

as payable in denarii without the option of payment in Greek denominations. Furthermore, the evidence of such inscriptions as these, including the decree of Hadrian discussed above, is substantiated by the remarkably meager remains of Imperial silver coins in Greek denominations uncovered by archaeologists throughout western Asia Minor in particular.<sup>33</sup> Summarizing the implications of the finds there, Woodward observes that, as early as the middle of the first century A.D., the need "for small change in silver in western Asia Minor . . . was met under the Flavian emperors partly by denarii from the mint of Ephesus but much more completely by those from the Roman mint"; and he adds that the inscription of Hadrian from Pergamum "leaves us in no doubt that in his reign the ordinary denarii from the mint of Rome represented the smaller silver currency in circulation."<sup>34</sup> With the establishment of Roman authority, in short, the antique stater with its Achaemenid rate of exchange no longer governed the value of such drachmas, Hellenistic or Imperial, as still circulated in Sardis; those coins were governed, and soon replaced, by the denarius, itself governed by the Roman aureus. Under these conditions, the equivalence upon which the whole point of *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 239 turns could not make sense.

Straton is not an archaizing poet. He is quite capable of employing hoary references from myth and from high literature produced by his predecessors, but the real furniture of his work belongs to the city and the neighborhoods in which he and his readers lived, as a thorough reading of his verse makes only too clear. In any case, when classical poets return to an earlier era to find material or a style, it is not the arcana of commerce and finance that they bring back with them. No tradition can be found in the history of the epigram, or anywhere else, for the riddling use of antique exchange rates. It was certainly not a literary commonplace, early or late; and few Hadrianic readers, though they might recognize a line lifted from Aratus, can have known much more about exact money values in the second or first century B.C. than readers now know of such values in the sixteenth century A.D. The use in *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 239 of Hellenistic exchange rates between Greek coins is a typical example of Straton's reliance on the ordinary phenomena of his own time to furnish his poetry, and it therefore establishes his latest date well before the second century A.D. and probably before the birth of Christ.<sup>35</sup>

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33. See above, n. 18, and Woodward, "The Cistophoric Series," pp. 172-73.

34. "The Cistophoric Series," p. 173.

35. I am grateful to the anonymous referees of *CP* for many constructive suggestions.

CICERO *PRO MURENA* 29: THE ORATOR AS *CITHAROEDUS*,  
THE VERSATILE ARTIST

In the *Pro Murena*, Cicero asserts that the military glory of his client was one of the important factors that moved the voters to elect Murena consul in 63 rather than Servius Sulpicius, a rival candidate who was prosecuting Murena for

*ambitus*. Cicero states that Murena's military distinction carried more weight with the voters than the fame of Sulpicius as the leading *iuris consultus* of his day (*Mur.* 22 ff.). After a particularly brilliant section in which he lampoons the puffed-up ways of lawyers (26–27) and belittles the worth of their profession (28), Cicero goes on to claim that the merit of a jurisconsult is even inferior to that of an orator (29), while the orator in turn has less standing than an expert in military affairs (30). In order to show that oratory is a higher calling than jurisprudence, Cicero observes that many a jurisconsult is an orator manqué (29): “itaque mihi videntur plerique initio multo hoc [i.e., a career as an orator] maluisse, post, cum id adsequi non potuissent, istuc [i.e., the profession of the jurisconsult] potissimum sunt delapsi.” To illustrate his point, he introduces a proverbial expression to make the following comparison:

Ut aint in Graecis artificibus eos auloedos esse qui citharoedi fieri non potuerint, sic nos videmus, qui oratores evadere non potuerint, eos ad iuris studium devenire.

Quintilian (8. 3. 79) quotes this passage with approval as an example of *antapodosis* or *reddito contraria*, a type of comparison in which the mutual correspondences between the object and its likeness are so arranged that both are made more vivid.<sup>1</sup>

The context of this comparison suggests that it was for some reason both more desirable and more difficult to become a *citharoedus* than an *auloedus*.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion follows from Cicero's insistence that oratory is a higher calling and the profession that men would choose if they had the talent. Those who lack ability settle for (*devenire*, “have recourse to”) jurisprudence, just as *auloedi* are men who were unable to become *citharoedi*. Unfortunately, however, the precise meaning of this passage is frequently obscured by a hazy notion of what it was that set these two musicians apart. In this paper I will first make it clear why a musician needed more talent to perform as a *citharoedus* and how such a musician differed specifically from an *auloedus*. I shall then consider the possible points of comparison between the orator and *citharoedus* on the one hand, and the jurisconsult and *auloedus* on the other.

The mistake commonly made by those who treat of this passage is to assume that the *auloedus* and *citharoedus* are to be distinguished merely on the basis of the instrument that accompanied their songs. The *auloedus* and *citharoedus* were indeed both vocalists, but while *auloedi* may be rendered “those who sing to the *aulos*,” the common translation, “those who sing to the *cithara*,” is inadequate and misleading for *citharoedi*.<sup>3</sup> In fact, as any good lexicon will tell us, a *citharoedus*

1. For *antapodosis*, see H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft* (Munich, 1960), p. 422, and especially M. McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 222–26.

2. This is the interpretation accepted by A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890; repr. Hildesheim, 1971), p. 46.

3. Typical is the comment of H. Koch and G. Landgraf, eds., *Cicero's Rede für L. Murena*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1885), on *citharoedi*: “qui canit ad citharam.” The same error is committed by both editors of the Loeb edition (L. E. Lord, 1937; C. MacDonald, 1976). In his commentary (*M. Tulli Ciceronis “pro L. Murena” oratio* [London, 1969]), MacDonald explicates *auloedus* as follows: “Performers who sing to the accompaniment of the *aulē* [sic]. Similarly *citharoedi*.” H. E. Butler gives an even more misleading translation in his Loeb edition of Quintilian (1921), vol. 3, p. 255: “only those turn flute-players that cannot play the lyre”—a mistake shared in part by A. Boulanger in the Budé edition (Paris, 1962): “s'ils sont joueurs de flûte, c'est faute d'avoir pu devenir citharèdes.”

not only sang to his instrument but also supplied his own accompaniment by playing while he sang.<sup>4</sup> Confirmation that this was the case is furnished by Quintilian (1. 12. 3), who illustrates the versatility of the human mind by pointing out that a *citharoedus* was capable of attending simultaneously to the regulation of his voice and the strings of his instrument.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, an *auloedus* was merely a vocalist, since it was impossible for one man to play the *aulos*, a wind instrument, and sing at the same time.<sup>6</sup>

Once the precise nature of these two professions is fully appreciated, it becomes clear why more talent was needed by a *citharoedus*, since he had to do two things at once. Few men, therefore, would have the ability necessary to succeed at this demanding profession, although a musician with a good voice might find a niche for himself as a vocalist accompanied by another performer on the *aulos*. This interpretation best accounts for the ranking of the two artists in the proverbial expression. We should, however, also note that the cithara was more highly regarded in antiquity than the *aulos*, a circumstance which may have further enhanced the standing of the *citharoedus*.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, since this is the only passage in which the proverb is attested, the context provided by the *Pro Murena* sets the limits for any discussion of the correspondences at work in the comparison.

One of these correspondences is readily apparent. We observe that the future orator and jurisconsult must frequently have shared certain educational experiences as part of their *tirocinium fori*, just as the two Greek vocalists presumably pursued the same course of study in the early stages of their careers.<sup>8</sup> Cicero and Sulpicius himself, the prosecutor in the case against Murena, provide a striking example of just such a common educational background. As fellow students, Cicero and Sulpicius both gained an appreciation for the lawyer's profession by attending the Scaevoiae, the leading jurisconsults of their day,<sup>9</sup> and both studied

4. Correctly noted by K. Halm, ed., *Ciceros ausgewählte Reden*<sup>5</sup>, vol. 7, rev. G. Laubmann (Berlin, 1893), p. 34, although his comment on *citharoedi* implies that the vocal part was somehow more demanding than the instrumental accompaniment: "die mit der Kunst des Zitherspiels die noch schwierigere des Gesanges verbanden."

5. W. E. Heitland, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis oratio "pro L. Murena"*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge, 1886), p. 57, citing A. G. Zumpt (*M. Tulli Ciceronis oratio "pro L. Murena"* [Berlin, 1859], p. 54), refers the reader to this passage without further comment.

6. A circumstance frequently noted in criticisms of the *aulos* (e.g., Arist. *Pol.* 8. 1341a24–25; Plut. *Alc.* 2, 6). The theory of K. von Jan, "Auletischer und aulodischer Nomos," *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 119 (1879): 577–92, that an *auloedus* alternately played the *aulos* and sang, was adequately refuted by H. Guhrauer, "Zur Geschichte der Aulosmusik," *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 121 (1880): 689–705. Athenaeus (14. 621B) confirms that an *auloedus* was accompanied by another musician (an *auletes*), who was an instrumentalist.

7. Plato (*Resp.* 3. 399D–E) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 8. 1341a17–b8) both scorned the *aulos* and strongly recommended that this instrument be banned from the educational curriculum on the grounds that it was unbecoming a free man and not conducive to virtue. In support of his position, Plato alludes to the musical contest in which Apollo and his cithara were judged superior to the satyr Marsyas and his *aulos*. A. Bürge, *Die Juristenkomik in Ciceros Rede "pro Murena."* Übersetzung und Kommentar (Zürich, 1974), p. 134, suggests that the Greek proverb may reflect the tradition that Apollo's cithara triumphed over the *aulos* in the contest with Marsyas.

8. On Greek musical education, see H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*<sup>6</sup> (Paris, 1965), pp. 206–8.

9. This phase of Sulpicius' training is reported in Pompon. *Dig.* 1. 2. 2. 43; on Cicero and the Scaevoiae, see Cic. *Amic.* 1, *Leg.* 1. 13, *Brut.* 306.

oratory, including some advanced work under Greek masters on the island of Rhodes.<sup>10</sup> Sulpicius, however, chose to specialize in jurisprudence after he completed his oratorical studies on Rhodes because, as Cicero conjectures,<sup>11</sup> Sulpicius desired to attain the first rank in this lesser profession, rather than settle for second place in the loftier profession of oratory. Similar considerations apparently influenced aspiring Greek musicians. Those who were able to combine instrumental with vocal expertise became *citharoedi*. Those who could not master both skills had to settle for the career of *auloedus*. Ancient evidence attests that the *citharoedus* was held in high regard and enjoyed a lucrative profession, while the absence of similar testimony for the *auloedus* might imply the opposite.<sup>12</sup>

The comparison, therefore, is appropriate and suitable to the context because the orator and jurisconsult, like the two Greek musicians, would often prepare for their careers in similar fashion. Certain basic training would be common to the professions in each pair; but while the *auloedus* and jurisconsult would specialize in a narrow field,<sup>13</sup> the *citharoedus* and orator would develop an additional skill beyond the reach of his less talented counterpart.

This observation suggests a further way in which the jurisconsult and orator correspond to the two musicians. We have already noted that each of the two Greek artists has one skill in common. Both are singers, but the *citharoedus* can play as well as sing. If we examine more closely the way in which Cicero presents the two professions of oratory and jurisprudence in the *Pro Murena*, it will be seen that the orator and jurisconsult resemble the two musicians in this respect as well.

In the case of the orator and jurisconsult, it is a working knowledge of the law that corresponds to the singing of the two musicians. This interpretation is justified by what Cicero says about jurisprudence in *Pro Murena* 28, immediately before introducing the comparison. There the point is made that no party to a legal dispute is at a disadvantage when it comes to ascertaining his rights under the law, because this information is readily accessible to all. The law, we are told, is so cut and dried that no distinction in expertise is possible among those who specialize in this field. In fact, Cicero even goes so far as to claim that he himself could become a jurisconsult, that is, a specialist in this branch of knowledge,

10. Cic. *Brut.* 151.

11. *Ibid.*

12. The *cithara* was well established as the principal musical instrument at most important festivals, while the *aulos* never enjoyed similar popularity: see, e.g., Paus. 10. 7. 4–5 and Strab. 9. 3. 10. In Roman times, we learn from Martial (3. 4. 7–8; 5. 56. 8–9) that a *citharoedus* could expect to earn a handsome living. For the prizes and honors awarded to outstanding *citharoedi*, see L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*<sup>10</sup>, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1922), p. 180 with n. 6, and p. 181, n. 1.

13. The way in which the jurisconsult is portrayed in the *Pro Murena* stresses and even exaggerates the narrow range of the profession by implying that lawyers concern themselves above all with the letter of the law to the exclusion of *aequitas* and sometimes to its detriment (*Mur.* 27). As was noted by A. Haury, *L'ironie et l'humour chez Cicéron* (Leyden, 1955), pp. 232–33, this perception of the legal profession no doubt explains the ridicule of jurisconsults that we find in other works of Cicero as well as in the *Pro Murena*.

within a matter of days.<sup>14</sup> He argues that the effort is not worth making because all the relevant legal texts are in written form, and anyone, therefore, can master sufficient legal lore for the needs of a particular case.<sup>15</sup> Thus, just as both musicians have in common their ability to sing, the orator and jurisconsult both have legal knowledge at their command.

Once this assumption is granted, it puts the orator in the superior position of being able to look after the interests of his client not just on legal grounds, as the jurisconsult can do, but also to present these legal arguments persuasively, so that they will stand up in court. Cicero brings out the difference, as well as the similarity, between the orator's and the jurisconsult's services by stating that *salubritas* is sought from the jurisconsult, while *salus ipsa* is sought from the orator (*Mur.* 29).<sup>16</sup> To make the point clearer, he observes that the *responsa* and *decreta* of a jurisconsult cannot stand on their own *sine defensione oratoris* and are frequently overturned by eloquence.<sup>17</sup>

Hence the orator, like the *citharoedus*, can do what his counterpart can do—and something more. The orator can defend a client's interests by availing himself of the legal texts relevant to a given case and mastering the necessary legal points (corresponding to the singing of the musician), and he can present these points in court without the need for another's assistance (corresponding to the playing of the *citharoedus*, who provides his own accompaniment). The jurisconsult, on the other hand, is like the *auloedus*. He is capable of advising a client about his legal position but requires the assistance of an orator for his legal opinions to prevail in court, just as the *auloedus* is capable of singing but requires assistance to provide the necessary instrumental accompaniment for his song.

To sum up these observations, it turns out that the points of similarity between the two pairs of professions go beyond the simple notion that one craft is more difficult and more desirable than the other. In all fairness, it must be admitted that it is impossible to say just how carefully these points of correspondence were

14. Cicero, therefore, grants to the jurisconsult a separate domain into which the orator does not venture, just as each of the two Greek musicians has a speciality of his own. It is important to realize that Cicero, despite his own competence in the law (as recognized, e.g., by Quint. 12. 3. 10), never engaged in the activities designated by the technical terms *cavere*, *respondere*, and *agere*, which were the preserve of a jurisconsult: see V.-A. Georgesco, "Nihil hoc ad ius, ad Ciceronem: Note sur les relations de Cicéron avec la *iurisprudentia* et la profession de *iuris consultus*," *Mélanges Marouzeau* (Paris, 1948), pp. 189–206.

15. As was noted by A. Michel, *Rhétorique et philosophie chez Cicéron: Essai sur les fondements philosophiques de l'art de persuader* (Paris, 1960), pp. 455–61, Cicero in the *Pro Murena* suppresses his own deeply held conviction about the importance of the law in the education of the ideal orator, and for the purposes of this speech adopts the position for which Antonius is made the spokesman in *De oratore* (1. 234–50), when he argues that it is not worth the orator's time to make a *detailed* study of the civil law. But just as Cicero implies in the *Pro Murena* that the orator will know *some* law, so Antonius (1. 249–50) balances his depreciation of legal studies by observing that the orator will inevitably acquire a sufficient working knowledge of the law from his day-to-day involvement in legal proceedings and by checking legal points in the relevant texts as the need arises.

16. The precise distinction between the two words is difficult to capture in translation: perhaps "soundness," as the *OLD* suggests for *salubritas*, and "preservation itself," for *salus ipsa*, will convey Cicero's meaning.

17. The same point is made in *Orat.* 141. In *Mur.* 29, A. C. Clark (OCT, 1905) emends *oratoris* to *orationis* to provide a feminine antecedent for *in qua*, which immediately follows at the beginning of the next sentence. It seems best, however, to retain *oratoris*, the reading of the MSS, with H. Kasten's Teubner (Leipzig, 1961), and explain *qua* as referring to *ars dicendi* by synesis (see Halm, *Ciceros ausgewählte Reden*, 7: 34).

worked out in Cicero's own mind or taken in by his audience. Certain remarks, however, in the immediate context of the comparison do imply that the pairs of artists were viewed as being alike in more ways than one. These additional points of similarity are missed unless the precise difference between the crafts of *citharoedus* and *auloedus* is fully appreciated.<sup>18</sup>

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18. A version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of Canada in Halifax on 26 May 1981. I wish to thank the members of the Association for their comments, particularly A. Dalzell for helping me to investigate the meaning of the rhetorical term *antapodosis*. I am also grateful to my colleagues, J. Dee and M. Alexander, and to the Editor and referees of *CP* for their helpful suggestions.

### SENECA *THYESTES* 101–6

Leo's text is:<sup>1</sup>

FVR. Hunc, hunc furorem divide in totam domum!  
 sic, sic ferantur et suum infensi invicem  
 sitant cruentem. sentit introitus tuos  
 domus et nefando tota contactu horruit.  
 actum est abunde. gradere ad infernos specus  
 amnemque notum . . .

Failure to consider stage-action<sup>2</sup> has caused the verses to be misunderstood, even mistranslated. With *hunc*, *hunc* and *sic*, *sic* the Fury lashes the reluctant *umbra Tantali*. The prop is attested at verse 96 (*verbere*). The Virgilian model suggests that *sic*, *sic* accompanies a stage-action (*Aen.* 4. 660):

. . . sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras

Servius (1. 578. 24–25 Thilo-Hagen) reports: “et hoc eam se loco intellegimus percussisse.”<sup>3</sup> With *sic*, *sic* Dido stabs herself. The monosyllabic anaphora accompanies a “stage-action.” Parallel *hunc*, *hunc* supports four strokes, not two, in Seneca. The Virgilian context is peculiarly appropriate to Seneca's purpose; far more so than at *Hercules Furens* 1218 (imitated at *HO* 848) or *Medea* 90 (lyric). It pleases Dido (*iuvat*) to abandon this world for a Hades less painful, precisely the sentiment of Tantalus at *Thyestes* 68–83. *Umbras*, too, is recalled in *Tantali umbra*. A revealing parallel is at *Troades* 680: “. . . ANDR. Me, me sternite hic ferro prius.” With *Me, me* Andromache strikes her breast with her fist. This is similarly a Virgilian borrowing: cf. *Aeneid* 9. 427 “me, me adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum.”

1. *L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1879; repr. 1963), p. 244.

2. I am convinced that Seneca wrote his tragedies to be performed. Whether they were or not in antiquity does not affect criticism.

3. Servius is reflected by the two wounds of *Anth. Lat.* 634. 4 (2. 100 Riese). That modern commentators (e.g., Henry, Pease, Austin) reject the view does not mean that Seneca did. Notice J. Conington and H. Nettleship, *The Works of Virgil with a Commentary*<sup>4</sup>, vol. 2 (Hildesheim, 1963), p. 320 (ad *Aen.* 4. 660): “Serv. is probably right in supposing that in saying 'sic, sic' she twice stabs herself.”