

PARALLELISM IN PLAUTUS *

This article begins by noting that in classical Hebrew poetry there is parallelism of three distinct kinds which were first discussed by Robert Lowth in 1753: synonymous parallelism (the commonest type), consisting in the simple repetition of the same thought in slightly different words; antithetical parallelism, produced by contrasting the first member with the second; synthetic parallelism, in which the first member is developed or completed by a similar thought in the second (or third, when it is triplets which are in question). This phenomenon of Hebrew poetry is found frequently in early Latin poetry but has not yet been specifically recognised. The article examines two plays by Plautus and quotes numerous other instances at large from archaic Latin poets to establish the point.

In 1753 Robert Lowth, later successively Bishop of St David's (1766), of Oxford (also 1766), and of London (1777), published at Oxford a work in which he presented an important study of the forms of classical Hebrew poetry — *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones Academicæ*. Lowth was a sound and acute scholar; his commentary on Isaiah (1778) pointed the way to later criticism of that body of writing. But his main contribution to biblical learning lies in his recognition of 'parallelism' as a regular device of Hebrew poetry (in his *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum*). The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines parallelism in Lowth's sense thus: «Correspondence, in sense or construction, of successive clauses or passages, especially in Hebrew poetry», and quotes Lowth himself in the introduction to his work on *Isaiah*: «The correspondence of one Verse, or Line, with another, I call Parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it, in Sense; or similar to it in the

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form of Grammatical Construction». Ordinarily, as Lowth showed in the 19th chapter of *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum*, pp. 361-391, Hebrew parallelism is of three kinds:

- (1) Synonymous parallelism (the commonest type) consisting in the simple repetition of the same thought in slightly different words (e. g. «Hear my crying, O God: Give ear unto my prayer», *Psalm* 61, 1).
- (2) Antithetical parallelism, produced by contrasting the first member with the second, a form very frequent in the *Book of Proverbs* (e. g. «A merry heart doeth good like a medicine: But a broken spirit drieth the bones», *Proverbs* 17, 22).
- (3) Synthetic parallelism, in which the first member is developed or completed by a similar thought in the second (or third, when it is triplets which are in question). An example is: «The kings of the earth stand up: And the rulers take counsel together: Against the Lord and his Anointed» (*Psalm* 2, 2).

Other forms of parallelism (e. g. 'climactic', 'introverted', 'stairlike' and 'emblematic') have been detected by sedulous investigators subsequently, but it usually requires the eye of faith to discern them.

Parallelism is not a term employed by ancient Greek or Latin critics, nor is it applied by the moderns with any precision or consistency. Classically, the concept of balance is treated under the heading of 'antithesis' to which Quintilian devotes some space (IX 3, 81-86). The Latin for antithesis he gives as *contrapositum* (ἀντιθετον) or *contentio*¹. All the passages cited by him are from prose authors (Cicero and, once, Rutilius, a rhetorician of the reign of Augustus).

How far is parallelism in the Hebrew sense a phenomenon of Latin poetry? A reading of the remains of the early scenic poets shows it to be substantially present therein. In this body of material Plautus is represented to the greatest extent by far, and so it is his work which we take as our base, though considerations of space will restrict us to two plays, *exempli gratia*.

In Livius, Naevius and Plautus we are dealing with *Kunstliteratur*, but much —very much— of the *Dichtersprache* and artifice which we encounter in it is native and pre-rhetorical². Eduard Fraenkel³ points to *Pseudolus* 164 *uorsa sparsa, tersa strata, lautaque unctaue omnia*

¹ J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik: Technik and Methode*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II 3, Munich 1974, discusses ancient views of antithesis, p. 312 ff. (under the heading 'Der Redeschmuck'). Cp. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, 2 vols., Munich 1960, vol. I, pp. 389-90.

² See F. Leo, *Geschichte der röm. Lit.*, vol I (only one published), Berlin 1913, p. 34 ff.

³ *Elementi Plautini in Plauto*, Florence 1960, p. 138.

sint a magnificent example of «elevated old Italic diction», comparing the binary groupings *tursitu tremitu, hondu holtu, ninctu nepitu, sonitu sauitu, preplotatu preuilatu*, in the ritual of an Umbrian priestly brotherhood (*Tab. Iguv. VIb 60*), as well as *Amphitruo* 1062 *strepitus crepitus, sonitus tonitrus*, and *Poenulus* 835 *tenebrae latebrae, bibitur estur* (for which cp. *Mostellaria* 235 *dies noctesque estur bibitur*)⁴. Fraenkel's master Leo illuminatingly examined Plautine *dicola*, which are very frequently marked by asyndeton, as well as *tricola*, but he proposed no system⁵. Parallel structure is clearly something native to early Latin.

If we take *Pseudolus* and *Rudens* as our two sample Plautine pieces, we have the following results:

Pseudolus

15. *sub Veneris regno uapulo, non sub Iouis*. Repetition of form, contrast in sense.
- 23-24. *ut opinor, quaerunt litterae hae sibi liberos: alia aliam scandit*.
A riddle conforming to the type *muscast meus pater: nil potest clam illum haberi* (*Merc.* 361) discussed by Fraenkel, *op. cit.* n. 3, pp. 36-42. It is one of the many jests which stream from the lips of *Pseudolus* in this first scene of the play, contrasting strongly with its pathos as *Calidorus* sighs for his absent love. For this type of riddle cp. in *Pseudolus* 740 *anguillast, elabatur*, and 1190 *uncti hi sunt senes, fricari sese ex antiquo uolunt* (commented on by Fraenkel, *op. cit.* n. 3, p. 40). A challengingly cryptic statement is made, followed by a development and completion of the thought in some arresting way.
37. *repente exortus sum, repentino occidi*. Contrast, with repetition of the construction.
180. *quibu' uitae, quibu' deliciae estis, quibu' sauia, mamma, mellillae?* Rising tricolon, with expansion of meaning. Cp. *Pseudolus* 62ff. for a fine example of accumulation extending over several lines. And cp. too *Pseudolus* 695 *scis amorem, scis laborem, scis egestatem meam*; 1243 *nimis illic mortalis doctus, nimi' uorsutus, nimi' malus*; and 1271 *illos accubantis, potantis, amantis*. Leo, *op. cit.* n. 5, p. 171ff., discourses usefully on triple words or phrases in Plautus.
248. *mortuost qui fuit: qui sit usust*. *Ballio* replies that the man who has been his benefactor (*sospitalis*) is dead; there is now need of someone actually to be his benefactor. Contrast of ideas.
282. *non dedisse istunc pudet: me quia non accepi piget*. Contrast. Note the rhyme. Rhyme and jingles are a common feature of the native Italian literary style—in this play cp. 688-698 for an interesting set of examples. From *Pruden-*

⁴ And cp. *purus putus* (and old legal phrase?) twice in *Pseudolus* (989 and 1200), *reppulit propulit* (*Rudens* 672), and *melius peius, posit obsit* (*Terence, HT* 643).

⁵ *Analecta Plautina* III, p. 164 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Band I, Rome 1960).

- tius (400 A. D.) onwards rhyme is a notable characteristic of Christian Latin poetry. (The correspondence of sounds which is the essence of rhyme is a kind of parallelism).
301. *eme die caeca hercle oliuom, id uendito oculata die.* Despite Fraenkel's remarks, *Glotta* 8, 1917, p. 35ff., this line still lacks adequate explanation. I hope to consider it elsewhere. In the interim, note the asyndetic contrast in it.
343. *sine ornamentis, cum intestinis omnibus.* A jocular contrast. A variant on the double *cum* construction sometimes used by Plautus. Leo (*Analecta Plautina* II, p. 158) compares *Rudens* 1170 (Gripus) *cum sacula et cum porculis* and various other passages for the double use of *cum* (e. g. *Curc.* 289 *cum libris cum sportulis*; *ibid.* 612 *cum bolis cum bulbis*; *Men.* 666 *cum uiro cum uxore*). Ballo's remark here is a brutal jest: 'I sold her with just what she stood up in (*sine ornamentis*) and with all her intestines'. Cp. the words of Gripus (*Rudens* 923): *sine lucro et cum malo quiescunt*, where the same effect is achieved — 'Those who enjoy their sleep take their rest with accruing loss and misfortune'.
386. *qui imperata efecta reddat, non qui uigilans dormiat.* Contrast.
423. *occisa est haec res, haeret hoc negotium.* Repetition of thought.
429. *gestores linguis, auditores auribus.* Parallel dicola, with *figura etymologica* in the second one.
- 502-3. *quia illud malum aderat, istuc aberat longius;*
illud erat praesens, huic erant dieculae.
Contrast, presented twice over.
573. *sed mox exibo, non ero uobis morae.* *sed mox* is Leo's plausible supplement. Repetition in a different form of the same idea.
747. *anguillast, elabatur.* Cp. 23-24 above.
941. *omnia pectore condita sunt, meditati sunt mihi doli docte.* Repetition of the same idea in other words.
945. *ego istuc aliis dare condidici: mihi optrudere non potes palpum.* Completion of thought — 'I'm a past master at handing that stuff out to others: you can't palm it off on me'. *palpus* = 'the soft palm of the hand; hence stroking, flattery'. P. B. Corbett, *Eranos* 59, 1961, pp. 86-88, has proposed *pulpam*, 'an appetising morsel, bait', like *esca*, but is the change necessary?
985. *nomen nescit, haeret haec res.* First member developed and completed by the second.
1015. *argentum des, abducas mulierem.* Pithy parallelism of construction (with chiasmus). Both subjunctives are jussive.
1036. *uictor sum, uici cautos custodes meos.* First member developed and completed by the second.
- 1128-9. *boni me uiri pauperant, improbi augent;*
populo strenui, mi improbi usui sunt.
Contrast and repetition.
1190. *uncti hi sunt senes, fricari sese ex antiquo uolunt.* Riddle — cp. 23-24 and 747 above.

Rudens

71. *uehemens sum exoriens, quom occido uehementior.* Contrast.

106. *filiolam ego unam habui, eam unam perdidit*. Repetition of form (and note rhyme).
146. *amori haec curat: tritico curat Ceres*. Repetition of form virtually (with alliteration).
198. *Sed erile scelus me sollicitat, eiuis me impietas male habet*. Repetition of sense in different words.
385. *fur facile quem opseruat uidet: custos qui fur sit nescit*. Goetz read *qui* in first member, but there is anyway a contrast in sense.
- 428-29. AM. *sapienti ornatus quid uelim indicium facit*.
SC. *meu' quoque hic sapienti ornatus quid uelim indicium facit*.
Straight repetition of words, but with a real contrast in the sense; the words of Scepharnio would be uttered in a salacious way. Cp. the lustful innuendo of Silenus, referring to the nymph Aegle, Virgil, *Eclogue VI* 26: *huic aliud mercedis erit*.
- 434-5. AM. *qur tu operam grauare, amabo, quam hostis hosti commodat?*
SC. *qur tu operam grauare mihi quam ciuis commodat?*
This pair of lines follows the same pattern as 428-9; an innocent remark by Ampelisca is repeated with only slight change of form but great change of meaning by Scepharnio (σκέπαρνον means an 'adze', and Scepharnio is well characterised as a sharp fellow with a fondness for words, even to the point of insolence, as we see from 104-117). We may compare at this point too the banal and even lewd comments of Trachalio amid the pathos of the two girls' distress, 663-704. The *hostis hosti, ciuis ciui* collocation is antique and homely — cp. the proverbial *manus manum lauat*; the conversational tag *amicus amico*; and such Plautine examples as *Asin. 31 nam me illuc ducis ubi lapis lapidem terit? Most. 1075 adsum praesens praesenti tibi; Amph. 726 immo uigilans uigilantem; 786 nunc si patera pateram peperit omnes congeminauimus*. The one form of the word generally follows upon the other, and normally the nominative precedes. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, Berlin 1912, p. 235, discusses the whole matter.
522. *quia ego indignus sum, tu dignus qui sies*. Contrast.
577. *eodem amictus, eodem tectus esse soleo, si pluit*. Repetition of sense.
- 584-5. *uenalis illic ductitauit, quisquis est;*
non est misericors.
A riddle of the *muscast meus pater* type (cp. *Pseud. 23-4; 747*, and 1190). «That man has been a slave-dealer, whoever he is; he's heartless».
620. *statuite exemplum inpudenti, date pudori praemium*. Contrast.
688. *ne inquam, timete; adsidite hic in ara*. Development of meaning in second limb — «Don't be afraid; sit here at the altar (for it will be our bastion)».
702. *Venus, aequom has petere intellego: decet aps te id impetrari*. Completion of the thought of the first member in the second.
704. *te ex concha natam esse autumant, caue tu harum conchas spernas*. Development of the idea in *concha* which is used literally in the first member and metaphorically (or rather by *synecdoche*) in the second.
735. *fateor, ego trifurcifer sum, tu es homo adprime probus*. Contrast, with different words.

- 784ff. Daem. *tangedum* } Repetition of words and construction over a
 & } number of lines. Cp. the repetition of the words
 796ff. Lab. *tangam hercle uero.* } *licet* and *censeo*, 1212ff. and 1269ff. below, as
 as well as the strong parallelism of sentiment, 449f. and 497f. Plautus is fond
 of this kind of effect. Maybe the repetition of single words or phrases over
 a stretch of text was seen as an opportunity for vocal virtuosity on the
 part of the actors, a variety of intonations and registers being brought
 into play to add to the amusement.
883. *non sum hospes, repudio hospitium tuum.* Idea repeated.
1001. *uerba facimus, it dies.* Development of the thought in the second member.
1087. *aurum auro expendetur, argentum argento exaequabimus (exaequabitur cod.).*
 There is parallelism of form exactly if we read *exaequabitur*, parallelism
 of thought if *exaequabimus*.
1302. *nam quidem hoc uenenatumst uerum: ita in manibus consenescit.* The line
 may not be genuine — *nam quidem* is not a Plautine phrase — but in form
 it belongs to the *muscast meus pater* type of utterance.
1326. *os calet tibi, nunc id frige factas.* Contrast.
1394. GR. *saluos sum, leno labascit, libertas portenditur.* Tricolon with gradual
 expansion of meaning.
1395. DA. *uidulum istunc ille inuenit, illud mancupium meum est.* The second
 member allusively expands the meaning or implication of the first.

Let us now look at two comedies by Terence:

Andria

24. *fauete, adeste aequo animo et rem cognoscite.* Tricolon with expansion of
 the thought. It is in general true that Terence as a stylist is more interested
 in playing with ideas than with words. This line from the prologue is a
 continuance of the *captatio beneuolentiae* with which it opens. The *Andria*
 prologue is a neat little forensic speech, a defence of the poet's art, as
 are the other prologues. They are Terence's own compositions and so are
 clear indices of his own style. They abound in figures. For a good discussion
 see Leo, *An. Pl. II*, p. 15ff.
79. *accepit conditionem, de(h)inc quaestum occipit.* Development or completion
 of idea, with play on words (*accipere/occipere*).
120. *placuit: despondi. hic nuptiis dictust dies.* Tricolon with development of sense.
126. *hinc illae lacrumae, haec illast misericordia.* This very famous line shows
 repetition of form and meaning.
189. *nunc his dies aliam uitam defert, alios mores postulat.* Repetition of sense.
202. *ita aperte ipsam rem modo locutu's, nil circum itione usus es.* Repetition
 of sense.
312. *ipsum hunc orabo, huic supplicabo, amorem huic narrabo meum.* Develop-
 ment.
- 360-1. *paullulum opsoni; ipsu' tristis; de inproiso nuptiae:*
non cohaerent.
 Tetracolon, with development. For this 'Mr Jingle' kind of speech cp. 127-9
 of this play, *funus interim / procedit; sequimur; ad sepulcrum uenimus; /*
in ignem impositust; fletur. And cp. 285 *accessi; uos semotae: nos soli:*
incipit, as well as 696 *hanc mi expetiui; contigit; conueniunt mores.*

365. *nil ornati, nil tumulti: accessi; intro aspexi.*
The word *nil* (twice) with dependent genitives of nouns implies verbs, and the two main verbs in the second member provide a balance.
446. *nunc uxore opus est; animum ad uxorem adpulit.* Repetition of sense.
555. *amantium irae amoris integratio.* This, one of the most famous lines in Latin literature, contains repetition of construction as well as alliteration.
670. *hac non successit, alia adoriemur uia.* Contrast.

Heaut. Tim.

- 25-6. *arbitrium uostrum, uostra existumatio ualebit.*
Repetition of sense.
77. *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto.* Development of initial idea.
196. *qui uti scit ei bona; illi qui non utitur recte mala.* Contrast.
255. *quid comedent! quid ebibent! quid sene erit nostro miserius?*
Rising tricolon.
322. *uis amare, uis potiri, uis quod des illi effici.* Cp. 255 above.
325. *aut haec cum illis sunt habenda aut illa cum his mittenda sunt.* Contrast.
356. *tibi erunt parata uerba, huic homini uerbera.* Contrast.
576. *apud alium prohibet dignitas; apud alium ipsi(u)s facti pudet ne ineptu', ne proteruo' uidear.*
Contrast.
636. *non simulare mortem uerbis, re ipsa spem uitae dare.* Contrast.
828. *quod imperabit facito; loquitor paucula.* Development of thought.
- 925-6. *fac te patrem esse sentiat; fac ut audeat tibi credere omnia, abs te petere et poscere.*
Repetition of form.
1002. *eum mihi precatorem paro: seni nostro fide nil habeo.*
Development of thought.

I now append some miscellaneous examples from various sources.
First from:

Plautus:

1. *sibi sua habeant regna reges, sibi diuitias diuites, sibi honores, sibi uirtutes, sibi pugnas, sibi proelia; dum mi apstineant inuidere, sibi quisque habeant quod suomst.* *Curc.* 178ff.
2. *Curc.* 280-98, a rousing passage which must have tickled the ears and stirred the feeling of the audience, ends with a parallelism — *proin sese domi contineant, uitent infortunio.*
3. *animum fodicant, bona distimulant, facta et famam sauciant.* *Bacch.* 64
4. *urbis speciem uidi, hominum mores perspexi parum.* *Persa* 550
5. *matronae tacitae spectent, tacitae rideant.* *Poen.* 32
6. *cupienti liberorum, osori mulierum.* *ibid.* 74
7. *altera quinquennis, altera quadrimula.* *ibid.* 85
8. *quid tibi huc uentio est? quid tibi hanc aditio est?* *Truc.* 622

9. *neque ut hinc abeam neque ut hunc adeam scio. ibid.* 824
10. *nam cum pugnabant maxime, ego tum fugiebam maxime. Amph.* 199
11. *dispertiti uiri, dispertiti ordines. ibid.* 220
12. *humanum amarest, humanum autem ignoscerest. Merc.* 320

Two instances now from Naevius whose style would seem to have influenced Plautus ⁶:

13. *neque admodum a pueris abscessit neque adolescentulust. Clamidaria* 28
14. *primum ad uirtutem ut redeatis, abeatis ab ignauia. Tarentilla* 90

From Ennius' tragedies we may cite:

15. *male uolentes famam tollunt, bene uolentes gloriam. Achilles* 12
16. *his erat in ore Bromius, his Bacchus pater. Athamas* 128
17. *caelum nitescere, arbores frondescere... Eumenides* 157
18. *segetes largiri fruges, florere omnia, fontes scatere, herbis prata conuestirier. ibid.* 160-1

From Pacuvius there come these examples:

19. *quod ego inaudiui accipite et quid sit facto opus decernite. Armorum Iudicium* 42
20. *men seruasse ut essent qui me perderent? ibid.* 45
21. *utinam nunc matrescam ingenio, ut meum patrem ulcisci queam! Dulorestes* 136
22. *...ques sunt is? — ignoti nescioques ignobiles. quid tandem? ubi ea est? quod receptat se? — exul incerta uagat. si resto, pergit ut eam, si ire conor, prohibet baetere! Medus* 237, 239 and 240

From Accius we may quote:

23. *contaminari stirpem, admisceri genus. Atreus* 127
24. *agite modico gradu! iacit nisus leues! Bacchae* 209

Parallelism is an essential feature of all pattern, and thus of all art, as music, architecture, and dancing, for example, regularly demonstrate. Recognition of parallelism in the sense defined at the start of this contribution, harmonising so well as it does with the lapidary quality of the Latin language, will enlarge our grasp of the style and procedures of early Latin poetry. It is a special kind of antithesis, a term too

⁶ John Wright, *Dancing in Chains: the Stylistic Unity of the Comoedia Palliata*, American Academy in Rome, Rome 1974, discusses the literary and dramatic tradition (and convention) within which Plautus wrote. For stylistic similarities between Naevius and Plautus, see p. 58 f.

vaguely employed by editors and critics. Nor is it enough to speak simply of pleonasm or redundancy, as may commentators do. A. D. Leeman⁷ draws a good distinction between native Latin devices of emphasis and Greek techniques⁸. The instances of the kind of parallelism which I have been discussing are scattered over *senarii* and *Langverse* alike in both Plautus and Terence, and though as usual Terence is in general more restrained, showing an Attic *parsimonia*, nevertheless he does not seem to lag behind the older poet in the deployment of this device as much as might have been expected. A rough calculation seems to show that in Plautus there is one instance of 'Lowthian' parallelism every 50-60 lines, whereas the figure in Terence is one every 70-80 lines⁹.

«Poesie ist die Muttersprache des menschlichen Geschlechts» (Herder). The earliest traces of Latin—but there is a scarcity of genuine archaic texts—show utterances which tend to fall into a rhythmic, if not actually versified, form. There was the *carmen*¹⁰ which implied in early times (as Servius says on *Aeneid* III 287) not only «what is composed in verse» (*quidquid pedibus continetur*), but everything that was expressed in formal speech (*conceptis uerbis*). It included in its ambit prayer and charm, legal maxims and proverbs, solemn deliverances of priests and officials, as well as the song (eventually under Greek influence becoming the 'poem'). The litanies (*axamenta*) of the Salian priests or of the Arval brotherhood, the formulaic conjurations of divine beings (*indigitamenta*)¹¹, the Saturnian measure, dramatic *satura*, the

⁷ *Orationis Oratio*, Amsterdam 1963, pp. 22, and 45-46.

⁸ See, too, Leo, *op. cit.* n. 2, pp. 28-40, and 265-315; Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 209-230. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, Leipzig and Berlin 1923, pp. 164-169, detects Greek influence in most features of Cato's style, but he greatly overstates his case.

⁹ The usage did not die. The paraphrastic style of Ovid owes something to it—cp. such lines as

nudaque simplicitas purpureusque pudor

Am. I 3, 14

and

pascitur in uiuis liuor; post fata quiescit

Am. I 15, 39.

And cp. my paper, «Ovid and the Roman Stage», *Aufstieg und Niedergang der röm. Welt*, Teil 2, Band 31, 4, Berlin 1981, pp. 2701-2742 (esp. 2712 ff.). When in the third century A. D. Pentadius wrote his elegiac poems on *Fortune*, *Spring*, and *Narcissus* in 'echoic' verses where the opening of the hexameter is repeated in the close of the succeeding pentameter (text in Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* IV, pp. 343-5, 358-9), we can perhaps see a late form of the same phenomenon.

¹⁰ For the *carmen* see Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 14 and 24.

¹¹ On the *indigitamenta* (and on the *di indigetes*) there is a vast literature. The chief works are Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions-*

dirges for the dead (*neniae*), the 'Ahnenlieder', the *carmina incondita* of soldiers rejoicing over a leader's victory with ribald freedom (cp. Livy IV 20, 2), Fescennine improvisations for different occasions with their repartee (cp. Horace, *Ep.* II 1, 139-46), the predictions of seers—all these types of composition are to be reckoned amongst the sources of a native Italian poetry. Nor do they seem to have lacked ornamentation, to judge from such scant fragments as remain.

The *praeceptum* which runs *postremus dicas, primus taceas* and is attributed to the mysterious *uates* Marcius¹² shows parallelism of form. With it we may compare the aphorism, no doubt a part of old country lore, in a passage of Cato (*De agricultura* 5, 5) on the duties of a *uilicus*: *primus cubitu surgat, postremus cubitum eat*¹³. Varro (*De re rustica* I 2, 27) quotes what looks like an old charm against gout: *terra pestem teneto: salus hic maneto*, which again comes within the 'Lowthian' canon. The distich referring to Caesar's amours in the provinces which his troops bawled out at his Gallic triumph (Suetonius, *Iulius* 51):

*Vrbani, seruate uxores: moechum caluom adducimus;
aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum*

is another instance of parallelism, there being a contrast between the halves in each of the lines. Their scabrous substance (apotropaically intended) and their rhythm and pattern belong to a tradition with its beginnings in an immemorial past.

Further, J. Marouzeau has studied the concision as well as the abundance of official Latin style¹⁴. He notes¹⁵ a particular feature of repetition in the Latinity of the earlier legal writers consisting (and this

und Stadtgeschichte, Munich 1904, p. 175 ff.; Peter in Roscher II, col. 132 ff.; Richter in P.-W. IX, col. 134 ff. See also Eduard Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern*, Lund and Leipzig 1939, for early liturgical practice in general.

¹² For Marcius (a rough equivalent of our 'Old Moore' of the almanac fame) see Cicero, *De diuin.* I 115, and II 113, and Livy XXV 12, 2; and cp. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 24. His two books of prophecies, we are told, were officially consulted in the darkest days of the Second Punic War just before Cannae. The alleged ancient prophecy recounted by Livy (V 16, 9-11) on the draining of the Alban lake is disposed of by R. M. Ogilvie in his commentary *ad loc.* (Livy, Books 1-5, Oxford 1965) as being a later translation from the Greek and as belonging to the number of the many spurious Delphic oracles which were circulating in the late Republic.

¹³ This parallel has escaped the notice of the latest commentator, Raoul Goujard—Budé series, Paris 1975.

¹⁴ See «Sur deux aspects de la langue du droit» in *Mélanges Henri Lévy-Bruhl, Publications de l'Institut de Droit romain de l'Université de Paris* 17, Paris 1959, pp. 435-44. Cp. also Kühner-Stegmann ed. 3, revised by A. Thierfelder, Darmstadt 1955, II, p. 149 ff.

¹⁵ Marouzeau, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

is interesting from our present point of view) in a binary formation uniting terms of related, complementary, or opposed sense, the use of which made of the juriconsult, according to Cicero (*De oratore* I 55, 236), a *cantor formularum*. Amongst the most common of these formulae Marouzeau quotes *ius et fas, ius et lex, uis ac potestas, usus fructus, fides fiducia, manu mancipio, datum donatum, pacti conuenti, locatum conductum, certum ratum, promitto spondeo, soluere liberare, multae poenae*. He then refers to the element of pastiche which this legal usage could suggest to literary authors, quoting from the prologue to Plautus' *Amphitr.* where redundant phrases from lawyers' language occur:

*ut uos in uostris uoltis mercimoniis
emundis uendundisque me laetum lucris
adficere atque adiuuare in rebus omnibus,
et ut res rationesque nostrorum omnium
bene expedire uoltis peregrisque et domi
bonoque atque amplo auctare perpetuo lucro
quasque incepistis res quasque inceptabitis...
concessum et datum... aequi et iusti...*

He also cites Cicero, *De republica* III 22, 33, where the notion of natural law is set forth in terms which recall juridical phraseology.

Antiphonal speech, flyting, and amoebean structure in general were things obviously enjoyed in ancient Italy, and the fact that dramatic dialogue early achieved a high standard at Rome, especially in the comedies of Plautus and Terence, indicates that the public liked pointed verbal exchanges and the 'to and fro' of argument and discussion¹⁶. The popularity of *altercationes* in forensic oratory (cp. Cicero, *Brutus* 54, 164) provides additional evidence of this. Dialogue played a significant part in *satura* from the time of Ennius¹⁷, and many of the satires written by Lucilius, Horace and Persius are substantially dialogue, whereas Juvenal favours the long rhetorical sweep. The topic which I have been discussing in this paper is not unrelated to the widespread Italian fondness for interchange, for repetition, and for the challenge of debate.

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¹⁶ I think it is true to say that the style of Latin comedy is at the very outset more mature and assured than that of serious poetry, epic or tragic, and this is probably so because it had more extensive affiliations in the preceding native culture.

¹⁷ See R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, Leipzig 1895, and Michael Coffey, *Roman Satire*, London 1976, index s. v. 'dialogue'.