SUTTON, D. F. (1985), 'The Satyr Play', in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature: Greek Literature*, 94–102 (Cambridge).
TAPLIN, O. (1977), *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford).
TUDEER, L. O. TH. (1916), *De vocabulis quibus Sophocles in Ichneutis fabula satyrica usus est* (*Ann. Acad. scient. Fenn.*, ser. B., 14/4; Helsingfors).
USSHER, R. G. (1974), 'Sophocles' *Ichneutai* as a Satyr-play', *Hermathena* 118: 130–8.
VOLLGRAFF, G. (1914), 'Ad Sophoclis Indagatores' (I), *Mnem.* 42: 81–90.
WALKER, R. J. (1919) (ed.), *The Ichneutae of Sophocles* (London).
WALTON, F. R. (1935), 'A Problem in the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles', *HSPh* 46: 167–89.
WEBSTER, T. B. L. (1970), *Studies in Later Greek Comedy* (2nd edn.; Manchester).
——(1974), *An Introduction to Menander* (Manchester).
WEHRLI, F. (1936), *Motivstudien zur griechischen Komödie* (Zürich and Leipzig).
WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, U. VON (1912), '"Die Spürhunde" des Sophokles', *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 29: 453–64 = *Kleine Schriften*, i. 353–67 (Berlin, 1935) = Seidensticker (1989), 93–108.
ZAGAGI, N. (1980), *Tradition and Originality in Plautus: Studies of the Amatory Motifs in Plautine Comedy* (*Hypomnemata* 62: Göttingen).
——(1990), Review of Stärk 1989 in *JRS* 80: 202–3.
——(1994), *The Comedy of Menander: Convention, Variation and Originality* (Duckworth).
——(1995), 'The Impromptu Element in Plautus in the Light of the Evidence of New Comedy', in Benz *et al.* (1995), 71–86.
ZIMMERMANN, B. (1995), 'Pantomimische Elemente in den Komödien des Plautus', in Benz *et al.* (1995), 193–204.

11

Sophocles at Rome

LEOFRANC HOLFORD-STREVENS

When an artist from another age whom we admire has been admired by others before us, it is easy to suppose that their grounds of admiration were the same as ours; even when this is not so the fact may be overlooked, as when we complacently record Aristotle's admiration for the *Oedipus Tyrannus* without observing that the play is treated on the footing of a detective story, or that his second favourite play is the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, considered as a thriller and never reconciled with the Philosopher's own definition of the tragic. The Victorians, whose thoughts and feelings still govern us by default in the absence of conscious rejection, admired Shakespeare as a creator of rounded and individual characters; the classically minded Dr Johnson subordinated his appreciation of the characters as persons to his understanding of their dramatic function and the general insights they afford into human types and natures.[1] What, then, did the Romans admire in Sophocles?

[1] These are continually emphasized in his own comments: e.g. on *LLL* v. iii (in modern editions v. 2. 69–72), 'These [the Princess's] are observations worthy of a man who has surveyed human nature with the closest attention' (Johnson 1968: vii. 281). Even his famous apostrophe at the end of *2 Henry IV* to '*Falstaff* unimitated, unimitable *Falstaff*' concludes: 'The moral to be drawn from this representation is, that no man is more dangerous than he that with a will to corrupt, hath the power to please; and that neither wit nor honesty ought to think themselves safe with such a companion when they see *Henry* seduced by *Falstaff*' (ibid. 523–4). Of Orestes' last words to Aegisthus (S. *El.* 1505–7), Lloyd-Jones and Wilson (1990: 77) write: 'Most modern readers find these lines intolerably flat'; the emphatic κτείνειν at the beginning of 1507 is anything but flat, and these verses bestow the merit of action in support of a general principle on what would otherwise have been mere vendetta—particularly in a play so devoid of overt political reference (see Griffin, Ch. 5), whatever other ages could read into it (see Hall, Ch. 12). Nicephorus Basilaces, *Progymn.* 26 Pignani = *Rhet. Gr.* i. 461–6 Walz, praises these lines for extending the moral lesson from the specific crime of adultery to wrongdoing in

Praise of a writer, however welcome as a sign of an age's taste, is of no further help to the literary historian unless it reveals the basis of approval. The epigrammatist Statyllius, or rather Statilius, Flaccus, who at least bears a Roman name, and whose epigram on the boy who fell through the ice of the Hebrus appears to have been imitated by Germanicus,[2] writes (*AP* 9. 98 = Flaccus v, *GP* vv. 3821–6):

> *Οἰδίποδες δισσοί σε καὶ Ἠλέκτρη βαρύμηνις,*
> *καὶ δείπνοις ἐλαθεὶς Ἀτρέος Ἠέλιος,*
> *ἄλλα τε πουλυπαθέσσι Σοφόκλεες ἀμφὶ τυράννοις*
> *ἄξια τῆς Βρομίου βύβλα χοροιτυπίης*
> *ταγὸν ἐπὶ τραγικοῖο κατήνεσσαν θιάσοιο,*
> *αὐτοῖς ἡρώων φθεγξάμενον στόμασι.*

Sophocles certainly wrote on the myth of Thyestes and Atreus; fr. 738 would prove specific allusion to the retrogradation of the sun if it needed to be proved. Unfortunately, it is difficult to extract from this text the specific virtues attributed to our poet, other than that his language is fit for heroes.[3]

Of course, one cannot expect detailed exposition in an epigram:[4] but even when Quintilian, while refusing to decide the relative merits of Sophocles and Euripides at large, declares that for rhetorical training the latter wins hands down, we learn, a comment on language apart, only what Sophocles is not (*Institutiones oratoriae* 10. 1. 67–8):

> sed longe clarius inlustrauerunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides, quorum in dispari dicendi uia uter sit poeta melior inter plurimos quaeritur. idque ego sane, quoniam ad praesentem materiam nihil pertinet, iniudicatum relinquo. illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis qui se ad agendum comparant utiliorem longe fore Euripiden. namque is et sermone (quod ipsum reprehendunt quibus grauitas et coturnus et sonus Sophocli uidetur esse sublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi, et sententiis densus, et in iis quae a sapientibus tradita sunt paene ipsis par, et in dicendo et respondendo cuilibet eorum qui fuerunt in foro diserti comparandus, in adfectibus uero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miseratione constant facile praecipuus.

general; for all the differences between Comnenian Constantinople and sub-Periclean Athens, he has at least as much right to be heard as any modern.

[2] *AP* 7. 542 = Flaccus IV, *GP* vv. 3813–20; Germanicus, *PML* iv. 103, no. 111 Bährens (but cf. Paul. Diac. *MGH Poet. Lat. Aevi Carol.* i. 50). There is a later Greek poem on this theme: Philip XXXVII, *GP* 2879–86. The Latin version was often ascribed to the Dictator; in Decembrio 1462: 165^{v}–172^{r} = 1540: 124^{v}–129^{r}, a papal diplomat and would-be humanist from Aragon who asserts that it is his favourite epigram is mercilessly exposed by Leonello d'Este and his learned courtiers as a bluffer who mistakes not only the author but the river, imagining it to be the Ebro.

[3] *πουλυπαθέσσι*, of course, denotes the many things that the rulers undergo, not (despite *βαρύμηνις*) the great passions that Sophocles portrays.

[4] Cf. Dioscorides *AP* 7. 37. 9–10 = *HE* XXII 1605–6: *εἴτε σοι Ἀντιγόνην εἰπεῖν φίλον οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις, | εἴτε καὶ Ἠλέκτραν· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ ἄκρον.* This tells us that *Antigone* and *Electra* are the tops, but not why.

EARLY LATIN TRAGEDY

The relations between the Greek tragedies known to us in whole or part and the fragments of their early Latin counterparts are obscure and conjectural; to take but one example, Scaliger's notion that Ennius' *Aiax* was based on Sophocles' play has still not been conclusively refuted, though there is no obvious match in the fragments and Ennius, unlike Pacuvius and Accius, shows no other interest in Sophocles.[5] Even worse is our case when neither the putative model nor the putative imitation survives intact: both Sophocles and Pacuvius wrote a *Chryses*, but the former has been suspected of being satyric, and the latter appears to incorporate philosophical matter from Euripides' *Chrysippus*.[6]

If the tragic outlook is the recognition that the gods govern the world in their own interest and not in ours, and that those whose *ἀρεταί* raise them above the common mass of mankind are likely to be brought low, then it is incompatible with Christianity, at least so long as the worst that may befall the chief character is death, as in the French drama, and not, as in a noble Spanish play,[7] damnation; if Shakespeare is a true tragic poet, that is because his Christianity is paganism in a surplice. But it is also incompatible with Roman values, in which the individual is defined by his service to the City, and the gods' dealings with City and individual depend on the correctness of City's and individual's dealings with them; those who found this view too simplistic even when dressed up in the Stoic language of Providence would deny that the gods took any interest

[5] Cf. Jocelyn 1967: 177–9.

[6] Pacuvius 83–93 R^2, cf. Eur. fr. 839 N^2.

[7] Tirso de Molina (?), *El condenado por desconfiado*.

in human affairs at all. If we possessed even a single early tragedy whole, we could better understand what Romans expected of the genre; as it is, any attempt to consider the question risks becoming mere guesswork.

However, in one instance the *σύγκρισις* between Sophocles and Pacuvius has been conducted for us by Cicero, who reports (*Tusc.* 2. 48–50) that Pacuvius, in his *Niptra* (256–69 Ribbeck² = 305–17 D'Anna), modified his model by making Ulysses less of a crybaby;[8] even so he is rebuked by his attendants, and ultimately pulls himself together to depart this life with a maxim worthy of a scoutmaster. I cite the passage at length because it illustrates a theme we shall find in other Roman adaptations of our poet: a compulsion to make him conform to the self-conscious *virtus* of the *mos maiorum* or of Stoicism.

Non nimis in Niptris ille sapientissimus Graeciae saucius lamentatur in uulnere vel modice potius:

> VL. Pedetemptim ac sedato nisu
> ne succussu arripiat maior
> dolor . . .

Pacuvius hoc melior quam Sophocles—apud illum enim perquam flebiliter Vlixes lamentatur in uulnere; tamen huic leniter gementi illi ipsi, qui ferunt saucium, personae grauitatem intuentes non dubitant dicere:

> CH. Tu quoque Vlixes, quamquam grauiter
> cernimus ictum, nimis paene animo es
> molli, qui consuetus in armis
> aeuom agere . . .

Intelligit poeta prudens ferendi doloris consuetudinem esse non contemnendam magistram. Atque ille non immoderate magno in dolore:

> VL. Retinete, tenete! opprimit ulcus:
> nudate! heu miserum me, excrucior!

Incipit labi; deinde ilico desinit:

> operite, abscedite iamiam.
> mittite, nam attractatu et quassu
> saeuom amplificatis dolorem.

Videsne ut obmutuerit non sedatus corporis, sed castigatus animi dolor? Itaque in extremis Niptris alios quoque obiurgat idque moriens:

> conqueri fortunam advorsam, non lamentari decet:
> id uiri est officium: fletus muliebri ingenio additus.

[8] Cf. Leo 1913: 229: 'Gewiß hat Pacuvius das allzulaute Jammern (wie in Philoktet und Trachinierinnen) des Helden unwürdig gefunden und den Ausdruck der ganzen Szene gemäßigt.'

Huius animi pars illa mollior rationi sic paruit, ut seuero imperatori miles pudens.

Unfortunately, our surviving fragments of *Νίπτρα ἢ Ὀδυσσεὺς Ἀκανθοπλήξ* do not show any weeping on Odysseus' part, womanly or not. Greeks were just as well aware as Romans that men ought not to show weakness, but what counted as weakness differed,[9] except for a Plato, or perhaps at Sparta.

Willy Morel noted the resemblance between a passage in Accius' *Meleager*, in which the rejoicings over the slain boar are described in the narrative verses (444–5 Ribbeck² = 433–4 Warmington = 505–6 Dangel)

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

and one in Sophocles' play, in which a similar action is called for in lyric (fr. 402 Pearson–Radt), *στεφάνοισι κρᾶτα καταμπυκοῖς*, which he promptly emended to the third person, *καταμπυκοῖ*, in order to make a closer match.[10] Admission of the resemblance, however, does not license private dramaturgy that should seek to reconstruct the plays on the basis of each other. This warning must apply even when the relation is not disputed: though fifty verses of Accius' *Eurysaces* are preserved, we are at a stand for knowing only one word of the Sophoclean model (*ἀδόξαστον*, fr. 223 P–R). Similarly, although Accius' *Tereus* is confidently supposed to be based on Sophocles, rather than on Philocles, both Sophocles' and Accius' plays are fragmentary, and the fragments do not overlap. We may observe that Accius does not seem to have made the play so blood-and-thunderous as *Atreus*, but whether this was due only to Accius' greater maturity,[11] or reflected a difference in the originals, is impossible to determine.

Philocteta, of which we know more than most, may draw on all three of the great tragedians' plays; even Theodectes has been

[9] Jasper Griffin recalls the proverb *ἀγαθοὶ δ' ἀριδάκρυες ἄνδρες* (Zenobius 1.14).

[10] Morel 1927: 638: 'Die Übereinstimmung ist wörtlich, nur muß man bei Soph. *καταμπυκοῖ* schreiben. Auch möchte ich mit Pearson umstellen *καταμπυκοῖ στεφάν. κρ.* Die falsche Verbalform erklärt sich denn ungezwungen als Dittographie. Besonderer Beachtung verdient es, wie der Römer die z-[*sic*]Alliteration beibehält, die der bei Sophokles fand, ja sie noch überbietet.' What was regarded as mandatory ('nur muß man') by Morel is not so regarded by Radt or Lloyd-Jones.

[11] So Leo 1913: 399 n. 3, citing Gellius 13. 2.

invoked, of whose play we know only (*TrGF* 1, 72 F 5b) that Philoctetes, bitten in the hand and not the foot (which must have impeded the use of his bow) did his best to resist his agonies in order to elude Neoptolemus,[12] but could not hold out indefinitely and bade those present to cut off his hand. This does not entirely accord with Accius' portrayal of a screaming Philoctetes, at least as reported by Cicero, though in principle there could be a difference between his normal conduct and a special effort made for a particular purpose.

In the case of Accius' *Antigona*, relation to Sophocles is not in dispute; in particular the verses (142–3 R = 93–4 W = 581–2 D)

> iam iam neque di regunt
> neque profecto deum supremus rex res curat hominibus

can hardly not represent the despairing cry of Sophocles' heroine (922–3)

> τί χρή με τὴν δύστηνον ἐς θεοὺς ἔτι
> βλέπειν;

albeit expressed as a surrender to the Epicurean philosophy of Ennius' Telamo.[13] Three centuries of intellectual development are not to be swept away. However, it was of this play that Otto Ribbeck wrote in the pure tones of nineteenth-century Germany:

> Vielleicht zeigte keine der altrömischen Tragödien schärfer den Unterschied zwischen der Vollendung eines griechischen Kunstwerks und dem Ungeschick barbarischer Verdolmetschung. Es gereicht zwar dem Gefühl des Accius für echte Poesie zur Ehre dass er ein Kleinod der attischen Bühne wie die Antigone des Sophokles seinen Landsleuten nicht vorenthalten mochte. Dass er sich aber nicht beschied seinem unvergleichlichen Muster soweit schlicht nachzugehen als seine mangelhafte Kunst erlaubte, sondern es wagte Aenderungen sogar in der Oekonomie vorzunehmen, das zeigt, dass ihm das feinere Verständniss und die schuldige Ehrfurcht vor seinem Meister abging.[14]

[12] Or 'Neoptolemus and his search-party', as Aspasius' τοὺς περὶ τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον may also be understood; see Radt 1980: 47–56. This has a bearing on the composition of the chorus: islanders as in Aeschylus and Euripides, or sailors as in Sophocles and Accius?

[13] Vv. 270–1 + 265 Jocelyn, rightly combined as *Trag.* 269–71 by Ribbeck: Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, | Sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus: | Nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis, quod nunc abest.

[14] Ribbeck 1875: 483–4.

None of us is allowed to talk like that, except when complaining that a film is a travesty of a novel; but while we may find it easier than Ribbeck to forgive Accius his adaptations of Sophocles' plot, we shall find it harder than he did to say exactly what they were.

In one fragment the drowsy watch is aroused with the words (140–1 R = 91–2 W = 579–80 D):

> Heus uigiles properate, expergite
> pectora tarda sopore, exsurgite!

Ribbeck, to general agreement, supposes that the scene is set on the battlefield, on the morning after the defeat of Polynices' army, when Antigone has already conducted the first burial.[15] It takes little knowledge of Roman manners to understand that the liveliness of barked orders would be far more appropriate to tragic decorum as understood by Accius and his audience than Sophocles' semi-comic watchman-messenger; as more than one scholar has reminded us, Roman poetry, like Roman society, was far less ready than Greek to relax its formality.[16] Creon (it becomes ever clearer as the play progresses) is a tyrant, not the champion of the *polis* that Hegel conceived and Anouilh drew;[17] yet he allows the guard to witter away about his φροντίδων ἐπιστάσεις in a manner that few consuls of the Roman people would have tolerated for an instant;[18] even Anouilh's well-meaning public servant cuts in sooner. This speech, I suggest, must have shocked Accius as the Porter in *Macbeth* shocks the modern heirs of the Romans.[19]

It is presumably Ismene who says to Antigone (136–7 R = 88–9 W = 577–8 D):

[15] Ibid. 484.

[16] Cf. Griffin 1984: 193–4; and see Goldberg 1995: 68–70, 138–9.

[17] Nevertheless, some (but not all) modern scholars argue that his decree was not as outrageous in itself, by Athenian standards, as a previous generation supposed; and a certain return of sympathy in his direction can be detected in the Mediterranean world, where Creon can be considered as representing the modern state, Antigone the archaic and unenlightened village.

[18] And those who did would be suspect as currying favour with their soldiers in pursuit of political ambition.

[19] 'The translator of my first book was, naturally, an *anglista*, so, having made my acquaintance, she tried out on me her theory, which was that all the comic elements in *Macbeth* ("Knock, knock, knock . . .") were patently an intrusion, the work of a different hand. Eliminate them, and you would have the pure tragedy that Shakespeare wrote. Tragedy is tragedy, and is dignified, while comedy is comedy: the pure element cannot mingle with the low' (Whitfield 1988: 37).

quanto magis te istimodi esse intellego,
tanto, Antigona, magis me par est tibi consulere et parcere.

This is a different tone from Sophocles' Ismene, who can only fear for her sister (*οἴμοι, ταλαίνης ὡς ὑπερδέδοικά σου*),[20] without claiming any right to take counsel for her. Did Accius, in a society where upper-class women were somewhat more self-assertive than at Athens, find the Ismene of Sophocles' *πρόλογος* a little too insipid for Roman taste,[21] and make her seek to hold back her headstrong sister by deeds as well as words?[22]

Yet in one respect Accius must have followed Sophocles: in making Antigone's rebellion the justified defiance of a tyrant, or in Latin a *rex*, and not, as some moderns would have it, a challenge to the *polis* in the name of higher morality. Such an anti-democratic interpretation traduces Sophocles, who indicates that this decree is the will of one man, painted in tyrannical colours, and determined to uphold it even in the face of public opinion;[23] at Rome, only the

[20] Sconocchia (1972) compares instead vv. 49–68, where Ismene gives of her wisdom; but the protective tone is still absent.

[21] In turn Ribbeck (1875: 485) complains: 'Ismene nahm den überlegenen Ton einer älteren Schwester an: statt jener reizenden, beschiedenen Scheu eines eng jungfräulichen Wesens hatte sie etwas Altkluges, Nüchternes.' Wilamowitz missed 'die liebenswürdige Ismene' at the end of Sophocles' play; see Eduard Fraenkel ap. Lloyd-Jones 1972: 215 n. 3 = 1990: 403 n. 3. When the norms of female behaviour are more restrictive than those for men, it may seem worthwhile to give the abnormal woman a normal foil: Ismene beside Antigone, Chrysothemis beside Electra. Depending on the nature of the unconventionality, readers, particularly male readers, may prefer the foil; see Hall, pp. 288 ff., and cf. Nabokov (1964: ii. 280–1) on the eclipse, in Soviet fiction, of the dreamy, idealistic Tatiana type by the 'noisily cheerful' Olga: 'she is the one who straightens things out at the factory, discovers sabotage, makes speeches, and radiates perfect health.' On the other hand, of the two widowed *ianitrices*, Ruth and Orpalı, who in tradition become sisters with King Eglon for their father, Orpah, who in the Bible goes back to her mother and plays no further part in the story, was said in Midrash and Talmud to have been raped by a hundred men and a dog, given birth to the four giants Saph, Madon, Goliath, and Ishbi-benob, and been killed by Abishai b. Zeruiah when she tried to hinder his rescue of King David from the last-named.

[22] Verse 135 R = 87 W = 576 D 'quid agis? perturbas rem omnem ac resupinas, soror' is usually taken as Ismene's protest at Antigone's recklessness; but it might also be Antigone's rebuke of Ismene's interference. However, the perverse ingenuity of D'Antò (1980: 252–3), who identifies the speaker as Polynices' widow Argeia, is knocked on the head by Aricò (1978: 209).

[23] Having prescribed death by stoning for anyone who should violate his decree, Creon instead has Antigone immured; after Haemon's report, he could not be sure that the stones would fly in the right direction.

blackest portrayal of Creon could have lost him the sympathy of an audience by whose ancestors the Horatius who killed his sister for mourning her Alban fiancé had been acquitted in a *iudicium populi*.

CICERO

If Cicero presents Sophocles in *De officiis* 1. 144 as the object of Pericles' rebuke for noticing a handsome boy, or at *De senectute* 47 for his relief, in old age, at being past such concerns, this shows merely that he was a subject for anecdote, as a great man of the past; but the poet meant a great deal to Cicero, despite one characteristic reservation. In the *Tusculan Disputations* (2. 20–2), most of Heracles' long speech in *Trachiniae* (vv. 1045–1111) is translated to make the point that even he *dolore frangebatur*, but whereas Heracles' lament at his downfall is rendered with reasonable fidelity, the sudden access of pain in vv. 1081–9 is reduced to the adverb *nunc*; the uncontrollable cries of woe that burst through the iambic trimeters are levelled out.

αἰαῖ, ὦ τάλας, 1081*a*
αἰαῖ. 1081*b*
ἔθαλψέ μ' ἄτης σπασμὸς ἀρτίως ὅδ' αὖ,
διῇξε πλευρῶν, οὐδ' ἀγύμναστόν μ' ἐᾶν
ἔοικεν ἡ τάλαινα διάβορος νόσος.
ὦναξ Ἀΐδη, δέξαι μ', 1085
ὦ Διὸς ἀκτίς, παῖσον.
ἔνσεισον, ὦναξ, ἐγκατάσκηψον βέλος,
πάτερ, κεραυνοῦ. δαίνυται γὰρ αὖ πάλιν,
ἤνθηκεν, ἐξώρμηκεν.

tuque caelestum sator
iace obsecro in me uim coruscam fulminis;
nunc, nunc dolorum anxiferi torquent uertices,
nunc serpit ardor.

Had Cicero felt able to reproduce his original in this respect, he would have made his point more strongly; but Roman decorum forbade.

In the third book of the same dialogue (§71), Cicero presents a translation of fr. 576R (fr. 35 Bl):

τοὺς δ' ἂν μεγίστους καὶ σοφωτάτους φρενί
τοιούσδ' ἴδοις ἂν οἷός ἐστι νῦν ὅδε,
καλῶς κακῶς πράσσοντι συμπαραινέσαι·
ὅταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦς τὸ πρίν
πλάστιγγ' ἐρείσηι τοῦ βίου παλίντροπον,
τὰ πολλὰ φροῦδα καὶ καλῶς εἰρημένα.

πλάστιγγ' Ellendt, Lobeck: *μάστιγ'* codd. Stobaei, quod nonnulli Ciceronem legisse credunt

Cicero has been extolling self-control; but:

Contra dicuntur haec: quis tam demens, ut sua uoluntate maereat? natura adfert dolorem, cui quidem Crantor, inquiunt, uester cedendum putat. premit enim atque instat nec resisti potest. Itaque Oileus ille apud Sophoclem, qui Telamonem antea de Aiacis morte consolatus esset, is, cum audiuisset de suo, fractus est; de cuius commutata mente sic dicit:

Nec uero tanta praeditus sapientia
quisquam est qui aliorum aerumnam dictis adleuans
non idem, cum fortuna mutata impetum
conuertat, clade subita frangatur sua,
ut illa ad alios dicta et praecepta excidant.

Haec cum disputant hoc student efficere, naturae obsisti nullo modo posse: et tamen fatentur grauiores aegritudines suscipi quam natura cogat. quae est igitur amentia? ut nos quoque idem ab illis requiramus.

Cicero first makes Sophocles say what in Greek he does not, that no one is above such backsliding, and then rebukes him once again as the exponent of unrestrained emotion. George Eliot claimed the influence of Sophocles 'in the delineation of the great primitive emotions';[24] the Romans saw the same quality in him, but were less sure that they approved. Contrast the five citations of Euripides in

[24] 'I asked her how Sophocles had influenced her:—(we had been talking about him, and she had said that she first came to know him through a small book of mine);—and her answer certainly startled me. Probably all people,—or most who have any inner life at all—sometimes write down things meant for no eye but their own. Long ago I was putting down in this way some things that had been passing through my mind about Sophocles, and this among the rest,—that George Eliot was the modern dramatist (in the large sense) most like him, and that he had told upon her work probably *in the outlining of the first emotions.* Her answer to my question was—"in the delineation of the great primitive emotions". *Verbally* this was an accident; but hardly in substance. Of course I did not tell her. But was it not curious?' (Jebb 1907: 155–6: to C[aroline] L[ane] S[lemmer], whom he later married, 27 May 1873).

the *Tusculans*,[25] always for sound moral arguments that teach us to take the sorrows of the world for granted.

Lamentation, however, is not the only context in which Sophocles appears; it is clear that Cicero recognizes him as a great poet, not only because everyone says so (*De oratore* 3. 27) or because of the anecdote concerning the *Oedipus Coloneus* (*De senectute* 22),[26] or because in the first book of the dialogue *De finibus bonorum et malorum* he sets against the Greek poet's *Electra*, however admirably written, the poor translation by Atilius to be read on patriotic grounds (1. 5 'A quibus tantum dissentio ut cum Sophocles uel optime scripserit Electram, tamen male conuersam Atili mihi legendam putem'), but from a reference to *Coloneus* in the fifth book of that same dialogue in which Cicero makes his brother Quintus support Piso's assertion that places recall to mind the great men with whom they are associated by citing his own experience at Colonus (§3):

Tum Quintus Est plane Piso ut dicis inquit, nam me ipsum huc modo uenientem conuertebat ad sese Coloneus iste locus, cuius incola Sophocles ob oculos uersabatur. quem scis quam admirer quamque eo delecter. me quidem ad altiorem memoriam Oedipodis huc uenientis et illo mollissimo carmine quaenam essent ipsa haec loca requirentis species quaedam commouit, inaniter scilicet, sed commouit tamen.

Not only for modern readers, but for Plutarch (*Mor.* 785 E), or whoever was his source for the anecdote about the *δίκη παρανοίας* brought against Sophocles by his sons, the most enrapturing passage of the play is the stasimon *εὐίππου ξένε τᾶσδε χώρας* (668–93). However, Quintus' *carmen* cannot be Plutarch's *μέλος*, since Oedipus is not asking where he is. The word *carmen*, indeed, has no necessary connection with music, nor need it be an entire work: at *De senectute* 16 and *Pro Caelio* 18 it indicates a specific passage from a longer entity, respectively App. Claudius' speech in Ennius' *Annales* against making peace with Pyrrhus, and the Nurse's speech at the beginning of his *Medea*.[27] In our present passage we must interpret it of Oedipus' speech to Antigone, likewise the beginning

[25] *Tusc.* 1. 115; 3. 39, 59, 67; 4. 63.

[26] Cf. Powell ad loc., and esp. Lefkowitz (1981: 84–5), deriving the story from Oedipus' cursing of Polynices.

[27] Cf. Tac. *A.* 15. 70. 1, referring to Lucan 3. 635–46, and Gellius 17. 10. 8–9, referring to Pindar, *Pyth.* 1. 21–6 (Holford-Strevens 1988: 172 n. 50).

of the play; but what of *mollis*? Like most everyday words pressed into the service of literary criticism, it is not free from ambiguity:[28] it sometimes indicates the *genus tenue*,[29] sometimes a diction pleasing to the ear,[30] sometimes a style or rhythm that the speaker wishes to disparage as feeble or unmanly.[31] This last sense is not to the point, but the diction of Oedipus' opening speech may reasonably be described as unpretentious within the range of tragic diction, and as smoothly flowing in its *σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων*: liquids abound, especially nu, which in the first four lines, even allowing for maximum assimilation (which in Sophocles' day was normally reflected in the spelling), occurs no fewer than seventeen times, and except where final nasals are concerned, there are no clusters of consonants between words that could not begin a syllable.[32]

> *Τέκνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνη, τίνας*
> *χώρους ἀφίγμεθ' ἢ τίνων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν;*
> *τίς τὸν πλανήτην Οἰδίπουν καθ' ἡμέραν*
> *τὴν νῦν σπανιστοῖς δέξεται δωρήμασιν;*

Few of us, I think, would unprompted have singled out this passage for commendation above any other in the play, however sensitive we may be to its beauties when they are pointed out and indeed to the contrast between the shambling beggar Oedipus who enters the action and the fearsomely heroic Oedipus who leaves it. The warning expressed at the beginning of this study is thus reinforced.

However suspicious we may be of Q. Cicero's purported opinions, when in *De diuinatione* 1. 17 he praises his brother's poetry, and in *De legibus* 3. 34–7 adopts the extreme right-wing position that Cicero would rather not endorse in his own name, his interest

[28] See Ernesti 1797: 257–8, and for *μαλακός* Ernesti 1795: 204.

[29] Cf. *Orator* 64. Velleius Paterculus even informs us that Hesiod was 'mollissima dulcedine carminum memorabilis' (1. 7. 1). In this sense it corresponds to *ἀφελής*; cf. Ernesti, *Lex. tech. Gr. Rh.* 51–2.

[30] e.g. *Rhet. Herenn.* 3. 20, 23–4, Cic. *Brut.* 274, cf. *Orator* 52, *μαλακός* D.H. *Comp.* 22. 35 Aujac–Lebel, ii. 110. 3 Usener–Rademacher, *Ep. Pomp.* 6. 9, ii. 247. 8 U.–R.).

[31] Cic. *Orat.* 3. 41 (cf. *Off.* 1. 128), Quint. 11. 3. 32. At D.H. *Lys.* 19 (i. 31. 21–2) Lysias' lack of a high emotional register is expressed as *περὶ δὲ τὰ πάθη μαλακώτερός ἐστιν*.

[32] For this consideration see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 22–3; but the presence of the nasal groups would move this passage closer to the temperate style for which Sophocles is commended at 24. 5. In v. 4 σ + δ = ζ.

in tragic poetry is not to be denied; he himself wrote a tragedy on the theme of Erigone (*Q. fr.* 3. 1. 13), and knocked off four others in sixteen days (3. 5. 7). On the other hand, in Marcus' rebuke, '*Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους*, quamquam a te actam fabellam uideo esse festiue, nullo modo probaui' (*Epp. Q. fr.* 2. 16. 3), the reference is not to a translation but to some incident in Caesar's camp[33]—either a dinner to which Quintus had not been invited, or an altogether too boisterous one to which he had—putting Marcus in mind of a satyr-play, as it appears to have been, set amongst the heroic Achaeans, in which one character throws a full chamber-pot at another's head (fr. 565 R).[34] Such things were not to Marcus' taste; but he knew his Sophocles well enough to find an apposite allusion.[35] There was a similar passage in Aeschylus (fr. 180R),[36] the prince of satyr-playwrights,[37] if satyric these texts were; but Cicero knew him less well.

Cicero's complaint that Sophoclean characters do not bear up against misfortune as bravely as they should will provoke some mirth amongst those familiar with his own accomplishments in that respect; he has been fortunate that his philosophical writings have been read without regard to their author or their context.[38] Nevertheless, that and his unease at lapses in decorum were no mere personal quirks.

[33] For this use of author and title cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 86 'non uentus fuit, uerum Alcumena Euripidi'; in English one hears 'It's Dante's *Inferno* out there.'

[34] Soph. fr. 565 Radt: *ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ θυμῶι τὴν κάκοσμον οὐράνην | ἔρριψεν οὐδ' ἥμαρτε· περὶ δ' ἐμῷ κάρᾳ | κατάγνυται τὸ τεῦχος οὐ μύρου πνέον· | ἐδειματούμην δ' οὐ φίλης ὀσμῆς ὕπο.*

[35] Bücheler emended *actam* to *factam*; Shackleton Bailey approves in his *editio maior*. But is that the way to say 'translated'? It is no answer to cite Plaut. *Capt.* 1029, which merely proves, had anyone doubted it, that *facio* may be used of writing a play.

[36] *Ὀστολόγοι*, fr. 180 Radt: *ὅδ' ἐστὶν ὅς ποτ' ἀμφ' ἐμοὶ βέλος | γελωτοποιόν, τὴν κάκοσμον οὐράνην | ἔρριψεν οὐδ' ἥμαρτε· περὶ δ' ἐμῷ κάρᾳ | πληγεῖσ' ἐναυάγησεν ὀστρακουμένη, | χωρὶς μυρηρῶν τευχέων πνέουσ' ἐμοί.*

[37] T125a–b = D.L. 2. 133, Paus. 2. 13. 6.

[38] The politics of *De officiis* were overtaken by events even in the brief remainder of their author's lifetime; but that did not impair the status of 'Tully's Offices' as timeless wisdom. Sallust and Seneca were no less fortunate.

AUGUSTAN POETRY

The relation between Vergil and Sophocles deserves a detailed study in itself.[39] His use of *Ajax* has often been noticed: when Aeneas adjures Ascanius (*Aen.* 12. 435–6):

> Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
> fortunam ex aliis,

commentators recall Ajax' words to Eurysaces (*Ajax* 550–1):

> *ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος,*
> *τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὁμοῖος· καὶ γένοι' ἂν οὐ κακός.*

To be sure Aeneas, unlike Ajax, is not about to die; but this same conception is inverted in the case of Mezentius, *contemptor divom* like Ajax in his pride,[40] and his son Lausus, worthy of a better sire, whose death restores him to his moral sense. We are used to the comparison of *Ajax* 924

> *ὦ δύσμορ' Αἴας, οἷος ὢν οὕτως ἔχεις*

with *Aen.* 2. 274–5

> ei mihi qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo
> Hectore qui . . .

though the thought was not unique.[41] *Aen.* 4. 317–18 'fuit aut tibi quicquam dulce meum' has been compared with *Aj.* 521 *τερπνὸν εἴ τί που πάθοι*, and (more loosely) Dido's *Trugrede* with Ajax', problematic as the latter is.

Vergil's penchant for combining more than one source in a single phrase is not confined to his dealings with Ennius and Lucretius. At *Aen.* 1. 630

> non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco

[39] For Vergil's borrowings from tragedy see, in antiquity, Macr. *Sat.* 5. 18. 21–19. 24 (Sophocles fr. 534 at 5. 18. 8–11); in our own day König (1970), a work made available to me by the kindness of Dr Carmen Muñoz of the Departemento de Filología Griega y Latina, Facultad de Filología, Universidad de Sevilla.

[40] Horsfall 1995: 184–5.

[41] Cf. Thuc. 7. 75. 6 *ἀπὸ οἵας λαμπρότητος καὶ αὐχήματος τοῦ πρώτου ἐς οἵαν τελευτὴν καὶ ταπεινότητα ἀφῖκτο.*

scholars have noted that the language recalls Meleager CII (*AP* 12. 70). 4 = *HE* 4537 *οἶδα παθὼν ἐλεεῖν* and the thought Soph. *OC* 562–4

> *ὃς οἶδά γ' αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπαιδεύθην ξένος,*
> *ὥσπερ σύ, χὠς εἷς πλεῖστ' ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ξένης*
> *ἤθλησα κινδυνεύματ' ἐν τὠμῷ κάρᾳ.*

But *non ignara mali* echoes *Ant.* 1191

> *κακῶν γὰρ οὐκ ἄπειρος οὖσ' ἀκούσομαι.*

In observing this, I am anticipated not by Heyne or Conington or any modern, but by the admirable Juan Luis de la Cerda,[42] who also cited *Od.* 12. 208, *ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμονές ἐσμέν*—the verse translated at 1. 198 'o socii—neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum', Dido's echo of which underlines the similarity between the wanderers. Dido's last speech owes something to Deianira as well as to Alcestis;[43] which does not mean that Vergil always took the texts he imitated and combined from books in front of him on a writing-desk like a scholar, but rather that, having read or seen on stage a number of tragic female deaths or other striking scenes, he composed a new one out of his recollection, no doubt aided but not governed by passages copied out into notebooks or even rereading of originals. One must also allow that he may have been stimulated by something that left no visible trace in his verses, and yet played its catalytic part in their composition.[44] Source-criticism is far from an exact science, even where purveyors of fact

[42] In his edition of *Aen.* 1–6 (Lyon, 1612), 116.

[43] See König 1970: 204–25; but I do not understand why the resemblance between 'dulces exuviae . . . accipite' (*Aen.* 4. 651–2) and Deianira's *ὦ λέχη τε καὶ νυμφεῖ' ἐμὰ . . . δέξασθ'* (*Trach.* 920–2) should be dismissed as an accident because Dido does not address the bed (König 1970: 377 n. 22).

[44] On 3 Feb. 1888 Theodor Fontane wrote to Georg Friedlaender asking for some place-names in the Riesengebirge to help him with his ballad 'Annemarie'; on the 6th he wrote again, thanking Friedlaender and stating that despite the excitement caused by Bismarck's 'Wir Deutsche' speech, 'setzte ich mich doch hin und schrieb unter dem Eindruck von "Heiden-Tilke" und "Hexentreppe" die Ballade nieder, in der natürlich nichts von Heiden-Tilke und Hexentreppe vorkommt, wie das immer der Fall zu sein pflegt. Man braucht die Namen-Anregung und das Bewußtsein, daß ein bestimmtes Quantum von Sachlichem neben einem liegt — und aus diesem Besitz-Bewußtsein heraus producirt man dann. Wie oft habe ich schon gehört: "aber Sie scheinen es nicht gebraucht zu haben." Falsch. Ich habe es d o c h gebraucht. Es spukt nur hinter der Scene' (Fontane 1954: 86–7, nos. 91–2).

are concerned, let alone for creative writers, and least of all for those whose minds transcend the ways of prose.[45] It is in spirit, not merely letter, that it is right to speak of 'Dido's markedly Sophoclean suicide'.

Specific borrowing, indeed, is less important than overall resemblance: the two parts are alike in their bursting the bounds of their respective languages and in their outlook on the world, their ability to see both the necessity of an outcome and its cost. The division among commentators on Vergil between imperialists and anti-imperialists matches that in Sophoclean scholarship between pietists and hero-worshippers,[46] for Vergil shares Sophocles' empathy with both sides in a conflict even as Ovid shares Euripides' forensic skill in putting their case.[47] Common to the two poets, moreover, is their ability to confront us, not with examination questions in abstract morality, but with the realities of human conduct. The defeated Turnus expects death at Aeneas' hands, and requests only that his corpse be restored to his kindred; Aeneas is about to take pity until he is overcome by battle-rage at the sight of Pallas' baldric, and kills him. It is disputed whether the conduct appropriate to a Homeric hero or a Turnus is good enough for the model of *pietas* Aeneas—who at this point is no longer the plaster saint that some modern readers have complained of but fully human; but which of us can be confident of doing otherwise in those circumstances? Even so,

[45] Great poet and master of language that Callimachus was, were his text preserved as well as Vergil's there are few if any difficulties that could not be solved with access to the Alexandrian library; but not even total knowledge of Vergil's reading would suffice to do the same for him.

[46] For these terms see Winnington-Ingram 1980: 303, and for the question ibid. 304–29.

[47] Moderns are far too much inclined to suppose that if you are on one side you close your eyes and your mind to its faults: either 'our side' is right, and therefore we do not wish to hear about the unpleasant things done in our name, or if we do pay attention to them we conclude that 'our side' is not right. This has been made worse by the fashion for subversive reading, in which the author is made to mean the opposite of what he appears to say. But the ancients are much readier to allow that the other side has a case but we are on our own side. When Tacitus puts biting denunciations of Roman imperialism into the mouths of a Caratacus or a Calgacus, we are inclined to suppose that Tacitus too disapproves; yet imperial coins, which were not produced by critics of the government, can complacently depict a conquered nation as a weeping woman; and the speech of the Gaul Critognatos presented by Caesar 'propter eius singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem' (*BG* 7. 77. 2) has matter to thrill the death-before-slavery school of anti-imperialists, all composed by the great imperialist himself.

Electra has become unnatural in her grief and longing for revenge; how else could she have endured, if she had too much spirit for Chrysothemis' meek submissiveness? When Orestes has struck their mother, Electra bids him strike twice as hard, if he has the strength; not very sweet-natured, but can we, or can we not, demand any other reaction from a person thirsting for revenge but relying on someone else to achieve it, at the moment when at last it is being achieved? In these things, it may be, the reading of Sophocles enabled Vergil to become what he was;[48] but he had read Euripides as well as Sophocles,[49] and for all that is tragic in the *Aeneid* the primary story is not.

Ovid could find in *Trachiniae* Achelous' shape-changes as well as the fate of Deianira and Hercules, but Sophocles, as Palmer observed, was not his only source.[50] Likewise, when he tells the tale of Tereus and the Athenian sisters, he admixes motifs from Euripides to generate 'an episode neither wholly Sophoclean nor Euripidean, but utterly Ovidian'.[51] What the eighth of his *Heroides* owes to Sophocles' *Hermione* we cannot tell; but the debt is in all probability no greater, and possibly somewhat less, than Shakespeare's to his prose sources.[52] No one will look for a Sophoclean spirit in him;[53] if he has returned to credit from his Victorian disfavour, it is not because we have followed the Middle Ages in their moral interpretations of his works, but because we have grown out of the demand for high seriousness.

A different kind of borrowing, of sound as well as sense, appears in Horace's Leuconoe ode, when the waves beat against the rocks in winter (*Carmina* 1. 11. 5–6)

> quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
> Tyrrhenum

[48] Suggestive is Knight 1949: 30–1. Hard-headed scholars are not always kind to that book, but hard-headed scholarship, without literary feeling, falls further short of understanding Vergil than almost any other ancient author, a fact of which it seems uncomfortably aware.

[49] König (1970: 250) finds an 'Affinität zu Euripides' contrasted with 'Vernachlässigung von Sophokles und Aischylos' (257); but Euripides was so much the tragedian κατ' ἐξοχήν that predominant use of him was only to be expected.

[50] 'The *Trachiniae* is followed, but not closely': Palmer 1898: 359.

[51] Curley 1997: 320; see Larmour 1991.

[52] Louis C. Purser ap. Palmer 1898: p. xvi.

[53] To be sure tragedy is *Sophocleus* . . . *cothurnus* at *Am.* 1. 15. 15 as at Verg. *Buc.* 8. 10, but metre claims its due.

The sequence of choriambic words recalls the Colonean chorus' description of Oedipus buffeted, like itself, by the miseries of old age (*Oedipus Coloneus* 1240–1)

> *πάντοθεν βόρειος ὥς τις ἀκτά*
> *κυματοπλὴξ χειμερία κλονεῖται.*

THE SILVER AGE, AND BEYOND

The reputation of *Oedipus Coloneus* is yet again confirmed by Valerius Maximus 8. 7 ('de studio et industria'), ext. 12:

> Sophocles quoque gloriosum cum rerum natura certamen habuit, tam benigne mirifica illi opera sua exhibendo quam illa operibus eius tempora liberaliter subministrando. prope enim centesimum annum attigit, sub ipsum transitum ad mortem Oedipode *ἐπὶ Κολωνῶι* scripto, qua sola fabula omnium eiusdem studi poetarum praeripere gloriam potuit. Idque ignotum esse posteris filius Sophoclis Iophon noluit, sepulcro patris quae retuli insculpendo.

If Valerius is as consistent with himself as he is in suppressing all mention of the lawsuit, it will be that play at whose one-vote victory Sophocles, in extreme old age, expired for joy (9. 12. ext. 5); in another version the play was *Antigone*,[54] perhaps supposed to be last because its plot is set later than the other Theban plays, and ascribed on a black day in Greek scholarship to Iophon.[55]

The elder Pliny has Sophocles buried by 'King'[56] Lysander at the command of Dionysus, who called him his favourite (*Naturalis historia* 7. 109):

> Sophoclem tragici cothurni principem defunctum sepelire Liber Pater iussit, obsidentibus moenia Lacedaemoniis, Lysandro eorum rege in quiete saepius admonito ut pateretur humari delicias suas. requisiuit rex, qui supremum diem Athenis obissent, nec difficulter ex his quem deus significasset intellexit pacemque funeri dedit.

[54] *Vita* 14.

[55] Scholia Londinensia in *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam*, pp. 471–2 Hilberg: *οὐ γὰρ κρίνει εἰ καλῶς γέγραπται ἢ οὔ* [in itself a controversial view], *ἀλλ' ἢ νόθα ἢ γνήσια· πολλὰ γὰρ νοθευόμενά ἐστιν, ὡς ἡ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνη—λέγεται γὰρ εἶναι Ἰοφῶντος τοῦ Σοφοκλέους υἱοῦ—Ὁμήρου τὰ Κυπριακὰ καὶ ὁ Μαργίτης, Ἀράτου τὰ Θυτικὰ καὶ τὰ Περὶ ὄρνεων, Ἡσιόδου ἡ Ἀσπίς.*

[56] The same error recurs in Popper 1966: i. 184, apparently unnoticed by the book's many enemies. To be sure Latin authors call more than one man *rex* who was never *βασιλεύς*: Periander frequently, Epaminondas at Ampelius 32. 4 (where *rex Thebarum Graecos pugnando uindicauit* would make the sense less bad: Holford-Strevens 1995: 602).

Chronology refutes, but the story suits Pliny's admiration for his poetry and his life, even if his prosaic mind could not abide the poet's assertion that amber is created from the tears of guinea-fowl east of India mourning for Meleager; having rebuked other Greeks who talked nonsense on the subject he continues (37. 40–1):

> Super omnes est Sophocles poeta tragicus, quod equidem miror, cum tanta grauitas ei cothurni sit, praeterea uitae fama alias principi loco genito Athenis et rebus gestis et exercitu ducto. hic ultra Indiam fieri dixit e lacrimis meleagridum auium Meleagrum deflentium [fr. 830a R]. quod credidisse eum aut sperasse aliis persuaderi posse quis non miretur? quamue peritiam tam imperitam posse reperiri, quae auium ploratus annuos credat lacrimasue tam grandes, auesue quae a Graecia, ubi Meleager periit, ploratum adierint Indos? quid ergo? non multa aeque fabulosa produnt poetae? sed hoc in ea re, quae cotidie inuehatur atque abundet ac mendacium coarguat, serio quemquam dixisse summa hominum contemptio est et intoleranda mendaciorum inpunitas.

Pliny's quotations from the tragic poets no doubt come from his sources; very little attention is paid to their works in imperial Latin literature. Even Seneca, in his prose, is no exception to this neglect, nor Statius, who in his epicedion for his father (*Siluae* 5. 3) retails at length the Greek poetry learnt under his guidance, from Homer and Hesiod to Lycophron and Corinna: no dramatic poet is mentioned, though both the tragic and the comic poets are collectively bidden to weep for him along with Pietas, Iustitia, Facundia, Pallas, the Muses, epic and lyric poets, and the Seven Sages, since he embraced them all in his mind.

At a more advanced level, some people must have continued to read the tragedians, as Seneca tragicus and Quintilian show: but the implication that the tragedians were not at the heart of the syllabus is borne out by their neglect in the Roman literature of the second century. Fronto ignores them; Apuleius merely recounts the anecdote of the lawsuit (*Apol.* 37. 1 Vallette); even Marcus, writing in Greek, though he credits tragedy with improving our endurance of misfortune, cites nothing but *sententiae* detached from their context such as we find in Stobaeus. The same is largely true of Gellius: moreover, when he claims to be surprised that Plato in the

Theaetetus (or rather Plato in the *Republic* and Pseudo-Plato in the *Theages*) should ascribe to Euripides a verse that 'we have read' (*legimus*) in Sophocles, he is parading as his own discovery a fact well enough known to the Greeks; the remark that Sophocles was born before Euripides is evidently intended to prove that if Euripides did use this verse, yet Sophocles had used it first, an argument that would have solved all those embrangled disputes concerning the two *Electras* (13. 19. 2). The chapter is obviously taken, not necessarily without mediation, from the work of Greek scholars who had noted such echoes.[57] Gellius' other quotation (12. 11. 6) is the paraenetic fragment 301, ostensibly cited by the moral preacher Peregrinus Proteus and certainly used by Clement of Alexandria and Stobaeus; Sophocles is called *prudentissimus poetarum*, since he is being cited for practical wisdom.

It is also Gellius who tells us (6. 5) the famous story, not without import for the theory of acting,[58] that the actor Polus, playing Electra,[59] carried his own son's ashes in the urn supposedly containing those of Orestes. Having stated that Polus had to carry an urn 'quasi cum Oresti ossibus', he does not leave it at that, but summarizes the relevant portion of the plot: 'Ita compositum fabulae argumentum est, ut ueluti fratris reliquias ferens Electra comploret commisereaturque interitum eius existimatum.' Here we must regret that we lack Gellius' source: one would wish to know, first whether it was Greek or Latin, second whether Gellius could derive or infer the details of the action from it without having read the play, and third whether it stated the facts in the didactic fashion we find in §6 or incorporated them into the running narrative.

In the next century the learned Terentianus Maurus shows

[57] See Holford-Strevens 1988: 173, but the interpretation of 'legimus' as present (ibid. n. 55) is too kind.

[58] Whether the actor should become one with the character, or remain at sufficient distance to pull a face at other cast members in the middle of the most heart-rending speech, when turned by the action away from the audience, is a matter of debate to which no definitive answer can be given. Brecht (1957: 211) makes Helene Weigel ask 'Vielleicht war sein [Polus'] Sohn ein Schurke. Er mag trotzdem leiden, aber warum soll ich es?'; he is misled into fathering the anecdote on Cicero (ibid. 210) by the initial reference to *De oratore* 2. 189 in Gottsched's note on Horace, *AP* 102–3 (1751: 21), where Polus becomes 'ein römischer Komödiant' (= 'actor', not necessarily comic) and achieved the Horatian effect: 'Und da war kein Mensch auf dem Platze, der sich der Thränen hätte enthalten können.'

[59] Not 'the *Electra* of Sophocles' (Rolfe). Gottsched understood correctly: 'Polus . . . sollte die Elektra vorstellen, die ihren Bruder beweinet.'

knowledge of a play, as distinct from a tag; it is albeit from that general favourite, Euripides' *Orestes*.[60] Ausonius hopes that his grandson will revive his memory of 'soccos aulaeaque regum' (*Protrepticus* 54), and may (or may not) have derived Ajax' bitterness against 'pravus Atrides' (*Epitaphia* 3. 3) from Sophocles; but at the school whose bilingual curriculum was transcribed 502 years ago by Conrad Celtes only comedy is mentioned.[61]

IMPERIAL TRAGEDY

A study of Sophocles at Rome is exempt from the modern critics' otherwise justified demand that Seneca's plays be judged as independent works. The relation of plays in the Senecan corpus to known Greek plays of the same theme or title is not uniform, but is not always as distant as in the case of *Agamemnon*. Nevertheless, although the opening of *Phoenissae* seems to show the first scene of *Coloneus* transposed from Athens to Thebes and from human tenderness to posturing rhodomontade, and although Sophocles as well as Euripides has been found in his *Phaedra*,[62] I shall concentrate on the manifest instances, *Oedipus* and *Hercules Oetaeus*, beginning with the former as being of unquestioned authenticity.[63]

In Sophocles, an Oedipus who enjoys his own and his people's confidence asks why the citizens are praying to the gods and petitioning himself: the priest describes the plague, about which the monarch knows already, but the audience does not. Seneca, as if finding all this improbable, makes an Oedipus who already believes

[60] See Ter. Maur. 1960–4, on *Or.* 1369–72; note too the quotation at 963 (from *Or.* 1287).

[61] See Dionisotti 1982: 122.

[62] Zwierlein 1987: 54–68; his discussion of Sophocles' play, 'deren potentiellen Einfluß auf Senecas Phaedra manche Forscher sehr hoch veranschlagen' (p. 54), ends with admirable caution 'Damit genug der Spekulationen: Vielleicht dürfen wir mit aller Vorsicht, resümierend, soviel feststellen, daß es Indizien gibt, wonach eine von den beiden euripideischen Stücken im Handlungsverlauf deutlich unterschiedene Phaidra-Tragödie existierte, und daß diese erschlossene Tragödie mit jener des Sophokles identisch sein, oder Züge der sophokleischen aufgenommen haben könnte' (p. 68).

[63] On this play and its relation to Sophocles see too Töchterle 1994: 9–22 ('Quellen und eigene Gestaltung'); Boyle 1997: 92–102.

himself to be the plague-bringer, though for escaping rather than for fulfilling Fate's decree, describe the pestilence, and pray in despair not that it may end, but that he may not be the last to die: then abandoning even that hope, he tells himself to flee, 'uel ad parentes', which is Jocasta's cue to bid him be a man, missing the point entirely.

Sophocles' Oedipus has already sent Creon to Delphi: he returns with the apparently good news that the plague will cease if Laius' murderer is punished, and relates what little is known of the case, this being new to Oedipus. The prologos thus ends with an optimism that the chorus somewhat lowers. In Seneca, Oedipus closes the first scene by saying:

Una iam superest salus,
si quam salutis Phoebus ostendat uiam, (108–9)

the subjunctive of improbable contingency: but it is not till after the chorus has piled on the agony that we learn of Creon's mission. So far, that is the nearest we have come to suspense, as opposed to a sense of fate: but Creon's report, which had seemed like good news in Sophocles, strengthens the unwholesomeness in Seneca.

There comes now a clear echo: asked why no one had taken any steps to hunt down Laius' murderer, Creon in both plays replies that the matter was overtaken by the Sphinx.[64] The answer is not entirely convincing, if one stops to think as Aristotle did,[65] since it does not explain why Oedipus was not told how the throne has become vacant. In Sophocles the audience has already been lulled into acquiescence by nine consecutive two-line questions with two-line answers before the awkward moment arrives;

Οι. κακὸν δὲ ποῖον ἐμποδὼν τυραννίδος
οὕτω πεσούσης εἶργε τοῦτ' ἐξειδέναι;
Κρ. ἡ ποικιλῳδὸς Σφὶγξ τὸ πρὸς ποσὶ σκοπεῖν 130
μεθέντας ἡμᾶς τἀφανῆ προσήγετο.

Whereupon Oedipus diverts attention by commending both Phoebus and the Thebans for the diligence that in fact only Phoebus had shown on Laius' behalf, assuring his subjects that he has his own interest to look after and will therefore be zealous in his investigations:

[64] Contrast Soph. *OT* 566–7, omitted by Seneca.
[65] *Poetics* 1454^b7, 1460^a30.

ὑπὲρ γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀπωτέρω φίλων
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ τοῦτ' ἀποσκεδῶ μύσος.
ὅστις γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνον ὁ κτανὼν τάχ' ἂν
κἄμ' ἂν τοιαύτῃ χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν θέλοι. 140
κείνῳ προσαρκῶν οὖν ἐμαυτὸν ὠφελῶ.

Seneca, with a reading public to consider, glides past the difficulty as swiftly as possible: his Oedipus, concerned with the past only as it affects the present—including his own interest, but generalized to the common interest of kings[66]—turns his attention away from Creon's answer to the needs of the moment:

OE. Quod facere monitu caelitum iussus paro,
functi cineribus regis hoc decuit dari, 240
ne sancta quisquam sceptra uiolaret dolo.
regi tuenda maxime regum salus:
quaerit peremptum nemo quem incolumem timet.
CR. Curam perempti maior excussit timor.
OE. Pium prohibuit ullus officium metus? 245
CR. Prohibent nefandi carminis tristes minae.
OE. Nunc expietur numinum imperio scelus.

The proclamation, which in Sophocles extends to misprision, is confined by Seneca to the murder itself.[67] This concentration is made possible by the recasting of the Tiresias scene. In Sophocles, the seer hesitates to speak until the tyrant accuses him of having been a party to the crime; thus provoked, Teiresias tells him that he, Oedipus, is the murderer he seeks, to which the infuriated ruler replies with aspersions on the seer's professional integrity and unwarranted accusations that he and Creon are conspiring to depose him; after perplexed comment from the Chorus, Creon himself appears, in order to find out what Oedipus has being saying;

[66] Claudius had executed Gaius' murderers (Suet. *Div. Claud.* 11. 1, Dio 60. 3. 4).
[67] It also takes the form of a curse, which in the Greek play only the spurious lines 246–51 do, though Seneca no doubt found them in his text. Erbse (1993: 70–1), defending this curse against the Oxford editors' deletion, misunderstands my objection to them ap. Lloyd-Jones and Wilson 1990: 86: κακὸς κακῶς is not incompatible with elevated language, but suits only a personal imprecation, not an act of state. Teucer at *Aj.* 1175–9, 1389–92, Philoctetes at *Phil.* 1368–9, do indeed not speak colloquially (at p. 70 n. 28 I am said to list these passages 'aber als Belege für die Alltäglichkeit des Ausdrucks'), but they speak only for themselves; if anyone was likely to use it in the city's name it was Creon in *Antigone*, but he does not. In any case, the style of 248 displeases as a whole.

an altercation ensues, in which Creon is threatened with execution, till Jocasta intervenes to restore peace. Seneca, indulging that Claudian taste for the gruesome which made his fortune in the second halves of the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries, first presents a Tiresias scene, in which the prophet's daughter Manto reports alarming, and quite unstageable, prodigies, while Oedipus watches in silence before asking what they mean and, on being told that only Laius' ghost can explain them, sending Creon to undertake the task; then, after an ode to Bacchus ordered by Tiresias, a Creon scene follows, in which reluctance to speak yields to compliance under duress that gives rise to the imputation of treason. This latter scene occupies the place of Sophocles' ἀγών between Oedipus and Creon; the motif of a report from the second man in the kingdom recalls the Greek poet's πρόλογος, but the structure is closer to his Tiresias scene. Yet there are differences: whereas in Sophocles Oedipus lays stress on the interests of the city—as indeed the Creon of the *Antigone* does—in Seneca he is a holder of *imperium* compelling the obedience that is his due:

Imperia soluit qui tacet iussus loqui.

Since Seneca was writing under a monarchy, the difference in emphasis seems less important than the fact that his Oedipus keeps his temper better than Sophocles'. Creon tells his story, with much assistance from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*; Oedipus, believing that he is the son of Polybus and Merope, and therefore cannot be guilty of the crimes alleged, deduces quite rationally that Creon's report must be a lie, for which political ambition is the obvious cause. Sophocles' Oedipus might have argued on the same lines; instead he has flown into a rage. To be sure, ll. 703–4

Odia qui nimium timet
regnare nescit: regna custodit metus

have a distinct ring of *oderint dum metuant*, words spoken by a tyrant, mentioned more than once in Seneca's philosophical works,[68] and often cited by the mad, or at least unstable, Caligula;[69] but even when speaking like a tyrant, the Senecan Oedipus retains

[68] *De ira* 1. 20. 4; *De clementia* 1. 12. 4, 2. 2. 2.
[69] Suet. *Calig.* 30. 1.

his dignity: no raving, but cold command, and for imprisonment, not death.

Sophocles' Jocasta assures Oedipus that divination is a fraud, only to give Oedipus the clue that he may very well be Laius' murderer after all; in Seneca this is replaced with a short dialogue, initiated by Oedipus, who on thinking the matter over has begun to suspect as much himself. This leads directly to the entry of the Old Man of Corinth, who discharges the function of Sophocles' Messenger, followed by Phorbas, who supplies the final link; from Oedipus' 'Curas reuoluit animus' to Phorbas' 'Coniuge est genitus tua' is barely a hundred lines, as if Sophocles were staged by the Reduced Shakespeare Company.[70] His wonderful character of Jocasta, taught by experience to reject conventional beliefs that justify themselves after all, and desperate to stave off the looming disaster—surely this is her tragedy as well as Oedipus'—is whittled down almost to nothingness; and whereas in Sophocles she has plainly recognized the truth while Oedipus has not, in Seneca it is Oedipus who has guessed it, and conducts his inquiries simply to confirm it. Did Seneca consider that for a renowned problem-solver the Sophoclean Oedipus is incredibly obtuse, with his talk of being Fortune's child? If so, he has broached that Latin path of prosaic rationality down which Corneille travelled to a bad play and Voltaire to a worse.

It is no surprise that Seneca should adopt gory moments from the Outmessenger's description of Oedipus' self-blinding and make them even gorier: if Sophocles' Oedipus raises his eyes the better to assail them, Seneca makes them agents in their own destruction:

τοιαῦτ' ἐφυμνῶν πολλάκις τε κοὐχ ἅπαξ 1275
ἤρασσ' ἐπαίρων βλέφαρα, φοινίαι δ' ὁμοῦ
γλῆναι γένει' ἔτεγγον, οὐδ' ἀνίεσαν.

manus in ora torsit. at contra truces 962
oculi steterunt et suam intenti manum
ultro insecuntur, uulneri occurrunt suo.

The next two lines of the Greek text have been conjecturally deleted as interpolations by that successor to the *magistellus Byzantinus* as the incarnation of bad taste, the fourth-century ham actor.[71] Be that

[70] I know that not all have judged so; but I speak as I find.
[71] West (1978: 121), describes these 'clumsy and tasteless lines' as 'an obvious interpolation in the interest of goriness', comparing *Ajax* 918–19, 'Nauck's condemnation of which should not have been allowed to fall into oblivion'. Unlike our

as it may (and one is in any case corrupt), for Seneca those verses were Sophocles'; he read them, and found them to serve his purpose:

> *φόνου μυδώσας σταγόνας, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ μέλας* 1278
> *ὄμβρος †χαλάζης αἵματος† ἐτέγγετο.*
>
> rigat ora foedus imber et lacerum caput 978
> largum reuulsis sanguinem uenis uomit.

Nevertheless, he has altered Sophocles' account by postponing Jocasta's suicide, which in his model was the event that turned Oedipus' cry of anguish (1183),

> *ὦ φῶς, τελευταῖόν σε προσβλέψαιμι νῦν*

from metaphorical wish to literal reality. Seneca's Oedipus needs no such outside stimulus; and he neither begs assistance in his departure from the chorus nor accepts persuasion from a noble Creon; he makes his own way off. If not exactly a sage, he is at least a Stoic in being beholden to none.

I cannot love this play; if that is because I love Sophocles too well, it is not a fault I care to mend. Differences of plot apart, I find the style inferior; this is no doubt a matter of taste, but one final example shall justify or condemn. Oedipus' apostrophe *ἰὼ Κιθαιρών* became a stock quotation, appearing at Epictetus 1. 24. 16 as a type for the fall of the great that characterizes tragedy, and in the emperor Marcus 11. 6. 2 as inculcating the lesson that even those in that condition can bear their evils; all this is well and good, but who would have remembered the passage had not audience and readers been moved, not merely instructed, by a pathos that in its simplicity of thought flies like an arrow to its mark?

> *ἰὼ Κιθαιρών, τί μ' ἐδέχου; τί μ' οὐ λαβὼν* 1391
> *ἔκτεινας εὐθύς, ὡς ἔδειξα μήποτε*
> *ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔνθεν ἦ γεγώς;*

Seneca's Oedipus too invokes Cithaeron, but only in the messenger's report, and there is no pathos, only rhodomontade that at best

passage, however, these verses are linguistically unimpeachable; they also describe what the audience could not see. Nauck's condemnation is ignored by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson in their OCT, and by Lloyd-Jones in his Loeb edition, but West's deletion of *OT* 1278–9 is accepted; for supporting arguments and partial retraction see respectively Lloyd-Jones and Wilson 1990: 109–10, 1997: 63–4.

leaves the untroubled reader patting the author on his back for cleverness:

> ipse tu scelerum capax, 930
> sacer Cithaeron, uel feras in me tuis
> emitte siluis, mitte uel rabidos canes—
> nunc redde Agauen.

Still, admirers of *Schicksalstragödie* may think better of this play; nor is it without power in its concentration. In this it forms a contrast to the longest tragedy by far in the Senecan corpus, *Hercules Oetaeus*. This was first declared spurious by Daniel Heinsius,[72] whose arguments convinced Bentley.[73] Now Heinsius also rejected *Phoenissae*,[74] and assigned four other plays to M. Annaeus; but however we regard him as a critic of authenticity, his judgements on merit were delivered with the authority of a playwright in the Senecan manner who could admire the supernatural scenes in *Oedipus*,[75] find the choruses of *Thyestes* divine,[76] and even prefer *Troades* to its Euripidean original.[77] If, then, I find

[72] Heinsius 1621: 335–48. In my quotations I have eliminated compendia and ligatures, and corrected trivial misprints, but otherwise retained the original spelling and punctuation. These 'Animadversiones et Notae' are a revision of those in Heinsius 1611: 483-584 (on this play 566–84); the long passage 'Caeterum ... secat' was added in 1621.

[73] 'Of the Four Passages, yet behind, which he [the Hon. Charles Boyle] cites as out of *Seneca*, no fewer than three are taken out of *Hercules Oetaeus*, which is not a play of *Seneca*'s, as the Learned *Daniel Heinsius* has prov'd fourscore Years ago': Bentley 1883: 184.

[74] Note esp. his comment (1611: 518 = 1621: '303' [304]) 'Caeterum vt Aeschylus et Sophocles Pythagoricos vbique fere profitentur: ita videas declamatores istos e decretis Stoicorum ducere colores.'

[75] Heinsius 1611: 536 = 1621: 314: 'Noster Episodia quae addidit, cum tam accurate ignem et viscera describit, vt e sacris hausisse ea libris videatur, tum prolixa illa *νεκυίας* ex Homero delineatio, ita pulchra sunt, vt quanvis habeant vernile et ambitiosum aliquid, potius in hoc laudanda tamen, quam in isto requirenda videantur.'

[76] Heinsius 1611: 507 = 1621: 297, 'Chori sunt divini.'

[77] Heinsius 1621: 317–18 (not in 1611): 'Non ausim Graecam vllo modo, sive dispositionem spectes, sive *πάθος*, sive gravitatem et augustum pondus sententiarum, cum ista conferre. Etiam in Choris noster vincit, quos ex paucis Graeci verbis, et quae sparsim leguntur, fecit alios et plane divinos. Apud Graecum vno loco illa invenerat [Eur. *Tro.* 187–90]. Alio, illa [1096–9]. Et paulo post nonnulla similia. Ex quibus praeclarum illum fecit, *Quae vocat sedes habitanda captas* [Sen. *Tro.* 814]. Et ex duobus versibus [Eur. *Tro.* 608–9] coelestem illum, *Dulce moerenti populus dolentum* [Sen. *Tro.* 1009].'

my adverse comments on *Hercules Oetaeus* anticipated by Heinsius, I claim acquittal on any charge, either of being prejudiced against a work already passing for spurious, or of failure to appreciate the ways of Silver authors.[78] Since Heinsius' general comments may be less familiar or even accessible to readers than more recent studies,[79] I cite them at large in the Appendix.

Of course, no one will suppose that a critic who wrote nearly four hundred years ago has spoken the last word on the subject; Heinsius' comments would certainly provoke the disagreement of Robin Nisbet, who has added to the resemblances between this and the undisputed plays a parallel with *Trachiniae* that he finds Senecan:[80]

> *πολλὴν μὲν ὕλην τῆς βαθυρρίζου δρυός* 1195
> *κείραντα, πολλὸν δ' ἀρσέν' ἐκτεμόνθ' ὁμοῦ*
> *ἄγριον ἔλαιον, σῶμα τοὐμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν . . .*

> stat uasta late quercus et Phoebum uetat
> ultraque totos porrigit ramos nemus; 1625
> gemit illa multo uulnere impresso minax
> frangitque cuneos, resilit incussus chalybs
> uulnusque ferrum patitur et rigidum est parum.

The masculinity of the Sophoclean olive is transmuted to an equation between the oak and Hercules; in v. 1196 Nisbet detects hints at emasculation, remarking reasonably that 'even those who reject a double meaning here may grant that the Silver Age would have suspected one', and adducing a similar conceit at *Phaedra* 1099

> medium per inguen stipite ingesto tenet,

[78] E. Phillips Barker, in the first edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (p. 828) describes the *HO* as 'long, dull, and psychologically incredible'; the comment (retained over other signatures in the second edition, p. 977) is undermined in context by his assertion (not retained) that 'In the tragedies, too, we meet no product or promise of a balanced artist-mind, but the primitive thought-forms, rough-hewn idols, and nightmares risen out of a tortured egoist's unconscious mind.' Nevertheless it is true, as is its replacement in the third edition (p. 97): 'a pagan passion-play whose derivative language and overextended action suggest rather an imitator than Seneca himself.'

[79] See Zwierlein 1986: 313–43 and literature there cited. In defence of authenticity see Rozelaar 1985: 1367–91—but he even accepts *Octauia* (Rozelaar 1976: 598–607)—and Nisbet 1987 = 1995: 202–12.

[80] Nisbet 1987: 245 = 1995: 204–5.

where 'one suspects a bizarre caricature of Priapus'.[81] Stoic poets are notorious for their filthy minds, but if the author of *HO* did indeed understand Sophocles as Nisbet he so inverted him as to make the oak emasculate the axe, 'rigidum est parum'. One would certainly not put such things past a Silver poet, but since if the playwright was not Seneca he was unquestionably Seneca's ape, they can hardly prove authenticity.

Although the plot is taken from *Trachiniae*, the play begins very differently: gone are Deianira's loving and anxious wait, the deception whose unmasking warned us that Heracles' conduct had not been free from reproach, and the patience, exceeding what Greeks expected of a wife, that will undo both Heracles and Deianira herself when she seeks to win back her husband's love instead of demanding that he expel his mistress from the matrimonial home. The hero, whom in Sophocles we do not even see till v. 972, speaks the first lines, complaining it is high time his *uirtus* got him into heaven; the chorus and Iole lament the fall of Oechalia without suggesting it was a crime; but Deianira rages like Congreve's woman scorned. In the Greek poet, naive as she may be to believe Nessus, she patently intends her husband no harm, even though the black-galled poison of the Lernaean hydra had tainted the Centaur's blood:

> *ἐὰν γὰρ ἀμφίθρεπτον αἷμα τῶν ἐμῶν* 572
> *σφαγῶν ἐνέγκῃ χερσίν, ᾗ μελάγχολος*
> *ἔβαψεν ἰός, θρέμμα Λερναίας ὕδρας, . . .*

μελάγχολος . . . ἰὸς (*uirus*) Dobree: *μελαγχόλους . . . ἰοὺς* (*sagittas*) codd.

In the imitator the *tabes* (520, 527) is a *malum* (524) with a *uis dira* (578). Even the appeal to Cupid, called *horridus* (550), is distinctly sinister. If Hercules is a rational man aware of his divine qualities, Deianira is a passionate woman who to hear her talk has decidedly hellish capacities.

Nevertheless, it is no more than talk; once the harm is done she avers, and others accept, that she never meant it. When the poison first reveals its deadly power by destroying the dyecloth, she is just as afraid as in Sophocles, albeit the well-observed simile from daily life[82] has yielded place to an incoherent congeries of incompatible

[81] Ibid. 247 = 207.

[82] Naturally the Latin poet cannot mention anything so lowly as a saw.

comparisons that do not illustrate but obfuscate the comparandum.[83]

εἴσω δ' ἀποστείχουσα δέρκομαι φάτιν
ἄφραστον, ἀξύμβλητον ἀνθρώπῳ μαθεῖν.
τὸ γὰρ κάταγμα τυγχάνω ῥίψασά πως 695
{τῆς οἰός, ὧι προὔχριον, ἐς μέσην φλόγα}[84]
ἀκτῖν' ἐς ἡλιῶτιν· ὡς δ' ἐθάλπετο,
ῥεῖ πᾶν ἄδηλον καὶ κατέψηκται χθονί,
μορφῆι μάλιστ' εἰκαστὸν ὥστε πρίονος
ἐκβρώμαθ' ἂν βλέψειας ἐν τομῆι ξύλου. 700

et forte, nulla nube respersus iubar,
laxabat ardens feruidum Titan diem
(uix ora solui patitur etiamnunc timor):
medios in ignes solis et claram facem 725
quo tincta fuerat palla uestisque illita,
abiectus horret uillus et Phoebi coma
tepefactus arsit (uix queo monstrum eloqui).
niues ut Eurus soluit aut tepidus Notus,
quas uere primo lucidus perdit Mimas, 730
utque euolutos frangit Ionio salo
opposita fluctus Leucas et lassus tumor
in litore ipso spumat, aut caelestibus
aspersa tepidis tura laxantur focis,
sic languet omne uellus et perdit comas. 735

Hyllus now enters to describe the fatal event; there are sharp differences between the two plays. In Sophocles, both Hyllus and Heracles are fully aware that Deianira is to blame, and duly blame her; in the Latin play, although Hyllus speaks of 'your garment' ('ueste tunc fulgens tua', 788), neither he nor Hercules makes the connection. In the one he speaks as Heracles' son, albeit as the son of the finest man on earth, whose like Deianira will not see again (811–12); in the other he is concerned for the whole world's loss ('commune terris omnibus pateris malum'), for himself not till

[83] For a similar confusion in the Nurse's first speech see Friedrich 1954: 52–60; Rozelaar's defence (1985: 1353–61) requires *exilit* (v. 242) to mean *stat iam iam exultura* (that it means 'leaps up' not 'leaps out', cf. Friedrich 1954: 55 'auffährt', Rozelaar 1985: 1353 'aufspringt' makes no difference, *pace* Nisbet 1987: 249 n. 38 = 1995: 209 n. 38). Rozelaar, moreover, curiously takes vv. 233–6 to mean that Iole as well as Deianira is raging.

[84] Dobree was right to delete this verse, but the Roman poet had read it; see *HO* 726.

1426. In the former play, Heracles' first reaction is to turn on Lichas in anger and kill him in rage, by throwing him against a rock; in the latter he cries out and weeps, but Lichas has already died of terror when Hercules reaches him, giving the hero time to reflect that his being the cause of Lichas' death is a *clades* besides Lichas' being the cause of his (814–15). After discarding the corpse, he declares that madness has not taken away his wits: the evil is far worse, that he wishes to rage against himself (823–5). This means trying to tear off the adhesive shirt; but beneath the icing of Silver paradox one detects the Stoic unable to control his immediate reaction to φαντασίαι, but free to withhold his συγκατάθεσις from them by rational judgement of what is evil and what is not.[85] Whether this ethical substructure improves the play we need not here consider, but there is no question of his begging his son to kill him as in Sophocles; the weakness that Hyllus relates is purely physical.

Sophocles' Deianira does not dispel Hyllus' assumption that she intended to kill her husband, but departs to commit suicide; only then, when fetched by the nurse too late to save her, does he realize that ἄκουσα πρὸς τοῦ θηρὸς ἔρξειεν τάδε (935). The Latin poet makes her stay to rant about the best-merited mode of her death even as earlier about that most condign for Hercules; the contrast between reason and passion is portrayed anew. Both the nurse and Hyllus try to dissuade her, on the grounds that she is not at fault: 'haut est nocens quicumque non sponte est nocens' says the one (886), 'error a culpa uacat' the other (983). This reasoning does not convince her; she runs off to kill herself, and Hyllus to restrain her, having canvassed the conflicting claims of *pietas*.[86]

In comes the dying demigod, in Sophocles borne by others fast asleep with a doctor-like Old Man in attendance, in the Roman play on his own two feet. He is not exactly calm, bidding Jupiter bury him beneath the ruins of the world he will no longer be able to protect, but it is the consequence of his death, not the immediacy of his pain, that moves him; as the Chorus comments,

Viden ut laudis conscia uirtus 1207
non Lethaeos horreat amnes?

[85] See Gellius 19. 1, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 113. 18.

[86] Compare Jocasta's equally fruitless consolation 'Fati ista culpa est: nemo fit fato nocens' (*Oed.* 1019).

His long speech, interrupted by comments from the Chorus, adapts themes from the Sophoclean ῥῆσις, though not his appeal to Hyllus to bring out his mother that he may punish her. Instead, as Heinsius complains, while engaged on the disagreeable business of tearing himself limb from limb he delivers over three hundred verses full of such stuff as hardly an idle school-declaimer would have spouted. He describes the spread of the poison almost as if he himself were the doctor describing the progress of a patient's disease:

> Eheu, quis intus scorpius, quis feruida
> plaga reuulsus cancer infixus meas
> urit medullas? sanguinis quondam capax 1220
> tumidi uigor pulmonis arentes fibras
> distendit, ardet felle siccato iecur
> totumque lentus sanguinem auexit uapor.
> primam cutem consumpsit, hic aditum nefas
> in membra fecit, abstulit pestis latus, 1225
> exedit artus penitus et totas malum
> hausit medullas: ossibus uacuis sedet;
> nec ossa durant ipsa, sed compagibus
> discussa ruptis mole conlapsa fluunt,
> defecit ingens corpus et pesti satis 1230
> Herculea non sunt membra—pro, quantum est malum
> quod esse uastum fateor, o dirum nefas!

Only in these last words does he react, and even then it is with a second-order reaction commenting on a proposition that the facts have wrung from him. He is ashamed to weep (1265–77), as he was in Sophocles (1070–5); but now the fit strikes that makes him wish for instant death. We have seen how Sophocles' verses were watered down by Cicero; but all this poet gives us is (1277–8):

> urit ecce iterum fibras,
> incaluit ardor: unde nunc fulmen mihi?

The Sophoclean Heracles had sought a last meeting with his mother, but she was away in Tiryns; she was rightly left out, remarks Heinsius, for what could she say? In the Latin play she arrives unbidden: she completely fails to understand, telling Hercules not to cry and not to die; perhaps he has not been poisoned, but is simply worn out from his labours. In England she would make him a nice cup of tea. Only now does he sleep; Hyllus enters to announce his mother's death in three words, 'nurus Tonantis occidit', belatedly blaming her for his father's ruin.

> Pro lux acerba, pro capax scelerum dies!
> nurus Tonantis occidit, natus iacet, 1420
> nepos supersum; scelere materno hic perit,[87]
> fraude illa capta est.

Hercules awakes from a vision of his heavenly afterlife, and in his half-conscious state raves of killing Deianira; on learning she is dead, as in *Trachiniae* he recalls the prophecy of death at a dead man's hands and bids Hyllus arrange his funeral and marry Iole. In the Greek play the youth shows reluctance in both cases, but this is Rome; there is no question of his not obeying his father, even to save the poet some embarrassment: whereas Sophocles could let Heracles spare Hyllus the actual lighting of the fire, relying on the audience to know that Philoctetes would perform the task—

> *Υλ.* καὶ πῶς ὑπαίθων σῶμ' ἂν ἰῴμην τὸ σόν; 1210
> *Ηρ.* ἀλλ' εἰ φοβῆι πρὸς τοῦτο, τἄλλά γ' εἰργάσαι.

—in the Roman play he must without explanation address his command not to Hyllus but to Philoctetes, who turns up from nowhere in the text:

> tu, genus Poeantium, 1485
> hoc triste nobis, iuuenis, officium appara:
> Herculea totum flamma succendat diem.

Having done so, however, Philoctetes can now report on that happy ending which Sophocles had suppressed because it would trivialize the hero's sufferings, but which here is the moment that Hercules has been waiting for, when he will finally take his rightful place in heaven.[88] At one moment, indeed, he declares that Jupiter's hand will be forced:

[87] 'Materno' = 'my mother's', not 'his own mother's', but said without guile in Alcmene's presence it is dramaturgically inept.

[88] The fire on Mt. Oeta made Heracles divine, by consuming his human element and releasing the divine, as at *HO* 1966–8; so Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9. 250–3, 262–5; Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 7; note too the allusion at Plautus, *Rudens* 767, cf. Housman 1918: 163 = 1972: iii. 960–1. Other writers simply record that he was immortalized by the fire (DS 4. 38. 5, [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2. 7. 7, Hyg. *Fab.* 36, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22. 7).

nube discussa diem
pande, ut deorum coetus ardentem Herculem
spectet; licet tu sidera et mundum neges
ultro, pater, cogere. 1710

The language as well as the theme is taken from *Hercules furens* 961–9, where it suited the raving Hercules:

en ultro uocat
omnis deorum coetus et laxat fores,
una uetante. recipis et reseras polum?
an contumacis ianuam mundi traho?
dubitatur etiam? uincla Saturno exuam 965
contraque patris impii regnum impotens
auum resoluam; bella Titanes parent,
me duce furentes; saxa cum siluis feram
rapiamque dextra plena Centauris iuga.

A similar discourse will suit Marlowe's Tamburlaine,[89] who until this moment has turned poetic exaggeration into fact (*II Tamburlaine*, v. ii. 46–63):[90]

Techelles and the rest, come take your swords,
And threaten him whose hand afflicts my soul,
Come let vs march against the powers of heauen,
And set blacke streamers in the firmament,
To signifie the slaughter of the Gods. 50
Ah friends, what shal I doe? I cannot stand,
Come carie me to war against the Gods,
That thus inuie the health of *Tamburlaine.*
THERIDAMAS. Ah good my Lord, leaue these impatient words,
Which ad much danger to your malladie. 55
TAMBURLAINE. Why shal I sit and languish in this paine?
No, strike the drums, and in reuenge of this,
Come let vs chardge our speares and pierce his breast,
Whose shoulders beare the Axis of the world,

[89] Cf. Boyle 1997: 169–70.

[90] Throughout the two *Tamburlaine* plays we find such passages as *I Tamb.* I. ii. 209–12:

THER. Not *Hermes* Prolocutor to the Gods,
Could vse perswasions more patheticall.
TAM. Nor are *Apollos* Oracles more true,
Then thou shalt find my vaunts substantiall. ['Then' = 'than']

These expressions are to be understood, within the theatre, as no more than the truth; the plays are infused with the spirit of *plus ultra.*

That if I perish, heauen and earth may fade. 60
Theridamas, haste to the court of *Ioue,*
Will him to send *Apollo* hether straight,
To cure me, or Ile fetch him downe my selfe.

The end of our play, as we shall see, suggests that a like extravagance is intended here. Yet Hercules' next verses imply a purely moral compulsion: this ordeal will establish his worthiness to be a god:

si uoces dolor 1710
abstulerit ullas, pande tunc Stygios lacus
et redde fatis; approba natum prius:
ut dignus astris uidear, hic faciet dies.
leue est quod actum est; Herculem hic, genitor, dies
inueniet aut damnabit.

It would be dangerous to insist that the narrative of Hercules' apotheosis on Oeta must have been inspired by that of Oedipus' heroization at Colonus; but at all events it is clear enough to the reader that this *is* an apotheosis, though not to Alcmene, who, having already let the side down by weeping, now enters to show that she still doesn't get it; considering the characters of Deianira and Alcmene, the pair of them all feeling and no brains, I commend this play to feminist critics as a model of misogyny. However, her obtuseness is required dramaturgically so that the poet may let Hercules appear *ex machina* to announce that his *uirtus* has been rewarded; the chorus, which ends this play and *Octauia* but no other in the corpus, duly points the moral, 'Renowned virtue is never borne to the shades of Styx', and so on and so forth.

Numquam Stygias fertur ad umbras
inclita uirtus: uiuite fortes
nec Lethaeos saeua per amnes 1985*a*
uos fata trahent, 1985*b*
sed cum summas exiget horas
consumpta dies,
iter ad superos gloria pandet.

And if the final invocation of a Hercules who surpasses his father is, as is urged on behalf of authenticity, a marker put down by Seneca himself for posthumous vengeance against Nero,[91] then the great

[91] Nisbet 1987: 250 = 1995: 211.

philosopher was no longer himself, but was Pseudo-Seneca no less than the imitator to whom the sceptics ascribe the play:

> Sed tu, domitor magne ferarum
> orbisque simul pacator, ades: 1990
> nunc quoque nostras aspice terras,
> et si qua nouo belua uultu
> quatiet populos terrore graui,
> tu fulminibus frange trisulcis:
> fortius ipso genitore tuo 1995
> fulmina mitte.

For all its glaring faults the work may appeal to those who, acknowledging with Schiller's Narbonne that justice exists only on the stage,[92] are all the more determined to see it there. If Hercules had occasionally let the pain of poison get the better of his *uirtus*, he puts such lapses behind him by his unflinching endurance of the self-chosen pain of fire; he might almost be a Christian atoning for his sins by bravely facing martyrdom.

We do not expect such moral simplicity from Sophocles; and therein lies our lesson, not only from this play, but from Romans' responses to our poet overall. They were not insensitive to the beauty of his language, and could find plenty in him that was to their taste; but there is a moral realism in his human portraiture that some found disturbing. From what these Romans did, no less than what they said, we have ascertained the things they did not admire in Sophocles, and perhaps have recognized all the more keenly that we do.

APPENDIX: Daniel Heinsius on *Heracles Oetaeus*

[335] Tragoedia, quam ex Sophoclis Trachinijs adumbravit autor. Chorus primus est Oechalidum captivarum: reliqui Trachiniarum. Scene Sophoclis est Trachine. Hercules enim ex Euboea advehitur. Hic, primo scena in Euboea statuitur. Vnde Hercules ad Cenaeum promontorium pergit. Haec enim dicit προλογίζων,

[92] The curtain-line of *Der Parasit*: 'die Gerechtigkeit ist nur auf der Bühne'. Not found in the model, Louis-Benoît Picard's *Médiocre et rampant, ou le moyen de parvenir*.

> —*vos pecus rapite ocyus*
> *Qua templa tollens ara Cenaei Iovis*
> *Austro timendum spectat Euboicum mare.* [101–3]

Sed et sequens chorus est ibidem. Ibi enim ista habes:

> *Stamus nunc patriae moenibus, heic locus*
> *Et sylvis dabitur.* [122–3]

Item paulo post:

> *Ad Trachina vocor, saxa rigentia,*
> *Et dumeta iugis horrida torridis,*
> *Vix gratum pecori montivago nemus.* [135–7]

Reliqua Trachine fiunt: nisi quae δι' ἐπαγγελίας narrantur. Ἀνοικονομησία summa est. Hyllus ex Euboea venit in Thessaliam, Trachina vsque; et quae Herculi sacrificanti in Cenaeo promontorio evenerint, refert. Cum in ipso constitutionis principio, nondum sacrificaret, ac ne in loco quidem esset Hercules. Cogita iam, quantum sit iter ex Euboea Trachina vsque, quae sub Oeta est. Sed praeclare nos ludit. Nam cum Herculem in Euboeam primo posuerit, tamen in Oeta comburit, et tribus tantum versibus advectum [336] fuisse indicat.[93] Quod quidem iter semel vt conficiatur, triplo majore opus est tempore, quam Tragoediae est ambitus. Ideoque multum refert, qualem tibi fabulam sumas. Quaedam enim ipse Sophocles evadere non potuit. Quippe aliud est vitium τῆς ὕλης quod est in subiecto: aliud peccatum poetae, quod in constitutione est. Apud Graecum, semel in dolore Herculi tribuitur ῥῆσις prolixa: cujus divinitas omnem poeticum conatum excedit. Idque non nisi in fine. Hic Iovis ille filius, membra dum dilaniat sua, trecentos et amplius versus declamat. Et in occupatione tam molesta, multa dicit quae vix ociosus declamator in schola effunderet. Graeci oratio, tota est frugalis, sobria, casta, et quae ne levissimam quidem περιεργίας suspicionem admittit. Hic non modo plurima redundant, sed et saepe repetuntur. Sensus praesertim vsque ad nauseam. Deianirae à Graeco mores tribuuntur matronales. Hic perpetuo furit. Itaque cum saepe mortem marito esset minata, post tot minas, amoris remedium mittit. Postea nuncio accepto, plane dissimilis est sui: graviora enim optaverat. Et tamen mortem sibi infert. Ergo nota τὸ ἀνώμαλον τοῦ ἤθους, quod Euripides quoque in Iphigenia in Aulide manifeste commisit. Sicut supremus doctor Aristoteles vere observat.[94] Caeterum hoc non est ferendum, quod tale ἦθος tribuit Deianirae, quo τὸ πάθος vniversi dramatos evertitur. Nam dum furit, inter alia haec illi excidunt,

[93] vv. 839–41: 'Nunc puppis illum litore Euboico refert | Austerque lenis pondus Herculeum rapit; | destituit animus membra, nox oculos premit.'

[94] *Poet.* 1454ᵃ31–3.

Maximum fieri scelus, [330]
Et ipsa fateor: sed dolor fieri iubet.

Ac deinde fatetur, se de morte mariti cogitare:

—*quid stupes segnis furor?*
Scelus occupandum est. perge dum fervet manus. [435: *perage* Peiper]
NVT. *Perimes maritum?*
DE. Pellicis certe meae.

Deinde fatetur, vestem quam mittit, malum esse.

Altrix, fatebor: Nessus est autor mali. [491]

Quanto apud Graecum divinius. Primo enim negat se irasci viro posse, sed dolere iniuriam ab ipso sibi factam, quod in aedes, quasi donum aliquod, pellicem sibi [337] miserit, secundo iterum testatur, detestari se non tantum omne scelus sed et scelestos:

Κακὰς δὲ τόλμας μήτ' ἐπισταίμην ἐγώ, [582]
Μήτ' ἐκμάθοιμι, τάς τε τολμώσας στυγῶ.

Tertio, postquam misit, pauet, trepidat, pallet, ne quid se indignum fecerit. Digna igitur commiseratione, et cum luget et cum moritur. Alter vero dat operam, vt commiseratione Deianira frustraretur, ipse in Tragoedia excideret. Nam aut omnia falsa sunt, quae sub initium dicuntur Ethicorum tertij, aut nemo dignus est commiseratione qui et sponte et libenter improbe agit. Cum hanc nullae actiones moveant, praeter improbas, quae proprio cum damno fiant. *καὶ γὰρ τὰς μὲν ἑκουσίως γινομένας ἀγαθὰς ἐπαινοῦμεν, τὰς δὲ ἑκουσίως πονηρὰς ψέγομεν· τὰς δὲ ἀκουσίως πονηρὰς οὐ ψέγομεν, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης ἀξιοῦμεν, τὰς δὲ ἀκουσίως καὶ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ποιούντων γινομένας, ἐλέου ἀξίας ἡγούμεθα,* ait praeclarus ibi autor.[95] Iam ex machina dissolvit drama, in qua nulla est *ἀμηχανία*. Nihil enim opus erat matris causa apparere Herculem, cum per se soluta esset actio. Et hanc partem non desumpsit e Trachiniis, in qua ante mortem Hercules quaecunque agenda sunt absolvit, sed e Philoctete eiusdem. In qua plane ad machinam eundum erat, cum non posset ope humana flecti Philoctetes. Ideo apparet ille, et hunc nodum secat. Alcmenae personam optime omisit Graecus. Nam quae verba digna inveniri poterant? Hic

[95] i.e. the unknown paraphrast whose work Heinsius had edited first as *Aristotelis Ethicorum Nicomacheorum Paraphrasis* (Leiden, 1607; this passage in Greek i. 72, in Latin ii. 88), then as *Andronici Rhodii Ethicorum Nicomacheorum Paraphrasis* (Leiden, 1617; this passage pp. 119–20), and Gustav Heylbut re-edited as *Heliodori Prusensis in ethica Nicomachea paraphrasis* (CCAG 19/2; Berlin 1889; this passage p. 41, ll. 19–22). This fictitious compatriot of Dio was foisted on the text by Constantine Palaeocappa (Cohn 1889); the text itself existed by 26 Nov. AM 6875 = AD 1386, when the monk Joasaph, formerly the emperor John VI, paid to have it copied.

vbique sublimitatem quaesivit. Et vix drama invenias, quod aeque assurgeret, nisi tumeret. Passim tamen multa occurrunt, quae sublimitatis *φαντασίαν* habent. Neque raro sententiae, nihil minus quam humiles, affectatione acuminis exarescunt. Sermo arguit, longe post reliquas scriptam, quae in corpore isto extant. Multa *ἰδιωτικά*, indigna Seneca vtroque,[96] et nihil minus quam Latina, occurrunt, sicut infra prolixe probamus.

REFERENCES

ARICÒ, GIUSEPPE (1987), 'Analecta Scaenica', *Filologia e forme letterarie: studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte*, 5 vols. (Urbino), i. 201–12.

BENTLEY, RICHARD (1883), *Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æsop*, ed. Wilhelm Wagner (London).

BOYLE, A. J. (1997), *Tragic Seneca: An Essay in the Theatrical Tradition* (London).

BRECHT, BERTHOLD (1957), *Schriften zum Theater: Über eine nicht-aristotelische Dramatik*, ed. Siegfried Unseld (Frankfurt am Main).

COHN, LEOPOLD (1889), 'Heliodorus von Prusa, eine Erfindung Paläokappas', *BPhW* 9/45: (9 Nov.): 1419–20.

CURLEY, DANIEL (1997), 'Ovid, *Met.* 6. 640: A Dialogue between Mother and Son', *CQ*^{2} 47: 320–2.

D'ANTÒ, VINCENZO (1980), *L. Accio: i frammenti delle tragedie* (Lecce).

DECEMBRIO, ANGELO (1462), *De politia litteraria* = MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1794.

—— (1540), *De politia litteraria* (Augsburg).

DIONISOTTI, A. C. (1982), 'From Ausonius' Schooldays? A Schoolbook and its Relatives', *JRS* 72: 83–12.

ERBSE, HARTMUT (1993), 'Sophokles über die geistige Blindheit des Menschen', *ICS* 18: 5–71.

ERNESTI, J. CHR. THEOPH. [= G.] (1795), *Lexicon technologiae Graecorum rhetoricae* (Leipzig).

—— (1797), *Lexicon technologiae Latinorum rhetoricae* (Leipzig).

FONTANE, THEODOR (1954), *Briefe an Georg Friedlaender*, ed. Kurt Schreinert (Heidelberg).

FRIEDRICH, WOLF H. (1954), 'Sprache und Stil des Hercules Oetaeus', *Hermes* 82: 51–84.

GOLDBERG, SANDER (1995), *Epic in Republican Rome* (New York).

GOTTSCHED, J. C., *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, 4th edn. (Leipzig).

[96] Heinsius assigned only *Medea*, *Troades*, and *Phaedra* to Lucius, *Thyestes*, *Oedipus*, *Agamemnon*, and *Hercules furens* to Marcus, and the other plays to unknown poets.

Griffin, Jasper (1984), 'Augustus and the Poets: "Caesar qui cogere posset"', in Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford), 189–218.

Heinsius, Daniel (1611), 'Danielis Heinsii in L. et M. Annaei Senecae ac reliquorum quae extant tragoedias animadversiones et notae', in *L. Annaei Senecae et aliorum tragoediae serio emendatae, cum Iosephi Scaligeri, nunc primum ex autographo auctoris editis, et Danielis Heinsii Animadversionibus et Notis* (Leiden, 1611), pp. 483–584.

——(1621), 'Animadversiones et Notae; Emendatiores et auctiores denuo editae', in *L. Annaeus Seneca, Tragicus*, ed. Petrus Scriverius (Leiden), 277–348 of second sequence.

Holford-Strevens, Leofranc (1988), *Aulus Gellius* (London).

——(1995), review of *L. Ampelius: Aide-mémoire (Liber memorialis)*, ed. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet (Paris, 1993), in *Gnomon*, 67: 600–4.

Horsfall, Nicholas (1995), *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (Leiden).

Housman, A. E. (1918), 'Jests of Plautus, Cicero, and Trimalchio', *CR* 32: 162–4.

——(1972), *Classical Papers*, ed. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, 3 vols. (Cambridge).

Jebb, R. C. (1907), *Life and Letters of Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, O.M., Litt.D., by his wife Caroline Jebb* (Cambridge).

Jocelyn, H. D. (1967), *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge).

Johnson, Samuel (1968), *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vii–viii: *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Arthur Sherbo (New Haven).

Knight, W. F. Jackson (1949), *Roman Vergil*, 2nd edn. (London).

König, Annemarie (1970), *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie: Studien zur imitatio-Technik Vergils* (Inaugural-Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin).

Larmour, D. H. J. (1991), 'Tragic *Contaminatio* in Ovid's Metamorphoses: Procne and Medea; Philomela and Iphigeneia (6. 424–674); Scylla and Phaedra (8. 19–151)', *ICS* 15: 131–41.

Lefkowitz, Mary R. (1981), *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London).

Leo, Friedrich (1913), *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Berlin).

Lloyd-Jones, Hugh (1972), 'Tycho von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on the Dramatic Technique of Sophocles', *CQ*[2] 22: 214–28.

——(1990*a*), *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Oxford).

——and Wilson, N. G. (1990): *Sophoclea: Studies on the Text of Sophocles* (Oxford).

————(1997), *Sophocles: Second Thoughts* (Hypomnemata, 100: Göttingen).

Morel, Willy (1927), 'Zu griechischen Dichtern und zu Xenophon', *PhW* 47: 636–8.

Nabokov, Vladimir (1964), *Pushkin: Eugene Onegin*, 4 vols. (Princeton and London).

Nisbet, R. G. M. (1987), 'The Oak and the Axe: Symbolism in Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 1618 ff.', in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. Michael Whitby, Philip Hardie, and Mary Whitby (Bristol), 243–51.

——(1995), *Collected Papers on Latin Literature*, ed. S. J. Harrison (Oxford).

Palmer, Arthur (1898), *P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroides* (Oxford; repr. Hildesheim, 1967).

Popper, K. R. (1966), *The Open Society and its Enemies*, 5th edn., 2 vols. (London).

Radt, S. L. (1980), 'Noch einmal Aischylos, Niobe Fr. 162 N[2] (278 M.)', *ZPE* 38: 47–58.

Ribbeck, Otto (1875), *Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik* (Leipzig).

Rozelaar, Marc (1976), *Seneca: Eine Gesamtdarstellung* (Amsterdam).

——(1985), 'Neue Studien zur Tragödie "Hercules Oetaeus"', *ANRW* II 32. 2. 1348–1419.

Sconocchia, Sergio (1972), 'L'*Antigona* di Accio e l'*Antigone* di Sofocle', *RFIC*[2] 100: 277–82.

Töchterle, Karlheinz (1994), *Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Oedipus: Kommentar mit Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung* (Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern; Heidelberg).

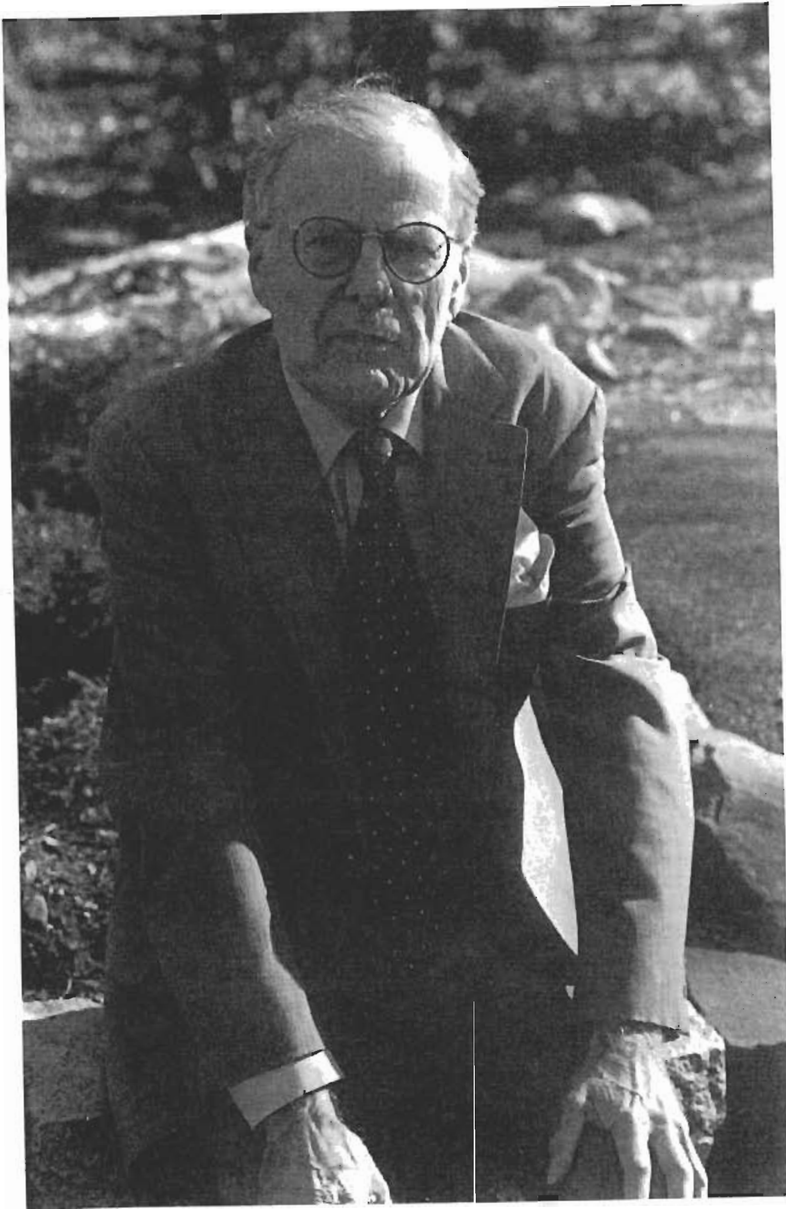
West, M. L. (1978), 'Tragica II', *BICS* 25: 106–22.

Whitfield, J. H. (1988), '*Momus* and the Language of Irony', in Peter Hainsworth *et al.* (eds.), *The Languages of Literature in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford), 31–43.

Winnington-Ingram, R. P. (1980), *Sophocles: An Interpretation* (Cambridge).

Zwierlein, Otto (1986), *Kritischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien Senecas* (AAWM 1986, no. 6; Mainz).

——(1987), *Senecas Phaedra und ihre Vorbilder* (AAWM 1987, no. 5; Mainz).



SIR HUGH LLOYD-JONES

Sophocles Revisited

Essays Presented to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones

Edited by
JASPER GRIFFIN

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS