structure of the ‘Amores’ see W. MARG, *Ovids Amores: Dichter und Dichtung*, in: *Wege zu Ovid* (295–312), 302ff.; G. W. WILLIAMS, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), 514ff. (stresses their unity); and G. LÖRCHER, *Der Aufbau der drei Bücher von Ovids Amores* (Amsterdam, 1975).

Roman tradition. For three of his 'Euripidean' tragedies ('Hecuba', 'Iphigenia', 'Medea Exul') and for his 'Eumenides', modelled on Aeschylus, we possess the originals²⁰. If these plays are compared with the fragments of their Latin counterparts his *Arbeitsweise* can be observed. He sometimes, especially in the 'Medea', translated fairly exactly, but often he adapted freely, though he seems always to have retained the structure of the Greek play whatever internal changes he may have introduced by *contaminatio* or otherwise. The approximately 420 lines of the tragedies which survive demonstrate great skill in the adapting of native Latin metres to the Greek framework and the heightening of the pathetic appeal (a feature of Euripides which Ennius evidently admired) through adroit use of alliteration and assonance. His plays on Roman themes (*fabulae praetextae*) were 'Sabinae' (on the rape of the Sabine women) and, if they really were plays, 'Ambracia' (on the capture of that town by Marcus Nobilior) and 'Scipio'.

Ovid had a high regard for Ennius, as we have seen. The 'Annales' obviously influenced him to a considerable extent²¹, and passages reminiscent of Ennius' manner occur quite often. At A.A. 1.459 we have the grandiloquent line: *disce bonas artes, moneo, Romana iuventus*, which recalls Virgil, Georgics 2.35–36: *quare agite o proprios generatim discite cultus, / agricolae*, and, in turn, the fact that Ennius had ended a hexameter at least three times with the words *Romana iuventus* (Annales 480, 488, 529 WARMINGTON). A distinctly Ennian aroma is present at Met. 15.30–32:

*candidus Oceano nitidum caput abdiderat Sol
et caput extulerat densissima sidereum Nox:
visus adesse idem deus est . . .*²²

Similarly, as HOLLIS points out ad loc., in Met. 8.549ff. Achelous the river-god is depicted as a "kindly but pompous old gentleman" whose pomposity is shown, amongst other things, by the frequent Ennian ring of his language. In the same book, line 703: *talìa tum placido Saturnius edidit ore, Saturnius* (cp. Κρονίδης and Κρονίων) and *edidit ore* have Ennian associations, which led NORDEN (Aen. 6, p. 374) to speak of 'Ennian colouring'. Similarly line 787: *talibus agrestem compellat oreada dictis* recalls Ennius, Annales 41–42 W.: *exin compellare pater*

²⁰ Other tragedies with a Euripidean origin are the 'Alexander', 'Andromacha Aechmalotis', 'Andromeda', 'Melanippa', 'Telephus'. The 'Iphigenia' is an instance of *contaminatio*, being based to some extent also upon a Sophoclean original. A similarly composite play may have been the 'Hectoris Lytra' which VAHLEN took to represent a trilogy by Aeschylus compressed into one piece by Ennius.

²¹ ZINGERLE, op. cit., vol. 2, 1ff.

²² A. S. HOLLIS in his eminently useful edition of Met. 8 (Oxford, 1970) notes, p. xxiv, the consecutive monosyllabic line endings, the unsubtle epithets *candidus* and *nitidum*, and the rather jejune personification, exactly parallel in lines 30 and 31. "All this amounts," says HOLLIS, "to a delicious parody of the Ennian style – though the lightness and speed of movement are Ovid's own. Line 32 contains a more specific echo, of Homer appearing to Ennius in a dream *visus Homerus adesse poeta* (Annals 5 WARMINGTON). The effect is of solemnity or rather mock solemnity; Ovid means the episode to be little more than amusing (cf. 45–6)."

me voce videtur / his verbis. On Aen. 6.179ff. NORDEN writes thus: „Die Schilderung des Baumfällens gehörte zu den Lieblingsstoffen der lateinischen Poesie.“ The Virgil passage along with Ovid, Met. 8.774–776 (and cp. Statius, Theb. 6.84ff., Silius Italicus 10.529ff., Seneca, Herc. Oet. 1618ff., and Lucan 3.426ff.)²³, conveys some faint echoes at least of Ennius' lines in Annales 6; Ovid's sound effects in Met. 8.774–776:

*persequitur scelus ille suum, labefactaque tandem
ictibus innumeris, adductaque funibus arbor
corruit, et multam prostravit pondere silvam*

recall those in Ennius (183–185 W.):

*fraxinus frangitur atque abies consternitur alta,
pinus proceras pervortunt; omne sonabat
arbustum fremitu silvae frondosae.*

The use of *p* and *r* in both passages should be noted, as also that of *f* in the lines by Ennius.

But our business is really with drama. Unfortunately, clear indications of the influence of Ennius as dramatist upon Ovid are sparse because of the state of the evidence. But let us first consider some general features of Ennius' dramatic art which could well have attracted Ovid and left some mark upon his work.

In tragedy the taste of Ennius' age was apparently for Greek themes with impassioned circumstances – e.g. the revenge of Medea, the guilt of the house of Atreus, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and other parts of the Trojan cycle, all stories which with their elements of danger, bloodshed, or suffering were bound to excite pity and fear in audiences. These aspects of Ennius' work no doubt appealed to Ovid who in the 'Metamorphoses' is adept at describing unpleasant happenings. But Ennius was more than a presenter of the unpleasant; he was clearly an intellectual and sensitive man who was interested in making his audiences think and feel. At the technical level, his handling of Greek dramatic metres and, in particular, his introduction in the 'Annales' of the hexameter were to have widespread and long-lasting effect. But his immediate influence upon contemporary Rome was such as to enhance substantially its culture and civilisation. He brought to the Romans a host of Greek ideas in the form of the humane and critical attitudes of the liberal-minded Euripides. Such a broadening of its mental horizon was highly needful for a nation which was now being called to empire with its manifold responsibilities and diverse subject peoples who would require tolerant understanding if Roman rule was to be stable and peaceful. The plays which Ennius took over from Euripides posed serious and central questions about human existence – man's relationship with the gods, the right of man to think for himself, the inscrutable vicissitudes of fortune, the problem of good and evil, of the relationship between rich and poor, master and slave. The rationalising and humanitarian spirit of Ennius must have engaged Ovid's attention. The broad

²³ And compare Met. 10.90ff. in which there is a long catalogue of trees.

eclecticism of Ennius, tinged with a certain hint of Epicureanism and pervaded by the scepticism of a Euripides or a Euhemerus, had a solid educational force at Rome. In the 'Telamo' one of the characters cogently sums up the ways of the gods towards men:

*ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelū
sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus;
nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis; quod nunc abest.*
(328–330 W.)

In the same play incisive criticism of soothsayers is uttered:

*... superstitiosi vates impudentesque harioli,
aut inertes aut insani aut quibus egestas imperat;
qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam;
quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drachumam ipsi petunt.*
(332–336 W.)

This kind of reflection assisted the growth of the Roman mind, and Ovid in his generation is one of its residuary legatees.

The sententious is one aspect of Ennius' reflective intellect, and Ovid as a master of the sententious himself would have found pleasure in some of the older poet's pithy utterances in his tragedies — e.g.:

*tacere opino esse optimum et pro viribus
sapere atque fabulari tute noveris.*
(Eumenides 147–148 W.)
amicus certus in re incerta cernitur
(Hecuba 216 W.)
qui ipse si sapiens prodesse non quit, nequiquam sapit.
(Medea 271 W.)

Sometimes this sententiousness verges towards pedantry, as in

otio qui nescit uti, plus negoti habet . . .
(Iphigenia 241 W.)²⁴

But pedantry or, to give it a more suitable name, didacticism consonant with *gravitas* is an ingrained quality of the great bulk of Latin literature.

In the rendering of emotion Ennius shows tact and skill, and here also Ovid will probably have learnt something. Critics usually point to the influence of the

²⁴ The seven or eight lines forming the fragment of which the first is given in the text illustrate the retention of the chorus in Roman tragedy, and also the independence of Ennius, who appears to have substituted soldiers for the maidens of Euripides' play. The lines (cited by Aulus Gellius 19.10.12) are very corrupt, and even where they are sound, lacking in elegance. The soldiers are being led hither and thither without any clear purpose, and their complaints are rather like those of a Plautine slave bemoaning his lot and the quixotic behaviour of his master.

Alexandrians upon Latin literature when emotion and romantic sentiment are under discussion, but the pioneering work of early Latin poets in the articulation of the range of human feelings in their own language is not at all to be discounted. A dignified and passionate tenderness of feeling is heard in the lyric utterances of Ennius' prophetic Cassandra and his captive Andromache. And then there is the lyric terror of the parricide Alcmaeon pursued by the Furies, and the complaints of the distressed mother Hecuba²⁵. At another level, the lyric dialogue in the 'Iphigenia' between Agamemnon and a servant conveys the grandeur and mystery of night in a manner not unworthy of the original by Euripides (I. A. 1 ff.):

*quid noctis videtur in altisono
caeli clipeo?
Temo superat
stellas sublime agitans etiam atque
etiam noctis iter.* (222–225 W.)

In such characters as Telamon, Eurypylus, and Phoenix, on the other hand, Ennius presents the frank bearing, fortitude, and self-sacrificing generosity of the soldierly type of man²⁶, a figure for whom Ovid would appear to have had little admiration.

As a stylist in his plays Ennius makes a firm impression. A new linguistic power is obvious in words which are probably to be assigned to Achilles making his final refusal:

*per ego deum sublimas subices umidas,
unde oritur imber sonitu saevo et spiritu*
(Achilles 16–17 W.)

Skilful handling of metre is seen in the change from recitative to song in Cassandra's outpourings in her state of possession:

*adest adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio;
multos annos latuit. cives, ferte opem et restinguite!
iamque mari magno classis cita
textitur, exitium examen rapit;
adveniet fera velivolantibus
navibus complebit manus litora.*
(Alexander 67–72 W.)

²⁵ Cassandra (full of sorrowful shame, moved by pity for the queen, and envisaging by 'second-sight' her country's ruin): Alexander 59–75 W.; Andromache (filled with despair and taking leave of Troy): Andromache Aechmalotis 90–108 W.; Alcmaeon: Alcmeeo 25–29, 30–36, 37 W.; Hecuba: Hecuba 204–205, 206–208, 209, 212, 213, 214, 216, 219 W. The 'Heroides' probably owe something to Ennius' depiction of emotional characters and situations.

²⁶ Telamon: Telamo 319–322, 328–330, 332–336 W.; Eurypylus: Hectoris Lytra 161–181 W.; Phoenix: Phoenix 308–311 W., a brief but fine speech. And Ennius himself, we must recall, had been a soldier.

As a stylist himself and virtuoso in metrical effects²⁷, Ovid no doubt found writing of this kind interesting and attractive.

Alliteration, assonance, and word-play are favourite devices with Ennius in the tragedies²⁸. A few examples will suffice:

Salmacida spolia sine sudore et sanguine
(Ajax 22 W.)

mater optumarum multo mulier melior mulierum
missa sum . . .
(Alexander 59–60 W.)

Priamo vi vitam evitari
(Andromacha Aechmalotis 107 W.)

scrupeo investita saxo, atque ostréis squamae scabrent.
(Andromeda 120 W.)

corpus contemplatur unde corporaret vulnere
(Andromeda 121 W.)

When, then, Ovid produces such collocations as *ne sit scelerata facit scelus* (Met. 7. 340), *impietate pia est* (Met. 8. 477), and *facto pius et sceleratus eodem* (Met. 9. 408), he is doing something that belongs to the earliest stage of Latin as a literary language.

Sometimes balance (antithesis and parallelism) is used in a marked manner by Ennius; examples are:

male volentes famam tollunt, bene volentes gloriam
(Achilles 12 W.)

his erat in ore Bromius, his Bacchus pater
(Athamas 128 W.)

²⁷ See E. J. KENNEY, *The Style of the Metamorphoses*, in: *Ovid (Classical Literature and its Influence)*, ed. by J. W. BINNS (London, 1973), 116–153.

²⁸ Whatever may have been the Greek which he was adapting or translating, Ennius, like Pacuvius and Accius after him, leaves a Roman and individual stamp upon it. Alliteration is a case in point. This is an entirely un-Greek artifice which starts with the Saturnian metre and Naevius and appears thereafter as a regular feature. It was taken over into the hexameter by Ennius and, in imitation of him, employed by Virgil; after him the device in its traditional form disappears. There are occasional instances of its use in Ovid – cp. Met. 8.552–553 with HOLLIS's note. For the whole question of alliteration see E. WÖLFELIN, *Über die alliterierenden Verbindungen der lateinischen Sprache*, Sitz. Bay. Akad. (Munich, 1881), 1 ff. (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* [Leipzig, 1933], 225 ff.); J. MAROUZEAU, *Traité de stylistique latine*, Collection d'études latines. Série scientifique 12 (Paris, 1962), 45 ff.; L. P. WILKINSON, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963), 25 ff., 49 ff., 56 ff.; C. J. FORDYCE, *Aeneid 7–8* (Oxford, 1977), Appendix, 289–291.

caelum nitescere, arbores frondescere . . .
segetes largiri fruges, florere omnia,
fontes scatere, herbis prata convestier

(Eumenides 157, 160–161 W.)²⁹

We shall have occasion to remark upon this stylistic phenomenon again later in this chapter³⁰. It is, of course, a substantial feature of Ovid's style – e. g.:

nudaque simplicitas purpureusque pudor
(Amores 1. 3. 14)

and

nil mihi rescribas, tu tamen ipse veni
(Heroides 1. 1. 2),

²⁹ Antithesis is a usage in which thoughts or words are balanced in contrast; parallelism, which is closely related to it, is a balanced construction of a verse or sentence where the second part repeats the form or meaning of the other (cp. the term paraphrase), and it is a pronounced feature of Hebrew poetry, as we see from the Psalter. Balance in some degree is not uncommon in early Latin. Two interesting examples of parallelism in Naevius (both from comedies) are:

neque admodum a pueris abscessit neque adulescentulus
(Clamidia 28 W.)

primum ad virtutem ut redeatis, abeatis ab ignavia
(Tarentilla 90 W.)

³⁰ In the discussions below of Pacuvius and Accius (pp. 2716 ff.). Alliteration, assonance, and balance are part of an original Italian mode, pre-dating rhetoric. On Ennius and rhetoric, it is rather piquant to observe that at one point where his model does not employ it, he does: compare Euripides, *Medea* 475–482 and Ennius, *Medea* 282–283 W. The Greek dramatist simply writes *ἐκ τῶν δὲ πρώτων πρῶτον ἄρξομαι λέγειν* κ. τ. λ. but Ennius' *Medea*, recounting her benefactions to Jason, expresses herself thus:

non commemoro quod draconis saevi sopri impetum,
non quod domui vim taurorum et segetis armatae manus.

The figure used is *paraleipsis*, as Charisius remarks (G.L. 1. 284 7 K.), the pure Latin for which is *praeteritio*.

Ennius was the first to use the word *rhetorica* in Latin – *alii rhetorica tangunt*, Sotas 4 W. ("others know the rules of rhetoric") – but the fragment is so short and the context so uncertain that little can be deduced from it. On to the native style he engrafted Greek sophistications. His abandonment of the Saturnian metre for the Greek hexameter probably meant that greater attention had to be paid to syllabic quantities in Latin, thus no doubt preparing the way for the imitation of Greek prose rhythm later in the century. Before him Naevius skilfully made use of rhetoric in his campaign principally against the Metelli, but also against Scipio Africanus (see A. KURFESS, *Die Anfänge der Invektive in Rom*, *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins* 41 [1915], 103–112, and TENNEY FRANK, *Naevius and Free Speech*, *AJP* 48 [1927], 105–110). A surviving fragment of his literary ammunition aimed at Scipio (unassigned fragments from comedies 1–3 W.) shows a "fine sense of rhetorical amplification and climax" (G. KENNEDY, *op. cit.*, n. 8 above, p. 30) and illustrates also the alliteration and assonance which were typical of early Latin:

etiam qui res magnas manu saepe gessit gloriose,
cuius facta viva nunc vigent, qui apud gentes solus praestat,
cum suus pater cum pallio unod ab amica abduxit.

to quote but two well-known pentameter lines. It is intriguing to observe that the famous line, *expedit esse deos et ut expedit esse putemus* (A. A. 1. 637), combines within it both the stylistic balance and the philosophical rationalism which we encounter in Ennius and other early Latin authors.

Turning now to direct and traceable influence of Ennian tragedy upon Ovid, we must consider the paper by HOWARD JACOBSON³¹. Having noted the conclusions of various scholars which would lead us to believe that for *Heroides* 16 and 17 (the correspondence between Paris and Helen) Ovid drew upon Euripides, Ennius, the 'Cypria', and Hellenistic poetry, he proceeds to a word-by-word and fact-by-fact examination of the admittedly limited evidence, and from the verbal and syntactical correspondences which he elicits establishes Ennius' 'Alexander' as a more direct and substantial influence than critics have recognised. Particularly striking is the syntactical oddity in Ovid's account of Hecuba's dream:

*fax quoque me terret, quam se peperisse cruentam
ante diem partus est tua visa parens*
(*Heroides* 17. 237–238).

The accusative subject of the infinitive *se* should require an active verb, while *est visa* calls for no accusative at all. The construction of accusative subject, infinitive, plus a personal passive governing verb is not found elsewhere in Ovid and in fact seems to occur only once elsewhere in extant Latin literature – in Ennius:

*... mater gravis parere se ardentem facem
visa est in somnis Hecuba ...*
(*Alexander* 38–39 W.)³²

"The simple fact that the construction occurs only twice", says JACOBSON³³, "and both times in an account of the very same event strongly suggests that the later is an imitation of the earlier."

JACOBSON goes on to note still more verbal correspondences. Paris' description of the building of his fleet contains the phrase *citas ... naves* followed by *textur* (*Heroides* 16. 111–112). Ennius' Cassandra describes the Greek fleet: *classis cita / textur* (*Alexander* 69–70 W.). Other possible parallels of greater or less significance are cited, and then finally two other items in Paris' letter which suggest that Ovid may have been reading widely in Ennius are drawn to our attention. In a passage in Ennius' 'Alcmeo' which is very like Cassandra's cry in the 'Alexander':

*adest, adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio;
multos annos latuit. crives, ferte opem et restinguite!*
(67–68 W.)

³¹ Phoenix 22 (1968), 299–303.

³² Ovid's imitation of the peculiar *visa est* construction in Ennius is also noted by H. D. JOCELYN, *op. cit.*, n. 19 above, p. 204, n. 2, and p. 223.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

there occurs the phrase *flammiferam vim*:

fer mi auxilium, pestem abige a me, flammiferam hanc vim quae me excruciat ...
(*Alcmeo* 32 W.)

Ovid transfers the epithet to the other very similar Ennian context, writing *flammiferam ... facem* (*Heroides* 16. 46). If we leave aside the *Cons. Liv.* (where this adjective occurs at line 402) as being post-Ovidian because of the constant imitations of Ovid in it, of which the use of *flammifer* will be an example, then *flammifer* is found only in the Ennian passage before it appears here in Ovid. It is possible that Ennius also used it in the 'Alexander' (where it would also have been appropriate). Further, *pedum pulsu* (*Heroides* 16. 59), though it occurs in Virgil, is an Ennian locution (*Thyestes* 354 W.). In fact, the phrase in exactly this form occurs in Ovid and Ennius, but never in Virgil³⁴.

DIANA GOULD WHITE has independently discussed *Heroides* 16. 45–46³⁵:

*illa sibi ingentem visa est sub imagine somni
flammiferam pleno reddere ventre facem,*

commenting on the dismembered asyndeton of *ingentem ... flammiferam ... facem*. She relates the Ovid context to Ennius in the same way as JACOBSON, seeing the word *flammifera* as an explicit acknowledgment by Ovid of his debt to Ennius. Ovid has thus produced a piece of deliberately archaistic writing, in the grand style, "an imitation of and compliment to *Ennius noster*"³⁶.

Another indication of Ovid's knowledge of Ennius (and of the 'Alexander' in particular) is found at A. A. 1. 364:

militibus gravidum lacta (sc. Ilios) recepit equum.

The metaphor of pregnancy in relation to the Wooden Horse with its belly full of warriors goes back to Ennius:

*nam maximo saltu superavit gravidus armatis equus
qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama*
(*Alexander* 80–81 W.)

The figure was adopted by Lucretius and Virgil³⁷, but the a priori likelihood is that Ovid took it directly from Ennius.

In this appraisal we have noted various qualities, stylistic and other, in Ennius which could have had an influence upon Ovid. We have also seen that Ovid's regard for Ennius the tragedian was translated at times into imitation. If the evidence were more plentiful we should no doubt be able to observe many more instances where Ovid had drawn upon his great predecessor.

³⁴ The closest form in Virgil is *cornipedum pulsu* *Aen.* 6. 591; *pulsu pedum* is found at *Aen.* 7. 722; 12. 334–335, 445.

³⁵ D. G. WHITE, *Ovid, Heroides* 16. 45–46, *HSCP* 74 (1970), 187–191.

³⁶ D. G. WHITE, *op. cit.*, 191.

³⁷ See R. G. AUSTIN's note on *Aen.* 2. 237 in his edition (Oxford, 1964).

II. Pacuvius

M. Pacuvius (c. 220–130 B.C.) was the nephew of Ennius and, in tragedy, his pupil³⁸. We know of only thirteen titles of plays (twelve tragedies and one *praetexta*), which may indicate a small output. For Varro and Cicero he was the greatest Roman tragic poet; the Augustans rated him on the same level as Accius, and later generations (Quintilian 10. 1. 97) inferior to Accius. Of all his works about five hundred lines of fragments survive, many of them single verses or half-verses. We cannot therefore form an adequate judgment on his merits.

His single *praetexta*, 'Paulus', is more likely to have been concerned with the victory of Pydna in 168 B.C. than with the defeat at Cannae. Horace probably had his Hellenism in mind when he called him *doctus* – Pacuvius gave even more space in his tragedies to philosophical speculation than did Ennius. His debt to Greek originals is clear from the titles of the tragedies: 'Antiopa' (from Euripides – see VALSA, op. cit., 10–14), 'Armorum Iudicium' (on Ajax and based chiefly on Aeschylus' Ὀπλων Κρίσις), 'Atalanta' (cryptic fragments; perhaps Aeschylus' Ἀτιλάντη was a source), 'Chryses' (the title suggests Sophocles' Χρύσις as the model, but there is possibly a suggestion of a contamination with Euripides' 'Chrysippus', along with some material from the I.T.), 'Dulorestes' ('Orestes the Slave' – the avenger Orestes in this play would seem to have returned to Mycenae disguised as a slave; model unknown), 'Hermiona' (perhaps from Sophocles' play of the same name), 'Iliona' (the story resembles the latter part of Euripides' 'Hecuba', but the actual model is not known), 'Medus' (dealing with Medea's son and in all probability from a Greek source), 'Niptra' ('Foot-washing' – of Odysseus by his old nurse; probably from Sophocles), 'Pentheus' (inspired largely, it would seem, by Euripides' 'Bacchae'), 'Periboea' (based apparently on Euripides' 'Oeneus'), and 'Protesilaus', of which there are no fragments. Antonius Volscus, however, comments (if we believe him) in the argument to the thirteenth of Ovid's 'Heroides' as follows: *Pacuvius et Titius Protesilaum tragoediam ediderunt; ex qua multum in hanc epistolam Ovidius transtulit*. Several questions arise³⁹. Was the letter of Laodamia to Protesilaus inspired directly by Euripides' 'Protesilaus'? Had Pacuvius adapted or translated this tragedy? Had Titius (in all probability C. Titius, orator and tragic poet, contemporary of Lucilius as well as of Crassus and Antony) become a posthumous collaborator with Pacuvius, rewriting in some way the older poet's play, or was he independently following the Greek original? We do not know the answers. Ovid adds a detail not found in Hyginus (Fab. 103 and 104) – the ill-omened fact that Protesilaus stumbled as he passed over his father's threshold

on the day he departed for the Trojan war (Heroides 13. 87–88). Ovid's epistle covers the departure of Protesilaus, the grief of Laodamia, her fear that he will meet his death at Troy, his stumbling on the threshold, her advice to him not to be the first to set foot on the soil of Troy (there having been an oracular prediction that the first man ashore would certainly die), comparison of her fortune with that of the women of Troy who were near their husbands, and her devotion to a wax image of him. No doubt some or even all of these elements were present in the Pacuvian play.

In the 'modern' epic which Ovid was attempting in the 'Metamorphoses' archaisms (of which Virgil himself had made sparing use) had little or no place, and genuine archaisms, as distinct from poeticisms – i. e. old words which had won acceptance as part of the stock poetical vocabulary (e. g. *extemplo*, used by Ovid ten times, only in the 'Metamorphoses', while Virgil uses it once in the 'Georgics' and fourteen times in the 'Aeneid') – are very rare in the 'Metamorphoses'. When therefore we find Ovid using *actutum*, which he does twice, Heroides 12. 207: *quos equidem actutum* . . . (in aposiopesis) and at Met. 3. 557 (in conjunction with two unusual elisions):

quem quidem ego actutum . . . cogam . . . fateri

we may suspect that something is afoot⁴⁰. Ovid's handling of the Pentheus story owes something to Pacuvius, as will be shown below, and the use of *actutum*, an old word frequent in comedy and also found in the fragments of Republican tragedy, in the context of Pentheus and his misfortunes (Met. 3. 511–733) is possibly meant as a hint of *color tragicus*, perhaps recalling for the alert and informed reader Pacuvius, and maybe even an actual line or phrase in the dramatist's treatment of this particular myth. Similarly, in the imprecise but awful threats which Medea utters in the last lines, 207–212, of Heroides 12, the employment of the word *actutum* is perhaps calculated to stir up an association in the reader's mind with some earlier treatment of the story (by Ennius?).

Ovid knew Euripides' 'Bacchae' and imitates it in a few places in his Pentheus episode (Met. 3. 511–733), but it was clearly not his main source. Servius auctus (on Aen. 4. 469) says that Pacuvius' Pentheus' had an Acoetes who was brought as a prisoner to Pentheus in place of the missing Dionysus: *misit (sc. Pentheus) satellites qui eum (sc. Liberum) vmctum ad se producerent. qui cum ipsum non invenissent, unum ex comitibus eius Acoetem captum ad Pentheum perduxerunt*. This version accords closely with Ovid (Met. 3. 562–563, 572–576). It seems possible, then, that the story of the Tyrrhene sailors (ibid. 592ff.) and its attribution to Acoetes came from Pacuvius (who perhaps set it forth in a long speech). The version in Nonnus (45. 96–168), on the other hand, may be the result of an Hellenistic amalgamation of the Pentheus tale and that of the Tyrrhene sailors. But maybe, on balance, Pacuvius is the more likely model (if a model is to be supposed) for the combination of the two tales. Certainly the

³⁸ For Pacuvius see F. LEO, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* (1913), 226ff.; R. HELM, *Pacuvius*, RE 18 (1942), 2159–2174; M. VALSA, *M. Pacuvius, poète tragique*, Collection d'études anciennes (Paris, 1957); and I. MARIOTTI, *Introduzione a Pacuvio*, Pubbl. Univ. di Urbino, Lett. 9 (Urbino–Rome, 1960).

³⁹ See VALSA, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴⁰ See KENNEY, op. cit., n. 27 above, p. 120, and G. D'ANNA, *La Tragedia latina arcaica nelle Metamorfosi*, in: *Atti del convegno internazionale ovidiano*, Sulmona, Maggio 1958 (Rome, 1959), II, 220–226.

structure of Ovid's Pentheus story is dramatic with reliance upon dialogue and speeches⁴¹.

The storm was early established as a set-piece in Latin literature⁴². The most celebrated of all storms in early Latin is that of Pacuvius (Teucer 350–365 W.), which Cicero greatly admired (De orat. 3. 157; De div. 1. 24). Teucer reports the shipwreck of the returning Greeks (341 W.):

periere Danaï, plera pars pessum data est.

Then, after some dialogue, we have the description itself:

... *mibi classem imperat* 350
Thessalum nostramque in altum ut properiter deducere...
 ... *Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus*⁴³.
 ... *profectione laeti piscium lasciviam*
intuemur nec tuendi capere satietas potest.
interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare 355
tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimbium obcaecat nigror;
flamma inter nubes coruscat, caelum tonitru contremuit,
grando mixta imbri largifico subita praecipitans cadit,
undique omnes venti erumpunt, saevi existunt turbines, 360
fervit aestu pelagus...
rapide retro citroque percito aestu praecipitem ratem
reciprocare, undaeque e gremiis subiectare adfligere...
 ... *armamentum stridor...*
 ... *flictus navium...*
 ... *strepitus fremitus clamor tonitruum et rudentum sibilus.* 365

This piece of Latin is marked by the free use of alliteration and assonance, onomatopoeia and rhyme, and there is repetition of the same idea in parallel clauses. Parallelism is a phenomenon we have already noted in Naevius and Ennius and shall note again in Accius. The metre (trochaic septenarius) encourages linguistic

⁴¹ See B. OTIS, *Ovid as an Epic Poet?* (Cambridge, 1970), 139, 400–401, and G. D'ANNA cited in n. 40 above.

⁴² See J. LANOWSKI, *La Tempête des Nostoi dans la tragédie Romaine, Tragica I* (Travaux Soc. Sciences et Lettres Wrocław Ser. A 41, 1952), 131–151, a useful article. In Latin there were storm-scenes in Livius Andronicus' *'Odyssea'* and in his *'Aegisthus'*, as well as in the first book of Naevius' *'Bellum Punicum'*. Accius, too, helped to fix the details, the most important fragments in this respect being from the *'Clytemnestra'*. From Ennius' *'Annales'* a fine storm simile survives (430–432 W.), but the most famous of all early Latin storms is that of Pacuvius. A very useful work in this context is E. DE ST. DENIS, *Le Rôle de la Mer dans la Poésie latine* (Thèse Paris, 1936) which incorporates the work of C. LIEBLOFF, *De tempestatis neyomanteae, inferiorum descriptionibus, quae apud poetas romanos primi p. Ch. saeculi leguntur* (Leipzig, 1884). See, too, W.-H. FRIEDRICH, *Episches Unwetter*, in: *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Munich, 1956), 77–87.

⁴³ Quintilian quotes this line with disapproval (1. 5. 67), and Persius (1. 78) makes fun of Pacuvius' coinage *luctificabilis*. The playwright's linguistic innovations seem sometimes to have been too bold for Roman taste. For compounds in Ovid cp. KENNEY, n. 27 above, 121 ff.

licence and a certain extravagance. The great success on the stage of Pacuvius' tragedies must have arisen partly from the intensity of the dramatic situations which he created and partly from his power of words which probably carried the members of the audience away even if they did not understand everything. It is a sad fact that we have only the grandeur of isolated passages to appreciate. In the passage under discussion sound predominates over the visual; there is no close observation, the poet's eye being upon the general rather than the particular⁴⁴. The full *Ausstattung* of the Roman storm is present: the fair start⁴⁵ is followed by nightfall and the roughening of the sea; the darkness of the night becomes darker with the approaching storm; clouds, thunder, lightning, hail and conflicting winds supervene; the ships are tossed back and forth; the rigging and sails creak and groan, and ships collide; sailors are drowned. There is much in the Roman storm to delay us; we could note that the details given can be found in Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and that Accius, Virgil and the Silver Latin epicists to some degree reproduce the pattern⁴⁶. But we must not stray too far from Ovid. He, in the telling of the Ceyx and Alcyone story, indulges in a sea storm (Met. 11. 474–572) and does so within the descriptive tradition. Lines 495–506 are generic in character, largely recalling Virgil's storm in Aeneid 1: we have noise (of ropes, of men, of thunder) and the heaving of the ships in the billows; and line 495: *quippe sonant clamore viri, stridore rudentes* is obviously related to Aeneid 1. 87: *insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum*, which itself is based on Pacuvius (363 and 365 W. above)⁴⁷. An echo of Pacuvius (357 W.) occurs in the Virgil passage at line 90: *intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether*. In Ovid, lines 514–523, there is a continuation – and intensification – of the generic description, with an elaboration of the thunder theme in lines 521–523:

⁴⁴ See the comments of G. W. WILLIAMS, op. cit., n. 15 above, 646–647. He compares these lines with a passage from the *'Oenomaus'* of Accius (509–512 W.):

forte ante auroram, radiorum ardentium indicem,
cum somno in segetem agrestis cornutos cient,
ut rorulentas terras ferro fumidas
proscendant glebasque arvo ex molli exsuscitent...

The same interest in sound-effects is evinced here as in Pacuvius, but to a less extent, says WILLIAMS. However, he finds that in this passage the visual imagination "is beginning to intrude on the interest in sound-effects and to organize the sense into sharper expression" (op. cit., 647). To some extent the greater restraint of the lines must be attributed to the fact that they are composed in iambic senarii, but the poetic technique, WILLIAMS feels, has nevertheless moved perceptibly in the direction of Lucretius, as compared with that of Pacuvius.

⁴⁵ Naevius (Aegisthus 5–6 W.) had also begun the voyage home with fair weather and sporting dolphins:

autem lascivum Nerei sinum pecus
ludens ad cantum classem lustratur.

⁴⁶ Consult M. P. O. MORFORD, *The Poet Lucan* (Oxford, 1967), ch. 4, 20–36, on the literary background to Lucan's storms. See, too, ch. 5, 37–58, for a good analysis and discussion of the same poet's storms.

⁴⁷ Cp., too, Aen. 9. 669–670: *verberat imber humum, quam multa grandine nimbi / in vada praecipitant...*, which recalls Pacuvius, Teucer 358 W.

*caecaque nox premitur tenebris hiemisque suisque;
discutiunt tamen has praebentque micantia lumen
fulmina, fulmineis ardescunt ignibus ignes.*

The Virgil description with its undertones of Pacuvius⁴⁸ helped Ovid on his way, then, but the Pacuvian passage cited can be seen as having wider significance.

At the aesthetic level, there seems to be some degree of comparability between Ovid and Pacuvius. Ovid's regular preoccupation with fine details of language and thought and with the exploration of ideas for their own sakes is not accompanied by any real capacity for accurate, first-hand observation and depiction of nature. Natural scenery is for Ovid a literary motif⁴⁹. The settings for his conventional tales in the 'Metamorphoses' are themselves conventional, with their caves, pebbly streams, flowers, etc. His approach in such description is general, not particular. The lines from Pacuvius are, of course, a mere fragment, but there comes over from them to us something of the same generalised vision which perhaps informed his descriptions at large.

At the level of language and style, writers on Ovid's use of rhetoric tend to overemphasise it, for many of the rhetorical features are just as much poetic as they are rhetorical⁵⁰. The lines from Pacuvius exhibit certain features found elsewhere in early Latin poetry⁵¹. We are dealing here with the elements of a

⁴⁸ See the discussion by BROOKS OTIS, *op. cit.*, n. 41 above, 238–246.

⁴⁹ See C. P. SEGAL, *Landscape in Ovid's Metamorphoses: a Study in the Transformations of a Literary Symbol*, Hermes, Einzelschr. 23 (Wiesbaden, 1969).

⁵⁰ GEORGE KENNEDY, *op. cit.*, n. 8 above, p. 419. Ovid himself offers some observations on the relationship between rhetoric and poetry (Pont. 2. 5. 65–70): the *nervi* (energy and expertise) of the orator are strengthened by poetry.

⁵¹ Structural balance is regular in Pacuvius. Amongst the fragments we may note the following:

quod ego inaudivi accipite et quid sit facto opus decernite
(*Armorum Iudicium* 42 W.)
men servasse ut essent qui me perderent?
(*Armorum Iudicium* 45 W.)
utinam nunc matrescam ingenio, ut meum patrem ulcisci queam!
(*Dulorestes* 136 W.)
... quae sunt is? – ignoti nescioque ignobiles.
quid tandem? ubi ea est? quod receptat se? – exul incerta vagat.
si resto pergit ut eam, si iue conor, prohibet haerere!
(*Medus*, 237, 239 and 240 W.)

As well as balance, the following lines exemplify polysyndeton, assonance, and homoeoteleuton:

*Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi,
saxoque instare in globoso praedicant volubiles,
quia quo id saxum impulerit fors, eo cadere fortunam autumant.
insanam autem esse aiunt quia atrox incerta instabilisque sit;
caecam ob eam rem esse iterant quia nil cernat quo sese adplicet.*
(Unassigned fragments 37–41 W.)

For Pacuvius' use of alliteration, cp. in the 'Antiope': *fruges frendo* (25 W.), a collocation also found in Accius, 'Troades' (658 W.): *fruges frendas*; in the 'Atalanta': *hic sollicita studio obstupida, suspensa animo civitas* (67 W.) and *picta de palla plagam* (74 W.); in the 'Chryses':

native literary style in the deployment of which Ovid eventually, in his own way, was to participate. His profusion of paraphrase and antithesis surely goes back in some measure to the practice of the early Latin poets.

Native forms of expression had often at Rome a peculiar vitality and they are by no means to be despised as jejune and disconnected with the literary products which were to follow. The Fescennine masque, for example, was a lineal ancestor of Roman comedy, of pastoral amoeban verses (like those in Virgil's 'Eclogues'), and of some elements in satire. The Atellan farce had its posterity also; the habit in literary satire of poking fun at country people (cp., for example, Horace, Sat. 1. 5. 34, and Juvenal 10. 101–102) is traceable back to it. In wedding songs from Catullus down to Claudian there are Fescennine echoes, as well as in popular trochaics (for example, in the ribald verses sung at Caesar's Gallic triumph, for which see Suetonius, Julius 51). In the domain of prose the deepest early influence is that of the 'Twelve Tables' because there is no doubt of their importance in the educational system. The Hellenic influence was certainly powerful and brilliant, but the Romans had an instinctive regard for their own past and its culture and were happy to continue to commemorate and have recourse to their native artistic achievements. And there was much from the past which had silently become part of the tradition. Uncouth though he was, Ennius meant a great deal to Ovid, as we have seen, and by the same token Pacuvius also must be considered as a factor, however small, in the development of Ovid's art.

The putative relationship between Aeschylus' Ὀπλων Κρίσις, Pacuvius' 'Armorum Iudicium', Accius' play of the same name and Ovid's treatment of the Ajax story (Met. 13. 2ff.) is discussed by D'ANNA⁵². LAFAYE, who is usually strong in his denial of the influence of Latin sources on the 'Metamorphoses', argues that the Aeschylus version had the greater effect upon Ovid's presentation of the story though the available evidence shows more coincidence of thought between the two Latin tragedies and Ovid⁵³. It is doubtful if enough of Aeschylus' play survives to make good LAFAYE's claim, while a direct relationship with the Latin plays is not an inevitable conclusion. The safest verdict is *non liquet*⁵⁴.

Servius, commenting on Aeneid 11. 259: *vel Priamo miseranda manus*, refers the idea to Pacuvius and quotes:

Priamus si adesset, ipse eius commiseresceret.
(unassigned fragment – 10 W.)

flucti flacciscunt (83 W.) and *atque ut promeruit pater mihi patriam populavit meam* (118 W.); in the 'Dulorestes': *nonne officium fungar vulgi atque aegre male factum feram?* (126 W.), *heu non tyrannum, non temeritudinem!* (144 W.), and *quo consilio consternatur, qua vi, cuius copis?* (174 W.); in the 'Hermiona': *currum liquit; clamide contorta astu clipeat brachium* (190 W.); in the 'Niptra': *lymphis flavis fulvis ut pulverem / ... abluam / lassitudinemque minuum manuum mollitudine; etc.*, etc.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, n. 40 above, 226–234.

⁵³ G. LAFAYE, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs*, Université de Paris, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres 19 (Paris, 1904; reprinted Hildesheim, 1971), 16 and 251.

⁵⁴ See VALSA, *op. cit.*, n. 38. 15.

Ovid uses this motif at Met. 14. 474: *Graecia tum potuit Priamo quoque flenda videri* (in a speech of Diomedes referring to Venulus, a messenger sent by Turnus). His source may have been Virgil and not Pacuvius. The motif is also found in Terence, *Hecyra* 128–129:

*ibi demum ita aegre tulit ut ipsam Bacchidem,
si adesset, credo ibi eiu' commiseresceret.*

It occurs also in Seneca, *Agamemnon* 521–522:

*cladibus nostris daret
vel Troia lacrimas.*

Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 2. 48ff.) commends the passage in the 'Niptra' of Pacuvius (280–291 W.), where the groans of the wounded Odysseus are in a low key, as better conceived than the analogous one in Sophocles since the Roman playwright has had regard for *gravitas* and composed in more of a Stoic vein⁵⁵. Independence and originality may well have been a mark generally of Pacuvius' use of his Greek models. In a fragment of the 'Chryses', based probably on Sophocles' (lost) play of that name, a character utters some very unSophoclean remarks against sooth-saying (104–106 W.) which smack more of Euripidean rationalism – and indeed Euripides' 'Chrysippus', as was observed above, seems to have been drawn upon as well for the making of the piece (cp. 112–114, and 115 W.). The rationalising spirit found in the Roman tragic poets helped to stimulate curiosity on speculative questions, and they anticipated Lucretius in using the conclusions of philosophy as well as of common sense to attack some of the current forms of superstition. The sceptical Ovid must be reckoned to be within this tradition. Ingenious plots and those which allowed ample opportunity for argument seem to have been favoured by Pacuvius, features which no doubt caught and held Ovid's attention. Pacuvius, too, played his part in developing that capacity which the Latin language subsequently displayed for being an instrument of oratory, history, and moral discourse. The literary language of Rome was in the process of formation during the second century B.C., and it was in the latter part of this century that the great series of Roman orators, with whose spirit Roman tragedy has a strong affinity, begins. Ovid thus on another score, having at least trained as an orator in his youth, can lay claim to cultural connection with Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius *et alii*⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ One is reminded here of LESSING's criticisms of WINCKELMANN's assertions on the nature of Greek art. Pain, LESSING argues, may conquer Philoctetes' body in Sophocles' play, but it cannot subdue his spirit. The more terrible and agonising the pain the greater the fortitude. This is the answer which the great critic gives to WINCKELMANN who, in his enthusiasm for restraint as the essential quality of ancient Greek art and literature, compared the fortitude shown by Laocoon with that exhibited by Philoctetes – to the latter's disadvantage. Philoctetes' freedom of lamentation WINCKELMANN found unseemly, as did Cicero and ADAM SMITH.

⁵⁶ The new creative efforts in language were accompanied by considerable crudity of execution, and the novel word-formations and varieties of inflexion introduced by Pacuvius drew upon

III. Accius

Lucius Accius (170–c. 86 B.C.) was the last real tragedian in Rome, whose celebrity continued to grow after his death – he was hailed as the greatest Roman tragedian in the 1st century A.D. (cp. Vell. Pat. 1. 17. 1; Columella praef. 30). Cicero in various passages mentions a number of his plays as being acted in his own time⁵⁷. Fragments of some forty-six named plays survive. For most of the recognisable pieces Euripides was his model, but some were Sophoclean in origin, a few Aeschylean. We know of two *praetextae* from his pen, 'Brutus', on the expulsion of the Tarquins and the founding of the Republic, and 'Aeneadae vel Decius', on the heroic self-immolation of P. Decius Mus the Younger at Sentinum in 295 B.C.

When Ovid himself writes *animosique Accius oris*, he is doubtless referring to the lofty dignity of style in Accius which is evident in some of the fragments, e.g.:

*nam si a me regnum Fortuna atque opes
eripere quivit, at virtutem non quivit.*
(Telephus 625–626 W.)

and

*nam huius demum miseret, cuius nobilitas miserias
nobilitat*⁵⁸.
(Telephus 627–628 W.)

But the adjective *animosus* could also refer to the poet's admiration for firmness and courage which is seen, for example, in Achilles' words:

*tu pertinaciam esse, Antiloche, hanc praedicas,
ego pervicaciam aio et ea me uti volo;
nam pervicacem dici me esse et vincere
perfacile patior, pertinacem nihil moror.
haec fortis sequitur, illam indocti possident.
tu addis quod vitio est, demis quod laudi datur.*
(Myrmidones 452–457 W.)

him the ridicule of Lucilius (and, much later, that of his imitator, the satirist Persius – see J. SORN, *Die Sprache des Persius* [Pr. Laibach, 1890]). But even though he tried to import into Latin an alien element which proved to be incompatible with its genius, and even though he did not achieve the idiomatic purity of Naevius, Plautus or Terence, the fragments of his plays nevertheless testify sufficiently to the good service he performed for the formation of literary Latin as well as for the culture of his time.

⁵⁷ List in M. SCHANZ–C. HOSIUS *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, I. Teil: *Die Römische Literatur in der Zeit der Republik*⁴, *Handbuch der Altertumswiss.* 8,1 (Munich, 1927, repr. *ibid.*, 1939), 134.

⁵⁸ Text doubtful: I follow RIBBECK here.

or in the line (*Armorum Iudicium* 123W.): *virtuti sis par, dispar fortunae patris* (suggested by Sophocles, *Ajax* 550–551, and the source⁵⁹ of Virgil, *Aeneid* 12. 435–436: *disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, / fortunam ex aliis*) which is permeated with an heroic spirit defiant of fate. Elsewhere (*Tr.* 2. 359) Ovid uses the adjective *ferox* of Accius, and the forcible delineation of passion seems to have been a characteristic of his dramatic output; it is well illustrated in these lines:

*Tereus indomito more atque animo barbaro
conspexit in eam; amore vecors flammeo,
depositus, facinus pessimum ex dementia
confingit.* (Tereus 639–642W.)

In the presentation of certain characters Accius seems to have laid his colours on thick, depicting villains of extraordinary arrogance and iniquity (Atræus, Thyestes, Tereus). The notorious and cynical *oderint dum metuant* (Atræus 168W.) illustrates this point. The influence of Accian 'Grand Guignol' is traceable in the cooking of Itys (*Met.* 6. 645–646):

*... pars inde cavis exsultat aenis,
pars veribus stridunt.*

Compare Atræus 187–189W.:

*... concoquit
partem vapore flammae, veribus in focos
laccerta tribuit.*

The Thyestean banquet in Accius' 'Atræus' (unless the poet repeated himself in the 'Tereus') affected Ovid's account of the Philomela myth, for *Met.* 6. 665, *seque vocat bustum miserabile nati* is highly reminiscent of *natis sepulchro ipse est parens* (Atræus 190W.). In *Met.* 8. 738ff., Erysichthon's almost manic impiety, in sharp contrast to the quiet social comedy of the version by Callimachus, is overdrawn (intentionally) in a way that probably owes not a little to Accius. The same could be said of other lurid episodes in the 'Metamorphoses' – e. g. those of Actæon (3. 138ff.), of Byblis (9. 435ff.), of Myrrha (10. 312ff.), and cp. the death scenes: at *Met.* 3. 307ff. the cruel killing of Semele by Jupiter who is probably to be seen as a harsh tyrant (maybe on the Accian model?); at *Met.* 5. 103–106 the butchering of a helpless old man; at *Met.* 7. 297ff. the destruction of Pelias at the hands of his own daughters. GALINSKY suggests that Ovid delighted in sadism⁶⁰, which is probably too extreme an assertion. But he is probably right in maintaining that the poet evades moral concerns⁶¹ and that in describing death

and suffering he shows 'no great feeling or spiritual profundity'⁶². Like a good orator or dramatist, Ovid wishes to move us, and even on occasion to shock us. In this objective he must have learnt much from Accius.

Concerning Ovid's sources, our ignorance is great with only occasional glimpses of light. For the Procne-Philomela-Tereus myth (*Met.* 6. 424–674) Sophocles' 'Tereus' was probably to some extent laid under contribution, but Accius' tragedy of the same title was no doubt known to Ovid as well. It was a stage favourite in the late Republic (Cicero, *ad Att.* 16. 2. 3, and 5. 1), and it is perfectly possible that Ovid had not only read it but also seen it acted⁶³. The lines which have been quoted above from 'Tereus' (639–642W.) are not very far from *Met.* 6. 455ff.:

*non secus exarsit conspecta virgine Tereus,
quam si quis canis ignem supponat aristis, ...
hunc innata libido
exstimulat, primumque genus regionibus illis
in Venerem est: flagrat vitio gentisque suae. ...
et nihil est, quod non effreno captus amore
ausit, nec capiunt inclusas pectora flammæ.*

The whole picture in Ovid is one of blazing, uncontrollable passion, and this was doubtless what he found in large measure in the original Accian context.

Accius had wide literary and scholarly interests⁶⁴, but drama was his forte. Among his prominent plays were:

'Andromeda', the action of which, it would seem from the fragments, began earlier than the exposing of the heroine to the monster; the model is unknown, and no connection is evident between the extant remains (some sixteen lines in all) and Ovid's version (*Met.* 4. 670ff.).

'Armorum Iudicium', an independent treatment of the legend used by Pacuvius and burlesqued by Pomponius. The theme is handled by Ovid, *Met.* 13.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, 124.

⁶³ BROOKS OTIS, *op. cit.*, n. 41 above, 406–410, with reference to the monograph on the subject by IGNAZIO CAZZANIGA: *La Saga di Itis nella Tradizione letteraria e mitografica Greco-Romana*, Part I (Milano, 1950) and Part II (Milano, 1951), each paged separately. The second part has a separate title: *L'episodio di Procne nel libro Sesto delle Metamorfosi di Ovidio: ricerche intorno alla tecnica poetica ovidiana*.

⁶⁴ Like Lucilius he took a scholarly interest in questions of language and spelling, while his 'Didascalica' was a sketch of Greek and Roman (dramatic?) poetry, seemingly in prose and in verses mainly satiric. A work called 'Annales' may have dealt with the calendar – a sort of anticipation of Ovid's 'Fasti'. The 'Praxidicus' (or 'Praxidica'? A neuter plural?) may have dealt with astronomy (or astrology) and/or agriculture. It is idle to speculate on the subject-matter of the 'Pragmatica' and the 'Parerga'. For Accius' non-dramatic fragments, see W. MOREL, *Fragmenta poetarum latinorum epicorum et lyricorum* (Leipzig 1927, repr. Stuttgart 1963), 34ff.; for the 'Didascalica', H. FUNAIOLI, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta* (Lipsiae, 1907), 25ff. General: F. LEO, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* (1913), 384ff.; R. AGENIO, *Accio, Riv. d. Studi Class.* 8 (1960), 147ff., and IDEM, *Retorica e politica nelle tragedie di Accio*, *ibid.* 9 (1961), 198ff.

⁵⁹ But K. BÜCHNER, *Vergil's Aeneis in: Studi in Onore di L. Castiglioni* (Florence, 1960) I, 116–118, doubts the correspondence – wrongly.

⁶⁰ G. K. GALINSKY, *Ovid's Metamorphoses; an Introduction to the Basic Aspects* (Oxford, 1975), 129–130.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, 125.

2ff., but whether he drew upon Accius does not appear from such scanty evidence as there is.

The 'Atreus' which has been mentioned above.

The 'Alcmeo', the 'Epigoni', and the 'Alphesiboea' which were all related to the tribulations of Alcmeon, a Hamlet-like figure charged with a mission of revenge especially directed against his mother. Ovid deals briefly with the story, Met. 9. 408ff.

The 'Medea', which may have helped to inspire Ovid to attempt his own drama of the same name, is notable for a description of the first ship Argo by an astonished shepherd who took it for some kind of monster. Cicero quotes the lines (De nat. deorum 2. 35. 89):

. . . tanta moles labitur
fremibunda ex alto ingenti sonitu et spiritu;
prae se undas voluit, vortices vi suscitavit;
ruit prolapsa, pelagus respergit reflat.
ita dum interruptum credas nimbium volvier,
dum quod sublime ventis expulsus rapi
saxum aut procellis, vel globosos turbines
existere ictos undis concursantibus;
nisi quas terrestres pontus strages conciet,
aut forte Triton fuscina evertens specus
subter radices penitus undante in freto
molem ex profundo saxeam ad caelum eruit . . .
(Medea 381–396 W.)

For the motif we may compare Apollonius Rhodius 4. 316–322; in fact the plot seems to be related to the adventures described by the Greek poet, 4. 303ff. Ovid uses the motif to pleasing effect at Met. 8. 217–220 (of the first aeronauts, Daedalus and Icarus):

hos aliquis tremula dum captat harundine pisces,
aut pastor baculo stivave innixus arator
vidit et obstipuit, quique aethera carpere possent,
credidit esse deos.

The 'Meleager' was a piece in which the mother's feelings of remorse evidently gave wide scope for pathos. Ovid deals with the myth at Met. 8. 260ff. The 'Meleager' of Euripides was probably the model for Accius' play – D. L. PAGE discusses the plot, 'Greek Literary Papyri (Poetry)', pp. 154–158. Ovid's account of the Calydonian Boar-hunt is written in high epic style⁶⁵, but the anguished soliloquy of Althaea (lines 478–511) as she tries to decide to whom she

⁶⁵ There is much of background interest in D. B. HULL, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1964).

owes the greater duty, to her son or to her brother, is very much in the vein of Euripides. As to the Accian version, Met. 8. 334ff.:

concava vallis erat, quo se demittere rivi
adsuerant pluvialis aquae; . . .

is perhaps related to this fragment (431 W.):

frigit fricatque corpus atrum occulte abstruso in flumine

which conceivably describes the boar wallowing in a stream before the hunters come across him. The line *frigit saetas rubore ex oculis fulgens flammæ* (432 W.) is to be associated with it presumably. Both may come from the same messenger's speech – line 432 is most simply taken as a septenarius with the first syllable missing (see WARMINGTON ad loc.). It is likely that line 432 describes the boar after he has been stirred up. Ovid's boar is not dissimilar (Met. 8. 284): *sanguine et igne micant oculi, riget horrida cervix*. Nonius (317. 14), explaining *herba* in the sense of *palma* or *victoria*, quotes Accius (433–434 W.):

gaudent currunt celebrant, herbam conferunt donant tenent,
pro se quisque cum corona clarum conestat caput.

These vivid words presumably describe the happy response to Meleager's killing of the boar. Ovid includes a brief description of the same scene (Met. 8. 420–421):

gaudia testantur socii clamore secundo
victicemque petunt dextrae coniungere dextram . . .

– a more restrained account.

The 'Philoctetes' seems to have drawn upon Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, each of whom produced a tragedy on this theme. Thanks to Dion of Prusa, Orat. 52. 35 which compares the three plays, and Orat. 59. 42 which paraphrases the opening scene of Euripides' drama, we know how Aeschylus and Euripides handled the same myth. Accius, echoing Homer's *ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν*, described Achilles as 'the wall of the Argives' (*moerus Argivum* 561 W.) in a line, it would seem, of his 'Philoctetes' in which the eponymous hero enquires about the death of Achilles (cp. Sophocles, Phil. 332–334):

ferron an fato moerus Argivum occidit?

Ovid clearly has the phrase in mind when, in an epic context, he writes (Ajax son of Telamon is speaking):

me miserum, quanto cogor meminisse dolore
temporis illius quo, Graium murus, Achilles
procubuit. (Met. 13. 280–282)

Earlier in the same book of the 'Metamorphoses' (lines 53–54) there is another reminiscence of the same Accian play, the subject being Philoctetes:

*velaturque aliturque avibus, volucresque petendo
debita Troianis exercet spicula fatis.*

Here there are hints of Accius 543 W.:

pro veste pinnis membra textis contegit

and of Accius 555–556 W.:

*... pinnigero, non armigero in corpore
tela exercentur haec, abiecta gloria.*

In the 'Philoctetes' of Sophocles we read (lines 710–711):

*πλὴν ἐξ ὠκυβόλων εἴ ποτε τόξων
παντῶν πανοῖς ἀνύσειε φορβάν.*

In respect of birds, Sophocles speaks of food, Accius of clothing. Is there an indication here that Accius in this detail was following another source – Euripides, perhaps⁶⁶?

As an artist Accius clearly was at least as free with his originals as Ennius and Pacuvius. Enough fragments of his 'Bacchae' and 'Phoenissae' survive to enable some instructive comparisons to be made, and the 'Armorum Iudicium' apparently has elements from Sophocles' 'Ajax' blended with borrowings from elsewhere (Aeschylus? Euripides?). He clothed his material in a style which was vigorous and lofty, and he could achieve a sonority and solemnity which effectively set forth the tragic themes he handled⁶⁷. His violent plots, his flamboyant characterisation, and his forceful rhetoric were admired by Roman

⁶⁶ See G. D'ANNA, op. cit., n. 40 above, 229.

⁶⁷ Characteristics of Accius' style are, e. g., balanced structure, as in the last line of this fragment (where also the typical word-play in *composita* and *componas* is to be observed):

*... sic
multi animus quorum atroci vinctus malitia est,
composita dicta e pectore evolvunt suo,
quae cum componas dicta factis discrepant*
(Agamemnonidae 16–19 W.);

alliteration, as in:

nec quei te adiutem invenio; hortari piget, non prodesse id pudet
(Andromeda 65 W.),
in quo salutis spes supremas sibi habet summa exerciti
(Armorum Iudicium 124 W.);

parallelism of cola, as in:

contaminari stirpem, admisceri genus
(Atreus 172 W.),
agite modico gradu! iacite nixus leves!
(Bacchae 209 W.)

(but the reading may be *thyrsos*, not *nixus*).

critics. In Ovid admiration is signalled on occasion by imitation, which was perhaps not always to Ovid's advantage. The overheated quality of language or content in Ovid must sometimes arise from his admiration for Accius.

IV. Plautus

There has been in recent years much discussion of Ovid's attitude to the Augustan régime. Was it hostile or indifferent, or was it somewhere in between? This is not the place for yet another examination of the question⁶⁸. In the literary controversies of his time Ovid had to decide between the school of Horace with its emphasis on both instruction and charm, and the Callimachean school (the 'water-drinkers') whose aims were principally aesthetic. Ovid's rejection of the former was on the grounds of literary, not moral, principle. The genres had their *descriptae vices*, and elegy, which Ovid instinctively recognised as his milieu, was traditionally *levis*⁶⁹.

The vein of *levitas* or frivolity runs through the whole of Ovid's work. If there was any feature of his output to which the authorities might take exception it was certainly this⁷⁰. He regularly displays a mocking irreverence, not least when dealing with divinities⁷¹. In the A. A. we find him jesting about problems of

⁶⁸ See the good discussion, with bibliography, by G. K. GALINSKY, op. cit., n. 60 above, 210–265 (Ovid, Vergil and Augustus), being the fifth chapter of the book. He shows the absurdity of the terms 'Augustanism' and 'anti-Augustanism' with respect to the 'Metamorphoses', and scouts any idea that Met. 13 and 14 form a kind of 'anti-Aeneid'. GALINSKY's conclusion is that Ovid's serious aim was to demonstrate that the non-moral, non-metaphysical, playful, witty, humorous, visual and purely narrative treatment of myth could validly exist alongside Virgil's (p. 250). The *Iovis ira* (Met. 15. 871) does not refer to Augustus. Ovid, says GALINSKY, is primarily interested in myths as literature and so literary considerations must take precedence over any other in the evaluation of the poem.

Ovid probably had no definite political axe to grind, but perhaps he was not so uncritical of his age as some have thought – cp. C. P. SEGAL's book (cited in n. 49 above) in which it is suggested that the 'Metamorphoses', read in the light of the contrast between the sufferings of its characters and the setting in which the suffering occurs, contains an insight into the nature of arbitrary force, which may in turn reflect a certain insight into the Roman world of his time (p. 86). But Ovid's *Weltanschauung* is simpler than Virgil's, SEGAL notes, and in its way more fearful, for 'he lacks the Virgilian sensitivity to suffering and ultimate belief in a *magnus ab integro ordo*' (p. 87). Cp., too, R. SYME, *History in Ovid* (Oxford, 1978), 184f. and 190ff. (on Ovid and Augustus' achievements).

⁶⁹ See T. F. HIGHAM, *Ovid: Some Aspects of his Character and his Aims*, CR 48 (1934), 126.

⁷⁰ Cp. the useful study by A. S. HOLLS in his chapter, *Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris*, in: Ovid, ed. by J. W. BINNS (London, 1973), 84–115, and his brief comments in his edition of A.A. 1 (Oxford, 1977), xvi–xvii.

⁷¹ Cp. C. SANTINI, *Toni e strutture nella rappresentazione delle divinità nei Fasti*, GIF 25 (1973), 41–62. SANTINI shows that Ovid, as opposed to Lucretius and Vergil, interests himself in the divine only in so far as it gives him the chance to indulge his habitual irony and humour. The divine scenes in the 'Fasti' are remarkable for the comedy they contain. See, too, the third chapter of BERNBEEK's book, pp. 80–114 (n. 72 below), in which Ovid's peculiar

recruitment to the army (l. 131–132), and advising young women to adopt the same attitude to the handling of admirers as the emperor does to military appointments (3. 525 ff.). Similarly, he dares to jest about the law (A.A. 1. 79 ff.), the state cult of the Bona Dea (A.A. 3. 637–638), and days of national mourning (A.A. 1. 413–414). Such touches of satiric humour do not add up to an 'anti-Augustanism', but would scarcely create faith in the poet as the upholder of ancient standards, a man of proper Roman *gravitas*. To write a poem representing love as an important and strenuous occupation to be pursued with the same studious devotion as farming or hunting was not likely to commend him to the serious-minded in Roman official circles.

Humour (a term including wit and irony within its ambit) is an Ovidian quality which has received much attention from critics in recent years, chiefly as manifested in the 'Metamorphoses'⁷². FRÉCAUT's book is a very thorough anatomy of the subject, covering all the writings, and shows insight and sensitivity. Within small compass BERNBECK's book is a very useful contribution. Analysing in great detail as a typical specimen of Ovid's procedure the Ino episode (Met. 4. 416–542), he shows the *spielerisch* nature of the language and of the narrative. The poet deliberately employs an unepic tone for what is ostensibly epic narrative. Later, in his third chapter (pp. 80–114), BERNBECK stresses Ovid's peculiar humanisation of the gods, and how in this respect he leaves Homer, Apollonius, and Virgil behind. The divine level is brought down to the human, the gods acting like men not only among themselves but also when they are among men. This is to subserve Ovid's general aim of achieving surprising and comic effects.

GALINSKY, appealing to JOHN HUIZINGA's study of the play element in the origins and development of culture⁷³, reasonably suggests that Ovid in the 'Metamorphoses' quite consciously re-endowed myth with the elements of play

humanisation of the gods for comic effect is emphasised. For a thorough study of the Roman religious element, see W. FAUTH, *Römische Religion im Spiegel der 'Fasti' des Ovid*, ANRW II 16. 1, ed. W. HAASE (Berlin–New York, 1978), 104–186.

⁷² The main relevant works here are: M. SAPP, *Ovidio umorista*, Riv. di Filol. 11 (1883), 347–372; E. DOBLHOFFER, *Ovidius urbanus: Eine Studie zum Humor in Ovids Met.*, Philologus 104 (1960), 63–91 and 223–235; E. ZINN, *Elemente des Humors in augusteischer Dichtung*, Gymnasium 67 (1969), 41–56 and 152–155; M. VON ALBRECHT, *Ovids Humor: Ein Schlüssel zur Interpretation der Met.*, Der Altsprachliche Unterricht 6. 2 (1963), 47–72 (= IDEM, *Ovids Humor und die Einheit der Met.*, in: Ovid, ed. by von ALBRECHT and ZINN [Darmstadt, 1968], 405–437); E. DE ST. DENIS, *Essais sur le rire et le sourire des Latins*, Publications de l'Université de Dijon 32 (Paris, 1965); E. LEFÈVRE, *Propertius ludibundus: Elemente des Humors in seinen Elegien*, Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften 2 (Heidelberg, 1966); E. J. BERNBECK, *Beobachtungen zur Darstellungsart in Ovids Met.*, *Zetemata* 43 (Munich, 1967); J. M. FRÉCAUT, *L'Esprit et l'Humour chez Ovide* (Thèse Grenoble, 1972); G. K. GALINSKY, ch. 4, 158–209 ('Humor and Seriousness') of his book cited in n. 60 above. The chapter studies its subject-matter under various headings: (1) Types of Humor; (2) The Gods; (3) Self-Irony; (4) Logical Incongruity and Visual Over-Explicitness; (5) Literary Allusiveness and Parody; (6) Verbal Wit; (7) The Genre Scene.

⁷³ J. HUIZINGA, *Homo ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston, 1955).

and humour, on a far larger scale than anyone else, because he realised that they are essential to the very nature of myth.

Humour, then, and especially humour of a playful and irreverent kind which is not afraid to poke fun at national institutions, is a fundamental characteristic of Ovid's poetry. In fact, Ovid invites comparison, I think, with Plautus. They exhibit similar traits in their work and are leading representatives of the humorous in Latin literature. There would seem to be room for a full comparative study of these two writers who do not appear ever to have been considered together by critics. In the interim, let us look at certain of the ways in which Ovid can be said consciously or unconsciously to recall Plautus.

In a very lively and suggestive book⁷⁴ E. SEGAL has pointed to the overthrow or circumvention of the *pater familias* (master, husband, father) by slaves, women, and male children as an important feature of Plautine comedy, signalling the holiday or Saturnalian element, by which repressed social groups are shown as triumphing over traditional authority. The tables are turned and the underdogs are allowed for once to prevail. In Ovid there is present, I believe, something of the same disrespect towards *mos maiorum* as there is in Plautus.

General spirit apart, there are from time to time linguistic and stylistic effects in Ovid which are reminiscent of Plautus. The heaping up of words (*coacervatio*) is used by Ovid on occasion for a humorous purpose just as it is by Plautus. This effect is not properly treated if we simply include it under the vague and altogether too general heading of Ovid's 'rhetoric'. 'So far from being mere rhetorical exercises, his catalogs serve diverse purposes⁷⁵.' A distinctly humorous note is struck in the tale of Actaeon (Met. 3. 206–225), where the long list of dogs' names produces an intentional atmosphere of bathos, while the piling up of comparative adjectives by Polyphemus in praise of Galatea (Met. 13. 789–807) is ludicrous and in keeping with his physical grossness as described by Ovid. Similarly, in Plautus we find comic catalogues, e. g. of wrongdoing (Asin. 560–575), of abusive terms (Persa 406 ff.; Pseud. 357–370), of items to be made good by the lover (Truc. 52 ff.), etc.

Instances of double meaning introduced for a humorous purpose are common in Ovid. The mock aphorism at Met. 2.436–437 (referring to Calisto's struggle with the passionate Jupiter):

... sed quem superare puella
quisve Iovem poterat superum?

contains a pun in *superum*, and there is verbal play (*figura etymologica*) in *superare-superum*, both of which manoeuvres recall Plautine procedure. Word play, a standard recourse of Ovid, was in its many manifestations abidingly popular with the Romans, as Roman comedy – and not least Plautus – and the

⁷⁴ E. W. SEGAL, *Roman Laughter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

⁷⁵ GALINSKY, op. cit., 195: the catalogue of trees in the Orpheus episode (Met. 10. 90–105) is consummately meaningful, and that of Pythagoras (Met. 15. 273 ff.) serves a serious literary purpose (which is explored, pp. 104–107).

surviving examples of Cicero's witticisms (cp., for instance, the play on words in Pro Cluentio 26. 72, involving *conditor* in the sense of 'contriver and cooker-up' and the proper nouns Gutta and Bulbus) demonstrate⁷⁶. The line on the two natures of the Minotaur (A.A. 2. 24) which Ovid laughingly considered to be among the three of which he would least like to be deprived embodies a linguistic *jeu d'esprit* which Plautus himself would have enjoyed:

*semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem*⁷⁷.

Still on the question of formal or structural likeness to Plautus, when Ovid is discussing *servitium amoris*⁷⁸ (by which the lover becomes a kind of human chameleon to keep pace with his beloved's changes of mood) he expresses himself in a manner reminiscent of that of Plautus. Here he is (A.A. 2. 197–202) giving advice:

*cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis;
fac modo, quas partes illa iubebit, agas.
arguet, arguito; quidquid probat illa, probato;
quod dicet, dicas; quod negat illa, neges.*

⁷⁶ For verbal wit in Ovid cp. GALINSKY, op. cit., 193–197. The first four chapters of E. FRAENKEL's 'Plautinisches im Plautus' (Berlin, 1922), translated by E. MUNARI into Italian from the original German with additions by the author under the title 'Elementi plautini in Plauto' (Florence, 1960), deal with the comedian's characteristic language and style with insight and erudition. But much further work remains to be done in a systematic manner on Plautus' verbal humour – see the remarks of W. G. ARNOTT, Menander, Plautus, Terence, New Surveys in the Classics 9 (Oxford, 1975), 44–45. Similarly Ovid's linguistic strategy needs methodical study, for there must be many intended effects which still elude us. There is, of course, much that is obvious, like the play at Met. 5. 581: *quamvis fortis eram, formosae nomen habebam*, at Met. 8. 390: *turba nocet iactis (sc. telis) et, quos petit, impedit ictus*, and at Met. 13. 550: *non oblita animorum, amorum oblita suorum* (a leonine hexameter). The Italian ear had a clear predilection for certain sounds and effects, and the existence of a native Italian literary style (no doubt influenced by Greek models, but yet not a mere imitation of them) is indicated by Plautus and other early authors, and vestiges of it continue to appear long after their time. Pasicompsa's charming statement (Mercator 508–509) illustrates alliteration and rhyme:

*namque edepol equidem, mi senex, non didici huiolare
nec pecua ruri pascere nec pueros nutricare.*

Alliteration and figura etymologica (a favourite Latin device) occur in, e. g., Pseudolus 426: *praesensit: nihil est praedae praedatoribus*, and alliteration and rhyme, ibid. 683: *stulti hui scimus frustra ut simus*, and cp. 685–686:

*certa mittimus dum incerta petimus, atque hoc evenit
in labore atque in dolore, ut mors obrepat interim.*

Examples of this kind could, of course, be multiplied very many times over.

⁷⁷ Interestingly, of Accius' 'Minos' or 'Minotaurus' only one line survives, a mention of the Minotaur's origin (451 W.): *ex taurigeno semine ortam fuisse an humano feram?*

⁷⁸ On *servitium amoris* see F. O. COPLEY, *Servitium Amoris* in the Roman Elegists, TAPA 78 (1947), 285–300, and J. P. BOUCHER, *Études sur Properce. Problèmes d'inspiration et d'art*, Bibliothèque des Écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome 204 (Paris, 1965), 90–92.

*riserit, adride; si flebit, flere memento;
imponat leges vultibus illa tuis*⁷⁹.

Compare with these lines the following on the same theme:

*sive erit in Tyriis, Tyrios laudabis amictus;
sive erit in Cois, Coa decere puta.
aurata est, ipso tibi sit pretiosior auro;
gausapa si sumit, gausapa sumpta proba.*
(A.A. 2. 297–300)

Compare also:

*compositum discrimen erit: discrimina lauda;
torserit igne comam: torte capille, place.*
A.A. 2. 303–304)

And add the line (A.A. 1. 503): *cum surgit, surges; donec sedet illa, sedebis*.

A passage in Plautus which in its rhythm and meaning seems to prefigure these didactic extracts from the 'Ars Amatoria' is Pseudolus 855–865; Ballio instructs a slave to keep a close watch on a thievish cook:

*si iste ibit, ito; stabit, astato simul.
si conquiniscet istic, conquiniscito.*
(ibid. 863–864)

The idea of imitation of expression of mood is also found in Amphitruo 960–961, where Sosia lays down what a good slave should do:

*proinde eri ut sint, ipse item sit; vultum e vultu comparet;
tristis sit, si eri sint tristes; hilarus sit si gaudeant.*

We may compare here, too, Terence, Eun. 252:

negat quis, nego; ait, aio.

At A.A. 1. 99 we have the neat and famous line:

spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae.

This occurs in a context (lines 89–134) in which Ovid indicates that the theatre is the best hunting-ground for the pursuers of love affairs, something which has been true ever since the time of Romulus. Plautus, Poenulus 337: *sunt illi aliae quas spectare ego et me spectari volo* possibly played some part in the creation of Ovid's line⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ These lines are discussed by S. D'ELIA, Lineamenti dell'evoluzione stilistica e ritmica nelle opere ovidiane in: Atti (cited n. 60 above), 387. Cp., too, J.-M. FRÉCAUT, op. cit., n. 72, 56–57.

⁸⁰ W. SCHWERING, De Ovidio et Menandro, RhMus 69 (1914), 233–243, suggesting an ultimate source in New Comedy. F. W. LENZ, Ovid, Die Liebeskunst, Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt 25 (Berlin, 1969), 172, remarks that even if this suggestion is accepted, the formulation of Ovid's line is incomparable.

To pass now from manner to matter, in A.A. 1. 67–262 Ovid offers a review of the best meeting-places for the aspiring lover in Rome and beyond. The monologue of the *choragus* at Curculio 462–486 virtually amounts to a short itinerary of the streets of Rome, and in Amphitruo 1011ff. we find another topographical passage. Nothing remotely similar is found in extant Greek New Comedy, though it is possible that an extra-dramatic speech of this kind was occasionally inserted, perhaps as a revival to some extent of the parabases of Old Comedy with their diverse material⁸¹. Anyway, à propos of Ovid we should note Curculio 472–473:

*dites, damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito.
ibidem erunt scorta exoleta quique stipulari solent.*

A scene in Ovid which similarly reminds one of comedy is Met. 1.617–621 where Jupiter is surprised by his wife in an amour. Demaenetus likewise is caught by his wife Artemona in a compromising situation in Plautus' *Asinaria* 851 ff. (and compare Truculentus 614 ff.)⁸². Plautus was not necessarily an immediate source for Ovid, but could have been a contributory one. The theme was not by any means uncommon.

At the beginning of this century FRANZ SKUTSCH reasonably conjectured⁸³ a relationship between Ovid, *Fasti* 2.331 ff. and Plautus, *Casina* 815 ff. In the Ovid passage, Faunus, attempting to have sexual intercourse with the Lydian Omphale, climbs into bed with Hercules by mistake – Hercules is dressed up as the bride. The conclusion of the 'Casina' is uproarious comedy with, in a like manner, the complete discomfiture of the lecherous *senex* Lysidamus. The relevant lines for comparison are:

*interea tunicas ora subduxit ab ima:
horrebant densis aspera crura pilis.
cetera temptantem subito Tirynthius heros
reppulit: e summo decedit ille toro . . .
(Fasti 2.347–350)*

*reppulit mihi manum . . .
ita quasi saetis labra mihi compungit barba.
. . . pectus mihi pedibus percutit.
decido de lecto praecipies.
(Casina 888; 929–931)*

⁸¹ W. G. ARNOTT, op. cit., p. 33.

⁸² A. A. DAY, *The Origins of Latin Love-Elegy* (Oxford, 1938), 98, cites LEGRAND who (rightly) sees Propertius 4. 8 (in which Cynthia interrupts a party arranged by the poet) as a typical New Comedy scene, referring to the two Plautus passages (as well as to Alciphron 3. 7 and the brawl in Dialogue 15 of Lucian). See also J. C. YARDLEY, *Comic Influences in Propertius*, *Phoenix* 26 (1972), 134–139; these influences can be seen most clearly in 2. 16, 3. 6, and 4. 8.

⁸³ F. SKUTSCH, *Prolog des Diphilos und eine Komödie des Plautus*, *Rh. Mus.* 55 (1900), 283 ff.

The bribing of a maid as a means of gaining access to her mistress is recommended by Ovid, A.A. 1.351–398. This is a comic theme, of course, being found in Plautus, *Asinaria* 183 ff. (and cp. *Menaechmi* 540 ff.). Similarly, correspondence between lovers figures in Ovid – see *Amores* 11 and 12, and *Heroides* passim (and cp. Met. 9.518 ff. where the unhappy Byblis, stricken with a hopeless passion for her brother Caunus, writes to him). For love letters in comedy see Plautus, *Pseudolus* 20 ff. and *Asinaria* 761 ff. The go-between maid of comedy and love elegy is related to such a personage as Phaedra's nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, and there were probably similar characters in other tragedies now lost. Further, the *lena* or procuress of New Comedy and Mime (present in an incidental role in Plautus' *Asinaria* and *Cistellaria*; cp. Ovid, A.A. 1.371–372, where the *ancilla* virtually acts as a *lena*, and *Amores* 1.8) is part of this tradition. But intrigues involving clandestine correspondence and *lenae* or corrupted maidservants were, obviously, part of real life in the Rome of Plautus or Ovid, but the description of them has often clearly been shaped by convention⁸⁴.

We pass now to the charming little scene at Met. 8.855 ff. whose literary affiliation scholars have not so far noticed. The impious Erysichthon has sold his daughter Mestra in order to buy food to appease his supernatural hunger. Mestra prays to Poseidon for help, and he responds by turning her into a fisher-lad. The purchaser questions the transformed Mestra about the vanished slave-girl in a speech, the stately style of which contrasts strikingly with its substance:

*hanc dominus spectans 'o qui pendentia parvo
aera cibo celas, moderator harundinis,' inquit
'sic mare compositum, sic sit tibi piscis in unda
credulus et nullos, nisi fixus, sentiat hamos:
quae modo cum vili turbatis veste capillis
litore in hoc steterat (nam stantem in litore vidi)
dic ubi sit! neque enim vestigia longius exstant.'
illa dei munus bene cedere sensit, et, a se
se quaeri gaudens, his est resecuta rogantem:
'quisquis es, ignoscas; in nullam lumina partem
gurgite ab hoc flexi studioque operatus mhaesi,
quoque minus dubites, sic has deus aequoris artes
adiuvet ut nemo iamdudum litore in isto,
me tamen excepto, nec femina constitit ulla.'*

FRANZ BÖMER, the latest editor, in his monumental commentary on the 'Metamorphoses' has, as one would expect, helpful things to say⁸⁵. He observes on line 855 that „Die Anrede, sowohl in ihrem Verhältnis (der dominus spricht zur

⁸⁴ See A. S. HOLLIS's note on A.A. 1. 351–358 in his edition (Oxford, 1977).

⁸⁵ To date (October, 1980) BÖMER's commentary has reached books 8–9 (Heidelberg, 1977). Of the utility of this impressive work there is no question, though often the material is presented rather indiscriminately and often no attempt is made to draw out implications or reach conclusions. A grievous omission (which will no doubt be rectified when the whole work is finished) is an index.

Sklavin in umständlicher Form) als auch ihrer Länge nach feierlich, ist deutlich Parodie; dieses parodische Pathos beherrscht den ganzen Dialog." A. S. HOLLIS comments on line 855ff.: "This fishing interview which follows (surely invented by Ovid) is quite delightful."

There are, however, precedents for the scene in Plautus and Virgil.

In Plautus' masterpiece, the *Rudens*, some fishermen carrying rods⁸⁶ and lines enter from town and bemoan their over-worked and under-rewarded condition, somewhat after the manner of a chorus (lines 290–305). At line 306 Trachalio, the servant of Plesidippus, arrives in search of his master and questions the fishermen:

*salvete, fures maritumi, Conchitae atque Hamiotae,
famelica hominum natio. quid agitis? ut peritis?
Pl. ut piscatorem aequumst, fame sitique speque falsa.
TR. ecquem adolescentem huc, dum hic astat, expedit,
vidistis ire strenua facie, rubicundum, fortem,
qui tris secum homines duceret chlamydatos cum machaeris?
Pl. nullum istac facie ut praedicat venisse huc scimus.*

TR. *ecquem*

*recalvum ad Silanum senem, statutum, ventriosum,
tortis superciliis, contracta fronte, fraudulentum
deorum odium atque hominum, malum, mali viti probrique plenum,
qui duceret mulierculas duas secum sati' venustas?*

*Pl. cum istiusmodi virtutibus operisque natus qui sit,
cum quidem ad carnificem est aequius quam ad Venerem commeare.*

TR. *at si vidistis, dicite.* Pl. *huc profecto nullus venit.*

(*Rudens* 310–323)

The passage in Virgil is *Aeneid* 1.314ff., where Aeneas meets his mother Venus, disguised as a huntress, and she tells him the history of Dido and Carthage. The device goes back to Homer (*Od.* 7.19ff., and 13.221ff.), but Virgil's scene "has a life and directness that is all his own."⁸⁷ The stranger-girl's speech (321–324) begins with the word *heus* which belongs to comedy and to familiar, intimate talk, and which thus sets the tone of what she has to say⁸⁸:

⁸⁶ RÖMER's note on *harundo* (l. 856) reads: „Angel, vor Ovid nur Plaut. Rud. 294, Stich. 289 . . .," but he does not follow up the point which might have led him to discern the relationship between the *Rudens* scene and that in Met. 8: fishing forms a link between them; it does not figure in the analogous scene in Aen. 1.

⁸⁷ R. G. AUSTIN, *Aeneidos liber primus*, with a commentary (Oxford, 1971), 118. For a study of the passage in relation to Homer see G. N. KNAUER, *Die Aeneis und Homer*, *Hypomnemata* 7 (Göttingen, 1964), 158ff.

⁸⁸ See AUSTIN, *op. cit.*, on line 321: *heus* is normally used by men, the only passages in Comedy where it is used by women being Plautus, *Casina* 165, *Rudens* 413, Terence, *Eun.* 594. It is very rare in epic style; it occurs again in Virgil at Aen. 7. 116, where Iulus eagerly enquires *heus, etiam mensas consumimus?* Here it makes the girl's tone "gay and boyish, with dramatic gesture" (AUSTIN).

*ac prior 'heus', inquit, 'iuvenes, monstrate, mearum
vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum
succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,
aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.'*

R. G. AUSTIN remarks in his comments ad loc. (*Aeneidos liber primus*, Oxford 1971) that Virgil in these lines "has adapted for Epic a familiar situation from Comedy" and then refers to the passage from Plautus' *Rudens* quoted above. And the likeness is very clear.

Ovid, at Met. 13.733, *virginis ora gerens* (Scylla), surely is burlesquing Virgil's description of the goddess Venus in the guise of a huntress (Aen. 1.315: *virginis os habitumque gerens*), but, though this is an unambiguous indication of his familiarity with the Virgil passage, it would seem likely that he drew his inspiration for the scene in Met. 8.855ff. directly from Plautus. The colloquial *heus* in Virgil creates one kind of atmosphere, while in Plautus Trachalio uses an elaborately grandiloquent mode of address, which is echoed in the utterance of the purchaser in Ovid to the disguised Mestra – cp. the lofty periphrasis *moderator harundinis*, the intricate syntax of *sic . . . sic* (copied by Mestra, 866–867), and the minute detail of the whole prayer⁸⁹. The Plautine and Ovidian passages are quite close to one another in their exalted tone (mock heroic); the Virgilian lines stand out in their epic context by reason of their light and comic atmosphere. However, in Ovid's handling of the Erysichthon story there are not a few reminiscences, it would seem, of Virgil. Erysichthon, despiser of the gods (739–740), recalls Mezentius, *contemptor divum*; his daughter Mestra, deserving only to have a better father (847)⁹⁰, provides a parallel to Lausus, the noble son of Mezentius; and Erysichthon's attack upon the sacred oak of Demeter (757ff.) is described in language which brings to mind Laocoon's throwing of his spear at the Wooden Horse (Aen. 2.50–53). The characterisation of Erysichthon may also owe something to Accius who, as we have noted, specialised in portraying violent and domineering personalities.

The Erysichthon episode and that of Baucis-Philemon which immediately precedes it at Met. 8.611–724 uniquely give us an opportunity of directly com-

⁸⁹ See HOLLIS, *op. cit.*, on 855ff.

⁹⁰ A minor Plautine character who also deserved to have a better father is the daughter of Saturio, the contemptible parasite in the *Persa*. The rôle of the *virgo* in Plautus is normally not an active one, while in Terence it is practically non-existent, but in the *Persa* there is a notable exception. The plot calls for a free and unmarried woman to act the part of a Persian captive. This the daughter does with loyalty and histrionic skill (615ff.). Her character is drawn with care and she is shown to have a very strong sense, being serious-minded, modest, and idealistic (344ff.). At 554ff. she lists ten deadly evils which ought to be driven from Athens – perfidy, speculation, greed, envy, political corruption, vilification, perjury, laziness, fraud, crime. It seems likely that Plautus elaborated on a New Comedy original in order to produce the portrait of a staid Roman *virgo* of his own time – cp. H. W. PRESCOTT, *The Interpretation of Roman Comedy*, CJP 11 (1916), 135. This story then, with its motif of hunger and of the consequential sale of a daughter (to be a wife in Ovid, to be a slave in pseudo-Hesiod and Plautus) takes its place with pseudo-Hesiod, fr. 43a 10, and cp. 43b (MERKELBACH-WEST), and with the Ovidian version as part of a tradition.

paring Ovid and Callimachus – especially of Ovid's 'Erysichthon' with Callimachus' (Sixth) 'Hymn to Artemis'. See the useful Appendix XI, pp. 413–415, of BROOKS OTIS' 'Ovid as an Epic Poet', second edition (Cambridge 1970). An important point about Ovid's 'Erysichthon' is that in it the 'fairy-tale' atmosphere of the Callimachean original is transmuted into an emphatic 'epic' mode. The use of a Plautine source in the charmingly ornate address of the *dominus* is an interesting piece of integration.

Between the scene in which Erysichthon's daughter is questioned by her *dominus* (Met. 8.862ff.) and that in which Jupiter is hailed in the form of Diana by Callisto (Met. 2.429ff.) there is a kind of resemblance. We can also go to Plautus for an analogue – to Amphitruo 392ff., where Mercury in disguise converses with the real Sosia, bemusing him about his own identity⁹¹.

A further Plautine touch in Ovid occurs at Fasti 2.579–582, where the *anus* who presides over the rites in honour of the goddess Tacita drinks what is left of the wine and departs in an intoxicated condition. FRÉCAUT⁹² compares Curculio 96ff., where the old woman Leena makes a speech in praise of wine. Ovid deftly sketches a little scene which is not far from Plautus in conception and spirit:

*vina quoque instillat: vini quodcumque relictum est
aut ipsa aut comites, plus tamen ipsa, bibit.
'hostiles linguas inimicaque vinximus ora'
dicit discedens ebriaque exit anus.*

At A. A. 1.421–428 there occurs the vignette of the *institor* which "seems to breathe the atmosphere of Comedy and Mime."⁹³ In default of any close analogue A. S. HOLLIS refers to Herodas 6 and 7 ('The Cobbler') with HEADLAM's introduction (pp. xlvii–li). The satirical picture by Ovid of a woman eager to buy things and a man doing the actual paying brings to my own mind at least the genial old bachelor Periplectomenus and his no doubt conventional tirade against wives and the expense they constantly incur for their husbands in Plautus' Miles Gloriosus 683ff. Still on the first book of the 'Ars Amatoria', on line 35 HOLLIS in his edition speculates on whether the language, *principio . . . labora, proximus . . . labor, tertius . . .*, contains a side-reference to the labours of Hercules, in which case *hic modus* in line 39 would have more edge to it, implying that only three labours need be performed by the lover, not twelve. HOLLIS cites Plautus, Persa 1ff., in which Toxilus refers to the toils of Hercules in relation to the impecunious lover's task:

*qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris vias,
superavit aerumnis suis aerumnas Herculi. . . .*
(Persa 1–2)

A connection between the two contexts seems not impossible.

⁹¹ K. BÜCHNER, Wege zu Ovid, 213.

⁹² Op. cit., 285.

⁹³ HOLLIS on 1. 421 in his edition.

Critics in recent times have been studying and interpreting Ovid's qualities as a humorist and man of wit, but much remains to be done, though wit is a substance which has the habit of disappearing under analysis. Nevertheless, continued exploration of the poet's resources of expression and procedures is bound to produce some dividends for us in the form of increased understanding and appreciation of his art⁹⁴. There must be much Ovidian sharpness still awaiting detection. Further similar research is required into Plautus. In view, too, of Ovid's interest in Plautus work needs to be done, as I have already said, which would properly evaluate these two notable examples of the Roman comic spirit, with their shared features and humorously disrespectful attitude to some of the established ways and seriously received opinions in Roman society, as well as the relationship of the younger poet to the older.

Plautus was a general favourite in the days of republican Rome. Cicero, though he found fault with the iambs of the Latin comic poets at large as *abieci* or 'prosaic' (Orator 55.184), admired Plautus as *elegans, urbanus, ingeniosus, facetus* (De offic. 1.29.104). To the fastidious critics of the Augustan age such as Horace he seemed uncouth (A. P. 270–274; Ep. 2.1.170–176), but that even in the Augustan age he found many admirers Horace himself testifies, saying that he was regarded as a second Epicharmus: *Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi* (Ep. 2.1.58). It seems right to assume that Ovid belonged to the body of Augustan admirers of Plautus⁹⁵. LAFAYE remarks that Ovid had read everything; the number of Plautine touches or reminiscences in his writings certainly suggests that he was quite familiar with the comedian's work, either

⁹⁴ For a survey of modern literature on Plautus see 'Plauto 1935–1975' by DONATELLA FOGAZZA, Lustrum 19 (1976), 79–295. The humorous undermining of *pietas* in Plautus is clearly original to him and does not come from Greek New Comedy. Cp. the remarks of W. THOMAS MACCARY and M. M. WILLOCK in their edition of the 'Casina' (Cambridge, 1976), 16ff.

⁹⁵ In an article, 'The Third Eclogue and the Roman Comic Spirit', Mnemosyne 29 (1976), 411–420, I have argued that in the exchange of abuse with which that poem begins Virgil not only wishes us to recall Theocritus but also the *Wortgefechte* which were a feature of Plautus (fifteen instances in the extant plays) and of Italian comedy at large. The exchange of insults or threats seems to have appealed to Italian popular taste and to have been a standard form of entertainment – cp. the two 'parasites' in Horace, Sat. 1. 5. 51ff., who engage in a 'slanging match', one being a freed man, the other an Oscan (which is perhaps to recall the Oscan plays from Atella). In the 'Third Eclogue' (as often elsewhere in that collection of poems) Virgil brings into simultaneous perspective Greek and Latin or Italian features: we have the amoebean structure reminding us both of Theocritus and of the Fescennine type of verse, while the abuse (present also in Theocritus) along with the two riddles at the end were perhaps intended to recall for the reader Italian comedy, pre-literary or literary. The 'Eclogues' as a whole, too, carry a fascinating blend of Greek and Italian scenery and personages, for which we can look to Plautus for a parallel. Virgil's knowledge of Plautus has already been noted (on Aen. 1. 321ff. and Rudens 313ff.; and cp. J. C. B. FOSTER, Aeneidea, Proc. of the Virgil Soc. 11 [1971–1972], where he shows a connection between Aen. 1. 335ff. and Mostellaria 447ff.). Virgil, then, is probably to be numbered amongst Augustan admirers of Plautus, in company with Ovid.

through stage revivals or reading, or through both causes. The work of these two Roman writers of wit and imagination carries an atmosphere of speed and energy⁹⁶; there is room for further study of their affinities⁹⁷.

V. Terence

The art of Terence is something separate from his own time and the country in which he lived. One of the most interesting aspects of the fragmentary remains of Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius and Lucilius is their definite relation to the national and moral spirit prevailing in the age in which they were written. Plautus, like Terence, drew upon Greek sources, but the resulting product carried an unmistakable Roman stamp; Plautus is a true representative of his time, a genuine Italian working before Greek norms had taken firm hold in the literary culture of Rome. Terence set himself the task of transposing into Latin dress the life, manners, modes of thought and expression presented from reality by the writers of New Comedy a century before⁹⁸. His artistic genius is of a high and pure kind. Not a writer of creative originality in a large and dominant way, he nevertheless was remarkably able to identify himself with his models and appreciate their craftsmanship, which entails a sensitive and discriminating mind and taste. He placed before himself a very high ideal of artistic perfection, being the first writer

⁹⁶ FRAENKEL, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, p. 394, refers to „das *Properare*“ as a characteristic of Plautus' work, and, p. 292, interprets the 'Casina' as a conflict between speed (Lysidamus and Olympio) and delays (the two wives). Speed is also in large measure a characteristic of Ovid's output, especially of the 'Metamorphoses'. E. J. KENNEY aptly writes (op. cit., n. 27, p. 117): "The reader of the 'Metamorphoses' is always being carried on; the ingenious transitions from episode to episode . . . are fundamentally a functional device (whatever extravagances Ovid may have committed in the application of it) to ensure a steady progress through the poem. Smoothness and speed are likewise the salient characteristics of Ovid's hexameter." The whole of KENNEY's article repays close study.

⁹⁷ The publication in 1968 of a papyrus containing parts of a section of Menander's 'Dis Exapatron' corresponding to Bacchides 494–562 threw new and important light on the question of Plautus' independence: quite unsuspected changes had been made by the Roman playwright – see E. W. HANDLEY, *Menander and Plautus: a Study in Comparison* (London, 1968); A. W. GOMME and F. H. SANDBACH, *Menander: a Commentary* (Oxford, 1973), 118ff.; V. PÖSCHL, *Die neuen Menanderpapyri und die Originalität des Plautus*, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1973, 4 (Heidelberg, 1973); and W. G. ARNOTT, op. cit., 38–41, for discussion and bibliography. If only much more such evidence were available we should undoubtedly see that Roman authors were more original than has often been thought, absorbing and naturalising Greek influences and using them in creative conjunction with native and traditional material and modes.

⁹⁸ The analogy to Terence apparently offered by Virgil in the 'Eclogues' is not valid. Virgil recalls the pastoral figures of Theocritus' landscape, setting them amid Italian scenes, but the spirit and sentiment which pervade these poems are Italian – cp. n. 95 above.

at Rome to do so, and he was the earliest literary artist there to realise that perfection in style and form⁹⁹.

Terence lived and worked between the time of Ennius and Lucilius, and to study the six plays he has bequeathed to us alongside the fragments of these other two writers is an enlightening experience. Terence's great contribution is that he refined Latin literature, imparting to it elegance, consistency and moderation, and thus heightening its artistic quality. He laid down a standard, preparing the way ultimately for the neatness and grace which we associate with Ovid's poetry¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ The *cause célèbre* of his treatment of his originals – how far he altered or combined material – has been well discussed in recent years: see H. MARTI, *Terenz 1909–1959*, *Lustrum* 8 (1963), 28ff.; W. LUDWIG, *The Originality of Terence and his Greek models*, *GRBS* 9 (1968), 169ff.; K. GAISER, *Zur Eigenart der römischen Komödie. Plautus und Terenz gegenüber ihren griechischen Vorbildern*, *ANRW* I 2 (Berlin–New York, 1972), 1027–1113; W. G. ARNOTT, op. cit., 48–50. See, too, the excellent discussion by F. H. SANDBACH, *Donatus' Use of the Name Terentius and the End of Terence's Adelphoe*, *BICS* 25 (1978), 123–145, who argues that Terence made radical alterations in the last scene of the 'Adelphi'. Cp. also K. BÜCHNER, *Das Theater des Terenz*, *Bibliothek der klass. Altertumswiss.* N. F. 1 (Heidelberg, 1974) and T. B. L. WEBSTER, *An Introduction to Menander* (Manchester, 1974).

¹⁰⁰ Between the death of Plautus and the beginning of Terence's career Caecilius Statius was the most successful comic dramatist, deploying a style not unlike that of Plautus, to judge from the surviving fragments (WARMINGTON, op. cit., I, 468ff.; and see G. F. DUCKWORTH, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton, 1952), 46ff.). Caesar, in the famous lines quoted in Suetonius, *Vita Ter.*, remarks on the purity of Terence's idiom (*puri sermonis amator*), and Varro passes an interesting judgment (Aul. Gell., 6. 14. 6): *vera autem et propria huiusmodi formarum exempla in Latina lingua M. Varro esse dicit ubertatis Pacuvium, gracilitatis Lucilium, mediocritatis Terentium*. The slang and colloquialisms of Plautus are banished, and jingles and alliterations are very rare – e. g.:

nam inceptiost amentium, haud amantium

(Andria 218)

pone reprehendit pallio, resupinat: respicio, rogo

quam ob rem retineat me

(Phormio 863–864)

Terence seems largely to turn his back upon the native literary style.

Terence's style has received scholarly attention in recent years: his use of vivid but never extravagant imagery is examined by P. FLURY, *Liebe und Liebesprache bei Menander, Plautus und Terenz*, *Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft N. F. 2* (Heidelberg, 1968), and E. FANTHAM, *Comparative Studies in Republican Latin Imagery* (Toronto, 1972); cp., too, P. LANGEN, *Die Metapher im Latein von Plautus bis Terentius*, *Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädagogik* 125 (1882), 673–692, 753–770. W. G. ARNOTT, *Phormio parasitus. A study in dramatic methods of characterization, Greece and Rome* 17 (1970), 32ff., shows how Terence subtly varies the modes of speech of various characters. We may also mention here three relevant and useful works now reprinted and bound in one volume (Garland Publishing, New York, 1979): B. LIER, *Ad Topica Carminum Amat. Symbolae* (Stettin, 1914); K. PRESTON, *Studies in the Diction of the Sermo Amatorius in Roman Comedy* (Chicago, 1916); A. SPIES, *Militat Omnis Amans* (Diss. Tübingen, 1930). These works collectively provide a good conspectus of the language, gestures, and postures of that persistent figure from Plautus to Ovid, the *miser amator*.

Whether or not Ovid was a student of Terence's comedies, he could not help but benefit from the pioneering work of the older writer.

Terence does not eschew the commonplace so long as it can be given polished and graceful expression. His gnomic utterances usually convey some experience or shrewd and homely piece of wisdom in memorable fashion, a characteristic reminiscent of Ovid with his power of pithy statement.

On the question of language, ELAINE FANTHAM's study is useful¹⁰¹. She observes that the imagery of the love poets develops in many ways the pattern established by Terence, and believes that his range of erotic (or sentimental) vocabulary, more restricted and urbane than that of Plautus, "embodied a norm which survives as the basis of the usage in the Elegists."¹⁰² Ovid palpably is part of the continuum.

VI. Envoi

Drama, though it was not to prove durable, was an important force in the social and literary culture of the Republic and early Empire. The native element in Roman culture can be too easily overlooked; we tend to think in terms of Greek influences, which is understandable but unhelpful if it leaves out of view the very real Roman achievement. The pity is that so much of the earlier influential material is either lost or exists merely in fragments. The Romans as a people were peculiarly aware of their own history; the masks of ancestors in Roman funeral processions marked the essential continuity for them of past and present. Similarly, in the field of literature, though a Horace could adopt a superior attitude, classical Latin authors liked to look back to the work of Roman or Italian predecessors, honouring it often with imitation, quotation, or allusive reference. There was such a thing as a native literary style. Ovid recognised the roughness of Ennius, but he saw beyond this. And Plautus, too, along with Pacuvius and Accius had something to say to him. We think of Ovid and sophisticated Alexandrianism as synonymous, but he did not ignore his Latin literary inheritance¹⁰³.

¹⁰¹ Op. cit., n. 100, 82–87.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 82.

¹⁰³ Imagery or illustrations from the theatre are actually rare in Ovid. Examples are A.A. 3. 231, and Met. 3. 685 – see J. A. WASHLET, *De Similitudinibus Imaginibusque Ovidianis* (Vienna, 1883), 177. The only substantial theatrical image is the simile at Met. 3. 111–114, in which the crop of armed warriors arising from the dragon's teeth is likened to the painted figures gradually revealed on the curtain to the audience when it is raised at the end of the performance:

*sic, ubi tolluntur festis aulaea theatri,
surgere signa solent primumque ostendere vultus,
cetera paulatim, placidoque educta tenore
tota patent imoque pedes in margine ponunt.*

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Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt:
Geschichte u. Kultur Roms im Spiegel d. neueren Forschung /
Hrsg. von Hildegard Temporini u. Wolfgang Haase -- Berlin,
New York : de Gruyter.
NF: Temporini, Hildegard [Hrsg.]
2. Principat.
Bd. 31. Sprache und Literatur / Hrsg. von Wolfgang Haase.
4. Teilbd. -- 1981.
ISBN 3-11-008555-0
NE: Haase, Wolfgang [Hrsg.]

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Printed in Germany
Satz und Druck: Arthur Collignon GmbH, Berlin 30
Einbandgestaltung und Schutzumschlag: Rudolf Hubler
Buchbinder: Luderitz & Bauer, Berlin

Inhalt

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