A COMPANION TO LATIN LITERATURE

Edited by

Stephen Harrison

A COMPANION
TO LATIN
LITERATURE

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Full descriptions of the works of authors referred to here only by name are to be found in the 'General Resources and Author Bibliographies' section in the introduction (pp. 3–12). Dates given are usually consistent with the information in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1996). 'Caesar' is the term used for the future Augustus between his adoption in Julius Caesar's will (44) and his assumption of the name 'Augustus' in 27, rather than 'Octavian', a name he never used. Full accounts of the historical periods covered here are to be found in volumes 8–11 of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1989–2000).

The Early Republican period (beginnings to 90 BC)

	Key literary events		*Key historical events*
c. 240–after 207 BC	Livius Andronicus active as poet/dramatist	264–41	First Punic War (Rome wins)
		218–201	Second Punic War (Rome wins)
c. 235–204	Naevius active as poet/ dramatist	200–146	Rome conquers Greece; Greek cultural influence on Rome
c. 205–184	Plautus active as dramatist	149–146	Third and final Punic War (Rome conquers Carthage)
204–169	Ennius active as poet/dramatist		
?200	Fabius Pictor's first history of Rome (in Greek)	122–106	War against Jugurtha in North Africa (Rome wins)
c. 190–149	Literary career of Cato	91–88	Social War in Italy (over issue of full Roman citizenship for Latin communities)
166–159	Plays of Terence produced		
125–100	Lucilius active as satirist		

The late Republican/Triumviral period (90–40 BC)

Key literary events		*Key historical events*	
81 BC	Cicero's first preserved speech (*Pro Quinctio*); literary career continues until death in 43 BC	88–80	Civil wars between Sulla and Marius; dictatorship of Sulla
		73–1	Revolt of Spartacus
		58–49	Julius Caesar's Gallic campaigns
		49–45	Civil War between Julius Caesar and Pompey
50s BC	Poetry of Lucretius and Catullus; Caesar's *Gallic Wars*	44	Assassination of Julius Caesar
		43	Caesar becomes consul
40s BC	Work of Sallust (dies *c.* 35); Gallus begins poetical career	43–40	Sporadic civil war in Italy
		42	Defeat of Julius Caesar's assassins at Philippi

The Augustan period (40 BC–14 AD)

Key literary events		*Key historical events*	
?38 BC	Virgil's *Eclogues* published	38–36	Renewed civil war against S. Pompey
35 BC	Horace, *Satires* 1 published	32–30	Caesar fights and defeats Antony and Cleopatra at Actium and Alexandria
30 BC	Horace, *Satires* 2 and *Epodes* published	29	Triple triumph of Caesar
30s–AD 17	Livy's history published	27	'Restoration of republic': Caesar assumes title of 'Augustus'
29 BC	Virgil, *Georgics* published		
20s BC	Earliest elegies of Propertius, Tibullus and (later) Ovid published	18–17	Moral legislation of Augustus
		17	Augustus celebrates Saecular Games
		12	Augustus becomes *pontifex maximus* (head of state religion)
?23 BC	Horace, *Odes* 1–3 published		
?19 BC	Deaths of Virgil and Tibullus	AD 4	Tiberius becomes final heir of Augustus
?16 BC	Propertius, Book 4 published	AD 14	Death of Augustus, succession of Tiberius
13 BC	Horace, *Odes* 4 published		
8 BC	Death of Horace		
AD 8	Ovid banished to Romania		
Before and after AD 14 Manilius active			

The early Empire (14–68 AD)

	Key literary events		Key historical events
AD 17	Deaths of Ovid and Livy	AD 37	Death of Tiberius; accession of Gaius (Caligula)
20s/30s	Phaedrus and Velleius active		
c. 41–65	Literary career of younger Seneca	41	Assassination of Gaius; accession of Claudius
c. 51–79	Literary career of elder Pliny		
60s	Persius, Lucan, Petronius, Calpurnius Siculus active	54	Death of Claudius; accession of Nero
65	Seneca and Lucan forced to suicide	65	'Pisonian' conspiracy against Nero unsuccessful
66	Petronius forced to suicide	68	Death of Nero

The high Empire (69–200 AD)

	Key literary events		Key historical events
AD 70–102	Valerius Flaccus, Silius, Statius, Quintilian and Martial active	AD 69	The year of the four emperors (Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian)
		79	Death of Vespasian; accession of Titus
		81	Death of Titus; accession of Domitian
		96	Assassination of Domitian; accession of Nerva
96–138	Younger Pliny, Tacitus, Juvenal and Suetonius active	98	Death of Nerva; accession of Trajan
		101–117	Wide conquests of Trajan
		117	Death of Trajan; accession of Hadrian
		138	Death of Hadrian; accession of Antoninus Pius
140s–180s	Fronto, Gellius and Apuleius active	161	Death of Antoninus Pius; accession of Marcus Aurelius
		180	Death of Marcus Aurelius; accession of Commodus
		192	Assassination of Commodus
		193–211	Reign of Septimius Severus

Notes on Contributors

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Lindsay C. Watson is a Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *Arae: the Curse Poetry of Antiquity* (Leeds, 1991), *A Commentary on Horace's Epodes* (Oxford, 2003) and, with P. Watson, *Martial: Select Epigrams* (Cambridge, 2003). He continues to view himself as an active researcher despite a governmental and university diktat that those whose research is not externally funded cannot be so regarded.

Preface

I would like to thank all the contributors most warmly for participating in this project and for their tolerance of editorial foibles. Thanks go too to Al Bertrand at Blackwell for commissioning this volume and guiding it to completion, to his colleague Angela Cohen for practical and editorial help, to Janey Fisher for her editorial work and to Eldo Barhuizen for his copy-editing expertise.

As editor I have allowed contributors to use either BC/BCE or AD/CE for dates, according to personal taste. Abbreviations of the titles of ancient texts are those to be found in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition) [Hornblower and Spawforth 1996] and in *The Oxford Latin Dictionary.*

Stephen Harrison
Corpus Christi College, Oxford, March 2004

Reference Works: Abbreviations

AAWM	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Mainz*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
APA	*American Journal of Philology*
A&A	*Antike und Abendland*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
ClAnt	*Classical Antiquity*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CW	*Classical World*
DArch	*Dialogi di Archeologia*
EMC/CV	*Echos du monde classique/Classical Views*
G&R	*Greece and Rome*
GCN	*Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
JKPh	*Jahrbuch für Klassischen Philologie*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LCM	*Liverpool Classical Monthly*
MD	*Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
PACA	*Proceedings of the African Classical Association*
PBSR	*Proceedings of the British School at Rome*

PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PLLS	*Proceedings of the Liverpool Latin Seminar*
PVS	*Proceedings of the Virgil Society*
RAC	*Reallexikon der Antike und Christentum*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*
REL	*Revue des Etudes latines*
RFIC	*Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum*
SO	*Symbolae Osloenses*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
WJA	*Würzburger Jahrbücher der Altertumswissenschaft*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
ΥCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Introduction: Constructing Latin Literature

Stephen Harrison

1 Rationale of This Volume

The editing of *A Companion to Latin Literature* necessarily requires ideological and pragmatic choices on the part of the editor as well as by the contributors. This volume is aimed at university students of Latin literature and their teachers, and at scholarly colleagues in other subjects who need orientation in Latin literature, though I hope that it will also be of use to those studying Latin texts in the last years of school. It has been designed to be usable by those who read their Latin literature in translation as well as by those able to read the originals; all major Latin passages are translated, and modern English translations for key authors are listed in the 'General Resources and Author Bibliographies' section at the end of this introduction. In general, it seeks to combine the form of a reliable literary history with work by leading-edge scholars in particular areas, while also acting as a general reference book through its list of resources and extensive bibliography.

The contributors to this volume range quite widely in their approaches to Latin literature, and there was no ideological 'line' imposed by the editor for their contributions. Nevertheless, I would like to point out the increasing importance of the application of literary theory in the study of classical literature (see my introduction to Harrison 2001c), and to suggest that some of the most stimulating and provocative recent readings of Latin literature are informed by such ideas (see e.g. Conte 1986 and 1994a; Hardie 1993; Henderson 1998a and 1999; Fowler 2000).

In deciding the format of this volume I wanted to avoid the standard listing by author to be found in many literary histories, and which is already available in good up-to-date reference works such as the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1996); some concession is, however, made to this traditional mode of reference by including a list of bibliographical resources for twenty of the most important

authors in the 'General Resources and Author Bibliographies' section at the end of this introduction.

The ordering of the main chapters is threefold. The first section gives accounts of the five major periods of literature within the chronological scope of the book (*c.* 250 BC to *c.* AD 200); the second and most substantial focuses on particular literary genres and their development across these periods; and the third picks out some topics of particular interest within Roman literature and its backgrounds. Like the stimulating Braund (2002), whose topics in many ways complement those selected for this volume, I think that a topical approach to Latin literature has considerable benefits, highlighting areas of particular cultural specificity and difference; like the impressive Conte (1994b), I also think that historical ordering and generic grouping have an important function, showing what kinds of literature flourished at Rome, when and (perhaps) why.

The chronological scope of the book does not imply a derogatory exclusion or lower valuing of post-200 Latin literature, whether pagan or Christian, and I greatly admire literary histories of Rome such as that of Conte (1994b), which cover all Latin literature up to the Carolingian period. But the beginning of Christian Latin literature about AD 200 with Tertullian and Minucius Felix is a major watershed, and I resolved on this as a stopping point so as not to increase dramatically the size and diversity of the book. As a result the volume reflects the range of Latin literature commonly taught in universities, from the Early Republic to the High Empire, perhaps regrettably reinforcing the canonical status of this period.

Another element I consider important, which this volume (for reasons of space and convenience) alludes to only superficially, is that of the later reception of Latin literature. The burgeoning discipline of reception studies (see Machor and Goldstein 2001) is now having a greater impact on classical scholarship, and many interesting results are emerging (see in general Hardwick 2003, and for the reception of some individual Latin authors Martindale 1988 and 1993). Major poets in English such as Seamus Heaney (Heaney 2001) and Ted Hughes (Hughes 1997) have recently produced work which engages directly with the work of the major Latin poets. Even the history of Latin scholarship has served as the basis for a successful play by one of the leading dramatists in English (Stoppard 1997). This fascination with Latin literature continues a major strand in English Victorian writers (Vance 1997), and (of course) an influence that has been strongly felt in many earlier aspects of Western culture (cf. Jenkyns 1992).

This element of reception is to be found in this book, but in the 'General Resources and Author Bibliographies' section at the end of this introduction rather than in the main chapters. For each of the key authors treated there I have listed books where material on reception is to be found. One especially welcome recent development, recorded where relevant in my listings, is the inclusion in the series 'Penguin Poets in Translation' of volumes on Catullus, Horace, Martial, Ovid and Seneca, which give not only a range of translations

from medieval to modern date, but also versions and poems substantially influenced by Latin poets. A recent anthology of such translations and versions for the whole of the period covered by this book is also available in Poole and Maule 1995.

A further feature of the 'General Resources and Author Bibliographies' section which reflects recent developments is the inclusion there of WWW resources. The use of the Internet is now a major feature in all humanities teaching and learning, and whether one needs to download a basic text of just about any Latin author or consult the most erudite e-journal, it is indispensable for students and scholars of the classics. I have included both general resources for texts and other materials, and particular resources for each of the listed authors.

In this section I have also paid close attention to including the most recent and easily available commentaries and translations in the standard series; this has sometimes meant the exclusion of classic older works still used by scholars, but this list is aimed at indicating the range of materials easily available for the student and teacher rather than the specialist expert, who will have his or her own much more extensive bibliography. In particular, the increasing availability of annotated translations by specialist scholars is of particular importance, not only in making available accurate and modern versions to those unable to read the Latin, but also in providing (through their introductions and bibliographies) excellent entry points for the study of the particular author or text.

2 General Resources and Author Bibliographies

There are a number of online banks of the works of Latin authors from which texts may be freely downloaded; for example: The Latin Library <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com>, the *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum* <http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/authors_a.html> and the Perseus Digital Library <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>, which also contains a good range of online English translations. A searchable CD-ROM of the Latin texts of the extensive *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* is available commercially from its publisher <http://www.saur.de>; likewise the Packard Humanities Institute CD-ROM of Latin literature for the period covered by this volume, the beginnings to AD 200 (see <http://www.packhum.org>, e-mail phi@packhum.org).

Modern general accounts of Latin literature in English with up-to-date bibliographies are available in Conte (1994b), Taplin (2000) and Braund (2002). Further secondary work on Latin literature, particularly on individual Latin authors, can be found via the annual journal *L'année philologique* (its WWW version is at <http://www.annee-philologique.com/aph [subscription needed]), and in the *Gnomon* data bank <http://www.gnomon.ku-eichstaett.de/Gnomon/en/ts.html>. Some classical journals are now online through JSTOR <http://www.jstor.org/> (subscription needed), and the contents of a large number of

classical journals can be accessed online at the TOCS-IN site <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/amphoras/tocs.html>. Reviews of most important books on Latin literature since 1990 can be found online in the *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/> (subscription free). Public gateways for classical resources are to be found at the British Academy's PORTAL site <http://www.britac.ac.uk/portal/h1/index.html> and the HUMBUL Humanities Hub <http://www.humbul.ac.uk/classics/>; the websites of classics departments at universities worldwide are also an important resource here.

The following list contains some key items in English on twenty of the more frequently studied Latin authors treated in this volume. It is not a complete listing in either breadth or depth; only books (not articles) are cited in the 'Studies' section, but these are usually the most recent scholarly works that give easy access to the broader secondary literature. The chapters in Parts II and III will often provide further bibliography in their 'Further Reading' sections.

The WWW resources cited for each author are often made publicly available by academic colleagues worldwide, to whom I should like to express my warm appreciation; all WWW URLs were successfully accessed in September 2003.

For further focused information and reading on the authors below, and for authors not mentioned here, see (e.g.) the relevant entries in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1996), or those in Conte (1994b). Most dates of birth and death are necessarily approximate. All works cited are in English unless otherwise specified.

Full bibliographical details for each item cited below are found in the bibliography to this volume, except for those volumes in certain standard series. These series are referred to by the following abbreviations, and details of individual volumes can be found on the websites given below.

Latin texts only
'OCT' = Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford University Press)
<http://www.oup.co.uk/academic/humanities/classical_studies/series/>
'BT' = Bibliotheca Teubneriana (K. G. Saur) <http://www.saur.de>

Latin texts and commentaries only
'CGLC' = Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge University Press)
<http://publishing.cambridge.org/hss/classical/cglc/>
'BCP' = Bristol Classical Press (Duckworth) <http://www.duckw.com>

Latin texts and facing translations with commentary keyed to translation
'A&P' = Aris & Phillips Classical Texts (Aris & Phillips, Warminster)
<http://www.arisandphillips.com/cat98011.htm>

Texts and facing translations with limited notes
'B' = Collection des Universités de France/Association G. Budé (Les Belles Lettres; French translations) <http://www.lesbelleslettres.com>

'LCL' = Loeb Classical Library (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Ma.) <http://www.hup.harvard.edu/loeb>

Translations only
'WC' = The World's Classics (Oxford University Press) <http://www.oup.co.uk/worldsclassics>
'PC' = The Penguin Classics (Penguin Books) <http://www.penguinclassics.co.uk>

APULEIUS (*c.* AD 125–?180s): novelist, orator, philosophical writer
Works: (a) *Metamorphoses*, (b) *Apologia*, (c) *Florida*, (d) *De Deo Socratis*, (e) *De Mundo*, (f) *De Platone,* (g) (?) *De Interpretatione*
Texts:
   (a) Robertson (3 vols) (1940–5); Helm (BT, 1931)
   (b) Vallette (B, 1924), Helm (BT, 2nd ed. 1912) and Hunink (1997)
   (c) Vallette (B, 1924), Helm (BT, 1910) and Hunink (2001)
   (d)–(f) Beaujeu (B, 1973); (d)–(g) Moreschini (BT, 1991)
Translations:
   (a) Walsh (WC, 1994) and Kenney (PC, 1998)
   (b)–(d) Harrison et al. (2001)
   (e), (f) (French) Beaujeu (B, 1973)
   (g) Londey and Johanson (1987)
Commentaries:
   (a) Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius series (see <http://www.forsten.nl>),
      Kenney (1990) and Gwyn Griffiths (1975)
   (b) Butler and Owen (1914/1983), Hunink (1997)
   (c) Hunink (2001)
Studies:
General: Sandy (1997) and Harrison (2000)
(a): Walsh (1970), Winkler (1985) and Finkelpearl (1998)
Reception: Haight (1927)
WWW resources: links at <http://www.ancientnarrative.com>

CATULLUS (80s BC–after 55): poet
Texts: Mynors (OCT, 1958) and Goold (1983)
Translations: Lee (WC, 1990) and Godwin (A&P, 1995 and 1999)
Commentaries: Fordyce (1961), Quinn (1970) and Godwin (A&P, 1995 and 1999)
Studies: Quinn (1972), Wiseman (1985), Fitzgerald (1995) and Wray (2001)
Reception: Gaisser (1993 and 2001)
WWW resources: <http://www.petroniansociety.privat.t-online.de/catullbib.html>

CICERO (106–43 BC): writer of speeches, rhetorical and philosophical treatises, letters and poems

Works: (a) speeches, (b) rhetorical treatises, (c) philosophical treatises, (d) letters, (e) poetic fragments

Texts: (a), (b), (c), (d) all in OCT, BT, B and LCL series, (e) Traglia (1950–2)

Translations: Complete in LCL series, 29 volumes (apart from '(e)' above)

(a) (e.g.) Shackleton Bailey (1986 and 1991), Berry (WC, 2000)

(b) May and Wisse (2001)

(c) Griffin and Atkins (1991), Rudd (WC, 1998), Walsh (WC, 1998) and Annas (2001)

(d) Shackleton Bailey (*Ad Att.*) (LCL, 1999), (*Ad Fam.*) (LCL, 2001), (selections) (PC, 1986)

Commentaries:

  (a) (e.g.) Austin (1960), Nisbet (1961), Berry (1996) and Ramsey (CGLC, 2003)

  (b) Douglas (1966), Leeman et al. (1981–96) (German)

  (c) (*De Rep.*) Zetzel (CGLC, 1995), (*De Off.*) Dyck 1996, (*Nat. Deor.1*) Dyck (CGLC, 2003), (*De Am., Somn. Scip.*) Powell (A&P, 1990), (*De Sen.*) Powell (1988) and (*Tusc.*) Douglas (A&P, 1985 and 1990)

  (d) Shackleton Bailey (1965–70, 1977 and 1980); (selections) (CGLC, 1980)

  (e) Courtney (1993)

Studies:

General: May (2002)

  (a) May (1988), Craig (1993), Vasaly (1993) and Steel (2001)

  (b) Kennedy (1972)

  (c) Powell (1995)

  (d) Hutchinson (1998)

Reception: Narducci (2002) (Italian)

WWW resources: <http://www.utexas.edu/depts/classics/documents/Cic. html>

HORACE (*c.* 65–8 BC). Satiric, iambic, lyric and epistolary poet

Works: (a) *Satires*, (b) *Epodes*, (c) *Odes*, (d) *Epistles* and *Ars Poetica*

Texts: Shackleton Bailey (BT, 1984)

Translations: (a) and (d), Rudd (WC, 1979); (b) and (c), West (1997)

Commentaries:

  (a) Brown (A&P, 1993) and Muecke (A&P, 1993)

  (b) Mankin (CGLC, 1995) and Watson (2003)

  (c) Nisbet and Hubbard (1970 and 1978); Nisbet and Rudd (2004) West (1995, 1998 and 2002); Putnam (1986)

  (d) Book 1 in Mayer (CGLC, 1994); Book 2 and *Ars* in Rudd (CGLC, 1989), and Brink (1963–82)

Studies:
General: Fraenkel (1957), Oliensis (1998), Woodman and Feeney (2002)
   (a) Rudd (1966) and Freudenburg (1993)
   (c) Davis (1991), Edmunds (1992) and Lowrie (1997)
   (e) Kilpatrick (1986 and 1990)
Reception: Martindale (1993) and Carne-Ross (1996)
WWW resources: <http://www.lateinforum.de/pershor.htm>

JUVENAL (*c.* AD 70–?120s), satiric poet
Texts: Clausen (OCT, 1992), Willis (BT, 1997)
Translations: Rudd (WC, 1992)
Commentaries: Ferguson (1979), Courtney (1980) and Braund (Bk 1) (CGLC, 1996)
Studies: Anderson (1982) and Braund (1988)
Reception: Highet (1954) and Freudenburg (forthcoming)
WWW resources: <http://www.lateinforum.de/pershor.htm>

LIVY (*c.* 59 BC–AD 17), historian (*Ab Urbe Condita*)
Texts: complete in OCT, BT, B and LCL (only Bks 1–10 and 21–45 survive)
Translations: LCL (complete), 1–5 in Luce (WC, 1998), 6–10 in Radice (PB, 1982), 21–30 in De Sélincourt/Radice (PB, 1965) and 31–40 in Yardley (WC, 2000)
Commentaries: Bks 1–5 in Ogilvie 1965, Book 6 in Kraus (CGLC, 1994), Books 6–8 in Oakley (1997 and 1998), Book 21 in Walsh 1973 (repr. BCP, 1985), Books 31–7 in Briscoe (1973 and 1981), and Books 36–40 in Walsh (A&P, 1990–6)
Studies: Walsh (1961), Luce (1977), Miles (1995), Feldherr (1998) and Chaplin (2000)
Reception: Dorey (1971)
WWW resources: <http://ccwf.cc.utexas.edu/~tjmoore/livybib.html>

LUCAN (AD 39–65), epic poet (*De Bello Civili/Pharsalia*)
Texts: Housman (1926), Shackleton Bailey (BT, 1988)
Translations: Braund (WC, 1992)
Commentaries: Bk 1 in Getty (1940; BCP, 1992), Book 2 in Fantham (CGLC, 1992), Book 3 in Hunink (1992), Book 7 in Dilke (1960; BCP, 1990) and Book 8 in Mayer (A&P, 1981)
Studies: Ahl (1976), Johnson (1987), Masters (1992), Leigh (1997) and Bartsch (1997)
Reception: Brown and Martindale (1998)
WWW resources: <http://ancienthistory.about.com/cs/lucan/>, <http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/cgi-bin/cgiwrap/silver/frame.cgi?lucan, bibliography>

MARTIAL (AD 38/41–101/4), satirical epigrammatist
Texts: Shackleton Bailey (BT, 1990), (LCL 1993)

Translations: Shackleton Bailey (LCL, 1993)
Commentaries: Book 1 in Howell (1980), Book 5 in Howell (A&P, 1995), Book 11 in Kay (1985), selections in Watson and Watson (CGLC, 2003)
Studies: Sullivan (1991) and Nauta (2002)
Reception: Sullivan and Boyle (1996)
WWW resources: <http://www.petroniansociety.privat.t-online.de/martialbib.html>

OVID (43 BC–AD 17), erotic, didactic, epic and epistolary poet
Works: (a) *Amores*, (b) *Heroides*, (c) *Ars Amatoria, Medicamina Faciei Femineae, Remedia Amoris*, (d) *Fasti*, (e) *Metamorphoses*, (f) Exile poetry (*Tristia, Epistulae Ex Ponto, Ibis*)
Texts: Complete in LCL, OCT and BT series (except *Heroides* in the last two).
Translations: complete in LCL; (a) Lee (1968), (b) Isbell (PC, 1990), (c) Melville (WC, 1990), (d) Frazer/Goold (LCL, 1989) (e) Melville (WC, 1987) and Hill (A&P, 1985–2000) and (f) (*Tristia*) Melville (WC, 1992)
Commentaries:
   (a) McKeown (1987–), (*Am.*2) Booth (A&P, 1991)
   (b) (1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15) Knox (GCLC, 1995) and (16–21) Kenney (CGLC, 1996)
   (c) (*Ars* 1) Hollis (1977), (*Ars* 3) Gibson 2003 and (*Rem.*) Henderson (1979)
   (d) Book 4 in Fantham (CGLC, 1998)
   (e) Hill (A&P, 1985–2000), Books 1–5 in Anderson (1997), Books 6–10 in Anderson (1972); (1) Lee (1953, BCP 1984), (8) Hollis (1970) and (13) Hopkinson (CGLC, 2000)
Studies:
General: Hinds (1987b), Hardie (2002) and Boyd (2002)
   (a) Boyd (1997)
   (b) Verducci (1985) and Jacobson (1974)
   (c) Myerowitz (1985) and Sharrock (1994)
   (d) Herbert-Brown (1994 and 2002), Newlands (1995), Barchiesi (1997b) and Gee (2000)
   (e) Galinsky (1975), Solodow (1988), Myers (1994), Tissol (1997) and Wheeler (1999)
   (f) Williams (1994 and 1996)
Reception: Martindale (1988) and Brown (1999)
WWW resources: <http://www.jiffycomp.com/smr/rob/ovidbib.php3>, http://www.kirke.hu-berlin.de/ovid/start.html, http://etext.virginia.edu/latin/ovid

PETRONIUS (*c.* AD 20–66), novelist
Text: Müller (BT, 1995)

Translations: Sullivan (PC, 1965), Walsh (WC, 1997), and Branham and Kinney (1996)
Commentaries: (*Cena Trimalchionis*) Smith (1975); (complete) Courtney (2001)
Studies: Sullivan (1968), Walsh (1970), Slater (1990) and Conte (1996)
Reception: Corbett (1970) and Hofmann (1999)
WWW resources: links at <http://www.ancientnarrative.com>

PLAUTUS (active 204–184 BC), comic dramatist
Texts: complete in OCT, BT, B and LCL
Translations: Slavitt and Bovie (1995)
Commentaries: (*Amphitryo*) Christensen (GCLC, 2001), (*Bacchides*) Barsby (A&P, 1986), (*Casina*) MacCary and Willcock (GCLC, 1976), (*Menaechmi*) Gratwick (CGLC, 1993) and (*Pseudolus*) Willcock (BCP, 1987)
Studies: Slater (1985), Anderson (1993), Moore (1998) and McCarthy (2000)
Reception: Duckworth (1952/1994)
WWW resources: <http://www.lateinforum.de/perspla.htm>

PLINY THE YOUNGER (*c.* AD 61–*c.* 112), orator and letter-writer
Works: (a) *Epistles*, (b) *Panegyric*
Texts: (a) in Mynors (OCT, 1963) and (b) in Mynors (OCT, 1964)
Translations: (a) in Radice (PC, 1963), (a) and (b) in Radice (LCL, 1969)
Commentaries: (a) Sherwin-White (1966), Book 10 in Williams (A&P, 1990)
Studies: Hoffer (1999), Morello and Gibson (2003)
WWW resources: <http://classics.uc.edu/johnson/pliny/plinybib.html>
<http://www.class.uidaho.edu/luschnig/Roman%20Letters/Index.htm>

PROPERTIUS (*c.* 50–after 16 BC), elegiac poet
Texts: Barber (OCT, 1953) and Goold (LCL, 1990)
Translations: Lee (WC, 1996) and Goold (LCL, 1990)
Commentaries: Camps (1961, 1965, 1966a and 1966b)
Studies: Hubbard (1974), Lyne (1980) and Stahl (1985)
Reception: Sullivan (1964) and Thomas (1983)
WWW resources: <http://www.let.kun.nl/~m.v.d.poel/bibliografie/propertius.htm>, <http://ancienthistory.about.com/cs/propertius/>

SALLUST (*c.* 86–35 BC), historian
Works: (a) *Bellum Catilinae*, (b) *Bellum Iugurthinum*, (c) *Historiae* (fragmentary)
Texts: Reynolds (OCT, 1991)
Translations: (a) and (b) Handford (PC, 1963) and (c) McGushin (1992)
Commentaries: (a) McGushin (1977), (b) Paul (1984) and (c) McGushin (1992)
Studies: Syme (1964) and Scanlon (1980)

Reception: Schmal (2001) (German)
WWW resources: <http://mitglied.lycos.de/TAllewelt/litsall.htm>

SENECA THE YOUNGER (4 BC/AD 1–AD 65), philosopher, tragic dramatist, letter-writer
Works: (a) philosophical treatises, (b) *Epistulae Morales*, (c) tragedies, (d) *Apocolocynctosis*
Texts: (a) Reynolds (OCT, 1977), (b) Reynolds (OCT, 1965), (c) Zwierlein (OCT, 1986) and (d) Eden (CGLC, 1984)
Translations: all in LCL; (a) (selections) Costa (PC, 1997) and Costa (A&P, 1994), (b) (all selections) Campbell (PC, 1974), Costa (A&P, 1988), (PC, 1997), (c) Slavitt (1992 and 1995), and (d) Eden (CGLC, 1984)
Commentaries: (a) (selection) Costa (A&P, 1994), Williams (CGLC, 2002), (b) Summers (1910, BCP 2000), Costa (A&P, 1988), (c) (*Agamemnon*) Tarrant (1976), (*Hercules Furens*) Fitch (1987), (*Medea*) Hine (A&P, 2001), (*Phoenissae*) Frank (1995), (*Phaedra*) Boyle (1987), Coffey and Mayer (CGLC, 1990), (*Thyestes*) Tarrant (1985), (*Troades*) Fantham (1982), Boyle (1994) and Keulen (2001)
Studies: Costa (1974), Griffin (1976) and Boyle (1997)
Reception: Share (1998)
WWW resources: <http://www.lateinforum.de/perssal.htm#Seneca>

SUETONIUS (AD 70–*c.* AD 130), biographer
Text: Ihm (BT, 1907), Rolfe et al. (LCL, 1998); (*Gramm.*) Kaster (1995)
Translation: Edwards (WC, 2000)
Commentaries: (*Caesar*) Butler/Cary/Townend (BCP, 1982), (*Augustus*) Carter (BCP, 1982), (*Tiberius*) Lindsay (BCP, 1995), (*Gaius*) Lindsay (BCP, 1993), (*Claudius*) Hurley (GCLC, 2001), (*Nero*) Warmington (BCP, 1977), Bradley (1978), (*Galba, Otho, Vitellius*) Murison (BCP, 1992), Shotter (A&P, 1993), (*Vespasian*), Jones (BCP, 1996), (*Domitian*) Jones (BCP, 1996) and (*Gramm.*) Kaster (1995)
Studies: Wallace-Hadrill (1983)
Reception: Dorey (1967)
WWW resources: <http://www.geometry.net/detail/authors/suetonius.html>

TACITUS (*c.* AD 56–after AD 118), historian
Works: (a) *Agricola*, (b) *Germania*, (c) *Dialogus*, (d) *Historiae*, (e) *Annales*
Texts: (a), (b), (c) Winterbottom and Ogilvie (OCT, 1975), (d) Fisher (OCT, 1911), Wellesley (BT, 1989), (e) Fisher (OCT, 1910) and Heubner (BT, 1983)
Translations: (a), (b), (c) Hutton et al. (LCL, 1970), (a) and (b) Birley (WC, 1999), (d) Fyfe/Levene (WC, 1997) and (e) Grant (PC, 1973)

Commentaries:

   (a) Ogilvie and Richmond (1967)
   (b) Benario (A&P, 1999) and Rives (keyed to translation) (1999)
   (c) Mayer (CGLC, 2001)
   (d) Book 1 in Damon (CGLC, 2003), Books 1–2 in Chilver (1979), Book 3 in Wellesley (1972) and Books 4–5 in Chilver and Townend (1985)
   (e) (complete) Furneaux et al. (1896 and 1907); Books 1–2 in Goodyear (1972 and 1981), Book 3 in Woodman and Martin (1996), Book 4 in Martin and Woodman (CGLC, 1989) and Books 5 and 6 in Martin (A&P, 2001)

Studies: Syme (1958b), Martin (1981) and Woodman (1998)
Reception: Luce and Woodman (1993) and Rives (1999)
WWW resources: <http://www.lateinforum.de/persf.htm#Tacitus>

TERENCE (active from 166 BC; *d.c.* 159), comic dramatist
Texts: in OCT, LCL and B
Translations: Radice (PC, 1976)
Commentaries: (*Adelphoe*) Martin (CGLC, 1976), Gratwick (A&P, 1987), (*Eun.*) Barsby (CGLC, 1999), (*Heaut.*) Brothers (A&P, 1988), (*Hecyra*) Ireland (A&P, 1990)
Studies: Goldberg (1986)
Reception: Duckworth (1952/1994)
WWW resources: <http://spot.colorado.edu/~traill/Terence.html>

TIBULLUS (55/48 BC–*c.* 19 BC), elegiac poet
Text: Lee (1990), Luck (BT, 1988)
Translation: Lee (1990)
Commentaries: Lee (1990), Murgatroyd (1981 and 1994), Maltby (2002)
Studies: Cairns (1979) and Lee-Stecum (1998)
Reception: *Atti del convegno* (1986)
WWW resources: <http://www.unc.edu/~oharaj/Tibulluslinks.html>

VIRGIL (*c.* 70–*c.* 19 BC), pastoral, didactic and epic poet
Works: (a) *Eclogues*, (b) *Georgics* and (c) *Aeneid*
Text: Mynors (OCT), Fairclough/Goold (LCL, 1999 and 2000)
Translations: (a) and (b) Day Lewis (WC, 1983), (c) West (PC, 1990)
Commentaries:

   (a) Coleman (CGLC, 1979) and Clausen (1994)
   (b) Thomas (CGLC, 1988) and Mynors (1990)
   (c) (all) Williams (1972–3); Books 1, 2, 4 and 6 in Austin (1971, 1964, 1955 and 1977); Books 3, 5 in Williams (1962 and 1960b); Book 7 in Horsfall (2000); Book 8 in Eden (1975) and Gransden (CGLC, 1976); Book 9 in

Hardie (CGLC, 1994); Book 10 in Harrison (1991); Book 11 in Horsfall (2003)

Studies (general only): Martindale (1997); vast bibliography at Suerbaum (1980)

Reception: Ziolkowski (1993), Gransden (1996), Martindale (1997) and Thomas (2001)

WWW resources: <http://virgil.org>

<http://www.petroniansociety.privat.t-online.de/bibliographien.htm>

PART I

Periods

CHAPTER ONE

The Early Republic: the Beginnings to 90 BC

Sander M. Goldberg

1 The Beginnings

By the early first century BC the Romans had a literature. And they knew it. When Cicero (with some irony) taunts the freedman Erucius as a stranger 'not even to *litterae*' (*ne a litteris quidem*: *S. Rosc.* 46) or tells his friend Atticus that he is 'sustained and restored by *litterae*' (*litteris sustentor et recreor*: *Att.* 4.10.1) or argues for more serious attention to *Latinas litteras* (*Fin* 1.4), he means 'literature' in much the modern sense of verbal art that is prized as cultural capital, texts marked not simply by a quality of language but by a power manifest in their use. Literature thus provided a tool for the educated class to define and maintain its social position. How this idea of literature took hold among the Romans and how individual works acquired positions of privilege in an emerging canon are especially important questions for the study of early texts because they became 'literature' only in retrospect as readers preserved them, established their value and made them part of an emerging civic identity. The Republican literature we traditionally call 'early' is not just a product of the mid-Republic, when poetic texts began to circulate, but also of the *late* Republic, when those texts were first systematically collected, studied, canonized and put to new social and artistic uses.

The result of that process is clearly visible by 121, when Gaius Gracchus challenged a Roman mob with powerful words:

> quo me miser conferam? quo vortam? in Capitoliumne? at fratris sanguine redundat. an domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantem videam et abiectam?

> Where shall I go in my misery? Where shall I turn? To the Capitol? It reeks with my brother's blood. To my home? So that I see my mother wretched, in tears, and prostrate? (*ORF* 61)

Even here in the face of death, Gracchus reflects his reading. His words echo Medea in a famous tragedy by Ennius:

> quo nunc me vortam? quod iter incipiam ingredi?
> domum paternamne? anne ad Peliae filias?

> Where shall I turn now? What road shall I begin to travel?
> To my father's house? To the daughters of Pelias?
>
> (Ennius *Trag.* 217–18J)

In time, Gracchus' speech also became a benchmark text: he and his Ennian model can both be heard in the anguish of Accius' Thyestes (231–2R) and the despair of Catullus' Ariadne (64.177–81). How did the script of Ennius' *Medea exul* become a school text for Gracchus a generation later and his own speech survive to be quoted and imitated in turn (e.g. Cic. *de Or.* 3.124; *Mur.* 88; Sall. *Iurg.* 14.17)? What awakened Romans to the texts in their midst and the work they could do?

Traditional literary history does not offer much help with such questions. It has been too reluctant to shift its gaze from the work of authors to that of readers. Who was reading what, when and why are more difficult questions to address than who wrote what and when; traditional histories rarely ask why. Answers to questions about reading require a history more sensitive to the problems of reception and more willingness to problematize the very idea of 'literature' than those currently on the shelf. Such a history may well turn the traditional story we tell about early Roman literature on its head, but challenging old truths has the advantage of bringing some new ones into view.

The traditional story is at best inadequate. Though Romans of an antiquarian bent haggled over the details, they settled on some basic facts we can no longer accept at face value (see Cic. *Brut.* 72–3). Roman literature did not simply begin, as Romans apparently believed, in 240 BC when a Greek freedman named Livius Andronicus translated and produced Greek plays for the *ludi Romani* ('Roman Games'). The date is impossibly late. Early Latium had a rich and complex cultural history, with growing levels of literacy, a high level of social organization, and significant Greek influences discernible long before the third century. Much of the evidence for the cultural life of archaic Rome remains controversial, but the archaeological record certainly supports the philologists' long-standing suspicion that Andronicus' new constructions rested on significant native foundations. The fragments of his work, for example, show considerable skill in adapting the quantitative metres of Greek drama to Latin requirements. A line like *pulicesne an cimices an pedes? Responde mihi* ('Fleas or bugs or lice? Answer me', fr. 1) is not just a competent trochaic septenarius, the metre that became a favourite of Plautus, but employs the same parallelism, alliteration and homoioteleuton common to popular verse and to the emerging Roman comic style. A fragment from the tragedy *Equos Troianus* (20–22 Warmington)

> Da mihi
> hasce opes quas peto, quas precor! Porrige,
> opitula!
>
> Grant me
> these powers which I request, for which I pray. Extend
> your aid!

preserves cretic dimeters, which suggests that Latin plays were lyric from the
beginning. Since successful performance required actors sufficiently skilled to
speak and sing complex Latin from the stage, the Roman theatre's first docu-
mented step cannot have been its first one. The notoriously obscure account of its
origin in Livy (7.2), who says that Andronicus was the first to add plots to what he
calls dramatic *saturae*, probably preserves a faint memory of the stage entertain-
ments that gave Andronicus' Latin-speaking actors their start.

  Nevertheless, the traditional date of 240 is also too *early* because what Andro-
nicus and his successors created for the Roman festivals was not immediately
'literature' (on early Roman tragedy see Fantham, Chapter 8 below; on comedy
see Panayotakis, Chapter 9 below). Their scripts were initially the jealously
guarded possession of the companies that commissioned and performed them.
Rome of the third century was unlike Athens of the fifth, where drama's role in
civic and religious life bestowed official status and made it a cultural benchmark.
The citizens who wrote, produced and performed Attic comedy and tragedy, who
competed for its prizes at the great festivals, rehearsed its choruses, created its
costumes and entertained its audiences had every reason to record and preserve
the evidence of their success in monuments, inscriptions and, at least by the mid-
fourth century, official copies of the plays performed. Rome was heir not to this
Attic model of civic theatre but to the later, commercial model of the Hellenistic
world, when plays were the property of self-contained, professional companies
who performed for hire, bringing their own scripts, costumes, masks and music
from city to city through the Greek, and eventually the Roman, world. Under this
system, all a Roman magistrate did to provide plays for the festival in his charge
was to contract with the head of such a company, a man like Plautus' Publilius
Pellio or Terence's sponsor, Ambivius Turpio. He would then do the rest.
Dramatists wrote for their companies, not for the state, and their scripts remained
company property. The alternative scenes preserved in the manuscripts of Plautus'
Cistellaria and *Poenulus* and Terence's *Andria* recall their origin as performance
texts, produced and reproduced as the commerce of the stage required.

  The production notes that accompany the plays of Terence (and, less com-
pletely, the *Pseudolus* and *Stichus* of Plautus) confirm this impression. Though
their official look recalls the Athenian *didascaliae*, they are hardly as official or
coherent as they appear. Here, for example, is the note for Terence's *Phormio* as
printed in modern texts:

INCIPIT TERENTI PHORMIO: ACTA LUDIS ROMANIS L. POSTVMIO
ALBINO L. CORNELIO MERVLA AEDILIBVS CVRVLIBVS: EGERE L.
AMBIVIVS TVRPIO L. HATILIVS PRAENESTINVS: MODOS FECIT
FLACCVS CLAVDI TIBIIS INPARIBVS TOTA: GRAECA APOLLODORV EPI-
DICAZOMENOS: FACTA IIII C. FANIO M. VALERIO COS.

Here begins Terence's *Phormio*. Performed at the Roman Games when L. Postu-
mius Albinus and L. Cornelius Merula were curule aediles. L. Ambivius Turpio and
L. Atilius from Praeneste starred. Claudius' slave Flaccus provided the music for
unequal pipes. The Greek original was Apollodorus' *Epidicazomenos*. Written
fourth. C. Fannius and M. Valerius were consuls.

Some of this may recall the first production. The year (161) is plausible, and a
story in the commentary of Donatus (on line 315) confirms that the actor-
manager Ambivius Turpio played the title role. Much more, however, is odd.
Why record the aediles, who did not preside over the *ludi Romani*? Who is Atilius
of Praeneste, and why preserve his name? Would any magistrate care about
Flaccus, the producer's hireling, or where the play fitted in the Terentian corpus?

   The version of this note preserved in the late antique Bembine codex raises
further questions.

INCIPT TERENTI PHORMIO ACTA LVDIS MEGALENSIB(VS) Q. CAS-
PIONE GN SERVILIO COS GRAECA APOLLODORV EPIDICAZOMENOS
FACTA IIII

Here begins Terence's *Phormio* performed at the ludi Megalenses when Q. Caspio
and Gn. Servilius were consuls. The Greek was Apollodorus' *Epidicazomenos*. Writ-
ten fourth.

As it happens, Donatus also assigns production of *Phormio* to the *Megalenses*,
which could explain the aediles' appearance in the record. Was the production of
Phormio, then, at the *ludi Megalenses* or *Romani*? In what year? The impossible
formula 'Q. Caspione Gn. Servilio cos' probably disguises the name Cn. Servilius
Caepio and the praenomen of his consular colleague, Q. Pompeius. Yet they were
consuls in 141, nearly a generation after Terence's death. What, then, are we
looking at, and where did it come from?

   The simplest explanation is that the notes conflate performances on at least two
separate occasions (*ludi Megalenses* and *ludi Romani*) a generation apart (161 and
141) as presented by two impresarios (Ambivius and Atilius), and that likelihood
suggests further deductions of interest. First, the source of the *didascaliae* is not
official but professional: this is the kind of information that producers would
preserve, not magistrates. Second, the fact of multiple productions means that the
scripts, with scenes altered as required, remained with the companies that com-
missioned them until, presumably sometime after 141, someone outside the

professional world took an interest, secured (and thereby stabilized) the texts, sorted through the accumulated lore accompanying them, and turned them into the books that educated Romans like Cicero came to know. The process by which plays like *Phormio* became 'literature' therefore significantly postdates their creation, and this fact has serious consequence for the story we tell about how Romans acquired their literature.

The history of writing may have begun around 240, but serious reading began much later. There had long been teachers at Rome – Andronicus himself may have been one – but when Suetonius, in the second century AD, looked into the question, he could trace a disciplined interest in texts back only to the early 160s, when the Greek scholar Crates of Mallos came to Rome on a diplomatic mission from Pergamum. Crates, says Suetonius, took a false step near the Palatine, broke his leg, and spent his convalescence lecturing and discussing literary topics with an eager audience of Romans (Suet. *Rhet.* 1.2). His master classes were necessarily in and on Greek – a Roman competence in Greek is far easier to imagine than a learned Greek like Crates holding forth in Latin – but rather than intimidating his audiences, Crates stimulated them to apply his methods to their own texts, which they promptly did. But what texts? Not drama, since scripts remained with the acting companies. Epic was the genre that first caught their eye.

2   Roman Epic (see also Hardie, Chapter 6)

Epic too was, in a sense, Andronicus' invention. At some unknown time, and for some unknown reason, he translated the *Odyssey* into Latin verse. Unlike his plays, however, which adapted Greek metres to Latin requirements, Andronicus' epic poem used a native metre, the so-called Saturnian of oracles and hymns, and established a different relationship with its Greek predecessor. This is clear from its opening line:

> Virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum
> Tell me, Camena, of the clever man
> (fr. 1)

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά...
Tell me, Muse, of the clever man who many things ...

> (*Od.* 1.1)

Cognates and calques (*insece* ~ ἔννεπε, *versutum* ~ πολύτροπον) and a similar word order recall the original, while the new metre and the Italian Camena standing in for Homer's Muse put some distance between the Latin line and its original. This first line of the first Latin epic suggests a freshness well beyond the merely dutiful kind of translation Horace recalls in his *Ars poetica*: *dic mihi, Musa,*

virum . . . (141–2). Andronicus' innovations may not themselves have been sufficient to win a following – Horace knew the poem only as a school text (Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.69–71) and Suetonius ignored it completely – but Naevius clearly saw possibilities in Andronicus' approach to the challenge of writing epic in Latin. His *Bellum Punicum*, the first original Roman epic and the first poem restored to favour after Crates' visit, continued the Saturnian experiment. The result was a highly innovative poem, blending myth and history in a powerful Roman idiom. His technique of layering epithets with a delayed identification, for example, as in the lines

> dein pollens sagittis inclutus arquitenens
> sanctus Iove prognatus Pythius Apollo
>
> Then mighty with arrows, the famous bow-holder,
> blessed son of Jupiter, Pythian Apollo[,]
>
> (fr. 20)

creates not only a larger unit than the short Saturnian cola might seem to encourage, but anchors its novelty in a characteristic Roman fondness for quasi-riddling effects. The sequence that culminates in identifying the bow-holding son of Jupiter as Pythian Apollo is but a solemn variation on the short cola followed by verbal payoff familiar from such unexceptional Plautine iambics as these:

> Stultitia magna est, mea quidem sententia,
> hominem amatorem ullum ad forum procedere
>
> It's absolute folly, at least in my opinion,
> to follow any man in love to the forum
>
> (*Cas.* 563–4)

The success still discernible in the fragments of Naevius' poem suggests that Saturnian narrative might have had a future and that Roman epic might then have taken a different path had not the greatest poet of pre-Vergilian Rome, Quintus Ennius, turned his back on Naevius' experiment and drawn closer to his Greek predecessors.

   Ennius' *Annales* not only created a Latin hexameter to replace the Saturnian but capitalized on its epic associations to incorporate Homeric mannerisms and Greek conventions: Ennius' Jupiter becomes *patrem divomque hominumque*, 'father of gods and men', closely imitating a Homeric phrase (592); a Roman tribune at Ambracia fights like Ajax at the Achaean ships (391–8); A warrior rushing to battle is likened to the high-spirited horse of a repeated Homeric simile (535–9). The resulting change in epic style was profound, but it was not