

OVID'S *CANTARE* AND CICERO'S *CANTORES EUPHORIONIS*

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The problem to be elucidated arises from a marked looseness of technical terminology not often found in Latin usage. The first question is the specific meaning, or even the accurate translation, of the verb *cantare* when applied to the presentation in public theaters of poetry of a non-dramatic nature.¹ In some instances, furthermore, other verbs seem to have the same significance as *cantare*, while in other instances, and perhaps more importantly for us, *cantare* itself must denote private recital of poetry for a limited group or for the pleasure of the individual alone.² The full extent of this problem has hitherto

¹ My interest in the problem was first stirred by the appearance of the intriguing and invaluable paper of M. P. Cunningham, "The Novelty of Ovid's *Heroides*," *CP* 44 (1949) 100-106. In the course of his effort (p. 100) "to suggest that the *Heroides* were originally written as lyric-dramatic monologues to be presented on the stage with music and dancing," Professor Cunningham used three passages, of which two (*Trist.* 2.515-20; 5.7.25-30) offer forms of *saltare*, denoting the performance of *fabulae salticae*. The third passage gave me pause (*Ars am.* 3.341-46), for the key word is *cantare* in verse 345 (as Cunningham recognizes on pp. 101 f.):

vel tibi composita cantetur Epistula voce.

In two other verses of the same passage (341, 344) Ovid used forms of *legere*, but passages I shall quote will demonstrate that *legere* does not always form as great a distinction from *cantare* as one might at first think.

A. R. Baca, "Ovid's Claim to Originality and *Heroides* 1," *TAPA* 100 (1969) 2, is sure of "oral, dramatic recitation."

² Although I am sincerely impressed by the vast learning of G. Wille, especially in the pertinent chapter 6 of his monumental work, the book was of no particular service in connection with the present article: *Musica Romana: Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer* (Amsterdam 1967). Much the same is true of L. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*⁹ 2.161-63, which are the first few pages of the chapter on "Die Musik" and where *cantare* and *cantores* are interpreted in their literal (buchstäblich) meanings, without adequate distinction among the types of performance.

gone unrecognized,³ but it can hardly be ignored when it touches such a variety of authors as Cicero, Horace, Vergil, Ovid, Martial, and others. A complication is naturally in prospect when we shall have to deal with authors of different centuries, but greater complications are in prospect in the study of a word that can be indiscriminately applied to public performances of selections of dramatic poetry or by musicians,⁴ as well as to private and public performances of non-dramatic poetry. No single translation, therefore, can be suitable for *cantare* in this usage, and the accuracy of our interpretation of the passages can be tested only by the comparative examination of the individual circumstances.⁵ We are dealing with a group of connotations that the Romans considered pellucid. They employed the word so frequently that I shall use here only enough passages to clarify our problem, without the expectation, of course, that everyone will agree with my interpretation of every passage.

As a preliminary effort, we shall need to cast our net widely, for the study of *cantare* itself can readily perplex us by several non-musical meanings.⁶ If we begin in noble strain with Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.2-4:

³ Tac. *Dial.* 26.3 admonishes us to be wary, where we find words that might tempt us to think of orations as subjects of real pantomime: *plerique iactant cantari saltariue commentarios suos*; for the annotated editions show that the passage refers only to an extravagant oratorical delivery: W. Peterson (Oxford 1893) 71; A. Gudeman² (Leipzig 1914) 393 f.

J. Mountford doubts that Roman poets, despite their language, intended a musical rendition of their poetry: "Music and the Romans," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 47 (1964-65) 204 f. O. Jahn, in a frequently cited article, is full of wisdom and moderation, especially in the long footnotes on 421 f.: "Wie wurden die Oden des Horatius vorge-tragen?" *Hermes* 2 (1867) 418-33. Jahn and I naturally use a number of the same passages, although I am bold enough to give fuller, and sometimes different, interpretations. Most particularly, since Jahn was content with proving the musical rendition of the *Odes*, he did not further concern himself with the exact significance and connotation of *cantare* under various circumstances, nor did he trouble himself with *legere*.

⁴ E.g., the *citharoedus* in Mart. 4.61.9:

here de theatro, Pollione cantante.

⁵ On *canto*, *ThLL* 3.290.21-34 is the most pertinent part of the article for us, although the rest of the article bears reading as helpful in showing the difficulty of the interpretation of this word.

⁶ While I am emphasizing the non-musical meanings, some passages of course stress the musical meaning: Quint. *Inst.* 2.17.10: *nec musica: cantatur ac saltatur per omnis gentes aliquo modo*; Suet. *Titus* 3.2: *sed ne musicae quidem rudis, ut qui cantaret et psalleret iucunde scienterque*.

carmina non prius
audita Musarum sacerdos
virginibus puerisque canto,

the Horatian reader will wisely recall that in *Carm.* 1.22.10 Horace, alone and in a rustic setting, met the wolf, *dum meam canto Lalagen*⁷ (cf. *Carm.* 1.6.17-19); nor will he forget Horace's mockery (*Ars* p. 137) of the opening verse of the cyclic poet:

fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum,

although we are taught by *Carm.* 2.9.19 that there is nothing inherently amusing in the word *cantare* itself:

cantemus Augusti tropaea.

Yet these are distractions from the proper object of our study, the enigma of the meaning of *cantare* when the poet is not the performer; for these Horatian passages do connote more than poetical composition, retaining the flavor and illusion of an era when the poet undertook both composition and performance without reliance upon written publication.

Since the mode and type of performance in theaters will be important to us, we must note that *cantare*, and less frequently *canere*, can be used to criticize an orator's manner of delivery. Cic. *Orat.* 27 thus uses *canere*: *inclinata ululantique voce more Asiatico canere*. Quintilian deplored *cantare* as a part of oratorical delivery prevalent in his day (*Inst.* 11.1.56), and he becomes quite heated in *Inst.* 11.3.57-60:

Sed quodcumque ex his vitium magis tulerim quam, quo nunc maxime laboratur in causis omnibus scholisque, cantandi, quod inutilius sit an foedius nescio. Quid enim minus oratori convenit quam modulatio scaenica et nonnumquam ebriorum aut comissantium licentiae similis? . . . Nam Cicero [*Orat.* 57] 'illos ex Lycia et Caria rhetoras paene cantare in epilogis' dixit. Nos etiam cantandi severiorem paulo modum excessimus. . . . Quid ergo? non et Cicero dicit esse aliquem in oratione 'cantum obscuriorem'? et hoc quodam naturali initio venit? Ostendam

⁷ E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 403 f., unconditionally rejects the notion of Horace as musician (and/or singer). Of importance is the article by G. Wille, "Singen und Sagen in der Dichtung des Horaz," *Eranion. Festschrift für Hildebrecht Hommel* (Tübingen 1961) 169-84, who gives us a portrait of Horace as singer and musician in the *Odes*. The question of the "singing" of Horace's *Odes* has recently been well canvassed again, although briefly, by L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge 1963) 104, note.

non multo post, ubi et quatenus recipiendus sit hic flexus et cantus quidem, sed, quod plerique intellegere nolunt, obscurior.

Juvenal 7.150-4 will serve as bridge between the passages from Quintilian in my preceding and subsequent paragraphs. In these verses it is my opinion that Juvenal is describing two stages of schoolroom recitation,⁸ involving two different methods of rendering a prose passage aloud (*legere* and *cantare*):

Declamare doces? o ferrea pectora Vetti,
Cum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos!
Nam quaecumque sedens modo legerat, haec eadem stans
Perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem;
Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.

The commentators indicate that we need not be troubled by *versibus isdem*, but we are concerned about the distinction that Juvenal here draws between a seated *legere*⁹ and a standing *cantare*, for that distinction is not preserved with regard to poetry by other authors whom we shall consider later. The unfortunate instructor naturally was wearied by hearing the same passage repeated precisely in what appears to have been the more elaborate (standing) *cantare*. This distinction between two types of reading aloud may be the key to the humor in Caesar's *mot* in the next paragraph, which thus becomes a schoolroom joke on schoolroom terminology.

Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.8.2) fortunately uses the word *cantare* in his discussion of *lectio* of poetry, and thereby furnishes a definition:

Sit autem in primis lectio virilis et cum suavitate quadam gravis, et non quidem prosae similis, quia et carmen est et se poetae canere testantur, non tamen in canticum dissoluta nec plasmate, ut nunc a plerisque fit, effeminata, de quo genere optime C. Caesarem praetextatum adhuc accipimus dixisse: 'si cantas, male cantas, si legis, cantas.'

Cantare here clearly does not signify "to sing," in our usual understanding of that English word. The Caesarian witticism, for the

⁸ M. L. Clarke, "Juvenal 7.150-53," *CP* 63 (1968) 295 f., assists us in the matter of the double recitation, once seated and once standing; in *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London 1971) 43, with note 203, Clarke apparently offers a guarded (and to me unpromising) differentiation of the verbs as "read aloud" and "deliver from memory," although he does not mention the Latin verbs.

⁹ The verb used of the *magister* is *praelegere*: Mart. 1.35.2, 8.3.15; Suet. *Gram.* 16 (all of poetry).

sake of humor, makes a perhaps unusual distinction between *legere* and *cantare*,¹⁰ at least with regard to poetry, and it seems to me best explained by Juvenal's passage about prose.

We can begin our study of *cantare* in public performances with Vergil, although the familiar passage¹¹ in Tac. *Dial.* 13.2 does not contain the word:

Testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum.

More helpfully, the type of theatrical production is specified in the equally familiar passage in *Vita Donat.* (Brummer 90 f.): *Bucolica eo successu edidit, ut in scaena quoque per cantores*¹² *crebro pronuntiarentur.* We shall find that the verb *pronuntiare* is used elsewhere for such a performance. The third passage on this topic is in Serv. *Ecl.* 6.11: *Dicitur autem ingenti favore a Vergilio esse recitata, adeo ut, cum eam postea Cytheris meretrix cantasset in theatro, quam in fine Lycoridem vocat etc.*¹³

¹⁰ L. P. Wilkinson (above, note 7) 40 bewilders me with his translation: "'If you're trying to sing, you're singing badly; if you're trying to read, you're singing'." Quintilian has here involved us in a subtlety probably beyond our modern comprehension. J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*² 24, used the same passage of Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.2 (with 8.1.3; 11.3.30) as the footnote to his remark about "expressive reading (*lectio*) free from sing-song and provincialisms." With respect to our better understanding of the ancient procedure in *lectio*, much benefit is to be derived from the commentary on 1.8.2, and from p. 163, of F. H. Colson's edition of Quint. *Inst.* 1 (Cambridge 1924), although Colson does not dilate on Caesar's quip.

¹¹ The editions of the *Dialogus* (both above, note 3) by Peterson (p. 31) and by Gude-man (pp. 273 f.) do not seem to feel entirely certain of the interpretation (a) of *versibus*, which is ambiguous because it can literally mean just a few verses rather than a complete poem, and (b) of *forte*, which I grant can be perplexing if one hesitates over it.

¹² *Per cantores* requires elucidation. Mountford (above, note 3) 204 suggested the meaning of "chanted." It is my view that *per cantores* is used instead of *per cantorem* because the passage refers to several occasions. My interpretation is that only one *cantor* performed at a time, although possibly several successively on the same occasion. In the passage from Serv. *Ecl.* 6.11, quoted after the next sentence of my text, there is no suggestion that Cytheris performed more than one poem.

¹³ This passage about Cytheris' performance should adequately dispose of Schanz-Hosius' interpretation that the *per cantores* of *Vita Donat.* has some relation to a performance by a *citharoedus*: *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*⁴ 2.294. It should also be noted that Cytheris' performance, if we limit ourselves to language and disregard the improbable historicity of Servius' complete comment, would antedate the institution of the pantomime by Pylades and Bathyllus about 22 B.C.

We have no way of knowing whether the episode mentioned in *Vita Donat.* (Brummer 178 f.) occurred in public or not, but it should be mentioned because we shall find that *recitare* and *cantare* are not always clearly distinguished: *Alius recitante eo ex georgicis* [1.299]: “*nudus ara, sere nudus*” *subiecit*: “*habebis frigore febrem.*” Elsewhere in that life,¹⁴ of course, there is indication of the beauty with which Vergil could deliver his own verses.

Gellius (18.5.2–4) preserves for us a pertinent little event at Puteoli in his younger days:

Atque ibi tunc Iuliano nuntiatur ἀναγνώστην quendam, non indoctum hominem, voce admodum scita et canora Ennii annales legere¹⁵ ad populum in theatro Quem cum iam inter ingentes clamores legentem invenissemus—legebat autem librum ex annalibus Ennii septimum—, hos cum primum versus perperam pronuntiantem audivimus etc.

Hence *legere*, as we shall see in other passages, can sometimes substitute for *cantare*, while *pronuntiare* is not completely unusual.¹⁶

Horace also gives us assistance in the always debatable *Epist.* 1.19.39–43:

Non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor:
hinc illac lacrimae. ‘Spissis indigna theatri
scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus’
si dixi etc.

Possibly Horace meant something specific by his use of *recitare* here, for in verse 9 he had used *cantare* of poetic activity: *adimam cantare severis*. Yet he certainly supplies the exact location of his unthinkable and non-existent performance through the words *spissis theatri*; we have the contrast of his practice in *Sat.* 1.4.73 f.:

nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus,
non ubivis coramve quibuslibet.

¹⁴ Brummer 95 f.: *Pronuntiabat autem cum suavitate, cum lenociniis miris*. (Hardie reads *et* instead of the second *cum*.)

¹⁵ A similar turn of phrase in Petron. 59: *ille canora voce latine legebat librum*.

¹⁶ For *pronuntiare* cf. Suet. *Gram.* 2: *ut postea Q. Vargunteius annales Ennii, quos certis diebus in magna frequentia pronuntiabat*.

Tigellius,¹⁷ who has been controversial in Horatian studies, at least helps us with a word in the phrase *cantoris morte Tigelli* in *Sat.* 1.2.3, as well as in *Sat.* 1.3.1 f.:

Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati.

(Here and elsewhere *cantor* is used instead of *cantator*.) There is a reference to non-dramatic poetry in this connection in *Hor. Sat.* 1.10.17-19:

quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes umquam legit, neque simius iste
nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.

While neither of these latter passages refers to public performance, they nevertheless help us with the different meanings of the word, the final passage warning that we should in a literary context be cautious of the musical connotation of *cantare*.¹⁸ Other passages, both earlier and later in this paper, indicate that we should also probably not draw a distinction in this last passage between the meaning of *legit* and the meaning of *cantare*.¹⁹ A similar variation is also true of *canere* in Gellius 19.9.10-14, where the verbs used of Antonius Julianus' performance of Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, and Q. Catulus, were *cecinit* and *dixit*, whereas in the preceding sections Greek verses had been

¹⁷ The citations in the article on Tigellius by F. Münzer in *RE* 6 A¹ (1936) 944 f. show how difficult it is for us to know the exact nature of the art of a *cantor*. According to E. Fraenkel (above, note 7) 86, n. 2, my citations from *Sat.* 1.2, 1.3, refer to the same Tigellius, distinct from the *cantor* of *Sat.* 1.3.129; cf. N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 292 f., n. 15.

¹⁸ I agree with Rudd in rejecting a pejorative sense for *cantare* here: N. Rudd (above, note 17) 289, n. 46; 292 f., n. 15.

¹⁹ The point has also been made that there was an almost indiscriminate use of *legere* and *recitare* with regard to the public reading of literature: U. E. Paoli, "'Legere' e 'Recitare,'" *A & R* 3 (1922) 205-7. Martial supplies a good example with his three Ligurinus poems (3.44, 45, 50). All variations are possible, and it would seem that in *Mart.* 12.40.1 f., *recitare* is used for the individual's own verses, while *cantare* serves for other people's poetry:

Mentiris, credo: recitas mala carmina, laudo:
cantas, canto: bibis, Pontiliane, bibo.

Legere and *recitare* seem interchangeable in *Hor. Ars p.* 474 f.:

indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo.

presented musically by a trained group: *scitissimos utriusque sexus, qui canerent voce et qui psallerent*.

By contrast, in Suet. *Iul.* 84.2 (cf. Appian *B.C.* 2.146), we have *cantare* used of perhaps just a few verses:

Inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et invidiam caedis eius accommodata, ex Pacuvi Armorum iudicio:

men servasse, ut essent qui me perderent?

et ex Electra Acili ad similem sententiam.

We must note also the situation called *cantare tragoediam*, where a fully costumed and masked *tragoedus* was the performer.²⁰ The phrase, distressingly, is not always given in full, sometimes not readily to be separated from the *cantare* used of the *citharoedus*.²¹ Since our concern is with the uses of *cantare* in connection with non-dramatic poetry, I shall try to limit the passages in which the performer is a *tragoedus* or a *citharoedus*. A few quotations from Tacitus and Suetonius, however, are distinctly in order, for they demonstrate how easy it is to be confused by the similarity of terminology.

In Tac. *Ann.* 13.15 we find that *carmen* and *cantus* are similar if not identical:

ubi Britannico iussit exsurgeret progressusque in medium cantum aliquem inciperet . . . ille constanter exorsus est carmen, quo evolutum eum sede patria rebusque summis significabatur.

In *Ann.* 15.34, on the other hand, Nero, apparently in the capacity of *citharoedus*, thanked the gods *per compositos cantus* because the audience had escaped the collapse of the theater at Naples. This action is of course preliminary to his performance at the time of the fire (*Ann.* 15.39): *inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium*. Suet. *Nero* 38.2 and Dio 62.18.1, although Suetonius uses the word *decantare*,²² nevertheless show that Nero was in costume for his performance at the fire (*in illo suo scaenico habitu*; a costume described

²⁰ Schanz-Hosius (above, note 13) 2.294; L. Friedlaender (above, note 2) 2.123 f.

²¹ In *Att.* 2.19.3 Cicero, with regard to Diphilus the *tragoedus* at the *ludi Apollinares* in 59 B.C., three times used forms of *dicere* for Diphilus' delivery of verses.

²² One wonders a little at this word, in view of, e.g., Gell. *praef.* 15: *in scholis decantata*; not forgetting Horace's use of it in connection with elegiacs (*Carm.* 1.33.3) and children's songs (*Epist.* 1.1.64).

as citharoedic by Dio), and hence a *citharoedus*; neither, however, locates him in a theater in this connection.

In Tac. *Ann.* 16.4 the senate tried to award Nero by anticipation the *victoriam cantus* and *facundiae coronam*, for which Nero subsequently competed when he *primo carmen in scaena recitat*; soon, at public request, he re-entered the theater and competed as *citharoedus* (Suet. *Vit.* 4). The passage seems to me to mean that Nero competed for the senate's double award with just his *carmen*.

Although it is of course too much to hope that Tacitus and Suetonius would use identical terminology about Nero's activities, Suetonius is still of more than a little assistance. In *Nero* 10.2 we find, among instances of Nero's desire for popularity:

declamavitque saepius publice; recitavit et carmina, non modo domi sed et in theatro, tanta universorum laetitia, ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit eaque pars carminum aureis litteris Iovi Capitolino dicata.

Suetonius is careful with terminology, compelling the conclusion that he is using words in a traditional fashion. (Cf. Petron. 90 for *recitare* in a theater.)

In Suet. *Nero* 20.1 there is a discussion of the training of Nero's voice, followed in 20.2 by:

Et prodit Neapoli primum ac ne concusso quidem repente motu terrae theatro ante cantare destitit, quam incohatum absolveret nomon.

Here *cantare* is clearly used of a performance that was more musical than poetical. In 21.2 Nero, continuing as a *citharoedus*, announced *Niobam se cantaturum*; and in 21.3 Nero *tragoedias quoque cantavit*, which must mean as a *tragoedus* (cf. 24.1, 46.3).²³ Since *cantare* is repeatedly used of Nero's musical performances in Greece in 22.3–23.2 (cf. *Vesp.* 4.4), the conclusion must be that by the use of *cantare* (*decantare*) alone Suetonius meant the performance of a *citharoedus*.²⁴

As for non-dramatic poetry, only when there is some clear indication

²³ Tac. *Ann.* 15.65 implies that Nero was usually termed *citharoedus* (cf. Suet. *Nero* 25.2, 40.2). The *in scaena canentem* of Tac. *Ann.* 15.50 must also designate Nero as *citharoedus*, since Flavius is credited as the source both there and in *Ann.* 15.65.

²⁴ It should also be observed that, although *cantare* is the preferred and more frequent word, *canere* has the identical citharoedic meaning in Suet. *Nero* 20.1, 21.2. Isidorus the Cynic publicly rebuked Nero (Suet. *Nero* 39.3): *quod Naupli mala bene cantitaret, sua bona male disponderet*, thereby adding another verb to our problem.

that a performance was public can we be sure that such is the sense of *cantare*, and even then other verbs could be substituted. For a full understanding, therefore, we shall have to examine passages where *cantare* refers to performances that were definitely not public. In some instances, the ancient practice of reading literature aloud to oneself²⁵ inevitably produces for us an ambiguity as to the number of persons present. Passages that will be quoted from Martial indicate that he felt free, with regard to poetry, to use *legere* and *cantare* indiscriminately.

We are obliged to Pliny the Younger for two fine examples of *cantare* in the sense of "private recital of poetry." In the first passage it is quite clear that Pliny, in writing of his third wife's private recitals, is drawing a distinction between "oral recitation" and "oral recitation accompanied by music" (*Ep.* 4.19.4): *Versus quidem meos cantat etiam formatque cithara non artifice aliquo docente, sed amore qui magister est optimus*. Thus *cantare* alone does not imply an instrumental accompaniment.

Pliny is even more helpful when, in *Ep.* 7.4, after describing the history of his poetical efforts, he in section 9 went on to remark of his hendecasyllabic book: *Legitur describitur cantatur etiam, et a Graecis quoque, quos Latine huius libelli amor docuit, nunc cithara nunc lyra personatur*. It is again demonstrated that *cantare* can signify a performance without instrumental accompaniment, and there certainly appears to be here a distinction between *legitur* and *cantatur*.²⁶

Before we grant that *cantare* signifies a full, although private, vocal

²⁵ None of these admirable papers touches on our particular problem, since they are all at pains to discuss "reading aloud" while our problem is concerned with the mode(s) of "reading aloud": U. E. Paoli (above, note 19); J. Balogh, "'Voces Paginarum' Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens," *Philologus* 82 (1926-27) 84-109, 202-40; G. L. Hendrickson, "Ancient Reading," *CJ* 25 (1929-30) 182-96; W. P. Clark, "Ancient Reading," *CJ* 26 (1930-31) 698-700; E. S. McCartney, "Notes on Reading and Praying Audibly," *CP* 43 (1948) 184-7; B. M. W. Knox, "Silent Reading in Antiquity," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 421-35. At the time of writing the *ThLL* article has not appeared, and Forcellini is of no assistance in the meaning of *legere* as "reading aloud to oneself."

²⁶ Quint. *Inst.* 1.10.29 forces us to note that such a potential distinction was not universal: *Nam poetas certe legendos oratori futuro concesserint: num igitur hi sine musice? Ac si quis tam caecus animi est, ut de aliis dubitet, illos certe, qui carmina ad lyram composuerunt*. The passage is not definitive for our purpose when read in its context of Quintilian's argument for the study of music.

performance, however, we must consider three poems of Martial in which *legere* and *cantare* seem interchangeable in meaning:

Seria cum possim, quod delectantia malo
scribere, tu causa es, lector amice, mihi,
qui legis et tota cantas mea carmina Roma (5.16.1-3);
Non iam quod orbe cantor et legor toto (8.61.3);
Iure madens varioque togae limatus in usu
non lector meus hic, Urbice, sed liber est.
sic tenet absentes nostros cantatque libellos
ut pereat chartis littera nulla meis (7.51.5-8);
ille leget, bibe tu; nolis licet, ille sonabit:
et cum 'Iam satis est' dixeris, ille leget (7.51.13-14).

Legere in this last seems so little different from *cantare* that it does not even require the presence of a text,²⁷ while any lexicon supplies other passages in which *legere* signifies oral presentation.²⁸

And lastly we should note Juv. 11.180-2, where, in the circumstances of a dinner party, we are concerned with the pertinent words *cantare*

²⁷ At least nine other passages can serve as supplementary confirmation of this private (i.e., without an audience) significance of *cantare*:

Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe (Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.46);
Nos quoque per totum pariter cantabimur orbem (Ov. *Am.* 1.3.25);
Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe (Ov. *Am.* 1.15.13);
dum toto canter in orbe (Ov. *Rem. am.* 363);
totam cantata per urbem (Ov. *Trist.* 4.10.59);
totam cantata per Urbem (Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.197);
Laudat, amat, cantat nostros mea Roma libellos (Mart. 6.60[61].1);
Hoc ego maluerim quam si mea carmina content
qui Nilum ex ipso protinus ore bibunt (Mart. 7.88.5 f.);
Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus (Mart. 11.3.5).

While these passages with *cantare* provide sufficient evidence to substantiate my view, it is not amiss to allow that *canere* can have at least approximately the same significance, just as a warning that the verbs are not mutually exclusive:

Mortale est, quod quaeris, opus; mihi fama perennis
Quaeritur, in toto semper ut orbe canar (Ov. *Am.* 1.15.7 f.).

In this footnote I have already quoted verse 13 of this poem for *cantabitur*.

²⁸ In addition to the Ligurinus epigram (Mart. 3.44), mentioned above in footnote 19, other passages in Martial (5.78.25; 7.52.1 f.) conveniently show *legere* in the sense of reading aloud to another; cf. Forcellini, s.v. *lego*, *legere* C 3.

and *legere*, with *vox* for good measure and importantly for my next paragraph:

conditor Iliados cantabitur atque Maronis
altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.
quid refert, tales versus qua voce legantur?

Cantare and *legere* are equivalent, and *vox* is the connoisseur's word for the appraisal of the delivery.

We can now turn to the passage that I mentioned in footnote 1 as the original stimulus to my interest in the problem. Quoted in full, this passage (Ov. *Ars am.* 3.341-46) seems adequately illuminated, in particular with regard to the meanings of *legere* and *cantare*, by the passages just quoted from Pliny, Martial, and Juvenal:

atque aliquis dicet "nostri lege culta magistri
carmina, quis partes instruit ille duas,
deve tribus libris, titulo quos signat Amorum,
elige, quod docili molliter ore legas,
vel tibi composita cantetur Epistula voce:
ignotum hoc aliis ille novavit opus."

This Ovidian passage, quite apart from the other two passages noted in my footnote 1, seems to have reference to a private and oral performance, without any connection with theaters or pantomime, and without any profound distinction as to performance among the several works listed. *Composita voce*, further, seems to be only an admonition to employ an appropriate tone of voice.²⁹ I have no proposal for the interpretation of verse 346.³⁰

A most disturbing point raised by our study is, of course, the meaning of *hi cantores Euphorionis* in Cic. *Tusc.* 3.45.³¹ *Cantor* is even dignified

²⁹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*compositus* 4 b): "(of expression) practised, studied."

³⁰ The Ovidian reader will remember that there is much about *cantus*, *cantare*, etc., beginning with verse 311 of this passage, but that the topic shifts to poetry at verse 329.

³¹ Cicero has just been quoting from Ennius' tragedies, and now writes: *o poetam egregium! quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur*. Yet Euphorion does not seem to have written plays. Two other familiar (and more readily intelligible) passages are often joined with this one: *Att.* 7.2.1 (50 B.C.); *Orat.* 161 (46 B.C.). Since we are studying *cantores*, there is no occasion for a disquisition on Euphorion or his translator, Cornelius Gallus, although Cicero did know the latter in 43 B.C. (*Fam.* 10.32.5).

by a subdivision for this passage alone in *ThLL*,³² an action that ought to have inspired caution in all the scholars who have used the Ciceronian words as if their explication were simple. *Cantores Euphorionis* cannot serve as a sort of useful catchword³³ unless we are certain of the practice of *hi cantores*, not an easy matter with a unique phrase.

My conclusion, after some necessary preliminaries in the next paragraph, is going to be that two opposite meanings of *cantores* are possible in the Ciceronian phrase. In this instance these meanings are complementary and both are true: (1) private recital aloud, much in the manner that Martial boasted that his poems were being recited everywhere (a meaning based on our study of *cantare* rather than on the not really frequent *cantor*); (2) a formal presentation in a theater, as in the case of Vergil's *Eclogues*. Both these possibilities encompass the subordinate division of "with or without music," but that point is probably extraneous in this connection.

The passage from the *Tusculans* is distressingly unsatisfactory for more than one reason. In the first place, the words *hi cantores Euphorionis*, written in Cicero's work of 45 B.C., are often considered to be applicable to neoteric poets, although their identities and works are concealed by the cryptic phrase. W. S. Messer³⁴ made the valuable suggestion that Ennius himself also imitated Euphorion. It would therefore seem that Cicero was objecting to the contemporary (*hi*) *cantores Euphorionis*. It was about a decade after the *Tusculans* that Horace wrote the verse that is often quoted along with the Ciceronian phrase (*Sat.* 1.10.19):

Nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum,

where the Latin poets have now displaced Euphorion! (I have earlier in this paper expressed my doubt that there is a distinction in meaning

³² *ThLL* 3.292.24 f.: *de poetarum asseclis vel imitatoribus*; the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, on the basis of this passage alone, states that *cantor* (2) means: "One who sings the praises (of)."

³³ Cf., e.g., the incautious translation of "chanters of Euphorion" by L. P. Wilkinson (above, note 7) 37; G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968) 33: "... our imitators of Euphorion ...". J. J. Hartman, "De cantoribus Euphorionis . . .," *Mnemosyne* 43 (1915) 246, 261 f., ascribes the first exploitation of the phrase to "Lucianus Muellerus," apparently in his edition of Catullus.

³⁴ "Ad Cic. Tusc. Disp. 3.19.45," *Mnemosyne* 45 (1917) 78-92. On p. 89 Messer refers to L. Mueller (see above, note 33) as the promoter of the utility of the phrase *cantores Euphorionis* in his *Quintus Horatius Flaccus, eine literarhistorische Biographie*, 1880.

between the *cantare* of this verse and the *legit* of the immediately preceding verse.)

It would seem that Cicero's remark has nothing to do with the theater, in the sense of Euphorion as a subject for presentation in a theater. *Cantare* and *cantor* could well have the standard meaning of the personal and private recitation of poetry. Since sometimes *cantare* and *legere* have a semantic identity, however, it may be possible that the word *cantores* in *hi cantores Euphorionis* has a meaning no more momentous than that of *lectores*.

Cicero's phrase has something to do with the theater in the sense that I am convinced that it is related to a professional performer. I do not recall seeing it mentioned with regard to *Tusc.* 3.45 (written in 45 B.C.), that, also in 45 B.C., Cicero was distressed and annoyed to find himself on bad terms with a real *cantor*, Tigellius (*Fam.* 7.24, 7.25.1; *Att.* 13.49; 13.50.3; 13.51.2). If the phrase is aimed at Tigellius, Cicero could hardly have written more openly about a close associate of Caesar.