15: Literature in the Roman Republic

Elaine Fantham

By the chronology of Varro, the greatest scholar of the Ciceronian and Augustan age, Rome's Republic was 250 years old, and the city itself more than 500, before the first literary event in its history. Until the third century B.C., Romans seem to have used stylized language only for the formulae of religion and the law, and literacy was probably limited to the tiny elite who provided the city's priests, legal experts, and politicians. Thus, when literature in the sense of formal texts was publicly welcomed at Rome in 240 B.C., it took the form of plays translated from Greek originals, adapted by Livius Andronicus, a Greek from South Italy; drama could be enjoyed by a largely illiterate audience and Livius's epic adaptation (and perhaps abridgment) of the *Odyssey* could be taught to children or recited to private or larger public audiences.

But this unquestionable statement is based on accessible public records of publicly sponsored performances, and the outline given by Cicero of the subsequent development of literature is determined by these limits, and further shaped by a natural Roman urge to model their national culture on the respected pattern of Greek literary history: as Goldberg[1] has shown, Cicero shaped for posterity a picture that omitted any less official occasion of performance. Gathering textual and material evidence over the past fifteen years,[2] Wiseman has filled in for students of early Rome the stage entertainments that must have been offered informally in districts and villages throughout the year before and besides the official games – Atellane farces and mimes (fantastic or melodramatic sketches based not on a libretto but on a scenario enhanced by the performers' song and dance routines). As Wiseman demonstrates, fourth-century B.C. bronze mirrors and chests represented not only scenes from Roman myth, like the finding of Romulus and

his twin, but staged performances of these tales: stories about Liber (Dionysus) and his entourage of Silenus, Satyrs and Maenads. In 2005, Denis Feeney's epoch-making discussion, "The Beginnings of a Literature in Latin,"[3] reexamined the traditional Roman account of their early literature and showed how deference to Greek literary history has distorted Roman portrayal of their own literary achievements.

Two years after the victory games of 240 B.C., Roman aediles used the income from fines to construct a temple of Flora and present public games in her honor. Did these involve mimes? Certainly the annual *Floralia* established in 173 B.C. after a lapse of seventy-five years staged mimes with female performers half-dressed or undressed, whose popularity must have detracted from Terence's straight Greek-style comedy and helped kill the genre.

Despite this delayed flowering, drama and epic developed rapidly at Rome. Before the Republic degenerated into autocracy, poetry, oratory, and expository prose reached a level of achievement equal to the acknowledged greatness of Augustan literature. By 35 B.C., Romans not only heard but also read Latin prose and verse in virtually every genre except the novel; all other literary forms were already represented in the society in which Virgil and Horace, the oldest major poets of the principate, became adult.

Because literacy was so limited,[4] there was a significant time lag between the generations of successful public poetry for mass audiences and the development of personal poetry under Hellenistic influence. Comedy faded after Terence, and tragedy failed with the death of Accius shortly after 90 B.C.; in turn, hexameter poetry expanded beyond epic to take on other material. Satire, first developed by Lucilius in the late second century B.C., was largely neglected for two generations, while epigram, lyric, iambi, and elegy waited until after 65 B.C. to be developed by Catullus and the neoterics. Although public oratory became prominent during the second century B.C., lacking only the practice of written record, genres of prose intended for private reading such as historiography, biography, and philosophy had not yet reached maturity when Cicero wrote works in the nonpolitical genre of philosophy in the years of Caesar's dictatorial power. Apart from the many-sided eloquence of Cato the Elder, orator, historian, and author of a practical manual on farming, no Latin prose has survived in any substantial form that was written or spoken before the time of Cicero, Caesar, and Varro. Yet both the variety and the fragmentary state of texts from the first 150 years of the Republic prevented even Friedrich Leo from carrying his great history of Roman literature beyond the age of Sulla.[5] Early

Roman poetry remains a field for specialists,[6] and most students meet only authors from the next generation, the age of Cicero and Caesar, Lucretius and Catullus.

Literary history is usually discussed in terms of the rise and fall of genres, and I shall try to follow their development without creating misleading discontinuities as a result of treating them in three slightly overlapping sections. These sections cover the extended age of public literature, drama and epic, to the death of Accius (*c.* 85 B.C.); the two generations of early personal poetry and memoirs, from Lucilius' satires (after 140 B.C.) to the death of Sulla (78 B.C.); and the last Republican generation, from Cicero's first surviving speech in 79 to the first works of history[7] preserved complete, namely the monographs written (in the late 40s B.C.) by Sallust, a contemporary of Catullus and a supporter of Caesar.

The Introduction of Literature into Roman Public Life

When Cicero looked back to the first landmarks of oratory at Rome in his *Brutus: On Distinguished Orators*, he made his starting point an excerpt from Ennius' historical epic praising the popular eloquence of a consul of 204 B.C. Cicero may have favored this text because it honored the power of an orator over the public, but this year also provided important synchronizations for the beginnings of Roman poetry and prose. As Cicero notes, in 204 B.C., Cato was quaestor and the poet Naevius died. Cicero gives death dates for other poets, like Plautus (184 B.C.), but only for Ennius does he offer both a date of birth (239 B.C.) and of death (169 B.C., after Ennius presented his last play, *Thyestes*). Confident of his own original genius, Ennius rewrote Roman literary history by claiming to be an inaugurator and denigrating the achievements of his predecessors.[8] Cicero, however, acknowledges the importance of the two poets who preceded Ennius, Naevius and Livius Andronicus, and goes back a year before Ennius' birth to Rome's earliest literary performance, of the first Latin adaptations of a Greek tragedy and comedy by Livius Andronicus for the victory games of 240 B.C.

Livius was a Greek from the theater-loving city of Tarentum, probably a prisoner of war from the first Roman capture of the city in 272 B.C., who lived as a teacher and perhaps as domestic translator in the noble household of the Livii and who gave public readings of Greek poets. He composed a Latin version of the *Odyssey* in the old

accentual Italian verse known as Saturnian, either to draw on the echoes of folk verse or simply because Greek dactylic verse was so difficult to reproduce in the heavy new language.[9] But when the magistrates commissioned Livius to adapt the Greek dramas, he actually composed them in a simplified version of Greek dramatic meters. Only a few lines survive of the epic and of the two dramas.

For the many who had no opportunity to learn to read, tragedies and comedies could ease the unfamiliar poetic diction with the pathos or humor of actors. Livius, who is said to have acted in his own plays, is last heard of as the poet commissioned to compose a thanksgiving hymn for the Roman people after the victory at the river Metaurus in 207 B.C.

Did the dramatic festivals continue to take place every year? Ennius' immediate predecessor, Naevius, produced his first adaptation of Greek drama in the 230s B.C., but there are not enough titles of tragedy or comedy from both Livius and Naevius together to have met regular demand over twenty years. The Campanian Naevius is a more vivid figure in Roman memory. More adventurous than Livius, he composed original plays on Roman themes and also his own Roman epic, the *Bellum Punicum*. Although this epic chronicled the First Punic War, a war in which he himself had fought, it included a flashback linking the Trojan legend of Aeneas with the foundation of Rome. Naevius opened in Homeric fashion, invoking the muses as "sisters nine, daughters of Jupiter" (*novem Iovis Concordes filiae sorores; Bellum Punicum*, ROL II 1). Fragments preserved by commentators on the *Aeneid* show that Naevius portrayed the flight of Aeneas and Anchises with their wives from Troy; he included sacred prophetic books used by Anchises, a magic ship made by Mercury for Aeneas, and a great sea storm off Africa. It is much less certain whether the person who gently questions Aeneas about his flight (ROL II 19–20) is Queen Dido, and it is unlikely that there was any romance between them. Like Livius, Naevius wrote epic in Saturnian meter, but he adapted Greek plays into simplified versions of Greek meters: iambic trimeters for dialogue and lyric meters for choral odes and monodies (solo song).[10] His tragic titles, such as *The Trojan Horse* and *Hector's Departure*, reflect knowledge of the *Iliad* and a strong identification with Rome's Trojan past. We can read Roman as well as Homeric values in Hector's "I am glad to be praised by you, father, a man himself praised" (*Trag.* 17), and in Naevius' lost national dramas on Romulus and the contemporary defeat of a Gallic chief in single combat by Marcellus at Clastidium.[11]

Livius Andronicus' Latinized Greek comedies were soon forgotten, but Naevius seems to have had a gift for comic description. One of the longest fragments to survive is a portrait of a Tarentine dancing girl seducing her male customers (*Com.* 74–79). Unlike Livius Andronicus, Naevius did not receive any official commissions. His patron Marcellus had already died ignominiously in an ambush (208 B.C.) when Naevius attacked the powerful Metelli in inopportune free speech. "We shall speak with free tongues at the games of Liber the liberator," he proclaimed, then added, "It is Rome's fate that the Metelli become consuls." The Metelli supposedly retorted in a verse threatening him with a thrashing and may have thrown him in prison. Another excerpt (*Com.* 69–71) seems to be a popular protest contrasting the licence enjoyed by comic slaves on stage with the suppression of free speech at Rome.

The epitaph attributed to Naevius claims that the Italic *Camenae* would mourn him because after his death "men at Rome forgot how to speak the Latin tongue" (ROL II 154). With Ennius, who was a speaker of Oscan, Greek, and Latin from Calabria, Hellenic education dictated a certain scorn for old-fashioned *Camenae* and a cultivation of the new role of *poeta* (Greek *Poiêtês*), devotee of the Muses on Olympus and successor of Homer. Ennius seems to have divided his poetic manifestos between Book 1 of his *Annales*, in which he dreamed that Homer appeared to him and hailed him as a reincarnation, and a programmatic introduction to Book 7, which belittled Naevius' Saturnian meter as the primitive meter of woodland spirits. In contrast, he claims to be the first *dicti studiosus* (Greek *philologos*) at Rome to ascend the Muses' crags, a man versed in *sapientia* (Greek *sophia*) who now dared to open up the springs of new inspiration.[12] Certainly he enriched Latin epic with a vocabulary that gave dignity and power to his Greek-style quantitative hexameters. Without his *Annales*, there could have been no Roman epic, at least until a poet of equal pride, innovative genius, and erudition had appeared, one who could have made the breakthrough that can be recognized even in Ennius' fragments, the "fractured limbs of a poet" honored by Horace.[13]

It is generally assumed that Ennius did not begin writing until at least a decade after the Hannibalic War, since surviving excerpts relating to the war are quoted from Books 8 and 9, roughly in the middle of the fifteen originally intended. This would have left six further books to cover the contemporary wars against Macedon and Antiochus of Syria, but the plan must have been open-ended, as he later added three more.

Like Naevius, he saw no problem in treating modern engagements like those glamorized by history.

Even in Cicero's time, knowledge of Ennius' *Annales* was uneven. Roman sentiment cherished his tale of Rome's foundation more than any other sequence, although Pyrrhus' invasion of Italy and the struggle with Carthage also kept a hold on the national imagination. Ennius' artistry can best be conveyed by considering what survives of his narrative of the life and death of Romulus. First he presents the mysterious dream of Ilia, daughter of Aeneas, which Ennius is now thought to have substituted for a direct account of her rape by Mars. She is weeping and terrified by her nightmare:

> Child of Eurydice, whom our father loved, strength and life are now ebbing from all my body. For a handsome man seemed to ravish me through the pleasant willow thickets and river banks and strange places. So after that, dear sister, I seemed to wander slowly tracking and seeking you, yet not able to grasp you in my breast: no path directed my foot. Then my father seemed to call me in these words: 'my daughter, you must first suffer hardships, then good fortune will return to you from the river.' When he had spoken, sister, my father suddenly withdrew and did not let me see him, though I longed for him, and I stretched out my hands to the blue temples of heaven, weeping and calling him in a loving voice. My dream has barely left me, sick at heart. (*Annales* 1.36–50 Skutsch = ROL I 36–50)

When the twins are exposed to die by the Tiber, Ennius conveys the approach of the she-wolf with bouncing alliteration: *campum celeri passu permensa parumper* ("sweeping the ground with loping step"; 67 Sk. = ROL I 72–4). He also includes a Homeric council of the gods at which Jupiter grants Mars immortality for his son.

But the most powerful set piece describes the ceremony at the foundation of the city (72–91 Sk. = ROL 80–100). The competing twins take up augural positions at nightfall on two peaks of the Aventine, there to await the sunrise. The poet increases tension by evoking the anxiety of the future Roman people, their audience, and comparing it to the excitement of a contemporary crowd at the start of a chariot race in the nearby Circus Maximus. He will infuse the same pathos and suspense into Romulus' final disappearance, evoking the people's longing as they lament: "O Romulus, godlike Romulus, what a guardian the gods

begot in you for our country. O father, O begetter, O blood born of the gods. It was you who brought us forth into the light of day" (105–9 Sk. = ROL I 118–21). Later they are comforted with the message that "Romulus is now passing eternity with the gods who begot him."

It would be misleading to neglect Ennius' account of his own times; even in the later books he exploits divine and infernal intervention, such as that of his unforgettable spirit of discord, "the woman clad in warrior's cloak of hellish body, mixed of rain and fire, air and heavy earth" who "breaks down the iron doorposts of war" (220–21 Sk. = ROL I 260–1). The poet adapts Homeric vignettes of heroes in battle, the felling of forests, storms, and a divine intervention recalled by Virgil: "Now Jupiter smiled and all the sunlit breezes, smiled with the smile of almighty Jupiter."[14]

Ennius does not neglect politics. He celebrates Fabius Cunctator, who "restored the state of Rome single-handedly by his skillful delaying; he in no way put gossip ahead of our survival" (363–4 Sk. = ROL I 360–61), and he gives eloquent speeches to Pyrrhus and Appius Claudius (183–90, 199–200 Sk. = ROL I 186–93, 194–5). A long description of a general's confidential associate (268–86 Sk. = ROL I 210–27) may be a self-portrait, though it cannot be surely assigned to any context. Ennius is perhaps the first man and artist that we feel we know in Roman literary history,[15] but scholars have been distracted by his poetic claims of a Hesiodic or Callimachean encounter with the muses and his dream of being a second Homer, and we have failed to celebrate his narrative power and to acknowledge his continued presence in both Lucretius and in Virgilian epic.

Ennius also wrote a national drama, *Sabinae*, about the Sabine women reconciling their Roman husbands with their fathers, and more than twenty tragedies, many adapted from Euripides. Enough survives of his *Medea* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* to show that he could both stay close to his Greek model and deviate from it. Thus the opening of his *Medea* actually "corrects" the nurse's outcry in Euripides by restoring the chronological order to her bitter recall of the launching of the Argo. And though his lines can usually be identified with the text of Euripides, Ennius may change tone or thought, converting Medea's apology to the Corinthian women for appearing in public outside her home into an excuse for being a foreign exile. In *Iphigenia* he introduces a soldiers' chorus and uses it to voice reflections on the evil of idleness drawn from a different tragedy – Sophocles' *Iphigenia*. The pathos of Ilia's dream is matched by the almost operatic laments of Andromache and excerpts from the mad scenes of Alcmaeon and Cassandra, quoted by

Cicero.[16] Ennius may have been greater as a poet than as a playwright, but he determined the direction of tragedy adopted by his nephew and successor Pacuvius and by the last serious tragic poet Accius.

Roman critical tradition distinguished Pacuvius for his learning and Accius for his lofty tone (Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.50). Certainly Pacuvius enriched Latin with new forms of abstract nouns and compound adjectives. He also had the erudition to choose unusual plots, often in romantic settings: several plays, like *Medus* and *Chryses*, extend the myths treated by his uncle Ennius or import new complications into the plots of his Greek models. He specialized in scenes of pathos, confused identity, and poignant recognition at the point of disaster, such as in *Antiope*, *Atalanta*, and *Iliona*. Accius, in contrast is more rhetorical, excelling in struggles for power like that portrayed in the *Armorum iudicium* (about the contest between Ajax and Odysseus for the arms of Achilles) or the revenge drama *Atreus*. This latter was his most famous play because of its grim curses and gruesome alliteration, as in

> *Iterum Thyestes Atreum adtrectatum advenit;*
> *iterum iam adgreditur me et quietum suscitat.*
> *Maior mihi moles, maius miscendumst malum,*
> *qui illius acerbum cor contundam et comprimam*

("again Thyestes approaches to attack Atreus; again he assails and rouses me when I am at peace. I must contrive a mightier mass, a greater grief, to crush and cramp his bitter heart" ROL II 163–6). Besides being renowned for his power to convey anger and hatred, Accius was much quoted for sayings like Atreus' "*Oderint dum metuant*" ("Let them hate me so long as they fear me"; ROL II 168). Some fifty years younger than Pacuvius, Accius produced plays between 130 and 86 B.C. He also earned a name for his critical writings on language and literary history.

Plautus and Terence

The twenty-one more or less complete comedies of Plautus[17] and the six of Terence invite more critical analysis than quotation, as texts and translations are easily available. Between them the productions of Plautus and Terence covered just over fifty years, from 211 B.C. (*Miles Gloriosus*) to Terence's last play *Adelphoe* in 160 B.C.

Plautus sometimes and Terence always acknowledge their Greek models, and Terence offers a partial description of his method of

adaptation in his prologues. In the nineteenth century, before any papyri of Menander were deciphered, scholars often approached the texts as mines from which to unearth traces of the lost Greek comedies. But the discovery of Menander's *Dyskolos* and scenes from several other plays has shown that Greek new comedies were not always as refined as later moralists suggested and that they varied considerably in level of decorum. The last act of *Dyskolos* is horseplay little different from the finale of Plautus' *Stichus* or *Persa*, and Plautus' *Casina*, based on an original by Diphilus, has enough violence in common with the scenes from Diphilus that Terence inserted into his version of Menander's *Adelphoe* to justify accepting the rowdy scenes in Plautus' *Rudens* as part of Diphilus' original Greek comedy.

Instead of excavating Plautus' text to recover the Greek originals, we have learned to explore and analyze the Roman elements and allusions that Plautus contributed, his verbal virtuosity, and his glorification of the slave (or parasite) intriguer. Interest has shifted away from the respectable, sex-free plays like *Captivi* and *Trinummus*, once favored for use in schools, toward plays of impersonation and cross-dressing like *Casina*, *Persa*, and *Bacchides*, which contain lively female roles, as well as other comedies that exploit metatheatrical humor and the intriguing slave as poetic creator.[18] The finest of these is *Pseudolus*, produced for the Megalesia of 191 B.C. and combining intrigue, improvisation, and disguise. It pits against each other the splendid exhibitionists Pseudolus and Ballio, each with their virtuoso arias, at the head of an all-male cast. As is typical for this genre, the intriguing slave and villainous pimp dominate the action, while the stern father is subordinated, and the young lover whose problems trigger the intrigue disappears from the end of the play; this play has no female roles.

The discovery of a papyrus from Menander's *Disexapaton*, the original of *Bacchides*, led to a new understanding of how Plautus could rework act divisions in his models,[19] and interest in multiculturalism and "the other" has caused scholars to restudy Plautus' *Poenulus*. Modern concern with slavery and gender has also brought new sociological approaches to Roman comedy.[20] There has also been renewed interest in Plautus' staging and his three levels of musical and metrical complexity: unaccompanied dialogue, highly rhythmic longer verse, and lyric solos and duets in multiple metres. The effect of combining these levels must have been like a modern musical or comic opera.[21]

Increasing knowledge of Greek new comedy has also made scholars more alert to Terence's techniques of adaptation and to the difference in tone between his more sedate comedies like *The Self-Tormentor* and

The Mother-in-Law and the more lively and farcical *Eunuch* and *Phormio*, featuring villainous soldiers, parasites, and pimps: even *The Brothers*, his last play, diluted its main theme, the moral outcome of lax or severe upbringing, with expanded slave comedy and scenes borrowed from a different Greek playwright. What flourished instead were sex farces exposing female dancers. But mime too lost popularity when the plays began to moralize and were couched in formal verse by Publilius Syrus and Decimus Laberius in the time of Caesar. To compose mimes was respectable; to perform in them brought demotion and social discredit on the writers.[22] Within a generation after the death of Caesar even mime was eclipsed by the public craze for the solo dancing of flamboyant pantomime from Alexandria and the Greek East – the equivalent of modern rock stars.

The Transition to Personal Prose and Poetry

Contemporary with Ennius, and briefly his patron, was Cato the Elder, consul, censor, and versatile author. He deserves our attention as the author of *Origines*, the first historical work in Latin, which traced the origins of Rome from the Trojan settlement to Latium and the growth of other Italian cities from their heroic foundations to his own time. Cato refused to record natural disasters and religious portents or to name successful generals, and his history, like his speeches, strongly reflects his own personality; he even included two of his policy speeches, both on Rome's relations with other peoples. The first (in Book 5) defended the Rhodians for attempting to arbitrate between Rome and Macedon in 167, when Rome was clearly winning, and in it Cato warned the Romans how unpopular their imperialism had become. The second (in Book 7) denounced a Roman commander before the assembly for massacring a Spanish tribe.[23] From a literary point of view, the motivation or truth of Cato's charges is unimportant. What matters is to find a Roman presenting his own political actions in written form for a reading audience. Unlike Cato's original speeches, historical writing was not based on an oral genre, and by publishing these speeches, Cato advertised himself and gave Roman oratory a written form. But though there were serious Latin historians in the next generation, the genre of memoirs would arise only in the early first century B.C., with the memoirs of Aemilius Scaurus and Rutilius Rufus.[24]

A far more significant innovation was the verse satire of Lucilius, a nonpolitical friend of Scipio Aemilianus and a member of his intellectual circle. Lucilius' *Satires* – personal reflections sometimes couched as letters, sometimes as anecdote, sometimes taking the form of literary and grammatical criticism – initiated a Roman genre that had no Greek model. Roman writers agree on the association of *Satura* with a medley; thus Lucilius' first satires were not hexameter poems like the *Satires* of Horace and his successors but composed in the dramatic meters of the tragedies that several fragments clearly parody. He also parodied the programmatic claims and Homeric forms of Ennian epic:[25] both the council of the gods committing his enemy Lentulus Lupus to Hades in Book 1 and the satirical report of Scaevola's prosecution of the Hellenizing Albucius in Book 2 show that Lucilius's later hexameter satires mixed political invective with literary and rhetorical parody. Lucilius claimed (ROL III 635) that he was not writing for learned men but for educated laymen and his tone generally resembles the cultured or relaxed conversation of a private party. And this should be imagined also as the setting of the first Latin erotic epigrams, quoted by Aulus Gellius from the circle of the philhellene Lutatius Catulus.[26] These poets in their different ways foreshadow Horatian satire and the hendecasyllables and short elegiac epigrams of Catullus.

The Last Generation of Republican Poets: Lucretius and Catullus

Around 60 B.C., Catullus and Lucretius emerge as great but antithetical poets. Though both are associated with the Epicurean politician Gaius Memmius (praetor 58 B.C.) as patron, there is no evidence that either poet knew the other and virtually no evidence at all for the life of Lucretius and the date of composition of his *De rerum natura*. A letter written by Cicero to his brother in 54 B.C. (Q. *Fr.* 2.10) praises the (presumably complete) poem for its inspiration and artistry, but most critics assume that Lucretius began work on his six books (of 8,000 lines) somewhat earlier than Catullus, whose datable poems can be grouped between 60 and 54 B.C. Lucretius was passionately committed to persuading his readers of the validity of Epicurus' teachings on physics and meteorology, on the interrelation of the human mind and body, and on the nature of human perception and behavior. Epicurus himself had dismissed mythology as nonsense and poetry as useless for, if not

obstructive to, understanding the atomic structure of the physical universe, and he had taught that the gods were perfect untroubled beings, unconcerned with rewarding human piety or punishing human sins. His goal was to school his followers in a serene life free of emotion, whereas Lucretius' great poem focuses on liberating men from fear of death or divine anger rather than on instilling a way of life. But even as he reiterated his admiration for the divine mind of Epicurus and his role as mankind's savior from error, Lucretius deliberately chose to compose his work in verse to charm his readers into concentrating on the complexities of the atomic theory and Epicurus' materialist explanation of perception. In his own imagery, men are like children who need to be persuaded to drink bitter medicine by the doctor's trick of smearing the cup with the honey of the Muses (1.936–50). Their childish fears must be cured before they can live properly (6.35–8), and his arguments establishing how men are born, have their physical and mental existence, and die are intended to save them from psychological anguish and allow them to achieve a life of serenity.

His strongest gesture of divergence from his own Epicurean professions comes immediately, in the splendid opening "Hymn to Venus," which not only celebrates the goddess as source of animal and human fertility but also depicts her as embracing Mars in a vivid visual image of their mythological lovemaking, then invokes her as a spirit of peace, begging her help in opposing the strife associated with Mars' domain of warfare. This scene from the famous Olympian adultery recounted in Demodocus' song in Book 8 of the *Odyssey* is usually treated by critics as allegory or as the embodiment of the Greek philosopher Empedocles' creative forces of love and strife, since the scene of divine love is followed by Lucretius' famous denunciation of *religio* as misconceived fear of the gods. This false religion drove Agamemnon to sacrifice his own daughter to appease Artemis: "so great a mass of woes did religion impose upon men" (1.101). Although Lucretius focuses his positive teaching on the material universe, his work contains a fierce satirical depiction of the recurring civil conflicts caused by Roman ambition and greed.

The carefully argued analysis of the nature of perception in Book 2 is followed by a detailed consideration of the human mind and heart. Scientific arguments for the mortality of the soul in Book 3 culminate in a section of direct address that sarcastically denounces the human folly of clinging to life, like greedy banqueters from love of material pleasure or superstitious fear of torment after death. In Book 4, a psychologically based analysis of dreams climaxes in the poet's most

bitter, almost abusive repudiation of *eros*, romantic love, as a destructive delusion. The sheer virulence of his descriptions of desire led to the myth that the poet had been maddened by a love philtre and had taken his own life. The resemblance between Lucretius' account of other men's passion and Catullus' obsessive description of his own enslavement to his Lesbia suggests that Roman wealth and leisure had brought the privileged classes of society a new emotional abandonment.

Readers are usually less familiar with the fifth and sixth books of the poem. After hymning the benefactions given to man by Epicurus, the poet explains the nature of wind and storm, and he outlines the development of human society under the positive pressure of desire and its progress in language, music, and the arts despite the destructive nature of war (5.925–1457). Here too readers have been shocked by a surreal passage imagining the horror of warfare if man had tamed wild beasts for combat in the battle line instead of fighting them (5.1308–40). In Book 6, as in Book 5, a relatively calm beginning leads to what seems to have been the planned end of Lucretius' poem, his version (6.1138–286) of Thucydides' Athenian plague narrative (2.47–54). The poet, like the historian, describes this as an evil so great it destroyed loyalty and cooperation within the family and society itself – a grim but unmistakable finale to this world poem.

I cannot convey here the paradoxical interplay of beauty and functionalism in Lucretian poetry; the poet had both to coin equivalents for Greek scientific concepts and to convey a complex nonintuitive argument, but despite the heaviness and at times prosaic nature of his verse, Lucretius honored poetry and presented himself as the successor to Homer and Ennius, with a theme (the superhuman transformation of nature) comparable to any heroic warfare. He saw the letters of the alphabet as elements giving meaning and beauty to language, just as the atoms themselves give shape and viability to "the nature of things," the whole world around us (2.1013–22). As a poet he exploited every kind of play on sound and sense to beguile the ears of his public-assonance, patterned repetition of emphatic words and phrases, vivid compound adjectives, and even more vivid images. Unfortunately, only some of this emerges in translation. Here is his praise for the heroic courage of Epicurus:

> A Greek mortal man first dared to raise his eyes and was first to confront this fear. Him neither the rumor of the gods nor their thunder nor the threatening rumble of heaven silenced, but aroused his fierce valour of spirit all the more, so that he

> longed to be first to break through the tight barriers of the gates. (1.66–71)

Translation can perhaps convey the imagery, if not the sound patterning, of his description of the coming of spring:

> But the shining grain rises up and branches grow green on the trees, they themselves grow and are loaded with offspring; this is how our own tribe and that of wild creatures is nourished, how we see happy cities flowering with children, and the branch-bearing woods singing all around with new birds; how wild beasts and cattle give their bodies repose on happy pastures and gleaming white moisture seeps from their swollen udders; how frolicking new stock plays with wobbling limbs over the grass, their fresh new minds dizzy with undiluted milk. (1.252–61)

Like mother's milk, the Muses' honey of Lucretius' poetry exhilarates the listener and compensates him for the intellectual demands of Epicurean science.

What has been preserved as the single book of Catullus' poetry actually seems to incorporate three poetry books: the sixty "occasional" poems, mostly in lines of eleven syllables (*hendecasyllabi*, 45.1); the eight longer poems (61–8); and almost fifty poems in elegiac meter (69–116). Catullus used hendecasyllables, the seesaw pure iambic meter, and elegiacs alike to convey friendship and encouragement to Calvus (50, 53, and 96) and to Caecilius and Cinna (35, 95), his intense personal passion for Juventius (24, 48, 81, and 99) and for Lesbia, and his political and poetic hatreds. He compresses his scorn for Caesar into a mere distich (93) but repeatedly attacks Caesar's prefect Mamurra (*Mentula* = "Big dick,"; 29, 94, 95, 114, 115); he shoots hendecasyllables in mockery of the poor writers Suffenus (22) and Volusius (36) and men with nasty social habits like Thallus (12, 25) and Egnatius (39). There has never been a lack of admirers for the "Lesbia cycle"[27] and the elegiac expression of Catullus' passion; he can compress depth and complexity into only two lines, as in poem 85: *Odi et amo: quare id faciam fortasse requiris*; *nescio sed fieri sentio et excrucior*. ("I hate and love; perhaps you seek to know why I do so? I know not, but I feel it happening, and suffer agonies.") On the other hand, a longer and more complex poem like 76 is rightly seen as an early case of true elegy. The short poems also include what we might call pure lyrics, either in meter or in feeling: the

celebration of his yacht (4, *Phaselus me*) and his beloved Sirmio (31), the hymn to Diana (34) and the two Sapphic odes, and poem 51 on loves dizzy blend of ecstasy and misery translated from Sappho's Greek. Poem 11 was created by Catullus to send a message to Lesbia by two dubious friends, renouncing his love because of her promiscuous betrayals. This poem of shifting mood and colors opens with the friends' protestations that they will go anywhere for his sake, and the poet answers them with a plain request for a humble favor: "report to my girl a few unkind words" (*non bona dicta*). After a stanza that describes her sexual tricks in the crudest language, his final words revert to Sappho's imagery to evoke the frail flower of his love now trampled underfoot.

Catullus is too often read when we begin Latin, before we can take in the highly wrought longer poems. First come two wedding poems: 61 is a real-life wedding narrative and epithalamium composed in Greek lyric meter for Catullus' friends Torquatus and Aurunculeia, and 62 is a choral exchange between boys and girls exhorting the bride to transfer her allegiance to her new groom. Then comes a long poem in exotic galliambics, narrating how Attis (depicted as a youth from the gymnasia of Hellenistic city culture) is sent mad by Cybele and castrates himself in the wilderness. It pivots around Attis' lament when he returns to sanity, and it ends with the poet's own prayer to Cybele never to send her madness upon him. Central in this group is the miniature epic "Wedding of Peleus and Thetis," which sets in a frame of legendary happiness the tragic desertion of Ariadne by Theseus on Naxos and her rescue by Dionysus. The imagery and sound play of this poem reach a new level for Roman poetry of sheer beauty and vivid contrasts; its narrative dazzles with shifting pace and time sequences. A description of the wedding coverlet blossoms into the Ariadne sequence, moving backward and forward in time from her passionate lament and denunciation of Theseus (in some ways parallel to the lament of Attis) to his father's death and then returning to the clamorous epiphany of Bacchus. The theme of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis resumes, culminating in two virtually independent poems, the song of the Fates foretelling the life and death of their child Achilles and the poet's own distancing of this golden age through a damning account of present-day violations of all bonds of love and kinship.

Poem 66 (introduced by 65, a covering letter to the orator Hortensius) translates a courtly elegy by Callimachus. Callimachus incorporated this homage to his patron Queen Berenice into the *Aitia*, his four-book collective poem that became a model for the learned poetry of Catullus and the Augustan poets. The elegy is spoken by the lock

of hair that Berenice dedicated in the temple of Aphrodite for her new husband's safe return; the lock explains how it has been transformed into a new constellation, and Catullus seems to have added, on his own initiative, an account of how this inaugurated a custom for young brides.[28] Most important for Roman elegy, however, is 68, his grateful recall of an intimate meeting with his mistress, described like something between a bridal night and an epiphany. Within this poem Catullus' two great loves – for his brother, dead in the Troad, and for his unlawful beloved – are interwoven with a lament for Troy's destructive war and for the loving Laodamia, separated from her bridegroom, the first Greek hero to die at Troy. This chain of interconnected sorrows is linked by vivid and extraordinary imagery as one theme glides into another, and the poem ends with the poet's resolve to endure Lesbia's infidelities as Juno swallowed the many infidelities of Jupiter himself. In this as in the shorter elegies, the poet submits to his mistress and presents his unsanctioned love as a sacred bond resembling marriage. The lover's ideology shaped by Catullus becomes a generic commonplace of Augustan elegy, but the lyricism and mythologizing of this poem reach a height of passion found again only in Propertius' finest elegies.

Cicero and Sallust

So far we have surveyed the development of poetic genres during the Republic. What about prose genres? Does historiography count as literature? Does oratory? After all, historiography is a narrative form strongly akin to fiction. Indeed, it was traditional for Hellenistic Greek historians not only to compose fictional speeches to suit the context but to systematically imitate the form and thought patterns of tragedy. But artistic historical writing was slow to develop in Latin. After Cato the Elder's strikingly innovative work on early Roman and Italian history, Coelius wrote a colorful monograph on the Hannibalic War, but his work, like the histories of his successors, is lost except for brief quoted excerpts. We can read the concise (if tendentious) history of Rome before 450 B.C. incorporated by Cicero in his second book, *De republica*, but the first self-contained historical books to survive are the two monographs of Sallust composed after the death of Caesar.

It is more difficult to make a case for considering oratory as literature, as it was both an oral and a pragmatic activity, governed by judicial or political motives. But its artistry was highly appreciated by a

Roman audience sensitive to the rhythm and sound of prose as well as to the techniques of persuasion, and it reached its high point with the work of Cicero in the last generation of the Republic. Cicero singles out Cato in his history of Roman oratory as the first Roman to preserve his own oratory by inserting two major policy speeches into his own historical narrative.

Cicero categorizes Roman oratory as either political, delivered before senate or assembly, or judicial; judicial oratory is again divided into speeches in civil litigation or before the essentially political criminal courts (*Quaestiones perpetuae*). But all the best-known speeches served a political purpose. Thus Cato's "On Behalf of the Rhodians" was a deliberative speech to the assembly, but his denunciation of the commander Sulpicius Galba for violating the rights of a Spanish tribe was probably judicial, delivered before a popular court.

It seems that Cicero's teacher, L. Licinius Crassus, may have been the first orator to circulate political speeches in writing, whether for political purposes or to serve as a model for informal pupils like Cicero.[29] Because of the social and civil wars that troubled the 80s B.C., Cicero's own career began quite late, with a criminal defense speech for Roscius of Ameria, accused by jealous cousins of murdering his father during the period of Sullan domination, and a civil lawsuit in which he represented Quinctius against his business partner. But the court case that made his name was virtually his only appearance for the prosecution, when he accepted the brief of the Sicilian provincials to prosecute the influential and corrupt governor C. Verres. Of the seven surviving speeches connected with the case, only the first two – a speech disputing the claims of a rival prosecutor, Caecilius, and his speech in the first session (*actio*) – were delivered in court. The five long powerful indictments of the second *actio* were composed to replace the actual court proceedings, which involved massive interrogation of damning witnesses. These "speeches," then, were written for readers, not a court audience, and they remained models of every kind of invective for future orators. Cicero advised orators to compose their speeches carefully in writing before delivering them, and the texts of about forty speeches survive, edited after the event to take account of unforeseen elements in their reception or the relative ignorance of readers. Two surviving orations, one judicial, one senatorial, were composed only to be read: a defense of Milo, which Cicero either failed to deliver or composed after Milo's conviction in 52 B.C., and the second of his attacks on the consul Mark Antony in August/September 44 B.C., after the death of Caesar.

With his tenure of the consulship, however, Cicero felt he had earned recognition as a statesman, and in 60 B.C. he wrote to Atticus (*Att.* 2.1.3) asking for his professional help in publishing a retrospective body of speeches from his consulship. About half of these were addressed to meetings of the people (*contiones*), and readers can still compare at least the language, if not the style of delivery, in which Cicero presented the successive crises of Catiline's attempted uprising to the popular audience (*In Catilinam* 2 and 3) and to his peers in the senate. The same comparison can be made between his speeches of thanks to the senate and to the assembled Roman people after his recall from exile in 57 B.C., or between two speeches of encomium: his advocacy to the people of the extraordinary command awarded to Pompey in 66 B.C. (*De imperio Gnaei Pompei*) and his support in the senate for the prolongation of Caesar's extraordinary command in Gaul in 56 B.C. (*De provinciis consularibus*). The people included both rich and poor. The business class was best moved by economic issues, the humbler craftsmen and shopkeepers were more alarmed by talk of arson within the city or thrilled by military glory, so naturally these relatively short speeches stressed Cicero's own tireless devotion to their interests and his faith in the immortal gods. As for the senate, Cicero may call it a wise body of advisors (*sapiens consilium; De or.* 2.333), but he knew the senators to be influenced by a variety of partisan interests that must be conciliated.

In the law courts, Roman career orators usually made their debut as prosecutors, like Cicero's brilliant pupil Caelius, but avoided the offense inherent in speaking for the prosecution once they were launched. Their speeches were not courtroom speeches as we know them but public orations in the open forum before a large jury and an inquisitive and partisan crowd (engaged in a favorite form of public entertainment). Three defense speeches in particular appeal to us for their reflection of Roman culture: a speech on behalf of the citizen status of the poet Archias (*c. 66* B.C.), in which Cicero went out of his way to praise poetry for immortalizing its subject and inspiring posterity to emulate heroic deeds; a speech on behalf of Licinius Murena against charges of winning his election by bribery, in which Cicero set up a brilliant contrast between the popular appeal of a successful general like Murena and the narrower reputation of a legal expert like his defeated rival; and finally the defense of his pupil Caelius. In Caelius' trial for public violence, Cicero was the third and final speaker, after Caelius himself and Publius Crassus. It was his role to dispel Caelius' bad reputation as a debauchee, and he made brilliant use of the relaxed morality

of comedy and mime and of *prosopopoeia* ("impersonation") to turn the accusations against Caelius' ex-lover Clodia and to present him as the innocent victim of an older woman's spite.

Cicero saw the Athenian politician Demosthenes as his model, not only for the technical brilliance of his oratory but also for his patriotic role in rallying the Athenians to defend their liberty against Philip of Macedon. It was in imitation of Demosthenes that, in 60 B.C., he prepared his corpus of consular speeches and also that he gave the name "Philippics" to fourteen speeches against Mark Antony in his last year of life. But his first theoretical work, the dialogue *De oratore*, composed after he had been virtually excluded from independent politics in 55 B.C., reveals a knowledge of Greek prose writers well beyond Demosthenes. Cicero's thought was shaped by the very Platonic ideals he ostensibly resisted, and he based his theory of education on the rhetorical teaching of Aristotle and the orator Isocrates, who had developed rhythmic and balanced periodic prose in his largely written "speeches." The dialogue itself is a superb evocation of civilized Roman conversation between older and younger generations, illustrating the different rhetorical excellences and common basic principles that he attributed to his teacher, Licinius Crassus, and to the great judicial orator Marcus Antonius. What survives of Cicero's next dialogue, the political treatise *De republica*, set in the circle of Scipio Aemilianus in the weeks before his sudden death, shows that this too recreated an idealized version of Rome's recent past. The sixth book of this treatise, which was preserved separately as "The Dream of Scipio," offered a counterpart to Plato's "Vision of Er" in its imaginative vision of the universe and the happy afterlife promised to true patriots and heroes. One other political dialogue, *De legibus* ("On the Laws"), was not published in Cicero's lifetime.

Under the domination of Caesar, Cicero turned to different aspects of philosophy: epistemology (*Academica*, now partly preserved in its first edition and partly in its reedition), ethics (*De finibus*, "On the Ends of Good and Evil"), and religion (*De natura deorum*, "On the Nature of the Gods"; *De divinatione*, "On Foretelling"; *De fato*, "On Fate"). These works represented the doctrines and points of view of the predominant philosophical schools – Epicureans, Stoics, and the sceptical New Academy, to which Cicero himself subscribed. But the most influential of his prose works were those he wrote last, when he was seeking some transcendental comfort for the loss of his beloved daughter in 45 B.C. and had abandoned hope that Caesar would restore the Republican authority of the senate: two short dialogues named for

their protagonists and themes (*Cato Maior*, a positive description of old age, and *Laelius*, in which Aemilianus' best friend speaks of the ethics of friendship) and two long works of popular ethics. The *Tusculan Disputations* take the form of five dialogues between instructor and pupil: although addressed to this anonymous youth, these aim to relive the anxieties of Cicero's own age group: he has taken on Stoic values, arguing against the fear of death and pain, providing encouragement to avoid distress, anger, and other passions, and finally supporting the notion that virtue by itself was sufficient for a happy life. The *Tusculans* aim at literary appeal and are enriched by vivid illustrations from Roman tragedy or Cicero's own verse translations (which have survived only in the excerpts included in his prose treatises).

Lastly, the three books *On Obligations* (*De officiis*), intended to advise his son how to behave like a gentleman, adapted two books by the Stoic Panaetius, but added a third, independent study (influenced by Roman law) of how to choose between conflicting social obligations. These late dialogues had a great influence on the Humanists and Age of Enlightenment, and have recently stimulated new evaluation.[30]

It was also the rediscovery of Cicero's intimate letters to his brother and his friend Atticus that prompted Petrarch and other Humanists to a better knowledge of Roman thinking and a new respect for letters as a medium of teaching and autobiography. Few of Cicero's thousand-odd letters were ever intended for publication as works of literature, but we may except *Fam.* 5.12 sent to the amateur historian Lucceius in 55 B.C., inviting him to compose a monograph on Cicero's consulship, exile, and restoration.[31] The letter, which Cicero asked Atticus to circulate, gives his ideas of the literary form – complete with a tragic hero and his vicissitudes – that he envisaged for a historical monograph. But this was the only prose genre in which Cicero did not compose. The lucid if sanitized narrative of the monarchy in Book 2 of *De republica* is too brief to be judged as historical literature. When Cicero explains in the preface to *De legibus* (1.5–9) why he had not tried to compose history, his claim that he lacked the time for proper historical writing masks a more powerful and more general deterrent – the risk of writing history in the current political circumstances.

Only after Caesar's death, under the triumviral regime represented in Italy by Octavian, were Rome's first surviving historical monographs published by a former radical politician, Sallustius Crispus. Sallust's early retirement may have resulted from Caesar's death or from his own dubious political record. Certainly this explains his elaborate self-justification in the preface of his *Bellum Catilinae*, and it adds a

personal motive to his generic claims for the importance of historical writing as a service to one's country (*Cat.* 1–4, *Jug.*1–4). But Sallust's grandiose generalizations about the life of the mind are little more than traditional clichés intended to provide a kick-start to his outline of early Roman history. The merits of his vigorous archaic diction, his deliberately rough-hewn sentences, and his partisan ideology should be balanced against a certain journalistic crudity and superficiality. Sallust's Rome may be polarized in black and white, but he had the enterprise to convert recent history into coherent narratives. The *Bellum Catilinae* is the most frequently studied, and it is striking for its portrayal of its anti-hero Catiline, of the antithetical Cato (Uticensis), and of Caesar.

It is arguable, however, that the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, probably written before 40 B.C., is a more vivid demonstration of Sallust's talents.[32] In this work he is not writing about contemporaries and so is perhaps freer to create character, but here too he justifies his theme in terms taken from Rome's internal politics. He has chosen to record this war

> because it was a great and terrible war with many shifts of success, and because this was the first occasion of real opposition to the arrogance of the nobility, a conflict which threw all divine and human affairs into confusion and reached such a pitch of folly that (only) war and the ravaging of Italy put an end to the political partisanship. (*Jug.* 5.1–3)

After setting the stage with a prehistory going back more than a century, Sallust shines a bright light on the usurper Jugurtha's exploitation of elite friends at Rome and the failure of senatorial leaders to protect King Adherbal with Jugurtha's damning statement that "the whole city was for sale and would quickly go under if it found a buyer." The narrative is diversified by vivid if inaccurate geographical and anthropological excursuses on Africa (17–19) and the treacherous Syrtes (78) and by the inclusion of two major speeches: that of the new radical consul Memmius (31) before the central figure of Marius is gradually introduced into the military narrative, and the speech of Marius on his election, voicing the manifesto of the political outsider (*novus homo*, 85). Marius' achievements are balanced by those of his former commander Metellus "Numidicus" (43–83) and future rival Sulla (95–113). This monograph meets the criteria proposed by Cicero's critical description of the Hellenistic historical monograph to Lucceius, with its focus on the rise and fall of a prominent individual (Jugurtha and

Marius, however, end up competing as protagonists). The rhetorical power of the speeches also explains why the best preserved excerpts from the completed books of Sallust's *Historiae*, those covering 78–68 B.C., are speeches and letters: the harangues of Lepidus (1.55), the conservative Cotta (2.47), the radical tribune Licinius Macer (3.48), and Philippus' address to the senate (1.77). The supposed letters, Pompey's threatening dispatch from Spain (2.98), and the savage exposé of Roman policy in Mithradates' letter to Arsaces have all the power of speeches. Mithradates' letter, surely fictitious, achieves some of the astringent tone of Cato's defense of the Rhodians or Tacitus' Calgacus, but it was a bold step to imagine communications between these eastern rulers. Although Sallust's excursus on Sicily survives only in fragments (4.24–8), it nonetheless shaped both Virgil's and Lucan's account of Sicilian geography. For all his mannered imitation of the archaic diction of Cato and the disillusioned worldview of Thucydides, Sallust also demonstrated originality as an architect and a memorable vigor in both narrative and speech.

Roman comedy outlived the end of its creativity, as theatrical libretti became literary texts (and in Terence's case school texts), while the tragedies were eclipsed by the Augustan dramas, regrettably lost even before they were succeeded by Senecan tragedy. Both Catullus' intense miniature epic poem and Lucretius' monumental scientific account of atoms and humanity would be overwhelmed by the achievements of Virgil and Ovid. Roman oratory would never regain the variety and power of Cicero, but philosophy was renewed in Latin by Seneca, though Greek remained its natural medium. History, as we have seen, had still to reach its full development. Sallust's immediate successor, Livy, had a very different experience and outlook, and pursued a radically different project, almost in opposition to Sallust. It was the more remote Tacitus who became Sallust's true and more brilliant heir.

I have said nothing here of Virgil, whose earliest poetry collection, the *Eclogues*,[33] was contemporary with Sallust's work, or of Horace's *Epodes* and *Satires*, written in the 30s B.C., because I view these poets as detaching themselves from the dead Republic. Elegy and lyric, which had barely surfaced during the Republic, would now blossom in the new climate of the Augustan Age. If the period of the Republic was a time of assimilation and of attempts by Roman writers to match the literature of Greece, the Age of Augustus and the early Empire would see the maturation of a national literature confident in its Roman roots and strong enough to generate both the literary and humanist Renaissance and the later Age of Enlightenment.

Notes

1 Goldberg (2005) and articles listed in his bibliography.
2 Most recently in *Unwritten Rome*, Exeter (2008), combining old and new essays on the topic.
3 *Journal of Roman Studies* (95, 226–40), starting from a review of Suerbaum's *Die Archaische Literatur*, Vol. I of the new edition of Mueller's *Handbuch der Lateinischen Literatur.*
4 Harris (1989, 173): "three . . . factors prevent us from thinking that more than 10% of the population . . . [in late republican Rome] was literate." Other subsequent estimates are more generous.
5 Leo (1913).
6 The best critical survey is that of Gratwick (1982), which can now be supplemented by Conte (1995) and Fantham (2012).
7 Caesar considered his narratives of the Gallic and civil wars not histories but *commentarii*, supposedly objective war reports.
8 Cf. Goldberg (1995); Hinds (1998).
9 Livius' *Odyssia* was probably an abridgment, like the later *Ilias Latina*. Livius may not have intended it as a school reader, but it was still being used in schools when Horace was a child.
10 Whereas the Greek iambic trimeter maintained a rhythmic difference between the first and second foot of each metron, Latin iambics struggled with the lack of short syllables and allowed the substitution of long syllables and other variants in every foot but the final iamb of the verse.
11 Naevius' play may have been composed for Marcellus' triumph, but these Roman plays were more probably performed at votive or funeral games.
12 *Annales* Book 1.1–15 Skutsch = ROL I 1–13; Book 7.206–7, 208–10 Sk. = ROL I 231–5, 229–30. See Hinds (1998) on Ennius' treatment of his predecessors.
13 *Disiecti membra poetae* (Hor. *Sat*. 1.4.60) presupposes a broken statue, not an injured person. By Horace's day, the Romans were imitating Greek practice, which had long honored poets with statuary.
14 446–7 Sk. = ROL III 450–1. The lines are quoted by Servius as a model for the description of Jupiter's smile in *Aen*. 1.254.
15 Cf. Goldberg (1995, chapters 3 and 4).
16 *Andromache* fr. XXVII Jocelyn = ROL I 91–108; *Alcmeo* XV Joc. = ROL I 30–7 (*Cassandra*); *Alexander XVII* and XVIII Joe. = ROL I 38–48, 59–79.
17 These are generally understood to be the plays confirmed as Plautine by Varro (twenty-five were identified as authentic by Varro's teacher Aelius Stilo; see Gell. 3.3.12). Only the first eight plays were known in the Renaissance – in fact, until the nineteenth-century rediscovery by Studemund of a palimpsest that contained *Menaechmi* to (the first part of) *Vidularia*.
18 On *Pseudolus*, see Wright (1975).
19 Handley (1968).
20 Fantham (1975); Konstan (1983); McCarthy (2000).
21 On women and slaves, see Fantham (1975); Konstan (1983); on performance and music, see Segal (1968); Slater (1985); Moore (2000).
22 Laberius, compelled by Caesar to perform in his own mime, lost his standing as a knight and had to be restored by Caesar.

23 Parts of Cato's speech for the Rhodians are preserved by Gellius (6.3.14–39); for the attack on Sulpicius Galba, see Cic. *Brut.* 89 and Gell. 13.25.15.
24 For Scaurus, see Cic. *Brut.* 112. Rutilius, cited by Cicero and Gellius, may well have written his memoirs in Greek, as we know Sulla did.
25 Cf. Lucilius ROL III 1061, 1064: the council of the gods is a travesty of Ennius' divine council, which decides the deification of Romulus.
26 See Quinn (1999); Courtney (1993).
27 This usually denotes 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 in hendecasyllables, 8 in a special "limping" iambic meter, and 11 in Sapphics.
28 Since Callimachus' elegy (Pfeiffer fr. 110, also printed at the end of the OCT Catullus) is known only from a damaged papyrus, we cannot be sure he did not offer the same exhortation to brides.
29 Cicero speaks of Crassus' speech in support of Caepio's jury law as "virtually our teacher" (*Brut.* 163).
30 See Gildenhart (2007).
31 On Cicero's letters, see Shackleton Bailey (1963) and White (2010).
32 See McGushin (1977, 1987); Paul (1984).
33 We often forget that *Eclogae* means "*selected* poems." Both this and the alternative title *Bucolica* ("Herdsmen's Songs") are Greek.

Appendix: Republican Poets and Prose Writers

Dates of birth and death marked with a question mark are approximate; works that survive only in excerpts are in parentheses. All dates in the list are B.C.

Livius Andronicus (290?–after 207) (*Odyssia*, tragedies, comedies from 240).
Naevius (274?–204) (*Bellum punicum*, tragedies, comedies from 235).
Plautus (254?–184) twenty-one comedies.
Ennius (239–169) (*Annales*, tragedies, assorted shorter poems).
Cato (234–149) *On Agriculture*, (speeches, *Origines*).
Pacuvius (220?–130) (tragedies).
Terence (186–159) six comedies.
Lucilius (180?–102) (satires and literary criticism).
Accius (170?–86) (tragedies, literary criticism).
Varro (113–27) *On the Latin Language*, *On Agriculture*, (scholarly works).
Cicero (106–43) speeches, dialogues, philosophical works, letters, (poetry).
Caesar (100–44) Commentaries on the Gallic and civil wars.
Lucretius (94?–55?) *On the Nature of the Universe*.
Sallust (85?–35?) *Catiline*, *Jugurtha*, (*Histories*).
Catullus (84?–54?) poems.