

μόντα τυγχάνη, καὶ τὰ χρώμενα τῇ δυνάμει καὶ προσβάλλοντα τὴν ὄψιν. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι καὶ τὸ γινώσκειν, ἐν μὲν τὸ χρῆσθαι καὶ θεωρεῖν λέγομεν, ἐν δὲ τὸ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν.

This is a seminal statement of Aristotle's later, full-blown theory of potency and act.¹¹ And again, as in the *Ethics* and *De anima* passages cited above, there is a striking similarity to *Theaetetus* 197B.

I do not wish to suggest that the theory of potency and act is Plato's. Obviously, it is not. Plato explicitly distinguishes between the potential and the actual on only two occasions;

11. *Metaphysics* 9. 6–9, elaborated 1049b3 ff.; summarized 1051a4 ff.

12. *Plato's Progress* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 4: "Aristotle was, from pretty early in his career as a philosopher, quite at home with the notion of Potentiality *versus* Actuality, and with the kindred notions of Possibility, Contingency, Neces-

and, apart from these occasions, he makes little use of his distinction. Nevertheless, Plato's distinction between *κτῆσις* and *χρῆσις* (or between *κτῆσις* and *ἐξις*) is the source of Aristotle's distinction between *ἐξις* and *ἐνέργεια*. This distinction provides the stimulus for Aristotle's development of the theory of potency and act. The arguments of this paper will, I hope, convince those, like Professor Ryle,¹² who deny the existence of any such stimulus.

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sity, and Impossibility. That the stimulus to Aristotle's thoughts on these modal notions came from recent or contemporary Megarians is a tempting guess. At least no such stimulus could have come from anything written by Plato with the dubious exception of his *Hippias Minor*."

CATULLUS AND THE TRADITIONS OF LATIN POETRY

The Catullan revolution has become in recent years a glib phrase used by many scholars to denote the emergence into prominence of a new type of poetry, partly dependent upon Alexandrian prototypes. Unfortunately, that phrase has tended to depict too vividly Catullus and his contemporaries blazing a new trail in virgin territory, thereby obscuring the hesitant steps of the earlier Roman poets whom they were following with confidence and flamboyance. We can search with some success amongst Catullus' predecessors for his hallmarks.¹

I

Alexandrian poetry: Strong Alexandrian in-

fluence on Roman poets can be traced back even to Ennius, the father of Latin poetry, who adapted or translated Euhemerus, Sotades, and Arcestratus.² Of considerably greater interest for the study of Catullus is the fact that in the proem to his most important and mature work, the *Annals*, Ennius was, if not influenced by, at least aware of, the literary theories of Callimachus.³ Clausen⁴ believes that the proem was polemical, to refute the theories of Callimachus and to show that epic could still be written. Skutsch⁵ has remarked that Ennius was not only aware of these theories, but was writing out of respect for them (for since Ennius considered himself to be a reincarnation of Homer,⁶ whom Callim-

1. This article is not intended to be comprehensive, but to discuss some of the distinguishing features of Catullus' poetry. For general works in this field, see A. L. Wheeler, *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry* (Berkeley, 1934), pp. 61 ff.; H. Bardon, "Catulle et ses modèles poétiques de langue latine," *Latomus*, XVI (1957), 614–27; K. F. Quinn, *The Catullan Revolution* (Melbourne, 1959), pp. 1 ff.

2. For other Alexandrian influences, see O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Inaugural Lecture, University College, London, 1953), pp. 8–9, and J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels, 1967), pp. 64 ff.

3. For the evidence, see *Aetia*, Frag. 1. 2 Pf. and the Florentine scholiast; *Anth. Pal.* 7. 42; Prop. 2. 34. 32; Fronto *ad Marc.* 1. 4. 5. For the view that Callimachus did influence

Ennius, see J. H. Waszink, "The Proem in the *Annales* of Ennius," *Mnem.*, III (1950), 215–40; however, cf. also G. Marconi, "Il proemio degli *Annales* di Ennio," *RCCM*, III (1961), 224–45; and H. Fuchs, "Zu den *Annalen* des Ennius," *Mus. Helv.*, XII (1955), 201–5, who suggests the influence of Stesichorus.

4. W. V. Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin Poetry," *GRBS*, V (1964), 185–87.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 11. Although he has reservations about the influence of Callimachus, he states that Ennius was thinking of Callimachus.

6. Cf. Persius *Prolog.* 2. 3; Skutsch, "Enniana, I," *CQ*, XXXVIII (1944), 85–86.

achus admired, he could not be criticized for writing epic).

Many similarities between Lucilius and Callimachus have been noted by Puelma.⁷ For example, fragments assigned to Book 26 may be arranged to form part of a dialogue between Lucilius and a friend, in which the poet, apparently, declines to write what is usually interpreted as an epic poem.⁸ Like Callimachus, Lucilius was critical of the lofty style of epic⁹ and the bombast of tragedy.¹⁰ Cicero (*De or.* 2. 6. 25) records that Lucilius stated in his *Satires* what kind of reader he had in mind;¹¹ in one fragment Lucilius appears to refuse to write for the *populus*.¹² Similar themes can be found in the poetry of Catullus.¹³

From the end of the second century B.C., Roman poetry became increasingly influenced by Alexandria:¹⁴ Lutatius Catulus, Porcius Licinus, and Valerius Aedituus composed love epigrams adapted from the *Greek Anthology*; Matius is spoken of by Gellius as *doctus*¹⁵ and

composed scazons, a meter used by Callimachus and Herodas; Laevius¹⁶ was strongly influenced by Alexandria, as was Cicero.¹⁷ M. Terentius Varro,¹⁸ a poet often overlooked for his possible influences on Catullus, composed in the hendecasyllabic and galliambic meters. Even Lucretius,¹⁹ despite the solemnity of his poetry and his visions of grandeur, did not escape Alexandrian influence.

Catullus and some of his contemporaries,²⁰ like Callimachus and other Alexandrians, wrote, in contrast to the traditional epic, the short mythological poem which has become known as the epyllion.²¹ The introduction of this type of hexameter poem to Rome is usually ascribed to Valerius Cato, although it may be said with more justification that Cinna composed the first Latin epyllion.²² However, there are indications, despite the problems of chronology and fragmentary poetry, that poems of a similar nature, e.g. the *Helena* of Laevius,²³ written in hexameters but in the case of Laevius certainly not

7. M. Puelma Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos* (Frankfurt, 1949); cf. also I. Mariotti, *Studi Luciliani* (Florence, 1960), pp. 1 ff.

8. E.g., Frags. 612M, 700W; 620–21M, 713–14W. For the interpretation of *vetus historia* as an epic poem, see Puelma, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–45; Mariotti, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16. Here we are confronted with the problem, which besets most fragmentary poetry, of deciding to whom isolated fragments refer: Marx (on Frag. 621) believes that it is the poet who rejects epic; Warmington, that it is the friend. If it is the poet, the passage may well be compared with Hor. *Sat.* 2. 1. 10–12.

9. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 10. 54; Serv. *ad Aen.* 11. 601; Jerome (cf. Marx Frag. 1189). It is problematic whether Lucilius was attacking the epic genre or merely the lofty style, but in either case it is reminiscent of Callimachus.

10. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 10. 53; Gell. 17. 21. 49. For Callimachus and tragedy, see Frag. 215 Pf.

11. I.e., neither the *doctissimi* nor the *indoctissimi*. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 168, interprets the reader as “homme moyen lettré.” Newman, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 f., thinks that the poet was being ironical and mock-modest and was not writing for a wide audience, an interpretation which would better fit Frags. 588–89M (n. 12).

12. “nunc itidem populo <placere nolo> his cum scriptoribus: / volumus capere animum illorum” (Frag. 588–89M). Warmington (Frag. 721), however, rejects the words in brackets.

13. Apart from his obvious dislike of long epic, cf. his attitude to “tumidus Antimachus” and to the *populus* (95. 9–10).

14. Cf. the surveys of E. Norden, *Die römische Literatur*⁶ (Leipzig, 1961), pp. 33 ff.; H. Bardon, *La littérature latine inconnue* (Paris 1952), I, 124 ff., *et al.*

15. Gell. 7. 6. 5, 10. 24. 10. *Doctus* almost certainly contains the same ideas as *doctrina* (cf. n. 19).

16. E.g., the *Phoenix* (Frag. 22 Morel) was obviously

influenced by the *Pteryges* of Simmias.

17. Cf. the *Aratea* modeled on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, and the possible Hellenistic sources of the *Alcyones* (n. 23), *Limon*, *Nilus*.

18. Hendecasyllables occur in Frags. 49, 101, 565–68 Buecheler. This meter was possibly used earlier by Laevius (cf. Frag. 32 Morel). Galliambics occur in Frags. 79, 131–32, 275 Buecheler. Problems of chronology (cf. C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* [Leipzig and Berlin, 1922], pp. 207–26; H. Dahlmann, *s.v. M. Terentius Varro*, *RE*, Supp. VI [1935], 1268) make the influence of Varro on Catullus uncertain, but other resemblances may be noted: both poets also used the hexameter, elegiac, and glyconic meters; the vocabulary of the galliambic verses of Varro is similar to that found in Catullus; themes in the epithalamia of Varro (Frag. 10, 87, 187 Buecheler) are similar to those in Poem 63 of Catullus (e.g. vss. 119–20, 179–81, 52–53). Cf. L. Alfonsi, *Poetae Novi* (Como, 1945), pp. 177–78.

19. Cf. the Alexandrian commonplaces in Lucretius 1. 926 ff., 4. 180–82 and the reference of Statius *Silv.* 2. 7. 76 to *doctus Lucretius*. These instances were kindly pointed out by E. J. Kenney of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

20. Cinna (cf. Cat. 95, Frags. 6–7 Morel), Calvus (Frag. 9–14 Morel), Cornificius (Frag. 2 Morel), probably Valerius Cato (cf. Suet. *Gramm.* 11), perhaps Caecilius (cf. Cat. 35. 18).

21. Although J. F. Reilly, “Origins of the word ‘Epyllion,’” *CJ*, XLIX (1953), 111–14, has pointed out that this is a modern term, it will be used here for convenience to describe the type of poem represented by Callimachus’ *Hecale* and Catullus 64.

22. Cf. Clausen, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

23. Cf. Frag. 11 Morel: “tu qui permensus ponti maria alta / velivola.” One would expect that Laevius composed this poem before the epyllion came to Rome. Cf. also the *Alcyones* of Cicero: “hunc genuit claris delapsus ab astris /

traditional epic,²⁴ had preceded these compositions.

Certainly at the end of the second century B.C., there seems to have been a trend away from "national" literature²⁵ which paved the way for the Catullan generation.

II

Satirical epigrams: Varro (*L.L.* 7. 28) records two poems written about the turn of the second century B.C. The first is assigned to a certain Manilius: "Cascum duxisse cascum non mirabile est, / quoniam cariosas conficiebat nuptias" (=p. 52 Morel); the second, to a certain Papinius:²⁶ "Ridiculum est cum te cascum tua dicit amica, / fili Potoni, sesquisenex puerum. / dic rusum pusam: sic fiet 'mutua muli,' / nam vere pusus tu, tua amica senex" (=p. 42 Morel). Both poems pun on the term *cascus*. The epigram of Papinius, which wittily satirizes an aged *amica* who calls her young lover Casca, is in the same spirit as Poem 94 of Catullus with its pun on *mentula*: "Mentula moechatur. Moechatur mentula? Certe. / Hoc est quod dicunt: ipsa olera olla legit." Witty epigrams containing puns appear to have been common in early Roman poetry. The following verse on Carbo may also be mentioned: "Postquam

Crassus carbo factus, Carbo crassus factus est"²⁷ (=p. 44 Morel). There is, consequently, evidence to suppose that there was a movement toward this type of satirical epigram which had its roots in popular tradition.²⁸

III

Invective: The research of Usener and others²⁹ has convincingly shown the debt of Catullus to the popular Italian tradition, from which came such features as the *Fescennini*, *flagitatio*, and much of his obscene abuse.³⁰ Although at times he wrote in the manner of an Archilochus³¹ or a Hipponax³² and was occasionally influenced by Hellenistic epigrams,³³ Catullus was certainly aware of the traditions of invective which obtained at Rome in the first century B.C.³⁴

IV

Love epigrams: The first extant Latin love epigrams, those of Lutatius Catulus and his fellow poets (see above), may be compared with several epigrams of Catullus, since they are adaptations from Hellenistic sources. Although only five such poems have survived—which has led some scholars to question their value for Catullus³⁵—these may well have been popular types of compositions before the time of Catullus. The language and

praevis Aurorae, solis noctisque satellites" (Frag. 1 Morel). This appears to refer to Ceyx and his wife Alcyone who were transformed into birds (cf. *Ov. Met.* 11. 410 ff.). The problem remains whether this poem was influenced by the Roman *epyllia*; it may be unlikely, since Cicero probably composed the poem early in life (cf. *SHA Gord.* 3. 2). It may rather have been part of the general trend toward Alexandrian poetry (cf. his *Aratea*).

24. Since it seems to have belonged to the *Erotopaegnia*.

25. The "national" poem in the first century B.C., before the time of Augustus, appears to be something of a rarity.

26. On the variant readings for the author's name, see Morel, p. 42 and Schanz-Hosius, I, 167.

27. Cf. also the *iocularis libellus* assigned to Cicero by Quintilian 8. 6. 73. One of the epigrams from this work is extant: "Fundum Vettus vocat, quem possit mittere funda: / ni tamen exciderit, qua cava funda patet" (Frag. 4 Morel).

28. Cf. the apparent play upon words in the popular verse: "rex erit qui recte faciet, qui non faciet, non erit" (p. 30 Morel). The popular verses against Caesar and others (pp. 92-93 Morel) are of a similar nature; the pun also appears to have been common in graffiti (cf. *CIL* IV. 4971). More sophisticated puns appear in Catullus, e.g. in Poem 26, which has close parallels with a poem of Furius Bibaculus (Frag. 2 Morel). Cf. W. E. Heidel, "Catullus and Furius Bibaculus," *CR*, XV

(1901), 215-17. The tradition continues through to Martial.

29. H. Usener, "Italische Volksjustiz," *Rh. Mus.*, LVI (1901), 1-26; cf. I. K. Horváth, "Catulle et la tradition populaire italique," *AAnthung*, V (1957), 169-200, and J.-P. Cèbe, "Sur les trivialités de Catulle," *REL*, XLIII (1965), 221-29.

30. For parallels in Catullus with Pompeian graffiti, cf. *CIL* IV, *passim*, and E. Diehl, *Pompeianische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes* (Bonn, 1910), nos. 611-67.

31. E.g., Poem 40 of Catullus may be compared with Frags. 45 and 88 Diehl³; cf. Lucian *Pseudol.* 1. 1.

32. Cf. Frag. 10, p. 115 Diehl³ for his use of invective. However, there are no real parallels with Catullus.

33. O. Hezel in *Catull und das griechische Epigramm* has noted similarities, but there are few examples of strong invective in Greek epigrams by pre-Catullan poets. Cf., however, Alcaeus of Messene (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 518, 519; 7. 247; 11. 12), Dioscorides (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 363), Meleager (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 223).

34. For invective in poetry at this time, see C. A. Van Rooy, *Studies in Classical Satire* (Leyden, 1965), pp. 55 ff. Invective was also common in pamphlets and political speeches, cf. Bardon, *op. cit.*, I, 284-90.

35. E.g., W. S. Maguinness in his review of Quinn, *JRS*, L (1960), 280.

the style are similar to the following Pompeian graffito:³⁶

..... tui me oculi pos(t)quam deduxstis in
ignem
..... vim vestreis largificatis geneis
..... non possunt lacrimae restinguere
flam(m)am
..... cos incendunt tabifican(t)que animum
[CIL IV. 4966].

Catullus was probably the first Roman poet to incorporate the "subjective" element in this type of epigram,³⁷ which in turn appears to have set a trend.

V

Conclusion: The belief that the poetry of Catullus was to a large extent divorced from the traditions of Roman poetry has become widespread. Scholars have spoken of the poets of the Catullan generation as "revolutionaries."³⁸ Quinn has stated (p. 26) the elements which he believes produced this revolution: "Firstly, the poet becomes an independent personality who forces his personality into his poetry. Secondly, the poet abandons the service of the community for a more esoteric, more purely poetic kind of poetry. Thirdly, the unit becomes the short poem, intensely per-

sonal and structurally sophisticated." Catullus was, in many respects, an original poet, but is it legitimate to speak of his poetry entirely in terms of revolution? In early Roman poetry there are signs of the personal element; one need only think of the poets of the Scipionic circle.³⁹ "Non-national" literature, we have seen, was probably the vogue when Catullus began to write. The attitude of earlier writers of occasional or "short" poetry toward their compositions is unknown, but there is no evidence to suggest that Catullus and his fellow epigrammatists, for example, considered their poems trivial. The careful workmanship, the adaptation of Greek models, and the avoidance of translating suggest that the poets themselves believed in their poetry. Gellius, in fact, says of their epigrams (19. 9. 10) that there was nothing in Greek or Roman literature "mundius, venustius, limatius, tersius."

Discretion, therefore, should be used concerning the poets grouped around Catullus, who may be considered revolutionary, not in fundamentally changing the traditions of poetry, but in bringing to prominence what in many cases had existed before.⁴⁰

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36. *Ignis* occurs twice in Licinus (Frag. 6. 2 Morel), once in Aedituus (Frag. 2. 5), *flamma* occurs in the same two poems, *incendo* in Licinus (Frag. 6. 3), *vis* in Aedituus (Frag. 2. 3), *animus* in Catulus (Frag. 1. 1); the expression *flammas restinguere* appears as *flammas . . . extinguere* in Aedituus (Frag. 2. 3). Although no exact date can be given to this graffito (the editors of *CIL* assign it to the time of Sulla or Cicero), its relation to the poems of Catullus *et al.* seems obvious.

37. For possible personal love poetry in Latin before Catullus, cf. Puelma, *op. cit.*, p. 271, who suggests that Lucilius wrote "ein persönliches Liebesgedicht an die schöne Phryne"; G. Lieberg, *Puella Divina* (Amsterdam, 1962), p. 47, who speaks (with some exaggeration) of Lucilius as "der erste subjektive Liebesdichter Roms"; Apuleius *Apol.* 10, who states that Lucilius wrote about boys using their own names and mentions them in conjunction with the loved ones of Catullus, Tigidas, Propertius, and Tibullus; F. Leo, "Die

römische Poesie in der sullanischen Zeit," *Hermes*, XLIX (1914), 187, who suggests that Laevius composed personal love poetry. On the problems involved in the terms "subjective" and "objective," cf. Newman, *op. cit.*, pp. 365 ff.

38. E.g., R. Reitzenstein, "Das neue Kunstwollen in den *Amores* Ovids," *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXIV (1935), 64-65; H. Patzer, "Zum Sprachstil des neoterischen Hexameters," *Mus. Helv.*, XII (1955), 77; Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

39. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2. 1. 71-74 and the comments of Pseudo-Acron; Val. Max. 8. 8. 1. Cf. also the "circle" of Catullus; he at least as an eminent politician had no need of a patron.

40. This article has been adapted from a thesis submitted to the University of Sheffield for the degree of Ph.D. (1968). Since it was submitted to *CP*, there has appeared the monograph of D. O. Ross, Jr., *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), which bears out much of what is stated above on Catullus and the Pompeian graffiti.

ENNIUS' INDUTA FUIT SAEVA STOLA

In his comment on line 4 of the *Aeneid* ("ui superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram"), Servius says:

SAEVAE cum a iuvando dicta sit Iuno, quaerunt multi cur eam dixerit "saevam," et putant temporale esse epitheton, quasi saeva circa Troianos,