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ROMAN REPUBLICAN THEATRE

Theatre flourished in the Roman Republic, dramatic works of the period including the tragedies of Ennius and Pacuvius, the comedies of Plautus and Terence as well as the mimes of Laberius. Yet apart from the surviving plays of Plautus and Terence the sources are fragmentary and difficult to interpret and contextualize. This book provides an up-to-date and comprehensive overview of all aspects of the topic, incorporating recent findings and modern approaches. It discusses the origins of Roman drama and the historical, social and institutional backgrounds of all the dramatic genres to be found during the Republic (tragedy, *praetexta*, comedy, *togata*, *Atellana*, mime and pantomime). Possible general characteristics are identified, and attention is paid to the nature of the various dramatic genres and their development. The clear structure and full bibliography also ensure that the book has value as a source of reference for all upper-level students and scholars of Latin literature and ancient drama.

GESINE MANUWALD is Senior Lecturer in Latin Language and Literature at University College London. Her research interests cover Cicero's orations, Flavian epic and Neo-Latin literature, on which she has published several books and many articles. Her main focus of research is Roman drama. She has written extensively on the subject, including several articles on Roman comedy, a book on *fabulae praetextae*, Roman historical dramas (2001), and, most recently, a reader on Roman drama (2010).

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Preface

‘There is more to a beginning than just a start.’ This is how Sander M. Goldberg concluded a recent article (2007a: 29) on appreciating ‘archaic literature’ as both a work of art in its own right and a step within the literary development. He also warned against regarding early literature as primitive and soon to be superseded. This is indeed a perspective often foisted on early writers by later scholars (ancient and modern) and prevents modern recipients from realizing achievements as well as deficiencies in unbiased fashion.

It is in this context that the present work wishes to place itself, by making a contribution to a clearer understanding of the sweeping and imprecise term ‘Roman Republican drama’. Although the nature of the limited evidence presents particular methodological difficulties, it is important to make at least an attempt at getting a more precise view of the different stages and varieties of drama in Republican Rome, both for a proper appreciation of this literary genre and also with regard to Roman literature and culture. Though well aware of the various pitfalls and remaining uncertainties, this book therefore sets out to provide a synoptic overview of Roman drama over the course of the Republican period, exploring connections and developments among the various dramatic genres in their contemporary context, and thereby to offer a useful tool both to readers interested in Roman Republican drama and its role in Roman society and to those studying Roman literary history more generally.

Some of the views put forward will inevitably be contested in due course, particularly because the evidence in this field is scarce and often ambiguous; but it is one of the aims of this book to encourage discussion on this fascinating aspect of Roman culture.

Writing a comprehensive book on Roman drama that would allow me to point out connections between the various elements combining to make up ‘Roman Republican drama’ and the different areas of current research

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Preface

has long been on my mind, and this study continues work presented in previous monographs and a number of articles.

At different points in its development, research for this study has been carried out in Freiburg, Princeton, Oxford and London. I would like to thank warmly all colleagues and hosts for their continuing support and encouragement and the relevant libraries in these places for making all their resources available to me.

Individual parts of the argument were presented at the Villa Vergiliana in Cumae, in Oxford, London and Nottingham; the stimulating questions and helpful comments of the respective audiences have left their mark on the final product.

Thanks are also due to the participants in the one-day colloquium 'Meaningful Remains: Working with Literary Fragments from early Rome', organized by Costas Panayotakis and myself at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in March 2007, and the presenters at the panel 'Republican Rome – A Cosmopolitan City', which I ran at the Classical Association Conference in Liverpool in March 2008, for their readiness to take part and for presenting exciting observations and ideas on areas of particular interest to me.

When this book was starting to take shape, I was able to profit from productive discussions with Denis Feeney. At later stages I received generous advice from a number of experts in their particular fields, including Stephen Colvin, Bob Kaster, John North and Hector Williams. Larissa Bonfante, Tim Moore, Costas Panayotakis and Jeremy Tanner kindly agreed to look at drafts of individual sections, which hugely profited from their specialist expertise. Tony Boyle generously read the entire typescript; his comments have been most valuable, as have been those of the anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press. Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press proved a supportive and encouraging editor throughout; and the book has benefited hugely from thorough checks by my copy-editor, Fiona Sewell.

It goes without saying that writing such a book would not have been possible without the support of all these people, even though they might not share all the views eventually put forward.

LONDON, G.M.

Technical notes and abbreviations

TERMINOLOGY

For the dramatic genres that Roman writers called *fabula crepidata*/*tragoedia* and *fabula palliata*/*comoedia* respectively the terms ‘tragedy’ and ‘comedy’, more common in modern languages, have been adopted, except for contexts that demand precise terminology (where *crepidata*/*fabula crepidata*/Greek-style tragedy and *palliata*/*fabula palliata*/Greek-style comedy are used). For most other Roman dramatic genres, however, no established modern-language versions of the names exist and therefore the Latin ones must be kept, though they have been treated like English words (e.g. praetexta, togata).

QUOTATIONS OF AND REFERENCES TO LATIN TEXTS

For fragments of Republican drama the numberings of Ribbeck’s third edition of his collections of tragic and comic fragments (R.³) and of Warmington’s Loeb edition (W.) have been given (where applicable), since these editions are most readily available and these numbers will allow readers to find the texts in more recent editions. Hence, to keep references brief, the numberings of specific editions (Ennius: Jocelyn [J.]; Pacuvius: Schierl [S.]; Accius: Dangel [D.]; Caecilius Statius: Guardì [G.]; Turpilius: Rychlewska [Ry.]; togata: Daviault [Dav.]; Atellana: Frassinetti [F.]; mimus: Bonaria [B.]; Laberius: Panayotakis [P.]) have been omitted, since these works include concordances.

For Terence and Plautus the Oxford Classical Texts (Plautus: Lindsay; Terence: Kauer/Lindsay) have been used. Ennius’ *Annales* are quoted from Skutsch’s edition (Sk.), with the numbering of Warmington (W.) also given, his minor works from Vahlen’s second edition with the numberings of Vahlen (V.²) and of Warmington (W.). References to Livius Andronicus’ and Naevius’ epics are based on *FPL*³ (Blänsdorf), with the numbering of

Warmington (W.) given in addition. Accius' grammatical works (*Gram.*) are quoted from Dangel's edition (D.), with the numbering of Warmington (W.) added. For fragments of Lucilius' satires the numberings of Marx (M.) and Warmington (W.) are given.

Textual questions are highlighted only where the text is controversial and its establishment has a bearing on the argument. Hence minor differences in readings between the various editions consulted will not normally be mentioned; major differences might be indicated without receiving full treatment.

Longer quotations of Latin text have been translated. English translations of dramatic and satirical fragments have sometimes been inspired by E. H. Warmington's version; translations of other ancient works have been used as indicated; otherwise they are the author's own. For full information on editions and translations see the first section of the bibliography (arranged in alphabetical order of editors' names).

While a simple 'fr.' or a basic distinction between '*Trag.*' and '*Com.*' is often used to refer to fragments of Republican playwrights, a study that discusses the full range of serious and light dramatic genres in the Republican period must give more precise references, particularly since editions such as those of Ribbeck or Warmington have separate sections and/or numberings for the various dramatic genres.

The following abbreviations have therefore been used to distinguish between the dramatic genres: crepidata = *Trag.*; praetexta = *Praet.*; palliata = *Pall.*; togata = *Tog.*; Atellana = *Atell.*; mimus = *Mim.*; *incertum* = *Inc.* (depending on the context, this refers to a fragment of an unspecified work of a particular poet or to a fragment for which both writer and work are unknown). Names of playwrights have been abbreviated as follows: Livius Andronicus = Liv. Andr.; Naevius = Naev.; Ennius = Enn.; Pacuvius = Pac.; Accius = Acc.; Plautus = Plaut.; Caecilius = Caec.; Terence = Ter.; Turpilius = Turp.; Titinius = Tit.; Afranius = Afr.; Atta = At.; Pomponius = Pomp.; Novius = Nov.; Laberius = Lab. That results in references of the following type: 'Enn. *Trag.* 9 R.³ = 18 W.'. In the sections on the individual dramatists in Chapter 4 the names of the respective playwrights are usually omitted.

See also 'Abbreviations used for references to fragments' below.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

Since the present work touches on a wide range of different issues, the bibliography is rather extensive. Nevertheless, it is not a comprehensive

bibliography of works on Roman drama: it is not complete for all questions addressed, and there are particular gaps, for instance, as regards articles on individual fragments or studies and commentaries on individual preserved comedies. However, this bibliography lists the works that have proved useful for the present study and may provide starting points for those who wish to explore further some of the issues discussed (references to bibliographies or works providing overviews with bibliographical information are given at relevant points).

All these works (and some others) have informed the present study throughout, although some effort has been made to keep the notes brief, and therefore obvious references, particularly in cases of general agreement, are not always indicated. Older works are also sometimes left out as the newer ones cited will provide references to those. Neither can there be extensive discussion of all aspects of views in the secondary literature (especially in older works to which reactions are already available); instead there will often be brief references to further reading and/or to alternative views. In order to keep the argument focused, individual plays will be treated more extensively only if this leads to more general insights; points of detail will be relegated to the notes and/or confined to mentions of standard treatments (where those exist) instead of full discussions.

References to further reading or more detailed discussions of individual problems are given where they are most necessary or best fit the context. Numerous cross-references to other chapters (taking the form of, e.g., ‘see ch. 4.1’), therefore, not only refer to discussions of the same issue in a different context and/or from another perspective, but might also lead to further bibliographical information.

Names and titles of works of ancient authors other than those mentioned above are abbreviated according to *OCD* (*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, third edition, eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Oxford and New York 1996), as are general reference works and collections (e.g. *TLL*, *CAH*, *CIL*).

DATES

Dates without either BCE or CE are BCE.

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR REFERENCES TO FRAGMENTS

Acc.	Accius
Afr.	Afranius
At.	Atta

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<i>Atell.</i>	Atellana
Caec.	Caecilius
D.	Dangel (Accius)
Enn.	Ennius
<i>FPL</i> ³	<i>Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum</i> , third edition
<i>Gram.</i>	grammatical works
<i>Inc.</i>	<i>incertum</i>
Lab.	Laberius
Liv. Andr.	Livius Andronicus
M.	Marx (Lucilius)
<i>Mim.</i>	mimus
Naev.	Naevius
Nov.	Novius
Pac.	Pacuvius
<i>Pall.</i>	palliata
Plaut.	Plautus
Pomp.	Pomponius
<i>Praet.</i>	praetexta
R. ³	Ribbeck, third edition (dramatic fragments)
Sk.	Skutsch (Ennius' <i>Annales</i>)
Ter.	Terence
Tit.	Titinius
<i>Tog.</i>	togata
<i>Trag.</i>	crepidata
Turp.	Turpilius
V. ²	Vahlen, second edition (Ennius)
W.	Warmington (fragments of early playwrights and Lucilius)