

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 Catullus (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,

nescientes quod "saevam" dicebant veteres magnam, ut Ennius *induta fuit saeva stola*, id est, "magna." item Vergilius, cum ubique pium inducat Aeneam, ait (XII 107) *maternis saevus in armis Aeneas*, id est, "magnus."¹

Few have agreed with Servius' singular interpretation of these verses,² but the editors of Ennius have dutifully added the four words cited from their author to his fragmentary tragic corpus.³ It is with this brief Ennian quotation that we are here concerned.

There is no reason to suspect the genuineness of the phrase, and a close examination of it tends not only to substantiate its Ennian authorship but also to suggest the context in which the fragment must originally have occurred. *Induta fuit saeva stola*: "she was clothed in a *saeva stola*." "*Induere se*," says Forcellini,⁴ "vel *alium aliqua re* est vestire et quomodocumque obtegere." Virgil uses a similar construction at *Aen.* 5. 673-74: "galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem, / qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat." "*Induere se aliqua re* vel *in rem aliquam* est etiam immittere, implicare."⁵ Virgil uses the ablative with *induo* in this sense also at *Aen.* 10. 680-82: "haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc, / an sese mucrone ob tantum dedecus

amens / induat et crudum per costas exigit ensem."

The English translations which Forcellini gives are "to put on, clothe,"⁶ but the word can also mean *implicare* and can imply a hostile or harmful action. *Induo* is nowhere else found in the extant remains of Ennius,⁷ so the general usage of the verb in the anteclassical and classical periods is our only guide. Since the word is most commonly used in reference to garments or other articles of clothing or covering for the body,⁸ but can also imply (with reflexive or middle force) "to become involved or entangled in," "to be impaled upon" or "to be caught in the toils of,"⁹ it is peculiarly well suited to the description of one who is caught in the folds of a destructive garment. In fact, one of the references given in note 8, Cicero *Tusc.* 2. 8. 20, is precisely such a description: "cui [Herculi] cum Deianira sanguine Centauri tinctam tunicam induisset. . ." This version of the death of Hercules is, to be sure, well known, though the tradition may be a late one.¹⁰ There is, however, one other, and more popular, occurrence of the theme of the fatal garment in ancient literature: the death of Jason's new bride through the wiles of Medea, his discarded wife. The Ennian line is unlikely

1. The text cited is the Harvard *Servius*; Thilo-Hagen differs very slightly.

2. See the treatment of the evidence in Forcellini, Ernout-Meillet, Walde-Hofmann (all *s.v. saeuus*), Walde-Pokorny (under the root *sāl-*), Warmington (in his Ennius), and the Virgilian commentators in general. Donatus explicitly contradicts Servius. The origin of the word *saeuus* is not known with certainty. Virgil in his use of it may, of course, have had in mind a Greek adjective like *δεινός*, *αλνός*, or *ἀπηνής*, as suggested by J. Henry (*Notes of a Twelve Years' Voyage of Discovery in the First Six Books of the Enis* [Dresden, 1853], p. 4) and E. Benoist (*Oeuvres de Virgile* [Paris, 1884], *ad loc.*). I have in my own researches collected some twenty Greek words which would serve as more or less plausible equivalents. Nowhere in extant Latin literature prior to the time of the *Aeneid*, however, have I discovered a context in which *saeuus* is clearly intended as a translation. For further consideration of these and related problems, see my unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1968), in which, through the kindness of Professor W. Ehlers, the materials of *TLL* concerning *saeuus*, though not yet published, have been incorporated.

Another reason for doubting Servius' interpretation, apart from its intrinsic unlikelihood in the Virgilian context, is that he on other occasions suggests odd equivalences. At *Aen.* 12. 107, he says that *saeuus* means *fortis* (which at any rate

fits the context well enough); at *Ecl.* 3. 86, he equates *nouus* and *magnus*.

3. Ribbeck, *Inc. Nom. Rel.* 391; Vahlen, *Sc.* 410, *Fab. Inc.*; Warmington, Unassigned Fragments 419; Jocelyn, *Incerta* 396.

4. *S.v. induo*, I. c.

5. *Ibid.*, I. d.

6. *Ibid.*, *ad cap.*

7. No other Ennian examples are given in *TLL*, Forcellini, or the indexes of Ribbeck and Vahlen.

8. E.g., *vestem* (Ter. *Eun.* 702; Verg. *Aen.* 11. 76); *vestes* (Verg. *Georg.* 3. 364; Ov. *Her.* 21. 90); *palla* (Rhet. *Her.* 4. 47. 60); *tunicam* (Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 8. 20); *lato purpura clavo* (Ov. *Trist.* 4. 10. 29); *loricam* (Curt. 4. 6. 14; Verg. *Aen.* 7. 639); *thoracem* (Curt. 7. 5. 16); *galeam* (Caes. *BG* 2. 21); *soccus* (Cic. *De or.* 3. 32. 127); *torquem* (Cic. *Fin.* 2. 22. 73); *anulum* (Cic. *Off.* 3. 9. 38); *arma* (Liv. 30. 31. 5).

9. E.g., in *laqueum* (Plaut. *Cas.* 25); *acutissimis vallis* (Caes. *BG* 82); in *nubem* (Cic. *Diu.* 2. 19. 44).

10. Escher, *s.v. Deianeira*, *RE*, VIII (1901), 2380: "Erst durch Sophokles scheint die Sage von dem vergifteten Gewand eingeführt zu sein." Cf. S. G. Kapsomenos, *Sophokles' Trachinierinnen und ihr Vorbild: Eine literargeschichtliche und textkritische Untersuchung* (Athens, 1963), pp. 1-17, where the entire question is reviewed.

to refer to Hercules or to any other male, since the subject is evidently modified by the feminine participle *induta*.¹¹ But in the Medea legend, it is a woman—sometimes called Glauce, sometimes Creusa—who dons the fatal garment. The words *induta fuit stola* would of themselves suggest the Medea story, and since we know that Ennius wrote a *Medea* for which the Euripidean *Medea* was the model,¹² it seems only natural to suppose that the words quoted by Servius are taken from that play. Ennius' play must have contained a line very similar to this one; this line exists and is credited expressly to Ennius. It does not, then, seem rash to assign it to his *Medea*. We should not expect the cloak to be described as "large," since size is not its essential characteristic (however large it may have been); if it is to be given a single epithet, we should expect "fatal" or "destructive." In short, all difficulties are removed if we take *saeua* in its usual meaning (*pace* Servius) and assign the line to the play which the words themselves most readily and naturally suggest.

The closest Euripidean line is *Medea* 1159 (cf. 1003–4, 1065–66, 1188–89): λαβοῦσα πέπλους ποικίλους ἡμπέσχετο. Euripides is emphasizing the seductive qualities of the garment, as he does in other places as well (947 ff., 982 ff., and throughout the entire passage from which the line in question is taken); any mention of its destructiveness would be out of place here. The fatal properties of the garment are made clear elsewhere in the play; nowhere does Euripides mention its size. There is no reason to suppose that largeness would have made it more attractive to Glauce.

Ennius' use of *stola*, too, is apt. The *stola* is, strictly speaking, "vestis muliebris ad talos usque dimissa, sinuosa, rugis plicisque abun-

dans et zona ad corpus adstricta, cui pallium aut palla superinduitur" (Forcellini, *s.v.*), and this fits our context well enough; but the Greek usage was much broader, and "latiore sensu est communis omnium vestium appellatio apud Latinos veteres Graecorum morem imitatos, ut *Non. p.* 537. 24 *Merc.* observavit" (*ibid.*). We should expect Ennius to follow Greek usage, and indeed we know that he did, for he twice describes Telephus as wearing a *stola* (*Sc.* 330 V² and 339 V²). Thus the word cannot be said to refer to any particular garment. The Greeks were, at least in the language of tragedy, imprecise in their terminology for clothing. Euripides nowhere describes the garment which Medea gives Glauce as a στολή, yet it should not surprise us for Ennius to use *stola*: it is the best possible Latin word, suggesting as it does a Greek garment, without being more specific than is desired. Euripides sometimes calls the garment a πέπλος, in the singular (e.g., 786, 949); sometimes makes it plural, πέπλοι, though referring still to a single garment (e.g., 1065, 1159); and sometimes calls it κόσμος, perhaps including in the term the golden diadem which accompanies the robe (e.g., 954, 1156). Euripides does elsewhere use the word στολή freely, even applying it to Heracles' lion skin (*HF* 465). Sophocles is still more liberal in such matters. In the *Trachiniae*, he variously describes the garment which caused the death of Heracles as a χιτών (e.g., 580), a πέπλος (e.g., 602), a πέπλωμα (e.g., 613), and a στολή (e.g., 764). Ennius would not be likely to limit his own freedom in this usage more narrowly than did his Greek tragic models.

The *stola* in Ennius' line is partially personified; or, perhaps preferably, we may say that the feelings and intentions of Medea are

11. The possibility that *saeua stola* is nominative does exist, though it is slight. The words are more naturally taken as ablative—Vahlen, Jocelyn, Warmington, and Walde-Hofmann, among others, so take them. Inasmuch as *induo* is not to be found elsewhere in Ennius, we cannot look for parallels in the poet's own works. In early Roman tragedy and epic, where the word is admittedly rare, *indutus* always modifies the person or thing covered, never the thing covering. This is true also of the eight occurrences of the participle in the *Aeneid* (cf. the remark of Servius concerning the construction of *indutus*, *ad Aen.* 2. 275). Its single occurrence in the *Georgics*, however, is *uestesque rigescunt indutae*, 3.

363–64. On the other hand, Ennius, who does use *stola* on three other occasions in his dramatic works (as given in the indexes of Ribbeck, Vahlen, and Jocelyn), has the word consistently in the ablative.

12. *Cic. Fin.* 1. 2. 4. Whether (as Vahlen believed) that play of Ennius is to be identified with the *Medea Exul* mentioned by Nonius and Probus, or Ennius in fact wrote two dramas concerned with the Medea legend, is not of critical importance for the chief points of this paper. For the most recent discussion on that question, see Jocelyn (pp. 343 ff.), who believes that there were two plays.

transferred to her instrument of destruction. Ennius elsewhere describes parts of the body and articles of clothing or armor in human terms:

Hannibal audaci cum pectore de me hortatur
[Ann. 381 V2].
Effudit voces proprio cum pectore sancto
[Ann. 540 V2].
Utinam ne umquam, Mede, Colchis cupido corde
pedem extulisses [Sc. 279 V2].
Peto priusquam oppeto malam pestem mandatam
hostili manu [Sc. 162 V2].
praepete ferro
Histri tela manu iacientes sollicitabant
[Ann. 407-8 V2].
Proletarius publicitus scutisque feroque
Ornatur ferro [Ann. 183-84 V2].
et quis illaec est quae lugubrⁱ
Succincta est stola [Sc. 386-87 V2].

13. P. 198. 3-4 M.

14. They were perhaps suggested by line 1196 of Euripides' play, where Glauce's body is described as "difficult to recognize, except for a parent" (πλὴν τῷ τεκόντι κάρτα δυσμαθῆς ἰδεῖν). Ennius may have added to the drama and the pathos (if we grant him this freedom in his version) by having Creon

The last of these fragments is especially illuminating. The editors print these words, quoted by Nonius,¹³ with the tragic fragments from unidentified plays of Ennius. The *Medea* may well be the source of these lines also, though in the absence of a Euripidean parallel this hypothesis cannot be substantiated.¹⁴ Whatever their origin, the mere existence of the phrase *lugubri stola* in an Ennian context sheds further doubt upon the queer meaning given *saeua stola* by Servius and tends to confirm the interpretation which would give the adjective its more ordinary force.¹⁵

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actually fail, for a moment, to recognize the mutilated body of his daughter.

15. A remarkably close English parallel is to be found in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1. 12. 22. 2-3): "For she had layd her mournfull stole aside, / And widow-like sad wimple throwne away."

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ἃ δὲ καὶ αὐτόθι τοι διαθρύπτεται· ὥς ἂν' ἀκάνθας
ταῖ καπνυραῖ χαῖται, τὸ καλὸν θέρος ἀνίκα φρύγει,
καὶ φεύγει φιλέοντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα διώκει...

One aspect which seems to make the poetry of Theocritus more palatable to latter-day taste than that of some of his Hellenistic contemporaries or his pastoral successors is the clarity and economy with which he is able to create vivid and attractive pictures through comparison and description. In some passages editors and critics have not always done complete justice to this gift by their "elucidation." The following note aims to re-establish Theocritus' neatness in a point of comparison, of which editors seem to have made unnecessarily heavy weather.

The song of Daphnis in *Idyll* 6 presents an apparently unprecedented version of the Polyphemus-Galatea relationship in which *he* affects indifference to *her* advances. She pelts him with apples and, when he ignores this, she throws them at his sheep dog, which runs up and down barking. As Galatea emerges from

the sea, there is a very real danger that the dog will jump up in its excitement and attack Galatea's legs. Still Polyphemus seems to take no notice, although even as Galatea reaches the shore (καὶ αὐτόθι) she is attempting to provoke a reaction from him. Gow sees her as acting in a "wanton" manner (διαθρύπτεται) "rather provocative than . . . coy"; Cholmeley suggested "coquets." The only point of comparison Gow can find between Galatea's action and thistledown is their levity: "The simile is loosely attached to its context; Galatea is light and inconsequent as thistledown, but her inconsequence is described in terms inapplicable to the thistledown." Cholmeley finds a little more point here, connecting Theocritus' simile with its probable source of inspiration in Homer (*Od.* 5. 328 ff., where the shipwrecked Odysseus is tossed by the waves, like thistledown in the air): "Galatea is as fickle and restless as the thistledown is tossed this way and that never settling." Gow then pronounces the first part of 17 irrelevant: