The Roman theatre

Rowland Henry Tudor

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FOREWORD.

In writing this Thesis my aim has been to trace the rise and development of the ancient Roman Theatre.

The method I have adopted in pursuance of this aim has been to base my observations to a very large extent on the inform-ation provided by, or which may be legitimately deduced from, the plays themselves, as well as on the statements of early writers and later commentators who refer to the subject.

Hence the very numerous references, which, for the sake of con-venience, have been collected together at the end and referred to by numerals in the text.

CONTENTS.

I. THE BUILDING.

A. History of development.

For a long time there was no fixed place in Rome set apart for dramatic representations. An improvised "stage",consisting of a wooden platform(pulpitum) for the actors,was set up as occasion required and dismantled after it had served its purpose. (1)

The place chosen varied according to circumstances,sometimes it was in the Forum,sometimes in the Circus Maximus,and sometimes - perhaps more usually - near the temple of the deity in whose honour the festival was being celebrated.

The first stage erected in Rome was set up temporarily in the Circus Maximus for the use of the Etruscan "ludiones" who were brought to Rome for the first time in B.C.364 on the occasion of the outbreak of a pestilence there. (2)

Then a rough kind of wooden platform was erected in the open air whenever it was desired to give a performance,the place occupied by the spectators,termed the "cavea",or hollow,being sometimes fenced in with a wooden palisade,but there were no seats for the people. (3)

During the lifetime of Plautus (B.C.254-184),however,the curule aediles were ordered to set apart the space immediately in front of the pulpitum for the seats of the senators. (4)

In B.C.179 a theatre was constructed in Rome,made of wood,and situated near the temple of Apollo. (5) The background was composed of a wall of boards,on which were depicted ~~the~~ two houses,which served as a "scene-building"(scaena). In the front of this (proscaenium) was a platform (pulpitum) on which the players acted, and in the middle stood an altar. (6)

This structure,however,was not allowed to remain permanently,and for the next hundred years temporary wooden stages were erected each year for the special occasions on which dramatic performances were given,and then demolished. (7)

In B.C.155 the building of the first stone theatre (8) in Rome was begun by the censors C.Cassius Longinus and Valerius Messala (9), on a site between the Lupercal and the Palatine Hill. (10)

The censors had contracted for the framing and setting up of the theatre,but,at the instigation of P.Scipio Nasica,in his second consulship,the Senate passed a decree ordering its destruction for fear that such a building savouring of Greek luxury would be harm-ful to public morality (inutile et nociturum publicis moribus)(11) and unworthy of the stern simplicity of Roman citizens.

It was further decreed that no-one should set seats for spectators, or sit down himself,to see the plays,either in the city or within a mile of the city gates,so that by having to stand on their feet manly fortitude might be inculcated in the people.

St.Augustine (12) commends Scipio Nasica for having persuaded the Senate to order the demolition of the partly-built theatre,and also for obtaining an express prohibition of the use of the movable seats (subsellia) which the Romans had begun to use in the beholding of plays.

Appian (13) also refers to the demolition by the consul Scipio of the theatre begun by Cassius.

Tertullian (14) mentions the fact that the censors used to destroy theatres whilst they were being built in order to "safeguard public morals."

At the plays given at the triumph of Lucius Mummius in B.C.I46, after his conquest of Corinth,wooden seats were erected for the spectators.

The next mention of a theatre being built in Rome is by Pliny(I5) who describes the wooden structure built by M.Aemilius Scaurus when he was aedile in B.C.58. This was an elaborate and magnifi--cent building adorned with 360 marble columns. The background of the stage had three soreys,the lowest being of marble,or perhaps lined with marble,the second of glass (e vitro),i.e.covered with glass mosaics - a then unheard-of luxury - and the topmost of gild--ed wood. The lowermost columns were 38 feet high,and,placed be--tween these columns,were 300 brazen statues.

According to Marlian (I6) its "cavea" would seat 80,000 spectators, compared with the seats for only 40,000 in Pompey's theatre.

In B.C.50 C.Curio built a still more amazing structure. This con--sisted of two wooden theatres for scenic representations with two semicircular "auditoria" back-to-back,each being made to revolve so as to form a complete circle,or amphitheatre,for gladiatorial shows. (I7) Before noon the two theatres were turned back to back,whilst separate spectacles were being presented in each; then in the afternoon the two theatres were swung round to form an amphi--theatre.

The first completed stone theatre (theatrum lapideum)(I8) was the Theatre of Pompey (I9),which was opened in B.C.55,though it was not finished till the year 52. (20)

This was situated in the Prata Flaminia adjoining the Campus Martius, and is said to have been modelled on the Greek theatre at Mitylene in the island of Lesbos. (2I)

According to Plutarch (22) when Pompey was at Mitylene he was pleased with the theatre there and had a sketch taken of it,and a plan made, with the intention of making one like it in Rome,but larger and more splendid.

Pompey's theatre was not,however,a replica of this,as the "cavea" of his theatre was exactly a semi-circle,whereas in Greek theatres the "cavea" was always greater than a semi-circle.

To avoid the risk of censure for having erected a stone theatre, Pompey placed a temple of Venus Victrix at the top of the "cavea" so that the theatre steps should appear to be steps of the temple,and the dedication was that of a temple of Venus. (23)

Tacitus,however,tells us (24) that at the time of the institution at Rome of the Neronian quinquennial contests (25),when scenic represent-ations were given,some of the people recalled how Gnaeus Pompeius had been censured by his elders "for building a permanent theatre" (quod mansuram theatri sedem posuisset).

Attached to the theatre,at the back of the "stage-buildings"(scaena) was the Porticus Pompeii,or Ambulatio Magni,with parallel rows of columns,and an open space in the centre planted with trees and adorn-ed with fountains and statues.(26) This was also known as the "Hecatostylon",the Hall of the Hundred Pillars.(27)

Apart from the remains of Pompey's theatre which are now in existence, the design is known from the Marble Plan of Rome preserved in the Capitol.(28)

Ø It was in the porticus of Pompey's theatre that Brutus and Cassius were engaged in their business as praetors shortly before the murder of Caesar in 44B.C.(29),which took place in the adjoining Curia.

In common with almost all the buildings of Rome,the theatre of Pom-
-pey suffered frequently from fire,and was several times restored
and re-built.

The first restoration was by Caesar Augustus(B.C.27-I4A.D.) (30),
who also removed the statue of Pompey from the Curia and placed it
under a marble arch in front of the palace attached to Pompey's
theatre.(3I)

The Ancyrean Inscription records that it was restored at a great
cost by Augustus,without the addition of his name to that of Pompey
on the front. "POMPEIUM.THEATRUM.....IMPENSA.GRANDI.REFECI.SINE.
ULLA.INSCRIPTIONE.NOMINIS.MEI."

The original inscription recorded that the theatre was completed in
the third consulship of Pompey B.C.52,and the question arose whether
it was more elegant to use the word "TERTIUM" or "TERTIO".
Cicero cautiously refused to commit himself to either opinion,and
advised the use of the contracted form "TERT." in order to avoid
the difficulty. The Emperor Claudius,however,did not approve of
the abbreviation and altered "TERT." into "III." (The form "TERTIUM"
was adopted by Agrippa on the frieze of the Parthenon.) (32)

Aulus Gellius (33) quotes Varro as saying that Pompeius did not write
the final letters of the word "tertium" or "tertio" on the inscript-
-ion on his theatre,but wrote only "TERT." to avoid any ambiguity.
A few lines further on he quotes also Tullius Tiro,the learned freed-
-man and friend of Cicero,on this same point.

However,as Gellius points out at the end of this chapter,when,many
years later,the back wall of the stage(scaena),which had fallen
down,was restored,the number was indicated,not as before by the

first four letters,but by "three incised lines"(tribus liniolis incisis).

Tacitus says (34) that when the theatre of Pompeius was accidentally burned down,(only the "scaena" was destroyed,the rest being of stone), the Emperor Tiberius (A.D.I4-38) undertook to re-build it himself, preserving the name of Pompeius.

A statue was voted by the Senate to be set up in the theatre(apud theatrum) to Sejanus,because to his vigilance and exertions it was ø due that the loss from this great fire had been confined to a single building.

The restoration of this theatre is mentioned by Tacitus (35) as being one of the only two public works executed by Tiberius.(36)

Suetonius tells us (37) that the work,which had been left unfinished by Tiberius,was completed by Caligula (A.D.38-4I),who,however,insert-ed his own name in the place of Pompey's.

It was again burned down in the time of Claudius (A.D.4I-54),by whom also it was re-built,with Pompey's name restored in its original place,and dedicated with much ceremony and splendour.(38)

Claudius also completed the marble arch near Pompey's theatre,which had formerly been decreed by the Senate in honour of Tiberius,but which had been neglected.(39)

In the great fire at Rome,which occurred in the second year of the reign of Titus (A.D.79-8I) (40),the theatre of Pompey was once more destroeyed and again re-built.

In succeeding reigns it suffered from various fires,e.g.in the time of Philippus Arabs(A.D.244-249),and under Diocletian (A.D.284-305); but it continued in use until the time of Theodoric and even later in the sixth century A.D.

Remains of Pompey's theatre are still in existence,and a few frag-
-ments have been discovered in the cellars of the Palazzo Pio.(4I)

The next stone theatre to be constructed in Rome was planned by Iulius Caesar (42),and was,as Suetonius says,a theatre of very great size lying near to the Tarpeian hill (Tarpeio monti accubans).
It was built by Augustus and dedicated in II B.C. (according to Pliny)(43),or perhaps in I3 B.C.
This was named the "Theatre of Marcellus" in memory of the nephew of Augustus who had died in 23 B.C.. (44)
It is this theatre which in all probability is alluded to in line I57 of the inscription (describing the Ludi Saeculares held in B.C. I7) on a marble column,fragments of which were discovered in I890, and which refers to "the theatre which is in the Circus Flaminius".(45)
The Regionary Catalogues of the 4th.century A.D. mention the "Theatrum Marcelli.capit loca xxx mil.". (46)
Its "scaena" is shown on one of the fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome (47) with the inscription "Theatrum.Marcelli".
It stood between the Porticus Octaviae and the Capitoline hill,not far from the temple of Apollo,and it was built on ground purchased from private owners. (48)
Livy tells us (49) that the theatre of Marcellus was built on the site of an earlier one erected by Aemilius Lepidus.
In the reign of Vespasian(A.D.69-79) it was repaired after having suffered damage by fire. (50)
Imposing remains are still to be seen,especially of the exterior arcading of the curved "cavea". It is all worked in travertine,a porous yellow rock which hardens on exposure,once covered with hard

white stucco (opus albarium). An interesting feature is the columns of the Roman-Doric order which are placed against a wall ("engaged"). (5I)

The third (52) of the stone theatres erected in Rome was that of Cornelius Balbus,which was dedicated in B.C.I3.
This was built in response to the exhortations of Augustus who desired persons of rank to adorn Rome by putting up new buildings or repair-ing old ones. (53)
It was of great splendour,and,according to the Catalogue of the Regions of Rome,seated more than 30,000 spectators.
The great statues of Castor and Pollux leading their horses,now at the top of the Capitoline steps,were found in this theatre. (54)

In addition to these the Odeum of Domitian(A.D.8I-96)may be included amongst the permanent theatres of Rome.
The Odeum was a building modelled on the Greek Odeion built by Pericles about B.C.445 for the purpose of holding musical contests; it was constructed on the plan of a theatre,but much smaller,and it had a roof for acoustical reasons.
The first Odeum at Rome was built by Domitian about the year 86 A.D.; a second was built in the reign of Trajan (A.D.98-II7).
Probably this last was the "theatre" referred to by Josephus (55) as having been built in the Campus Martius and destroyed by Hadrian (A.D.II7-I38) against the will of the people.

B. Plans.

Vitruvius,writing in the time of Augustus,lays down detailed plan rules to be followed in the construction of a Roman theatre. (56)
In the first place,care must be taken regarding the site of the theatre (which should be near the temples of Apollo and Bacchus) because the spectators sit through the plays spell-bound and motion--less,and the winds blow upon the open pores of their bodies.
If these winds come from marshy districts they will introduce "nox--ious exhalations"(nocentes spiritus) into the system.
The theatre must not be exposed to the full force of the midday sun, because the air,being unable to circulate freely on account of the curved enclosure,becomes heated and "adversely affects the fluids of the human body"(imminuit e corporibus humores).
A hill-side is to be preferred for the foundations,but if these must be laid on a plain,or a marshy place,solidity must be assured and sound substructures built.
The ascending "tiers of seats"(gradationes) should be built of stone and marble.
Great care must be taken that people in every part of the auditorium shall be able to hear distinctly,so there must be no echo.
The semi-circular cross-passages (praecinctiones) must not be too high,else the actors' words will not reach distinctly those in the uppermost seats.
The seats for the spectators must be built in ascending rows of circles,because the voice travels not only horizontally in circles but also ascends vertically by regular stages. Hence the ancient architects planned the ascending rows of seats in the theatres in accordance with the natural movements of the human voice.

Vitruvius lays down the principles on which sounding-vases (vasa aerea) should be made "in mathematical ratio corresponding with the size of the theatre"(mathematicis rationibus pro ratione agnitudim -is theatri),and gives detailed instructions how these are to be placed in,and distributed over,the auditorium. He gives the scheme left by Aristoxenus (a Greek philosopher and musician of Tarentum c.330 B.C.),and adds that "if anyone will give heed to these calcul--ations"(si quis ratiocinationibus his attenderit) he will the more easily be able to erect theatres adapted to the nature of the voice and the pleasure of the audience.

In theatres made of wood there is a great deal of boarding(tabulat--iones complures)which must necessarily resound. In order to mini--mize this,those who are singing to the lyre turn "towards the fold--ing-doors on the stage"(ad scenae valvas)when they wish to sing in a higher/ key.

When theatres are built of solid materials such as rubble walling, stone or marble,which cannot resound,then sounding-vases are to be used. These vessels were not employed in any theatre in Rome itself, but only in "the districts"(regionibus)of Italy,and in many Greek states.

The "plan"(conformatio)of a theatre is given in detail(cap.vi).

The position of the "scaena"(the high stage-buildings at the back of the "proscaenium" and "pulpitum") is to be accurately determined by geometrical measurements.

It is important to note that Roman theatres were designed from equi--lateral triangles,whereas Greek theatres were based on squares.

The height of the "pulpitum" (acting-platform) is not to be more than five feet,so that those sitting in the "orchestra" can see

"the gestures of all the actors"(omnium agentium gestus).

The "blocks of seats"(cunei) for the spectators are to be divided by "flights of steps"(ascensus scalaeque). These gangways,however,are not to ascend in the same line from the lowest circle to the highest, but the blocks of seats above the "first semi-circular passage"(prim-am praecinctionem) are to be laid out with "alternis itineribus",i.e. gangways alternating in position with those of the sections below.

There are to be three doors (valvae) in the "scaena",the middle one being the "royal door"(valvae regiae),and those on either side indic-ating the position of guest apartments (hospitaliorum compositionem).

The "steps"(gradus) for the rows of spectators' seats (subsellia) are not to be less than "a foot and a palm"(palmo pede) in height,nor more than "a foot and six fingers"(ne plus pedem et digito sex); their width (latitudines) is not to be more than two and a half feet nor less than two feet.

For acoustic reasons the roof of the colonnade (tectum porticus), which is to be built "on the top row of seats"(in summa gradatione), is to be on a level with the top of the "scaena".

The length of the "scaena" ought to be double the diameter of the "orchestra". In height it may be three storeyed.

The "scaena",besides having three doors,is to have "spaces provided for decoration"(spatia ad ornatus comparata),equivalent to the Greek 'periaktoi",i.e.three-sided revolving machines (machinae habentes versatiles trigonos) with a different kind of subject (species ornat-ionis) depicted on each side.

Beyond the periaktoi are the projecting wings containing the entrance to the stage (aditus in scaenam),one from the public square,and the other from the country.

The periaktos on the right of the spectator represented the local-
-ity of the action; that on the left,foreign parts.
Behind the stage (post scaenam) "walks"(ambulationes) were to be laid out to serve the twofold purpose of health in time of peace, and security in time of war.(cap.ix)
Vitruvius' description does not precisely coincide with any extant Roman theatre,but he himself makes it clear that he is not describ-
-ing a particular existing theatre,but laying down general direct-
-ions for an ideal structure for anyone who cares to follow them.(57)

The Roman theatre took the form of a semi-circle with a rectangle based on the diameter,the semicircle corresponding to what we call "the house",and the rectangle to our "stage" and "wings".
1. The exterior.
Behind the rectilinear "stage" there was usually the "porticus",or colonnade,the roof of which was supported by pillars Doric in char-
-acter on the outside,and Ionic or Corinthian on the inside.
The porticus flanked,or,in some cases,surrounded an open space laid out with lawns and gardens,and served as a promenade or shelter. (58)
The Roman theatre (in contrast with the Greek) not being,as a rule, excavated from the side of a hill,provided considerable scope for architectural development in the semi-circular "cavea",or "auditor-
-ium",i.e.the "theatrum" in its narrower sense (derived from the Greek "theasthai",to see) applied to the space occupied by the "spect-
-ators". (59)
The cavea was built up in several gradually-ascending stages support-
-ed by colonnades. At each stage there were semi-circular galleries containing stair-cases and cross-passages with "doors"(vomitoria)

opening on to the "praecinctiones" or broad semi-circular passages which divided into storeys the "tiers"(gradus) of the spectators' seats. At the top of the cavea was a roofed colonnade,ornamented with vases and statues,which was used as a promenade. The roof of this colonnade was of the same height as the roof of the "stage". (60) At fixed intervals in the outer wall there were projecting brackets into which poles or masts (mali) were fitted,and over the poles was spread an "awning"(velum) to protect the spectators from the heat of the sun and also from rain. (61)

Q.Catulus,B.C.78,is said (62) to have been the first to use these awnings at the time of the dedication of the Capitol. Then Lentulus Spinther introduced them into the theatre on the occasion of the "Ludi Apollinares". They were made of brightly-coloured canvas, yellow,red or dark blue. (63)

Pliny also tells us (64) that Valerius of Ostia,the architect,had covered in a theatre at Rome at the time of the public games cele-brated by Libo (Libonius Scribo who was Aedile during Cicero's con-sulship in 63 B.C.).

An interesting detail is that during the period of the greatest lux-ury and extravagance in Rome the awning and its ropes were of silk. (65)

ii. The interior.

The interior of the semi-circle comprised (a)the "orchestra",and (b) the tiers of seats.

The "orchestra"(or "dancing-place",so called because in Greek theatres it was reserved for the performances of the Chorus) was an open semi-circular section of the ground of the cavea immediately in front of the stage (pulpitum),with seats for the Senators. (66) This part was not used by the actors. (67)

At each of the two extremities of the diameter were vaulted pass--ages(vomitoria),corresponding to the open "parodoi" of the Greek theatre,passing underneath the ends of the "auditorium" adjacent to the stage,which gave access to the "orchestra".
The most distinguished places were the seats over these vaulted orchestra-entrances; sometimes these seats were on "level platforms" (tribunalia)forming a kind of "box" for the emperor,the magistrate who gave the games,the priests and other dignitaries on one side, whilst in the corresponding place at the other side were the seats for the Vestal Virgins(68),amongst whom the empress sometimes sat.(69)
The"tiers of seats"(gradus)were arranged in concentric semi-circles (maeniana)(70)in two or more divisions,each division being separated longitudinally by the "praecinctiones"(see top of p.I3),and surmount--ed by a low barrier(balteus),or a more elevated gradine.
If there were two praecinctiones,the rows of seats between the or--chestra and the lowest praecinctio were known as "ima cavea"; the middle set as "media cavea"; the highest as "summa cavea".
The tiers of seats were also divided vertically into wedge-shaped "sections"(cunei)by"flights of steps"(ascensus,scalae,scalaria), which ascended from the ground level of the orchestra to the highest level of the cavea,like the spokes of a wheel.
The "seats"(gradus,ordines(7I),sedes(72),sedilia(73),subsellia(74)) had no backs(75); they were simply the stone tiers themselves,on which "incised lines"(linea)(76) marked off the individual seats.

iii. The stage-buildings.

The rectilinear part of the theatre,i.e.the "stage-buildings"(scaena) consisted of:- (a)the "proscaenium" or "pulpitum", (b)the "frons scaenae",(c)the "parascaenia", (d)the "postscaenium", (e)the"porticus".

(a) The "proscaenium" or "pulpitum",i.e.the stage-boards on which the performers acted (77),was long and deep,its length being twice the diameter of the orchestra circle. The height was not more than five feet (78). From it short flights of steps descended into the orchestra" (79).

In some theatres (e.g.Arles,where traces can be seen(80)) the stage--boards had trap-doors(Grk.anapiesmata(8I))which communicated with passages and apartments underneath the stage.

These were doubtless copied from similar contrivances in the Greek theatres which Pollux (82) terms "Charon's steps" (Charonioi klimakes),and were used for bringing up ghosts and Furies and suchlike beings from the other world.

The architectural front of the proscaenium or pulpitum,i.e.the space between the front edge of the stage-boards and the ground,was called the "hyposcaenium"(Grk.Hyposkenion)from its position beneath the "stage"(scaena). Pollux says(83)it was adorned with "columns and small statues"(kiosi kai agalmatiois). There was sometimes a sculptured frieze to serve as a front decoration,like that before the Phaedrus stage in the Romanized or Neronian theatre at Athens.(84) Donatus (85) speaks of two altars which were placed on the pulpitum; the one on the right being that of Liber (Dionysus),and on the left that of the god or goddess in whose honour the games were being given In the "Miles Gloriosus" of Plautus (86) the servant is bidden to put fire on the altar of Diana of Ephesus.

(b) The "frons scaenae" was the facade or back wall of the stage-boards(proscaenium)facing the spectators. In the earliest times this was a plain wooden wall. It was first decorated by C.Claudius Pulcher when he was aedile in 99 B.C.

The elaborate structure of Aemilius Scaurus(aedile in 58B.C.)has already been mentioned(on p.3).

In the permanent theatres the background,which - perhaps for acoust--ic reasons - rose to the same height as the outer wall enclosing the cavea,had usually three storeys,and was elaborately decorated. (The scenery is described later in Section V.)

Marble and mosaic work,statues and a large number of columns were prominent features.

These columns,which were placed at intervals along the stage at the rear of the proscaenium,and at a distance of a few feet from the frons scaenae,afforded a convenient method (adopted from the Greek theatres) of displaying scenery by placing painted panels(pinakes) in the intercolumniations. In some theatres,infact,the columns were so shaped as to hold such panels more firmly in place.

The shafts of the columns and their facings were generally of marble in various colours or of granite; the entablature,the capitals,the bases and the sides of the pedestals of white marble. The frieze and the architrave were usually on one and the same slab and not in two pieces.

The statuary,which was mostly of bronze or marble,was frequently somewhat flattened; this was owing to the position of the statues in niches which could not be made very deep for fear of unsettling the stability of the walls. But this flattening was not noticeable from a distance and at a full-face view. Examples of this flattened statuary are found in the theatres at Arles and Orange in the ~~same~~ case of the Venus statues and others.

An effigy of the emperor is frequently found placed in a large centra niche,and accompanied by members of his family; also pictures of the

Muses,Satyrs,Sileni and other celebrities.

A platform at one of the higner levels of the "frons scaenae" was sometimes regarded conventionally as the roof of the scene-building, or the roof itself which usually overhung the stage was used,and actors or "divinities" ascended to it when necessary.(87)

The roof over the stage is a notable feature in the Graeco-Roman theatre at Aspendos (88),and traces of a similar roof are also found at Orange, (see later, p. 26).

One reason for having a roof over the stage was to protect from in--clement weather,and the heat of the sun,the elaborate decoration of the "frons scaenae" and the " proscaenium". Another reason is that mentioned by Vitruvius,namely the necessity of carrying the sound of the actors' voices towards the audience. A third is to be found in the need for a top to the stage in order to facilitate the working of the curtains and painted scenery,and of certain "effects" such as carryings-off,ascensions and apparitions.

The roof appears to have been supported by beams attached to the wall of the "frons scaenae",and resting on the uprights of the col--onnade; these in fact supported large wooden arches decorated with carving and painting. The ornamentation of the roof was divided into various sections corresponding to the position of the beams.

-buildings,and also th the places from which the mechanical devices employed for the scenery were operated.

(d) The "postscaenium" was that part of the stage-buildings which lay at the rear of the "frons scaenae",between it and the "porticus It consisted of several storeys,and passages which gave access to the doors of the "frons scaenae",and contained rooms for the use

The conclusion appears to be justified that in most theatres of the Roman type the stage was covered over by a roof,which was usual--ly sloping. There were at least three doors (89),and sometimes (e.g.at Aspendos) as many as five,in the back wall of the stage. These were conventionally regarded as leading to separate houses or buildings.

(c) The "parascaenia" were "projecting side-wings"(versurae pro--currentes)which extended from each end of the "frons scaenae". (They are mentioned by Demosthenes in his speech against Meidias(90) as forming a part of the Greek theatre at that time,i.e.the fourth century B.C.).
They contained entrances to the stage which had a conventional sig--nificance (originating at Athens on account of the situation there of the theatre of Dionysus); the one on the right of the spectators being supposed to lead from the town (a foro),- and also from the harbour,according to some interpretations - the one on the left from the country or foreign parts (a peregre). (9I)
Behind the "parascaenia" were the acrors' dressing-rooms,and here they awaited their turn to appear on the stage.
There were also store-rooms for the costumes and the stage-machinery. From here,too,stair-cases led to the different levels of the stage--buildings,and also th the places from which the mechanical devices employed for the scenery were operated.

(d) The "postscaenium" was that part of the stage-buildings which lay at the rear of the "frons scaenae",between it and the "porticus It consisted of several storeys,and passages which gave access to the doors of the "frons scaenae",and contained rooms for the use

of the "choregus" or provider of the plays,for the chorus in tragedies,and for stage "properties"(choregia). (92)
The rooms on the ground level were probably partitioned off from the "porticus" by means of curtains. At any rate,at Orange no traces can be seen of any of the fittings necessary for doors.

(e) The "porticus" of the stage-buildings consisted of a colonnaded terrace behind the "postscaenium" (93) with an open space in the middle,often planted with sycamore trees and decorated with fount--ains and statues in marble and gilt bronze.

C. Roman Theatres outside of Rome.

1. Ostia.

Turning now to the consideration of particular Roman theatres of which there are extensive remains in existence today,we may examine in some detail one theatre in Italy (Ostia),two in the South of France (Arles and Orange),and lastly the only Roman theatre so far discovered in Britain,namely that at Verulamium (St.Albans).

The ancient city of Ostia,situated at the mouth of the Tiber (94), possesses a theatre which dates back at least to the last half of the first century B.C.; a fact which is attested not only by the type of masonry used in the oldest parts,but also by the fragment of an in--scription found under the stage bearing the letters -- GRIPPA --- COS. (95)

The theatre of Ostia is situated almost in the centre of the ancient town,and,like all public monuments,it faces towards the "decumanus maximus" or principal street. (96)

As the town was entirely on the level,the "cavea" of the theatre had to be built up entirely by walls.

The aspect of the theatre is N.N.E.,that is to say the audience in the centre "cunei",directly facing the stage,looked in that dir--ection. This had the advantage of giving at least some of the audience the benefit of any shade that could be had from the height of the cavea at the back.

Behind the theatre there is a large square surrounded by a double pillared portico,under which were - at one period in the theatre's history - sixty-three offices of merchants. The latter have left their names on the mosaic floors. (97)

In the middle of this square is a temple to Ceres,and several statues.

The portico round the square had an entrance on the side of the Tiber,flanked by pillars built of sandstone.

The original theatre had a perfect Roman shape,with a semi-circular "orchestra"; the foundations of the stage-buildings still remain.

There was no central entrance to the original theatre,two lateral "vomitoria" with stair-cases providing the means of entrance and exit,but a central entrance opposite the stage was made later.

Originally there were two "maeniana",the lower one having twelve tiers of seats,and the upper eleven.

In the time of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211) and Caracalla (211 A.D.) the theatre was considerably re-built and enlarged.

Under the present regime in Italy the theatre has been partially restored for classical performances.

The proscenium,with its niches and three beautiful marble masks, can still be seen; likewise the background of the stage with the pillared portico beyond,and a great deal of the cavea. (98)

Ancient Roman theatre remains are also to be found in Italy at Fiesole and Ferento. The former dates from the first years of the Roman colonization imposed by Sylla as a result of the rebellion in B.C.78 of the native population. It is therefore one of the oldest Roman theatres,and may even be considered as an Etrusco--Roman theatre.

2. Arles and Orange. (Arelate and Arausio.)

The Roman theatres of Arles and Orange in the south of France re--semble each other in almost all respects,and together they form an impressive monument of ancient architecture,the parts destroyed at Orange being well preserved at Arles.

The probable date of both these theatres is the latter half of the first century B.C.,Arles having been colonized from Rome about B.C. 46. (99).

The same date is indicated at Orange by the inscription "C.I.S." (Colonia Iulia Secundanorum)repeated several times on the wall of the post-scaenium of the theatre.

The rows of seats (gradus)measured on an average sixteen inches in height,whilst their width varied from thirty-two inches in the low--er circles to about twenty-eight and three-quarter inches in the upper circles. The division of the seating space into individual seats was made by small incised marks on the front of each row,the allowance of space for each seat being sixteen inches.

The theatre at Arles was built on flat ground which afforded scope for an elaborate scheme of inside stair-cases giving access to the various rows of seats. Each section of the rows of seats (maenian--um)had its own separate stair-case,thus allowing the spectators

to reach the seats in one section without meeting those whose seats were in another section.

This is in accordance with the recommendation of Vitruvius. (100)

At Orange the first maenianum consisted of twenty rows of seats; the second of nine rows; and the third of five rows (at Arles there were four rows). There was a ledge at the foot of the lowest row of seats in the first maenianum to serve as a foot-rest.

The two large halls which flanked the stage at Orange had each two storeys,access to which could be obtained only from the ground-floor. The ceilings were of wood.

Both at Arles and Orange there were ~~there/were~~ two "boxes"(tribun--alia),or places of honour,one over each of the principal entrances to the "orchestra",on a level with the first "praecinctio".

To reach these seats there were special stair-cases,of which there are excellent remains to be seen both at Arles and Orange.

For the protection of the spectators an awning was spread over at least a part of the auditorium,and the stones with sockets for the poles which supported this awning are perfectly preserved in the remains at Orange.

Existing traces of the method of supporting the awning in the theatre at Arles show an interesting feature: at intervals along the lowest tier of seats there are round holes which appear to have formed sockets for the awning masts,whilst in the tier immediately above there are smaller holes,one on either side of the larger hole be--low,which were doubtless used for fastening the guy-ropes.

From inscriptions found at Arles on some ~~of~~ of the rows of seats (101)we find that certain seats in that theatre were reserved for special classes of persons; whilst at Orange the place for the

knights (equites) is indicated by an inscription twice repeated on the lowest row of seats of the first maenianum,i.e."EQ.G.III.". Since,however,these three rows of seats at Orange comprise about 340 places,it is a matter of some speculation for whom exactly they were intended,as it is extremely unlikely that there would be in that town 340 Roman "equites".

The probable explanation is that suggested by M.Chenon (I02),namely that there existed a second category of "equites" called "equites romani a plebe",whose so;e qualification was that they should poss--ess the "census" required of the Roman "equites",and fixed,at least from the time of Augustus,at 400,000 sesterces. (I03)

It appears from an inscription found at Lyons (I04) that these "equites" constituted a local equestrian order,and that they came immediately after the "decuriones".

At Arles the lower row of seats has two places of honour larger than the others,but it is not known for whom these were intended. Inscriptions at Arles show that the "scholastici",the "pastophori templi Isidis",and the "forenses" had special places in the theatre allotted to them. (I05)

So far we have been dealing with that part of the theatre occupied by the audience. Turning now to the "orchestra" and stage-buildings, we find that both at Arles and Orange there were steps connecting the "orchestra" with the floor of the stage.

As the "orchestra" at Arles has been almost completely preserved it is possible to give some descriptive details.

There are two stair-cases in the central portion of the "murus pulpiti",and it is noticeable that their appearance harmonizes with the marble decoration of the orchestra floor.

In addition to these two central stair-cases there were two other flights of steps,one at each extremity of the "murus pulpiti",con--necting the stage with the two principal entrances to the orchestra It seems probable that the two sets of stairs in the centre wre for the use of the performers during the action of the play,whilst those at the extremities were in the nature of service-stairs.

The centre of the orchestra at Arles is floored with large solid flag-stones of green marble (cipolin),the sides,on the contrary, having small and fragile flags of a rose colour.

In the museum there is preserved a striking altar of white marble, ornamented equally on all its faces with swans,garlands and palms, the upper part being flat as though to receive a statue.

Perhaps this altar occupied a central position in the orchestra.

The "murus pulpiti" of the theatre at Arles measured four feet in height. Vitruvius says (I06) that its height ought not to exceed five feet in order not to obscure the view of the spectators seated in the orchestra; so the murus pulpiti at Arles is well within this limit, Following the usual custom,it is covered with marble,and ornamented with niches alternately round and square.

At Arles these niches contain (cippi) and statues. The statues are of recumbent satyrs,and serve as fountains; the water which spouts from them comes from the aqueduct through a special lead canal found in the garden of the Cordeliers.

Immediately before the "murus pulpiti" is the slot for the stage--curtain (aulaeum,but the plural form"aulaea"is usually found).

Traces of the existence of a stage-curtain are to be found both at Arles and Orange. They are composed of vertical rectangular stone ducts containing grooved wooden tubes,sunk deep in the ground,and

arranged in two rows on either side of a long deep trench which ran the whole length of the stage immediately in front of the "murus pulpiti". On the level of the paving-stones of the orch--estra were the revolving cylinders round which the curtain was rolled,and at one extremity of the murus pulpiti was the machinery by means of which the curtain was raised and lowered in front of the actors on the stage.

At Arles the curtain rose to a height of at least ten feet above the level of the "pulpitum" or "stage" on which the actors played, which was sufficient to screen the actors from the view of the spectators.

The floor of the "pulpitum" either - as at Orange - rested on beams extending over the whole width of the stage,or - as at Arles - on joists which,in turn,rested on master-beams.

This platform had trap-doors in it,of which traces are visible at Arles. Two special features are noticeable at Arles,namely the three stair-cases leading under the platform for the use of the machinists,or actors who made their appearance later through the trap-doors; and,at the northern extremity of the platform,a change in the arrangement of the master-beams,perhaps with a view to facil--itating the manipulation of the scenery.

A curious detail at Arles is the small chamber which is found at either extremity of the platform,and which seems to have been used by the director or "prompter".

The facade of the two "parascaenia" and the "postscaenium" facing the auditorium,i.e.the "frons scaenae",was usually adorned with, amongst other objects of art,a considerable number of columns. At Arles there were at least a hundred,and at Orange seventy-six

of these columns.

An important detail regarding their position is the distance between the columns and the "frons scaenae". At Arles this was six feet and eight inches,and at Orange five feet.

The work of excavation on the "proscaenium" at Arles has revealed a quantity of broken tiles which,in all probability,were used on the roof covering the stage. At Orange there are traces high up in the stone wall of the "postscaenium" of the supports of a stage-roof, but this was probably of wood and destroyed by fire,the marks of which are apparent on the stone.

Behind the "postscaenium" there is nearly always found a large port--ico with numerous columns. At Arles this portico is twenty-four feet wide; at Orange thirty feet. The extremities of the portico at Arles were bounded by buildings which were doubtless the "thesauri" mentioned by Vitruvius (I07),and were used for housing the various stage accessories.

3. Verulamium.

Verulamium is known,from numismatic evidence,to have been a head--quarters of King Tasciovanus,who in B.C.35 succeeded his father Cassivellaunus as ruler of the Catuvellauni,but it does not appear to have entered upon its Roman period until the time of the Claudian invasion of Britain in A.D.43. (I08)

Its development must have been rapid,for Tacitus,writing in A.D.II5, speaks of it as a "municipal town". (I09)

The bestowal of the status of a "municipium" was a privilege which carried with it the right of Roman citizenship,but also compelled the citizens to pay their due share of taxes,and rendered them liable for military service.

The theatre at Verulamium was erected on ground gently sloping down from the S.W.,its site being,no doubt,selected with reference to the street which was its N.E. boundary,the Watling Street.
The total length from the outer wall of the cavea to the back wall of the postscaenium is I90 feet and three inches. The two outer walls are on the plan of the Greek theatres,comprising 240 degrees of a circle: between them is a corridor nearly nine feet wide.
The innermost of these two walls gives a width measurement of 45 inches,whilst the width of the outer wall is 72 inches. The remain-ing walls are 24 inches thick,with the exception of those of the "scaena" which are 30 inches.
These walls were all constructed of the same materials; the found-ation was composed of flints and a few pieces of chalk,on which,on the natural level of the site,was laid a horizontal course of two or three Roman tiles.
At one point this course has not been removed,and upon it remains a fragment,two feet high,of a wall of flints cut and faced,so that two feet may have intervened (as in the city walls) between the bonding courses of tiles. Tiles were also used at the quoins. Most of these tiles measure I7$\frac{3}{4}$ inches square by I$\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick,though some are slightly smaller.
The mortar used in the walls was of the usual materials,lime and sand and small stones. A mortar commonly used by the Romans was composed of pounded tile,which imparted to the mortar a pink colour. Loose pieces of this coloured mortar have been frequently met with in the excavations of this theatre.
All the walls of the theatre were painted on the interior in fresco. The walls were first plastered with mortar,some of it being the

pink mortar just mentioned,to a thickness of one inch,or even of two inches,in one coat.

The mortar was reduced to a perfectly even surface and on this was laid a thin covering of the finest mortar,pure white; on this,while both the coatings of mortar remained wet,were laid mineral water--colours,which adhered to and dried with it.

The colours being native colours,and not artificially prepared,are not affected by time or damp,and most of them remain unimpaired. They are chiefly red and blue verditer,but many other shades are used. The prevailing pattern ran in broad lines,and probably formed compartments or panels,as usually found on ancient fresco walls.

Many varieties of sandstone and limestone appear to have been used in the construction of the theatre,as well as slabs of white marble nearly an inch thick.

Fragments of roof tiles have also been found,pointing in the N.E. quarter of the theatre,pointing to the probability of there having been a tiled roof over the room behind the stage,and perhaps over the stage itself.

At the S.E. corner of the theatre site at Verulamium,parallel with the narrow room immediately behind the stage,and at a distance from it of sixteen feet,was a room 2I feet by IO feet with a coarse tess--elated pavement of no special pattern,composed of tesserae of Roman tiles about one inch square,laid on a thin layer of concrete (still in situ). This was one of the rooms usually found at the sides of the stage in ancient theatres for the use of the actors,or of the "choregus".

The foundations of a similar room on the N.W. side of the stage have not been found.

An interesting feature is the vaulted passage or drain found on the N.N.W. side of the stage. The present height of this passage is 37 inches,and the width I6 inches. (II0) It is uncertain what was the use of this channel A somewhat similar feature has been found in some Greek theatres,and also Graeco-Roman theatres,notably at Magnesia. (III)

The stage of the theatre in its earliest period,i.e.the second quart--er of the 2nd.century A.D.,probably about the year I40,consisted only of part of the curved wall of the "orchestra",together with side walls and a back wall dividing it from a narrow room in the rear. The floor of the stage was wood,and the holes have been found in which stood the wooden uprights which upheld it. The original wood of these supports has,of course,all crumbled,and blocks of wood have now been inserted in the holes where the crumbled wood was found,to show what it was like originally.

The orchestra-wall seems never to have been completed in the centre of the front of the stage,and there was here,probably,a flight of wooden steps from the stage down into the orchestra.

At a slightly later date,probably between I50 and I60 A.D.,some im--portant modifications were made in the structure of the theatre and of the stage in particular.

The stage was now given a straight front by the building of a wall 5 feet in height,at a tangent to the circular orchestra-wall,about eight feet distant from the centre of the front of the existing stage and nearly 28 feet from the back wall. This provided a stage of approximately 46 feet in length and 28 feet deep.

The original circular wall of the orchestra was left underneath the new stage,the two protruding sections (for the circle seems never

to have been actually completed) each measuring I6 feet in length. At the same time three piers,58 inches square,were built towards the back of the stage,the distance from the back wall to the near--est side of the piers being 63 inches.

These piers certainly supported columns,and a small portion of one, and half of one of the capitals,in the Corinthian order,have been found. The total height of these columns would be about 20 feet.

At about the end of the 2nd.century A.D. further alterations to the stage were made.

A new front wall was built approximately 4 feet in front of the previous one,and to a height of 42 inches. One end of this curves forward,and may have supported a flight of steps.

The purpose of this second wall,together with the intervening space of about 4 feet in width and extending the whole length of the stage, was probably to provide a slot into which the curtain (aulaeum,aulaea) could be lowered.

An interesting "find" on the site of the stage is a metal weight about 24 inches by I8 inches which may possibly have been one of the counter-weights for the working of the curtain.

In between the two front walls of the stage at Verulamium were sev--eral holes cut in the soil,and these may have originally been in--tended to hold the poles which supported the stage-curtain.

Turning now to the auditorium we note first the "orchestra". This central area,consisting of a circular space 80 feet in diameter was sunk into the natural soil,and the earth excavated from this was piled up round the outside,against a solid outer wall,with the earth-surface,on which would have been tiers of wooden seats,sloping down towards the centre.

A curious shallow cross-shaped cutting in the ground,lined with concrete,has been found in the orchestra at Verulamium.
Its position is almost in the centre of the "orchestra",with one arm pointing towards the stage,and each of the other three arms point--ing respectively to the three entrances to the orchestra circle.
Traces of timber have been found here,and it seems to have been the site of a central wooden upright. There is no evidence as to the purpose of such a post,but possibly in the earliest period of the theatre the "orchestra" space may have been sometimes used for shows other than dramatic performances,and baited beasts could have been chained to such a central upright post.
That some of the ancient theatres were used for such purposes is shown by the fact that at a very early date the Greek theatre of Dionysus at Athens was used for non-dramatic purposes.
Thus the annual cock-fight in commemoration of the Persian invasion was held in the theatre. (II2)
From about the middle of the 3rd.century B.C. this Athenian theatre was regularly used for assemblies of the people for various non--dramatic purposes connected with the State.
At this period,too,the theatre was also used for exhibitions such as those given by sword-swallowers,conjurors and puppet-shows. (II3)
Later,under Roman influence,it was given up to gladiatorial combats, a degradation which called forth indignant protests from writers such as Philostratus (II4) and Dion Chrysostom. (II5)
At Rome,too,we read that the emperor Claudius went to the theatre at break of day,and continued there most of the day,watching the gladiators,and men fighting with wild beasts. (II6)
There is,then,no intrinsic reason why the Verulamium theatre should

not have been used in this way too,and,if such was the case,it would amply account for the presence of the cross-shaped concrete base in the "orchestra" referred to above.

The outer wall of the auditorium was strengthened by a series of buttresses,whilst opposite these,at a distance of six feet,and also intermediately,was a series of large posts,which may have supported a wooden gallery,or perhaps have borne the roof of a portico,which it was the fashion in Roman theatres to erect along the top of the auditorium,following the line of the uppermost tier of seats. (II7)

The auditorium bank was divided by three broad gangways,or ramps, leading down into the "orchestra". These would originally have been vaulted over,to carry the upper part of the seats.

These three gangways,one on the S.W. side of the auditorium directly opposite the stage,and the other two at the S.E. and N.W. sides of the auditorium respectively,have been laid open in the recent ex--cavations.

It is to be noted that all these ramps originally led only into the "orchestra",which was separated by a wall at least 4 feet high from the lowest seats.

The seats on the bank were reached in the first period only by ~~external~~ external stair-cases,one in each segment of the auditorium.

Later,side stair-cases from the two lateral gangways were made to give access to the seats on the bank. These probably,like the earl--ier ones,had wooden steps.

The floor of the S.W.,or central,gangway was of extremely hard cemen about six inches thick,whilst that of the two side entrances was probably of wood.

The height of the two walls of each of the side-entrances is 7 feet,

whilst the width of the passage-way is rather more than ten feet.
At the ends of the side-walls are the holes for the wooden beams of the gateway.
The central gangway is only 7 feet wide,and has a narrower entrance immediately into the "orchestra",where there were probably two door--ways.
During the modifications made in the structure of the theatre,prob--ably between I50 and I60 A.D.,the seats of the auditorium were ex--tended to cover nearly half of the orchestra space. These seats were supported on a wooden platform,and the holes into which the uprights supporting them were driven have been found. The uprights were driven as much as three feet into the ground,and were about eleven inches square,tapering towards the tip.
The modifications made in the theatre at this time clearly represent an attempt to convert the theatre as far as possible into the more "classical" type,by giving the stage a straight front and columns at the back,and by the provision of seats in the orchestra.
During the course of the 3rd.century A.D. the theatre at Verulamium seems to have fallen completely into ruin,and most of the buildings in the town seem to have suffered severely.
At the end of the century there came a general revival and rebuild--ing all over the city,in which the theatre shared.
It was at this period that a new outer wall,six feet broad,was added to the theatre,at a distance of nine feet from the former outer wall. This enabled the seating accomodation in the auditorium to be enlarged by the addition of further semicircular rows of seats at the top. More seating room was also obtained by diminishing the area of the "orchestra" by bringing the orchestra-wall round in a flatter curve,

thus adding eight feet to the seating-bank by the west entrance, and a diminishing amount towards the sides.

The seating accomodation provided for about I,600 spectators.

The wooden platform in the south-west half of the orchestra,which had existed till now,was abolished,and the supporting posts cut down to below floor level.

All the floor levels of the theatre were raised during this period of re-building,and the material making up these new floors produced quantities of pottery and coins from which the date of the alter--ations can be deduced.

The latest were coins of Carausius,who was governor of Britain from 287-293 A.D. (II8)

There is no definite evidence as to how long the theatre at Verul--amium continued in use. All over the city,however,have been found traces of gradual decay in the fourth century,and the theatre is the most striking example of this. (II9)

By the second half of the fourth century the site was being used as the municipal dump-heap. The walls were still standing,but the in--terior was gradually filled with refuse of all kinds, Included in this was a large variety of broken pottery,and a very large number, amounting to some thousands,of coins ranging in date from Tiberius, A.D.I4-38,to the end of the 4th.century.

In the upper level were found a coin each of Arcadius and Honorius, the two sons of Theodosius,who succeeded their father in the govern--ment of the Empire in 395 A.D.,the former as emperor in the East, and the latter in the West.

Other remains found during the course of excavation include a brass "fibula" or brooch,having apparently an enamelled centre,a few frag-

-ments of green glass,and a large number of oyster-shells. (I20)
An incidental discovery of importance was that of a hoard of eight hundred minute "barbaric" radiate minimi,sealed by the cement floor of the late third-century stage,and therefore minted almost con-
-temporaneously with the official issues which they imitated. (I2I)
The theatre was probably left to fall into ruins from the period when the Roman legions were recalled from Britain in the 5th.century A.D..
As compared with Roman theatres elsewhere,it is clear that the theatre at Verulamium has marked differences from the normal Roman type.
The auditorium far exceeds the semicircle; the stage is very small in proportion to the size of the theatre,being considerably less in length than the diameter of the orchestra,instead of being twice that length; the "cavea" is pierced by three large gangways,none of them being in the position usual in a Roman theatre.
There are,however,some close parallels to this theatre in the north of France,where there is a group of theatres which exhibit the same characteristics. (I22)
It is interesting to note that this type of theatre is confined to northern Gaul and Britain,parts of the Roman Empire which perhaps were not so completely Romanized as other parts,and where native traditions could still modify Roman institutions. ~~(I23)~~ (I23)

D. Graeco-Roman Theatres.

(a) The earliest Greek theatre of which we have definite record is the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens. The oldest existing remains make it clear that this dates from the 6th.century B.C..

Throughout the 5th.century B.C. the development of dramatic art pro-gressed rapidly,and during this period the great tragic plays of Aeschylus,Sophocles and Euripides,and the inimitable comedies of Aristophanes,were written and performed.

The development of the theatre buildings,however,did not keep pace with the progress of dramatic art,and it was in the early wooden theatre that the great scenic plays of classical drama were exhibited. In 499 B.C.,the year in which Aeschylus first publicly exhibited his plays,there was an accident at one of the performances,and the wooden benches on which the spectators were sitting collapsed. In consequence of this,as Suidas tells us (I24),it was resolved to build a more per-manent theatre.

A few traces of this 5th.century building can still be seen amongst the remains of the later buildings. (I25)

In the 4th.century B.C. a considerable reconstruction was effected, resulting in a superb edifice of stone and marble,richly adorned and possessing elaborate scenery and equipment.

The building was completed during the financial administration of Lycurgus,B.C.338 - 326. (I26)

In the latter part of the first century A.D. the stage-buildings were again reconstructed,(this being known as the "Neronian" theatre be-cause its facade originally bore an inscription of dedication to Dionysus and Nero). The whole of the stage-buildings were adapted to the Roman fashion,and henceforward this typically Greek theatre became a "Graeco-Roman" theatre.

Some slight alterations in the theatre were made during the reign of Hadrian (II7-I38 A.D.),some of the "thrones" being removed to make room for a royal "box" or "tribunal",and several statues of the Emperor were erected.

The final alterations were made in the 3rd.or 4th.century A.D.by Phaedrusthe governor of Attica,who dedicated the "platform of the theatre" (Βῆμα θεητρου)to Dionysus in an inscription which still stands on the uppermost of the ~~xxxx~~ stone steps leading from the "orchestra" to the stage. (I27)

It was the Neronian reconstruction of the Greek theatre at Athens which gave it a definitely Roman character.

(b) In other places besides Athens the tendency to re-model Greek theatres after the Roman style became prevalent. In fact alter-
-ations were made in many places at a much earlier period than the Neronian reconstruction of the Athens theatre.

After the middle of the first century B.C.most of the theatres built by the Greeks were constructed in the Roman style,and many of the old ones began to be altered and modified under Roman in-
-fluence. This occurred mostly in Sicily and Asia Minor. On the Greek mainland only Athens and Argos are known to have Romanized their theatres.

Other examples of this Romanization of Greek theatres are to be found at:- Aspendos,Corinth,Ephesus,Magnesia,Patara,Perge,Pompeii (large theatre),Priene,Sagalossos,Segesta,Syracuse,Taormina,Ter-
-messos,Tralles.

(c) Differences summarised.

Certain fundamental differences between the Greek and Roman types of theatre arise from the fact that the Greek theatre evolved

from a circular "orchestra" or "dancing-place",whereas the Roman theatre began with a rectangular stage.

The chief points of difference may be summarised as follows:-

i. The Roman "cavea" was an exact semi-circle,whilst the Greek "cavea" was always more than a semi-circle.

ii. In the Roman theatre the side-walls of the stage-buildings joined the side-walls of the "auditorium",instead of,as in the Greek theatre,being separated by the side-entrances (parodoi) into the orchestra. Thus the Roman theatre formed one connected build--ing.

iii. In the Roman theatre access to the "orchestra" was obtained by cutting off the end seats in the lowest rows right and left of the stage to afford sufficient height for a vaulted passage under--neath.

iv. The Roman "orchestra" formed a perfect semi-circle; it was furnished with seats,and was used as part of the "auditorium" with special places reserved for the Senators. The Greek "orchestra", on the other hand,was usually (as at Ephesus) a complete circle; it had no seats,and was used only by the performers,especially by the Chorus for singing and dancing (hence the name ὀρχήστρα, "dancing-place"); it contained only an altar or "thymele"(θυμέλη). (In some of the Greek theatres,however,e.g.those of Delos,Assos and Sicyon,the circle of the actual dancing-place could not be completed without encroaching upon the stage.)

v. The Roman "stage" was deep and low; the Greek "stage" was high and comparatively narrow.

In the Roman theatre there was more scope for architectural devel-

-opment in the erection of the "cavea", because the theatres were usually built on level ground, unlike the Greek theatres which were situated on a hill-side.

II. THE PLAYS AND PLAYWRIGHTS.

1. History of development.

The Roman drama, like the Greek, has its origins in religious ob--servances, (I28), especially those connected with the natural seasons of Spring-time, the harvest, and the vintage. (I29)

As was natural in Italy, the country of vineyards, the gathering of the grapes and the making of wine were the chief occasions of fest--ivity and rejoicing, which originally found expression in religi--ous rites.

Varro tells us (I30) that the word "Vinalia" is derived from "vinum", and the festival, to which great importance was attached in Latium, was celebrated in honour not of Venus but of Iupiter.

In certain places, as still at Rome, the vintage was solemnly inaugur--ated by the priests. The priest of Iupiter, the "Flamen Dialis", (130 a.) took the auspices; he gave the signal for the gathering, and sacrificed a ewe to Iupiter; and, after killing the victim, but before offering it, he picked the first grape.

In the sacred books of Tusculum it is written "It is forbidden to carry the new wine to the town before the celebration of the "Vin--alia" ".

It was these festivities which,according to ancient writers, gave rise to the Fescennine verses.

Thus Virgil tells us (I3I) that,on account of the destruction wrought by the flocks with their sharp teeth on the growing vines, a goat is slain to Bacchus on every altar and "the olden plays enter on the stage"(veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi); for this,too, there is dancing in the meadows on oiled goat-skins,and the Itali--ans "disport with rude verses"(versibus incomptis ludunt),and, putting on hideous masks of hollow cork,call on Bacchus with joy--cus songs.

Tibullus says (I32) that it was the farmer who first sang rustic songs and with rouged face danced in honour of Bacchus.

Horace also testifies to the merriment which accompanied the com--pletion of the harvest,and mentions particularly the licentious Fescennine verses which "poured forth rustic taunts in alternate stanzas". (I33)

These "Fescennini versus" were so called either from their having originated in connection with wedding festivities in the small Etruscan town of Fescennium (or Fescennia),or because they were regarded as being a protection at times of rejoicing,such as weddings and triumphs,against the "evil eye"(fascinum) or jealousy of the gods. (I34)

They were crude rhythmical improvisations (versus,carmina),full of coarse wit and personalities,in the rough metrical form of the old "versus Saturnius"(I35),and flavoured with "Italian vinegar"(Italo aceto). (I36)

Livy,in giving an account of the early history of the Roman drama, refers to the "Fescennini versus" as uncouth and unpolished verses

thrown out at random. (I37)

Soon the scurrility and personal abuse of these verses led to dis-
-order and violence,and legal restraint was necessary.

"So laws were passed with penalties and pains
To guard the lieges from abusive strains,
And poets sang thenceforth in sweeter tones,
Compelled to please by terror in their bones." (I38)

A fragment of a law dealing with this matter has been preserved:
"Si quis occentasset sive carmen condidisset quod infamiam faceret
flagitiumque alteri ----" ("If anyone should sing or compose verses
injurious to the reputation or honour of another ----"). (I39)

The "Fescennini versus" were gradually restricted to weddings,and
the term came to mean the festive songs sung when the bride was
brought home. (I40)

It was an easy transition from these crude spontaneous effusions,
with their dramatic elements of gesture,dance,dialogue,song and
facial disguise,to the first form of regular comedy,to which an
approximation is found in the "Saturae". (I4I)

The "Saturae" were metrical "medleys" with"music regularly arranged
for the musician" (descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu) and "appropri-
-ate gesticulation"(motu congruenti).

These "scenic plays"(ludi scenici)"among other means of appeasing
the wrath of heaven"(inter alia caelestis irae placamina),are said
to have been instituted At Rome by the "Etruscan players"(ludiones
ex Etruria)who had been summoned thither from their native country
for the purpose of "making a religious expiation"(procurandis rel-
-igionibus),in the year 364 B.C.,on the occasion of a pestilence
in Rome. (I42)

Their performance consisted of"dancing to the measures of a musician"(ad tibicinis modos saltantes),and the execution accord--ing to the Tuscan fashion (more Tusco) of "movements by no means ungraceful"(haud indecoros motus). (I43)

The name of "histriones" was given to these performers because "hister" in the Tuscan vocabulary (Tusco verbo) was the name for an actor of medleys (saturas). (I43 a.)

A temporary stage of wood,the first stage ever erected in Rome (vide p.I.),was constructed for their use in the Circus Maximus, and the performances were associated with the celebration of the "Ludi Romani",which were held in honour of Iupiter on September I3th. (vide infra Section VII.)

Livius,several years later,in 240 B.C.,was the first who,turning from medleys,ventured to put together a play with a plot (qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere). (I44)

He,too,is said to have employed a boy to sing infront of the mus--ician (ante tibicinem),while he himself acted to the words of the song (canticum egisse) with gestures considerably more life-like because he was not hindered by having to use his own voice.

From this practice of Livius,who adopted it because he found his voice getting hoarse from too many "encores"(saepius revocatus), commenced the custom of singers singing according to the actors' gesticulations,leaving only the "dialogues"(diverbia)for the actors voices.

This led to a further development,the play became gradually con--verted into an art (ludus in artem paulatim verterat) (I45),and the young men,leaving to regular actors (histrionibus) the per--formance of plays,began themselves according to ancient usage

"to throw out ludicrous jests in verses"(ridicula intexta versibus iactitare).

These were called "exodia"(after-pieces),and were collected chiefly from the "Atellan farces"(fabellis Atellanis),a kind of plays received from the Osci,which the young men kept to themselves and did not allow to be debased (pollui) by the regular actors. (I46)

The word "exodium" denotes the conclusion of a performance (I47), especially a farce acted after a serious play with a view to re-lieving the emotional tension produced by the tragedy. (I48)

The "Livius" referred to by Livy (I49) seems to have been Livius Andronicus (I50),a Greek slave who was taken and brought to Rome after the siege and capture of Tarentum in 272 B.C. He later received his freedom.

In his plays,which were rough adaptations from the Greek,Livius attempted to reproduce in Latin the original Greek metres.

From the scanty fragments of his work which have come down to us (I50 a.) little can be gathered of its general character.

Horace does not seem to have a very high opinion of it as a whole, though he acknowledges there may be "here and there a bright ex-pression"(inter quae verbum emicuit ... forte decorum),and "a line or two which is somewhat musical"(versus paulo concinnior unus et alter) (I5I); whilst Cicero did not consider the plays of Livius "worth a second reading". (I52)

Regarding the place of Livius Andronicus in the development of the Roman drama,the testimony of Livy and Horace may be cited.

Livy speaks of Fescennine verses,then of saturae more regularly composed for adaptation to songs and dancing,then of the dramas properly so called of Livius Andronicus. It is plain that he

wished to show an evolution which,starting with the Fescennini and passing thfough the Saturae,developed into the comedies.
L.Andronicus is,then,represented as the poet who,adding action to the native satura,raised it to the level of drama. He is,in fact, the founder of the Roman drama.
On the contrary Varro affirms that L.Andronicus is simply an im--porter of the Greek drama.
Thus Livy accepts and reproduces a tradition different from that of Varro.
It is the same with Horace. When he outlines the history of the Roman drama,Horace places the beginnings of the regular comedy "after the Punic wars" (I52 a.).
But Livy and Horace do not agree in every respect.
The general line of their account is the same,and both incline to find the origins of Roman comedy in popular usages.
In details,however,there are many divergences.
Livy excludes all Greek influence,and recognizes only Roman,Etrusc--an and Oscan influences.
Horace gives the chief place of importance to the Greek models.
Livy presents a double evolution which develops along two parallel lines:- i. the Etruscan "ludiones" are followed by Latin "histrion--es",amongst whom L.Andronicus places himself,and whose unpolished arts he perfects; and ii.the young free-men imitating the ludiones, going on to the "exodia",and thence to the "atellanae".
Horace presents two successive evolutions:- i. from the harvest feasts were born the Fescennini which developed,degenerated,were suppressed,and finally disappeared; and ii.the Greek drama was introduced,and supplanted the native Italic element.

Livy does not mention tragedy. Horace puts it in the first place.
Livy takes an artistic point of view. He shows the rough improvis-
-ations improving little by little until they at last are governed
by precise rules and attain literary form.
Horace takes an historical point of view. He shows how the Fescen-
nini took on an aggressive character,and how the laws which repress-
-ed their extravagances gave birth to an impersonal type of play.
Livy localises the scene of action in the town.
Horace places it in the country.
In short,Livy and Horace seem to have followed different authorities.
But the question as to what these authorities were need not detain
us here. (I53)

2. Early Roman Comedy.

Turning to the consideration of what is meant by Roman Comedy,we
have for comparison the views of three Latin grammarians.
Donatus writes (I54) that comedy is a story (fabula) containing
various lessons (instituta) on the sentiments of people in general,
and teaches us what is useful in life and what should be avoided.
He quotes Cicero as saying (I55) that "Comedy is an imitation of
life,a mirror of fashion,an image of truth".
As for the name "comedy",he says that this is based on ancient
Greek usage,for comedies were originally played by the Greeks,and
the name is derived from Κώμη ,the Greek word for a "village",
since "comedies" represented the lives of people in humble circum-
-stances,not of royal personages as in tragedy. And since comedy
is intended to imitate life and reproduce manners,it consists of
actions and words (in gestu et pronunciatione consistit).
He also approves the definition of Livius Andronicus who said that
"comedy is the mirror of everyday life"(comoediam esse quotidianae
vitae speculum).

Diomede says (I56) that comedy is the representation of the priv-
-ate life of ordinary men,in situations which do not involve the
risk of death. To distinguish it from tragedy,he observes that
comedy does not treat of heroes,of leaders,of kings,but of simple
people of humble condition; not of devils,nor of exiles,but of
amours and carryings-off; and it does not have an unhappy ending.
This conception of comedy agrees with that of Donatus,and maintains
that what distinguishes comedy from tragedy is not the style,nor
even the subject,but the condition and circumstances of the person-
-ages. (I57)
Evanthius analyses the matter in rather more detail. (I58)
The chief differences,he says,between tragedy and comedy are the
following: in comedy one finds persons of mediocre condition,situ-
-ations which are not extreme,and endings which are happy; in trag-
-edy,on the contrary,the personages are of high rank (ingentes per-
-sonae),the situations critical,the endings calamitous (funesti):
in comedy the complications come first,the "happy issues"(tranquilla)
last; whilst in tragedy this order is reversed: in tragedy the events
are those which one fears,in comedy those which one desires: comedy
is all "invention"(de fictis argumentis),whilst tragedy is often
based on historical truth (ab historica fide petitur).
It is clear,then,that the aim of ancient comedy was not primarily
to provoke laughter (as in modern comedy),indeed it was not necess-
-arily amusing at all,but to serve for the instruction of the spect-
-ators. Plautus certainly intended to be,and is,amusing,but Terence's
comedies are not,for the most part,particularly laughable.
The general name for a play was "fabula",and this was applied both
to a tragedy and a comedy.

But to distinguish several different kinds of plays an adjective was added,so that we find a "fabula" variously described (I59) as "palliata","togata","tabernaria","attellana","mimus","Rhinthon--ica",and "planipedia". These were all comedies; the tragedies were "praetextata" or "crepidata". (I60)

The "palliata" was so called from the Greek mantle or cloak favour--ed by Grecian philosophers,because the setting and costumes of this kind of comedy were Greek. (I6I) The elder Seneca tells us (I62) that to such an extent was the "pallium" associated with the Greek language that the rhetors who declaimed in Greek laid aside the "toga" and put on the "pallium".

The "togata" denoted a comedy with the scene laid in Rome,and the characters wearing Roman dress. (I63)

The "tabernaria"(by which name some call the "togata" (I64)) got its name because it represented the life of people in humble cir--cumstances (I65),and those who frequented taverns(tabernaria).

The "attellana" was supposed by ancient writers (see later p. 48.) to have been originally acted at the Oscan town of Atella in Cam--pania,and so taken its name. But another explanation is that it represented scenes at Atella,or scenes of country-town life.

The "mimus" indicated by its name that it was an "imitation". It was a farcical imitation of persons and scenes in ordinary life.(I66)

The "Rhinthonica" derives its name (I67) from its creator Rhinthon (c.300 B.C.),a Greek comic poet,whose compositions in an original "cheerful-tragedy" style were imitated by the Romans. (I68)

The "planipedia" was a kind of play in which the actors were bare--footed,or perhaps they played not on a raised stage but on the level of the ground.

Diomede and Donatus give both these explanations of the name.(I69) Diomede further adds that the "planipes" was called in Greek μῖμος. There was also the "trabeata",a comedy of high-class Roman life, so called by C.Melissus who composed it,in which the costume was the toga adorned with a purple border,which was worn by men of rank such as the "equites". (I70) The Grammarians appear not to have mentioned this,but there is a reference to it in Suetonius. (I7I) The most important of these different kinds of plays in the history and development of Roman Comedy were the Attellanae,the Mimi,the Palliatae and the Togatae.

At about the end of the third century B.C. the "exodia" (see p.43.) gave place to the Atellanae (I72),and Mimi.

These we shall now examine in turn.

(I) The Atellanae.

According to Diomede (I73) and Evanthius (I74) the Atellanae took their name from the place in which they first originated,i.e.the small Oscan town of Atella in Campania,now Sant' Arpino,not far from Aversa between Capua and Naples.

Livy (I75) refers to the Atellanae as a kind of plays taken from the Osci: and Valerius Maximus says "as for the atellanae they were borrowed from the Oscans" (I76). Cicero uses the expression "ludos oscos" (I77); whilst Tacitus says "Oscum ludicrum" (I78).

The early atellanae,which were in Latin.were improvisations,and consequently no written text has come down to us,though Ribbeck gives a list of the recorded titles of Atellanae. (I79)

As has been shown above,the atellanae were originally in the nature of "exodia" or "after-pieces" rather than "pieces" themselves.

Perhaps sometimes they reproduced in buffoonery and mock imitation the regular pieces which had just been played. They were evidently short pieces,for Livy refers to them as "fabellis" rather than "fabulis". (I80)

One fact,however,which gives the atellana its own distinctive charac--ter,and distinguishes it frpm other forms of early comedy,is that the principal characters were traditional and unchangeable. They are the "oscae personae" of whom Diomede speaks. (I8I)

The first of these typical characters is Maccus (I82) the stupid dot--ard or booby. The probable derivation of the word is from the Greek μακκοάω (be stupid); and the word is found in this sense in a line of Aristophanes' "Knights". (I83) Pollux similarly uses the word for an old dotard (I84).

He is hunch-backed,with a shaven head and long,thick,parrot-like nose ungainly ears,and the air of a block-head. (I85)

Another personage is Bucco (perhaps the glutton or babbler),the name being variously interpreted as applying to his character or to his physical features. In any case he is a foolish person. He is de--picted with a gaping yawn. (I86)

Pappus seems to be an old man (Greek πάππος,a grandfather) of a vain (I87) and ridiculous character,who is constantly outwitted. He is shown as bald,with a large beard,and a fat stomach,or,on the contrary,as quite decrepit. (I88)

Dossennus is the fourth personage. He is a hunch-back,and a bom--bastic kind of character. Whatever may be the true derivation of the name,we find it used as a real cognomen. (I89) But Conington is probably right in interpreting Horace's use of the name as re--ferring to a type rather than to an individual. (I90)

Dossennus' epitaph,perhaps taken from the atellana "Philosophia" of Pomponius,is quoted by Seneca. (I9I)

These four are the principal and practically invariable personages in the "atellanae",and they are the prototypes of the later Italian comedy of character.

There may have been others,such as Simus ("snub-nose"),Sannio (the grimacing buffoon)(I92),and Cicirrus (the cook)(I93); perhaps Lamia the vampire should/also be included. (I94) But it seems that there was not a multiplicity of personages in the "atellanae" and "togatae",because Asconius tells us (I95) that there were fewer persons in these Latin pieces than in the "palliatae".

But although the characters of the atellanae remained constant,it does not follow that the subjects treated were always the same. These could,in fact,be most diverse.

Early in the first century B.C. these improvised popular farces were given a fixed literary and metrical form by Pomponius of Bonomia (c. 90 B.C.) and Novius. (I96)

The language,however,continued to be rustic and farcical,with a lively play upon words. (I97)

Besides the description of popular life,political satire and person--al allusions,we now find also mythological titles such as Agamemno suppositus,Ariadne,Armorum iudicium,Atalanta,Sisyphus,by Pomponius; Phoenissae by Novius; Autonoe. (I98)

The titles of seventy of the plays of Pomponius,together with frag--ments amounting to 200 lines,have been preserved; and of the plays of Novius 40 titles and I00 lines. (I99)

Some of these titles seem to indicate that the atellana so named was a burlesque reproduction of a recognized play,which in all proba-

-bility had just been performed.

Thus we find the titles of "palliatae" in the "Adelphi" and "Syne--phoebi" of Pomponius,and in the "Poedium" and "Hetoera" of Novius; the titles of "togatae" in the "Collegium","Dotalis","Dotata"etc. of Pomponius,and in the "Dotata","Quaestio"etc. of Novius; the titles of "tabernariae" in the Oeditumus","Fullones","Medicus"etc. of Pom--ponius,and in the "Fullones feriati","Ficitor"etc. of Novius.

In the titles it is possible to recognize a portrayal of the life of courtesans and their amorius adventures,as in the "Hetoera" and "Tri--pertita" of Novius; of family life,as in the "Adelphi","Nuptiae", "Patruus"etc.of Pomponius,and the "Dotalis"etc.of Novius; of various callings and trades as in the "Aruspex","Citharista","Fullones"etc. of Pomponius,and the "Fullones","Maccus Copo",etc. of Novius.

One finds also a suggestion of the usual pleasantries of the inhabit--ants of a city on the ridiculous provincial,as in the "Campani", "Galli transalpini",etc.of Pomponius,and the "Milites Pometinenses" of Novius; and of the town-dweller on his country cousins as in the "Pappus agricola","Piscatores","Verres aegrotus"etc.of Pomponius, and the "Agricola","Vindemiatores"etc.of Novius.

The atellana is always mindful of its rural and provincial origin. It seems also to have preserved a traditional characteristic audacity. In its beginnings it treated the countryman in a bantering and jest--ing manner,and also the provincial inhabitants of the small Italian towns. It made fun of Pappus the rejected candidate (Pappus prae--teritus); in time it also made allusions to the political life of Rome itself; and finally,under the Empire,it assailed even the em--perors. (200) Consequently Nero expelled from Italy the actors of "atellanae" (20I),and Caligula burned alive in the middle of the

arena of the amphitheatre the writer of a farce who had offended him. (202)

Perhaps it was partly owing to the suppression of these direct political and personal references that the writers of "atellanae" attained great skill in the art of indirect reference and allusion. At any rate it is certain that the "atellanae" were rich in maxims and proverbs,both serious and gay,from which the philosophers them--selves derived some profit. (203)

The "atellanae" appear to have gone out of fashion for a time to--wards the end of the first century B.C. and to have been replaced by the "mimi".

Cicero (204),writing to his friend Papirius Paetus in B.C.47,com--ments on the strain of pleasantry into which he breaks immediately after quoting the tragedy of Accius entitled "Oenomaus",and says that it reminds him of the modern method of introducing at the end of serious dramatic pieces humourous mimes instead of the old Atel--lan farces.

The "atellanae" were revived, probably, in the reign of Tiberius (A.D.14-38),by a certain Mummius (205),and survived for some time under the Empire,till at last they became indistinguishable from the "mimi".

(2) The Mimus.

According to Diomede (206) the"mime"is the imitation of any kind of conversation without restraint,and of coarse actions and words. He adds that the Greeks have defined it as "an imitation of life, embracing both what is allowed and what is forbidden".

Evanthius states (207) that the "mimi" were so called from the constant imitation of worthless matters and of humble persons.

Whilst Isidore of Seville (A.D.560-636) says (208) that mimes are so called from the Greek name because they are "imitations of human affairs".

At Rome the"mimus"was also designated by the terms "planipes" or "planipedia".

Donatus writes on this subject (209) that the"planipedia"gets its name from the lowly conditions both of the subject-matter and also of the actors,who perform on the stage or platform not wearing buskin or shoe but bare-footed.

Diomede further says (210) that the "planipes" is called "mimos" in Greek,and that the Latin name "planipes" takes its origin either from the fact that the actors were bare-footed,or because they acted not on the stage but on ground-level in the "orchestra",as formerly. Festus (211) supports the bare-footed origin,though he also says that the "orchestra" was the place where,in earlier times (antea), the actors who were later called "planipedes" acted.

The explanation that the term derives its origin from the actors being bare-footed appears to be the best. Diomede,Donatus and Festus all give this interpretation,and it is supported by Seneca who refers (212) to the actors of mimes as "excalceati",in contrast with "cothurnati". It conforms also with the Roman custom of naming the various kinds of plays according to the type of costume, e.g."palliata","togata","trabeata".

The term "mimus" is applied to the actor as well as to the perform--ance. Quintilian,for instance,says (213) that the grimaces and gestures which ill befit an orator are laughed at in mimic actors; and Juvenal refers to a mimic actor as "mimus nobilis". (214)

The word is also used in this sense by Laberius (215) who says that he left his house a Roman knight,but will return as a "mimus".
That the kind of play called "planipes" was of Roman origin seems to get some confirmation from the fact that the actors of mimes wore the "recinium". This was a Roman garment of early date (216),not a Greek one,and if the play had been borrowed from the Greeks it would have kept the Greek dress,as did the "palliata".
Teuffel says (217) that the mimus is,in all probability,at Rome,as ancient as the stage itself.
In course of time,however,the Greek mime and the indigenous Roman planipes became assimilated in Italy.
The earliest mention of the name "planipes" is by Atta,who was a contemporary of Sulla(B.C.138-78),in words which have been preserved for us by Diomede. (218)
The "recinium",which appears to have been a kind of short toga bord--ered with a purple band (219),was a woman's garment (220),and a notable feature of the "mimi" was that women played in them (221). Many of these mimae attained a certain celebrity (222).
The "mimus" was originally a crude farce presenting scenes from low life,and consisting of song,dance and dialogue (223).
On the stage the "mimi" were acted in the front part,which,for this purpose,was separated from the back by a secondary curtain called the "siparium". (224)
In the last half of the first century B.C. the "mimus" appears to have taken the place of the "atellanae" as an interlude and after--piece,and to have received at the hands of Decimus Laberius and Publilius Syrus a technical development on the lines of the exist--ing kinds of drama.

Some of the titles and lines of the "mimi" of Laberius have been preserved by Aulus Gellius (b.I30 A.D.),whose chief interest lay in noting the peculiarities of the language used by Laberius.(225) Horace refers to the mimes of Laberius (226),though he does not mention any titles.

Of Publilius as a writer of mimes Aulus Gellius says (227) that he was thought worthy of being reckoned "about equal"(subpar) to Lab--erius,but the scurrility and arrogance (maledicentia et adrogantia) of Laberius so offended Gaius Caesar that he declared himself to be better pleased with the mimes of Publilius than with those of Lab--erius.

The mimi did-not wear masks,the use of which would have rendered impossible the play of the features which is such an important means of imitation,but they used to put paint on their faces. (228)

The costume was the "centunculus" (229),which was a kind of harle--quin's dress,and the "recinium" already mentioned.

Besides the chief actor (archimimus) there were stock-characters such as the shaven-headed booby (stupidus raso capite)(230),the confidential slave,the wife and the part serving-maid.

The last two parts were taken by women. (231)

In the Imperial period the number of performers was no longer re--stricted to certain limits,but an attempt was made to cast the parts systematically. (232)

Some of the actors appear to have been of noble birth. (233)

The chief writers of mimes (mimographi) in Imperial times were Catullus (not the lyric poet of that name)(234),and Vergilius Romanus. (235) Catullus's mimus "Laureolus" is mentioned by Juvenal (236),by Tertullian (237),and by Suetonius (238).

Laureolus,a fugitive slave,became the leader of a band of brigands, and for a long time escaped arrest (239): at last,however,he was taken and put to death by crucifixion. (240)

There is abundant testimony to the indecent and coarse character of the "mimus" in its later development.

Ovid (241) speaks of the obscene jokes and indecent sights which are found in the "mimi" of his time,and objected to his own poems being called immoral by comparison.

Valerius Maximus (242) to the shamelessness of the actresses at the Floral games as being a longstanding custom. Other writers say that at these games courtesans used to take the place of the usual actress-es of the "mimi". (243)

Martial says that in the book of his writings dedicated to the emper-or he restrained his "mimic licence of speech".(244)

Donatus (245) attests that the "mimi" concerned themselves only with indecencies,adultery and scandals.

Macrobius (246) that the "planipedes" are people who bandy shame-less and obscene pleasantries.

The scholiast of Juvenal (247) tells us that the actors of mimi wore the phallus.

Martial,again,(248)excuses the licentiousness of his epigrams by saying that they were written for the type of person who attended the Floral games.(249)

On the other hand,the "mimi" sometimes,wittingly or unwittingly, gave expression to popular feeling regarding the behaviour of those in high places,whilst the audience not infrequently put an inter-pretation on the actor's words which perhaps was not that origin-ally intended,though no doubt there was sometimes an understanding

between the actor and the audience.

Thus Suetonius tells us (250) that when a particular sentence was recited, alluding to the Gallic priest of Cybele beating a drum, the whole audience with great applause applied the passage to the emper--or in a derogatory sense.

From Cicero, too, we learn that "mimi" inserted passages to suit the popular feeling on current affairs. (251)

Whilst Caesar Augustus, who disliked anything being written about himself except in a grave manner and by men of the most eminent abilities, ordered the praetors not to allow his name to be made too common in the contests amongst orators and poets in the theatres.(252)

At the funeral of the emperor Vespasian, in A.D.79, the principal "mimus", Favo, imitating the manner of speaking and the gestures of the deceased, as was the custom, asked aloud of the procurators how much his funeral and the procession would cost, and on being told "ten millions of sesterces" he made jest of the extravagance.(253)

To such an extent did the liberty of the "mimi" degenerate into licence that we read (254) of the emperor Tiberius (A.D.14-38) com--plaining to the Senate in the year A.D.23 about the "licentiousness of the players" (de immodestia histrionum), and that they seditiously violated the public peace, and promoted debauchery in private famil--ies. In short, that the players had become so depraved, and exer--cised such a bad influence on the people, that they ought to be banished by the authority of the Senate (auctoritate patrum coercend--um sit). The players (histriones) were then driven out of Italy.

When the degradation of the mimus is remembered it is not surpris--ing to find Cicero warning would-be orators against the base buf--foonery, scurrility and obscenity of the mimi. (255)

Experience,says Aulus Gellius (256),is the true teacher;books and masters offer only empty words and empty pictures"like mimes and dreams".

But there were good points,too,as Seneca shows when he speaks of the truth of what is heard in the theatre (257),and of the lofty and vigorous utterances of Publilius (258),which were worthy not of planipedes but of tragedians. (259)

Quintilian also praises the truth-like manner of presenting facts which is found in comedies and mimes. (260)

The "stupidi" of the "mimi",like the clowns of Shakespeare,very often gave utterance to thoughts worthy of a philosopher.

In its later development the "mimus" became equal in dimensions to the regular comedy,with a well-defined plot and sustained action, and an increased number of actors. (262) The end was usually marked by a dance.(263) It became in fact a "mimo-drama".

In addition to those taking certain stock roles there were other inferior actors (actores secundarum partium) whose part consisted in imitating the actions,and even repeating the words,of the chief actor. (264)

It was no longer possible for the "mimi" to be entirely improvised as had been the case in the beginning. In general the dramatic "mimi" were preceded by a prologue (265) indicating the circum--stances of the play. One of these prologues written by Laberius, who had been compelled by Caesar to act in one of his own "mimi" in competition with Syrus,has been preserved for us. (266)

Such,then,~~was~~ was the "mimus". It bore a strong resemblance to the "atellana" which it replaced. It differed from it in that it did not put on the stage immutable types or masked characters;

it employed female actors; and it gave an important place to music and dancing and gesticulation - in a word,to "mimicry".
New "mimi" continued to be written to the end of the Imperial period and "mimographi" are mentioned by St.Jerome (267) as still known in his day (c.340-420 A.D.).

(3) The Pantomime.

Another popular type of entertainment under the Empire was the panto--mimic dance,a kind of drama in which the player (pantomimus) remain--ed dumb,and indicated the course of the action by gesticulation only,while a singer stood by and spoke the words,with the accompani--ment of a flute-player.
Pliny tells us that in his time (c.6I-c.II3 A.D.) a poet's works were recited by a trained singer,while the poet accompanied them by "play of countenance,gesture and murmurs of applause". (268)
Some kind of instrument called a "scabellum" or "scabillum" (269), which may have been in the nature of a cymbal or castanet,was attached to the foot,and used to keep the rhythm of the music and dance in unison.
The commentator Pitiscus gives a figure of an ancient statue pre--served at Florence in which a dancer is represented with cymbals in his hands,and a kind of wind-instrument attached to the toe of his left foot by which it is worked by pressure,after the manner of an accordion.
The dramatic dance was developed into an independent art under Aug--ustus about the year 22 B.C.,especially by the Cilician actor Pylad--es and the Alexandrine actor Bathyllos,who were its chief exponents. Maecenas was a great admirer of Bathyllos,and it was partly out of

complaisance to him that Augustus bestowed his favour on the per-
-formance of pantomimes,although he was himself not averse to such pursuits. (270)

Bathyllos is noted for his graceful actions by Persius (271); and he is also mentioned by Juvenal. (272)

Pylades was the founder of tragic pantomime,whilst Bathyllos favour-
-ed comic pantomime. The comic pantomime,however,did not survive for very long.

Instead of a single flute-player and singer,a chorus and orchestra now sup plied the musical accompaniment,and great poets such as Lucan (39-65 A.D.),Statius (c.40-96 A.D.) and Arbronius Silo (first century A.D.)(273) did not disdain to provide texts for the "fabulae salticae".

Their subjects were,for the most part,mythological and erotic in character (274); only a few were historical (275).

Some were taken from Roman legend,such as a Turnus and a Dido panto-
-mime from Virgil; others from Egypt,such as the story of Osiris and the Transformation of the Gods; but most were from Greek tragedy, love-stories and heroic tales.

These included the tragedies of Atreus and Thyestes,Ajax,Hercules, Niobe and Hector; the love-stories of Iupiter,Venus and Adonis, Apollo and Daphne; and the heroic tales of Phaedra and Hippolytus, Protesilays and Laodamia,Jason and Medea,Achilles,and Ariadne.

The poems of Ovid,too,were used to provide "cantica". (276)

The "pantomimus" had often a very exacting task to perform,as he had to play many parts of varied character. (277)

This normally involved a change of mask and costume for every new

part,but a special feature was made of a "cloak-dance" in which each new role was marked by a re-arrangement of the same"cloak" (pallium). This must have made great demands on the imagination of the spectators,for such roles included the representation of a swan's tail,the hair of Venus,and the scourge of a Fury! (278)
The "pantomimus" must have had a strenuous time both during the performance and when rehearsing beforehand. The preparation in--volved attention to diet,and plenty of physical exercises to keep the body supple and responsive to the demands of the rhythm. (279)
Tertullian says (280) that "histriones" perform not only with their hands but with all their limbs (totis membris).
The skill of the "pantomimi" won the admiration of such men as Seneca (B.C.4-65 A.D.) who realised the training and discipline necessary so that the "hands should represent every incident and feeling,and the gestures flow as fast as the words". (28I)
On the other hand the licentiousness of these performances met with frequent denunciation. Seneca the elder (B.C.54-39 A.D.) speaks of this "disease" and says that nearly every private house has its stage (282),whilst Tacitus says it was one of the congenital evils of birth in Rome. (283)
In A.D. I5 the Senate decreed that pantomimes might only be seen publicly,but this soon became a dead letter. (284)
Domitian (A.D.8I-96),on the other hand,expressly permitted perform--ances in private houses and forbade the players to act in the the--atre. (285)
In the provinces Massilia (Marseilles) distinguished itself,and preserved its reputation for strictness,by forbidding the stage to "mimi". (286)

St.Augustine,writing in the early years of the fifth century A.D., goes so far as to ascribe the invention of pantomimes to the far--seeing guile of the devils,who sent this more destructive plague into the world to replace the Circus when the world should grow weary of it! (287)

(4) Regular Comedy.

There were two kinds of the regular ~~comedy~~ Roman comedy,i.e.the "palliata",in which the scenes were laid in Greece,and the actors wore the Greek ἱμάτιον ; and the "togata",representing Italian scenes,and in which the actors wore the Roman toga.

i. Palliata.

The "palliata" was the most important species of ancient Latin drama; it belonged to the most flourishing period of the Roman theatre,its best-known playwrights being Plautus (B.C.254-184), Caecilius Statius (B.C.219-166) and Terence (B.C.185-159). (288)
In character it was almost entirely Greek (289). Not only were the scenes and costume Greek,but the plays were to a large extent trans--lated and adapted from Greek originals which constituted the "New Comedy" in the Greek theatre (c.340-260 B.C.). (290)
The usual method of adaptation was to take sections from different plays and weld them together into a single whole. This practice was termed "contaminatio".
Terence speaks of it as being no uncommon thing with Naevius,Plautus and Ennius (291); and tries to defend himself against those who had been censuring him by saying that he is following the example of his predecessors. (292)
Plautus himself never speaks of it,unless it be in the prologue of "Casina". (293)

(i) Plautus.

Plautus,who was born at Sarsina in Umbria,is the first poet whom Rome drew from the north of Italy,and who was therefore not trained from the outset in Greek culture. Having migrated to Rome at an early age,he worked for a time in connection with the manual work of the theatre (in operis artificium scenicorum). (294)
Then he travelled,and it was apparently during this period that he acquired his complete knowledge of Greek,for,on his return to Rome, he began dramatic composition,and adapted Greek comedies for the Latin stage,choosing from the works of the three great masters of the Greek New Comedy Menander,Diphilus and Philemon,who had lived in Athens between 360 and 260 B.C.
Varro,a contemporary of Cicero,recognized as genuine compositions of Plautus twenty-one plays,all of which are still extant,except the "Vidularia" which survives only in fragments. (295)
A few of these can be dated by the "didascalia" (the official de--tails,including the consuls of the year,prefixed to the text) e.g. "Stichus" belongs to the year 200 B.C.,and "Pseudolus" to I9I B.C..
In I84 B.C. Plautus died. (296)
His epitaph has been made known to us by Aulus Gellius,who quotes it from the "De Poetis" of Varro (II6-27 B.C.): "Now that Plautus has found death,comedy mourns,the stage is deserted;laughter,fun, jest and numbers unnumbered join all together in weeping". (297)

Plautus was held in high esteem in ancient times.
Thus Volcacius Sedigitus (c.90 B.C.),in the book which he wrote "On Poets",places Plautus second in rank and honour amongst those who wrote comedies. (298)

Quintilian tells us that Aelius Stilo (c.154-74 B.C.) expressed the opinion that if the Muses had wished to speak Latin they would have used the style of Plautus! (299)

Cicero ranks him with the Athenian poets for his "elegant,polished, ingenious and witty manner of jesting". (300)

Four centuries later Sidonius Apollinaris (c.431-c.483 A.D.) exclaimed that Plautus "surpasses in charm the wits of Greece". (301)

On the other hand,Horace (65-8 B.C.) is outspoken in his criticism of the dramatic qualities of Plautus,who,he says,hurries across the stage and does not care whether his play tumbles or stands upright(302); and even finds fault with the judgment of earlier admirers of Plautus who praised both his rhythms (numeros) and wit (sales). (303)

Plautus aimed at providing a popular drama which should appeal to the tastes of a not too cultivated audience,and for this purpose he made abundant use of music.

This necessitated singing measures,and thus a variety of Greek metres was introduced into Latin comedy,and by the genius of Plautus a great advance was effected in the treatment of language and metre,though the difficulties of subjecting a language to hitherto unaccustomed rules of metre was apparent.

That artistic unity of composition is frequently violated in the plays of Plautus is due to some extent to the interpolation of episod--ic scenes and musical interludes (cantica) which have little con--nection with the action of the play.

The outstanding qualities of Plautus are his mastery of language,in--cluding his use of assonance,alliterative effects and puns,his feel--ing for stage-effect,his clever and witty dialogue,and his exuberant albeit frequently coarse,fun.

(ii) Caecilius Statius.

Caecilius Statius,as he is named by Sedigitus and Gellius,or Statius Caecilius as he is named by Jerome,or simply Caecilius as Cicero writes,was a Gaul of the race of the Insubrians in Upper Italy. He was born c.219 B.C.,brought to Rome as a prisoner of war probably c.194,set free by one of the Caecilii,became intimate with Ennius,and died not long after him in 166 B.C.. (304)
At first he was not successful as a writer of plays (305),but later he won a considerable reputation and was numbered among the masters of his craft. (306)
Varro speaks of him as "demanding the palm" for his plots (307), and Sedigitus likewise awards him the palm among writers of comedies (308); whilst Horace says that he excelled in importance. (309)
St.Jerome refers to him as a writer of comedies who,is held in high repute. (310)
Being an Insubrian by birth,and having come late to Rome,Caecilius could not,however,be considered a competent authority for good Latin. (311)
Of the forty titles of his comedies which have come down to us, sixteen agree with titles of Menander. (312)
The titles themselves are divided into three classes,i.e.i.merely Latin ones,in the manner of Plautus,ii.double titles,in Latin and Greek,iii.only in Greek,as in Terence. The last are the most numerous,whence it seems probable that Caecilius at first treated his originals with great freedom,but afterwards adhered to them more closely.

(iii) Terence.

Publius Terentius Afer was,as his cognomen indicates,born in Africa, his birthplace being (as Suetonius tells us (313)) Carthage.
At an early age he was brought to Rome where he was the slave of a certain Terentius Lucanus. This man gave him a liberàleducation and very soon set him free.
He lived in familiar intercourse with many noble persons,but espec--ially with Scipio Africanus the younger and Laelius.
After having exhibited six of his plays Terence went to study in Greece in the year 160,and there he died in the following year.
That Terence's art was held in high esteem in antiquity may be shown by some quotations from early writers.
Thus Afranius claimed that he was above comparison (314).
Volcacius Sedigitus,however,gave him only the sixth place in his list of comic playwrights. (315)
Iulius Caesar wrote in terms of high praise of Terence's "faultless style"(purus sermo),though he laments that "force"(vis) had not been added to his "smooth writing"(lenibus scriptis). (316)
Cicero praises him for the "choice style"(lecto sermone),"graceful speech"(come loquens) and "charm of utterance"(omnia dulcia dicens), with which he translated into Latin,and clothed in choice language, the plays of Menander. (317)
Varro awarded him the palm for skill in characterization,and sets him up as the model of "mediocritas",the style "intermediate" be--tween the "fullness"(ubertas) of Pacuvius and the "slenderness" (gracilitas) of Lucilius. (318)
Horace mentions the opinion (dicitur) that Terence "excels in art" (vincere in arte). (319)

Quintilian admits that the writings of Terence are "the most ele--gant of their kind"(in hoc genere elegantissima). (320)

Terence's interest in,and understanding of,everyday humanity is the foundation of all his comedies. (32I)

The features which chiefly distinguished him from Plautus were his greater art,and his mode of treatment of his subjects,which were for the most part the same as those of Plautus.

He kept closely to his Greek models,and in particular to Meanander, the most refined and correct of the poets of the Attic New Comedy. His comedies throughout retain the Greek tone,and even preserve the Greek titles. The plot is built up uniformly and regularly,with no glaring improbabilities; and thus Terence atones for his lack of striking comic effect by giving us a plot with an interest mounting up until the end.

The chief feature of his art is the development of the characters, and the provision of motives of action appropriate to the characters; while a careful and delicate portrayal of character is clothed in graceful and charming language.

Perhaps the most important advance of Terence beyond his contempor--aries and predecessors was in his language. This was refined and elegant,in accordance with the tone of conversation in the best circles,and far removed from the language of coarse popular humour which was characteristic of Plautus.

A natural corollary was the predominance of an orderly and progress--ive dialogue,with few digressions and a more uniform metre.

For this very reason Terence's appeal was less to the popular taste than to people of culture,and it is to his high dramatic qualities and the refinement of his language that the recognition paid to him in succeeding ages is due.

11. Togata.

About the middle of the second century B.C. a new kind of comedy, the "togata", made its appearance.

Its chief exponents were Titinius (c.190-150 B.C.), Quinctius Atta (d.77 B.C.) and Afranius (b.140 B.C.). (322)

Soon after the death of Terence the poet Titinius applied the circumstances and topics of the Greek comedy to the conditions of Roman life. The scene was laid in the Latin provincial towns, as it was still forbidden to bring upon the Roman stage a representation of life in the capital city.

The plays of both Titinius and Atta are praised by Varro for their skill in the portrayal of character. (323)

A few fragments of these two playwrights survive. (324)

The most renowned writer of the "fabula togata" was L.Afranius, the successor of its inventor Titinius.

Afranius seems to have owed something of his style to Terence, whom he much admires. "Terence - who shall declare his like?" (325)

He borrows freely from Menander. (326)

Of his plays we know more than forty titles, amongst the most celebrated being Divortium, Emancipatus, Epistula, Fratriae, Privignus, Vopiscus. A few fragments survive. (327)

Frequent mention of him is made in ancient writers. (328)

L.Afranius is the last of the writers of regular Roman comedy; after him comedy becomes merged in the literary Atellanae and in the Mimi.

3. Tragedy.

Latin tragedy dealing with a theme drawn from Roman history or leg-end is known as "fabula praetexta (or praetextata)",from "toga prae--texta" the purple-hemmed "toga" worn by Roman magistrates.
"Fabula crepidata",from "crepida"(Gr.Κρηπίς) the high buskin(329) or boot worn by tragic actors,denotes a Latin tragedy with a Greek theme and setting.
Roman tragedy,like Greek,was made up of spoken dialogue in iambic trimeters,and musical parts called "cantica".
As has already been mentioned (330) Livius Andronicus was the first writer to stage Latin plays with a consecutive plot. These included tragedies with such titles as Achilles,Aegisthus,Aiax,Andromeda,Danae, Equos Troianus,Hermione,Ino,Tereus. (331)
After L.Andronicus the most noteworthy representatives of tragedy under the Republic were Cn.Naevius (270-199B.C.),who also wrote com--edies,Q.Ennius (239-170 B.C.),M.Pacuvius (220-130 B.C.) and L.Accius (170-104 B.C.). (332)
As an indication of the source of the introduction of drama among the Romans it is interesting to note that all the earlier Latin dramatists were either Greeks of South Italy,or Roman natives of rhe same region. Livius Andronicus,the father of the Latin stage,was a Greek slave captured at Tarentum,(333); Ennius,who is described as a "half-Greek", came from a town in the immediate neighbourhood (334); Pacuvius was born at Brundisium,and Naevius in Campania. (335)
Only a few fragments of the plays have come down to us. (336)
From these it may be inferred that declamation and pathos,together with a certain archaism of expression,formed characteristic features of Roman tragedy.

The titles of plays that have been preserved show that preference was given to subjects relating to the Trojan epic cycle,which may be explained by the fact that the Romans claimed a Trojan origin. Next to this in popularity were the myths of the Pelopidae,of the Theban cycle,and of the Argonauts.

After Accius Roman tragedy wanes until a marked revival in the Augustan age. Augustus himself not only composed an "Aiax",ΧΧ which however he destroyed because he was not satisfied with its style (337),but bestowed handsome recognition upon at least one tragic writer. (338)

In the time of Augustus the representatives of tragedy were Asinius Pollio (B.C.76-5 A.D.),who after a busy political life devoted him-self to writing,including the writing of tragedies which were actu-ally performed in the theatre(339); and L.Varius (d.ante B.C.I2) a poet (340) who obtained his greatest reputation by his tragedy en-titled "Thyestes". (34I) This play was brought out at the "ludi" held in honour of the victory at Actium B.C.29,and was rewarded by Augustus with an honorarium of one million sesterces. (342)

Ovid (B.C.43-I8 A.D.),also,wrote a tragedy called "Medea",now lost, which was much praised by literary critics. (343)

In the time of Tiberius (A.D.I4-38) there was Pomponius Secundus, whose poetical productions were highly spoken of by Tacitus, (344), and Quintilian (345). Very little remains of his tragedies.

Under Nero (54-68 A.D.) and Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) Curiatius Matern-us,whom Tacitus has commemorated in his Dialogue,wrote tragedies entitled Medea,Domitius,Cato,Thyestes. (346)

Seneca.

The next tragic dramatist of note is Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who was born at Corduba in Spain circa B.C.5.

In early youth he came to Rome, where he studied rhetoric and phil--osophy. He was a senator under Caligula (38-4I A.D.), and was dis--tinguished as an orator.

In 4I A.D., through the influence of the empress Messalina, he was ex--iled to Corsica. In 49 the new empress, Agrippina, recalled him and appointed him tutor to her son Domitius, afterwards the emperor Nero.(347) In 50 Seneca was praetor. Under Nero's rule he rose to high honour and wealth. In 57 he was consul. Later, through jealousy, Nero turned against him, accusing him of complicity in the conspiracy of Piso, and in 65 A.D. he was forced to kill himself. (348)

The dominating influence on the drama of Seneca was Euripides (B.C.485 -406). Already in Euripides' plays the function of the Chorus had changed from an acting to an orchestral part, and this tendency was carried further by Seneca. Not only are his lyrics often quite dissociated from their context, but the Chorus itself seems to be absent from the scene between its recitations.

The Euripidean Ghost, such as the wraith of Polydorus in the prologue of *Ἑκάβη* "Hecuba", and the apparition of Achilles described in "Troades", are the prototypes of the spectres of Seneca, such as the ghost of Tantalus with which the "Thyestes" begins, and that of Thyestes which introduces the "Agamemnon".

So with other Senecan characters. The nurse in Seneca goes back to the old woman of the "Hippolytus" and "Medea" of Euripides; and the Senecan tyrant is an obvious descendant of the Euripidean Menelaus and Lycus.

So also with the ideas and emotions of Euripides. It was char--acteristic of the Roman mind that "pity" in the Greek poet should become "horror" in Seneca.

And lastly the maxims of Euripides become the epigrams of Seneca, which are expressed in the characteristic "stichomuthia",or line for line repartee. (349)

Seneca's talent shows itself in a sententious style ,copiousness, philosophic tags and rhetoric; and his plays seem to have been de--signed more as declamatory exercises than for actual performance on the stage. (350)

A late commentator,Julius Caesar Scaliger (I484-I558),in his treat--ise on Poetry,(X declares Seneca to be "inferior to none of the Greeks in majesty".

The real significance of Seneca's work,however,lies not so much in its own merits and defects as in its influence upon the early course of mediaeval drama. (35I)

4. The Supernatural in early Roman drama.

Two stage ghosts are referred to in the extant fragments of early Roman tragedy. One of them announces his return from Hades "by a steep and difficult way"(via alta atque ardua) (352). Ribbeck,after comparing these lines with a fragment of the "Polyxena" of Sophocles in which the ghost of Achilles speaks,has assigned the lines to the "Troades" of Aecius,and attributed them to Achilles' ghost.

In the "Iliona" of Pacuvius the ghost of the murdered Deiphobus (the false Polydorus) appears to his mother and begs for burial. (353) There is a clear resemblance here to the ghost of Polydorus in the prologue of Euripides' "Hecuba".

Reference is also made by Accius (354) to some supernatural agency prompting to action.

In Seneca.

The ten plays that have come down to us under the name of Seneca are the only Latin tragedies extant, and on these were modelled the 16th. century tragedies of Italy, France and England.

On this account they will always be of special interest and importance in the history of tragedy.

A notable feature of Seneca's tragedies is the frequent use of various supernatural agencies. (355)

In the "Thyestes" Atreus speaks of a power "beyond the limits of human usage"(nescio quid --- supra fines moris humani) which is swelling within him, and this may be taken as indicating the scope of the supernatural in these tragedies. (356)

Seneca's Ghosts appear at dawn or earlier. (357) The ghostly apparitions of Thyestes and Tantalus doubtless delay the sunrise.

A reference to that fact in both prologues afforded Seneca a good reason for the departure of his characters. Ghosts usually walk by night and return to Hades at dawn. (358)

Although the ghost-raising scene in the "Oedipus" took place in the day-time, Tiresias held the rites in a grove which provided the appropriate darkness. (359)

Like Aeschylus's ghost of Clytaemnestra, the Senecan ghosts of Hector and Oedipus bear marks of wounds. In fact the particular emphasis

on blood and wounds in Seneca's description of ghosts is characteristically Roman. (360)

Visions and allegorical dreaming were also known to Roman tragedy before Seneca. In the "Alexander" of Ennius,(361),Cassandra,under the influence of Apollo,foresees the Trojan war. In her vision she gazes upon the mangled body of her dead brother Hector.

An interesting point,worthy of notice,is the presentation by Seneca of a divination scene on the stage. (362) This seems to be the only instance in extant classical tragedy.

Another noticeable point with regard to supernatural beings in Senecan tragedy is that there is only one representative of the Olympian deities,namely Juno in the "Hercules Furens",and even she requires help from the under-world,for she summons all the evil powers of Hades to aid her in her task of vengeance.

The Fury who accompanies Tantalus in the "Thyestes" represents the spirit of revenge.

It is not surprising,then,to find that ghosts are more in evidence in Senecan than in Greek tragedy.

In Seneca "fata" and "fortuna" seem to be convenient terms for the explanation of motives which influence human action.

Thyestes blames Fortune for his incest with his daughter. (363)

In the "Troades" (364) Fate is ultimately responsible for the sacrifice of Polyxena and for the death of Astyanax. Phaedra (365) lays the blame for her own want of self-control on the fate of her house. Jocasta attempts to console her husband by telling him that his fault is Fate's,and no-one is made guilty by fate. (366)

Seneca rarely takes over supernatural elements from Greek drama without some change. In Greek tragedy the gods of heaven and their human instruments are the chief supernatural agencies. In Seneca the predominating atmosphere is that of the underworld of Ghosts and Furies.

5. Cooks and Cooking.

Some interesting facts may be gleaned from Plautus regarding cooks and cooking in his day.

In four passages,in as many plays (367),a "culina" is mentioned, thus showing that a special room for the preparation of meals had been added to the house by this time.

In Plautus the cooks seem always to be slaves,for they are hired in the market-place (368),and speak of purchasing their freedom(369): and that they were treated as such is shown by the fact that one of them says that "if anything be missing they will say the cooks have stolen it,seize them,flog them,and thrust them into the dungeon.(370) Again,Congrio the cook says "they have pounded me so,poor wretch,and my pupils too,that I am sore all over,so lustily has that old fellow belaboured me by way of exercise". (371)

Cylindrus the cook,fearing punishment because he is late,says "Woe to my back!" (372)

In "Mostellaria" the cook is not a professional,but one of the house--hold slaves. (373) An early Republican inscription also gives the names of four cooks who were slaves. (374)

Cooks were hired from the Forum for special occasions such as wedding feasts,dinner parties,or birthday entertainments. (375)

Apparently those with a not very good reputation got themselves hired only occasionally; at any rate it seems to have been a term of bantering reproach amongst the cooks for one to say ØØ of another, as Anthrax says of Congrio,that "he is only a market-day cook"(cocus ille nundinalest) and only gets a job "every ninth day". (376)

On the other hand,from the conversation between Ballio and the cook

in "Pseudolus" (377),it seems that this cook has not been hired, not because he is worthless,but because,at least in his own estim--ation,he is worth too much! for he says that,while others are ready to accept one drachma (a coin worth about tenpence of our money),he will not accept less than a didrachm (nummus),that is a two-drachmae piece. (378)

The various trades-people who,along with the cooks,took up positions in the market-place,seem to have been good fellows,and were ready to entertain their friends and give them a hearty welcome. (379)

Sanga,the cook to Thraso in "Eunuchus",displays his sense of humour when his master is assigning to his followers their duties for an attack on Thais's house,for he comes armed only with his "dish-clout" (peniculum); and when the captain asks him how he thinks he can fight with that,Sanga replies that,knowing the valour of the general and the prowess of the soldiers,he is sure there will be blood-shed,and so he has come prepared to "wipe the wounds" (abstergerem vulnera)! (380)

In "Adelphi" Syrus appears to be the cook,and to have Dromo for his assistant,for he gives instructions to the latter to prepare the fish which he (Syrus) has bought; and he tells Demea that he lays down precepts (praecipio) for his fellow-servants (conservis),and instructs them in their culinary duties to the best of his ability.(381) He is a valuable servant,for he is ready to provide for a banquet (convivium) even at short notice,which,as Demea says,is an accomplish--ment "of no ordinary person"(non mediocris hominis) (382)

Conditions in the kitchen do not seem to have been of the pleasantest, for Demea says that he will see that "the music-girl"(istam psaltri--am),what with cooking and grinding,shall be well covered with ashes, smoke and meal! (383)

That the slave who did the cooking had many other duties to per--form also,is shown by a passage from "Mercator" (384) in which Demipho says that the kind of maid they need is a lusty one who can grind,spin,be cudgelled,and cook the dinner for the family. In "Menaechmi",Cylindrus the cook,who was a young man,was the priv--ate slave of the courtesan Erotium,but this is the only instance of a private slave as a professional cook in Plautus,and even he may have had other duties tp attend to. We know,at any rate,that he did the marketing. (385)

It is probable that shortly before,or during,the time of Plautus, the cooks became of considerable importance in Italy,and especially in Rome.

Livy says that foreign luxury was brought to Rome by the Asiatic army after the war with Antiochus,and that cooking,which hitherto had not been considered of much importanee,began to be an art. (386) This was in the year I9I B.C.,at the time when Plautus was most act--ive in his play-writing. We may conclude,therefore,that Plautus, while undoubtedly depending to some extent on his Greek originals, is nevertheless describing culinary artists as he actually saw them in the city of Rome.

Most of the names of cooks in Latin literature are used for comic effect,or as indicative of their occupation. In this class,as might be expected,may be placed the names of nearly all the cooks in Plautus.

In "Aulularia" the cooks are Congrio and Anthrax. The former name is derived from "conger",a sea-eel,and may possibly have been given to the cook as a testimony of the slippery,thievish propensities attributed to the followers of his profession,or else with reference

to an article of food. The latter name means "coal",and thus is suggestive of the calling to which its owner belongs.

The association of cooks with Vulcan is not unusual. (387)

In "Menaechmi" the cook says to Menaechmus that he will have every--thing cooked and ready directly,and that therefore he had better go indoors and take his place whilst the victuals are being subjected to "the violence of Vulcan". (388)

So,too,in "Aulularia" the cook is addressed as a devotee of Vulcan.(389)

In "Aulularia" we get also two names belonging probably to a cook's attendants or apprentices. Anthrax is giving his orders,and he tells Dromo to scale the fish,whilst Machaerio is to bone the conger and lamprey. (390)

Dromo (Greek,a runner) occurs in Plautus as the name of a slave,and also in Terence. (391)

This name,and that of the cook in "Miles Gloriosus",Cario (392),are the only ones connected with the culinary profession in Plautus which are not used for comic effect,and to suggest the owner's occup--ation. Machaerio (Greek,a sword) suggests an implement much used by cooks.

In "Casina" the cook's name id Citrio (393),which is probably derived from the Greek word for an earthen pot.

In "Menaechmi" the cook Cylindrus probably gets his name from the utensil which he frequently uses in making pastry,namely the rolling--pin.

As depicted in Greek comedy,the cooks were a boastful class of men(394) and their Roman brethren do not seem to have lacked this quality. Ballio sums up the characteristics of members of this profession by calling the cooks' market (forum cocquinum) a thieves' market(furinum

forum),and the cook himself a chattering,bragging (gloriosum), silly and worthless fellow. (395) And the cook whom he has just hired lives up to this reputation of boastfulness,for he de--clares boldly that those who shall eat of the victuals which he has seasoned will be able to live as long as two hundred years! (396) Nor is that all,for he goes on to say that Iupiter himself sups on the odours from his saucepans,and that when he does not cook the king of the gods goes to bed hungry (it incenatus cubitum). (397) Another characteristic of the cooks was their propensity to thiev--ing,and this is admitted by one of their own number,for when Ballio accuses the cooks of stealing,the cook in reply asks whether he really expects to find any cook except with the claws of a kite or of an eagle! (398)

In view of this,for his own sake Ballio thereupon gives his boy orders to keep a sharp watch on the cook and follow his every move--ment. (399)

The words of the cook in "Mercator" indicate that food from the em--ployer's house often found its way to the cook's larder. (400)

Not only did the cooks steal,but their patron goddess was Laverna, the goddess of thieves,for it is she whom Congrio invokes to aid him. (401)

That cooks had a sense of humour,and were fond of jokes and puns,is shown by several passages in Plautus. (402)

The only reference in the dramatists to a female cook seems to be the "coqua" mentioned by Plautus in ~~"Persa"~~ "Poenulus". (403)

III. ACTORS.

(1) L. Andronicus to Cicero.

Before the time of Cicero (B.C.106-43) Roman actors were not very numerous.

Livius Andronicus, the Greek war-captive, not only wrote plays but also acted them (404), and may even have collected and trained a troupe.

Naevius, a Campanian (405), who, as well as Plautus (405 a.), followed the example of L. Andronicus, may have brought some of his country-men to Rome to act with him (406) on account of the lack of Roman actors.

Plautus mentions Roman actors only once (407), without referring to their status in society, and giving no information about the type of man who generally appeared in his plays.

The first great actor who was not at the same time a poet is Pellio, of whose work Plautus speaks disparagingly. This actor, who took the leading part in the play "Bacchides" (which was performed in B.C.189), was blamed by Plautus for the unfavourable reception of the play. (408)

Livius Andronicus rose to distinction. In B.C.207 he was chosen to write the ode which twenty-seven maidens sang at the command of the pontifices. (409)

Thereafter the temple of Minerva on the Aventine was opened to the actors and poets (410). This was done in honour of Livius, who had been both actor and playwright, and shows that there was no more pre-judice against actors than against poets.

Less than a century later Valerius Maximus describes the poet Accius as conscious of his superiority through scholarship, and unwilling to rise whenever Iulius Caesar Strabo visited the "collegium." (411)

If this "collegium" in the time of Accius (B.C.170-c.86) still in-
-cluded actors,it is clear that they must be classed among the res-
-pectable groups of society for more than a century.
In the time of Caecilius Statius (B.C.194) (412),and Terence (B.C.
185-159),Ambivius Turpio,a citizen,was the outstanding actor,who,
according to Donatus and the didascalia (413),performed in all the
extant plays. In the didascalia his name is always linked with that
of L.Atilius Praenestinus,whom Cicero ignores in his praise of the
former (414).
Other actors of this period are Cincius Faliscus the actor of comedy,
and L.Minucius Prothymus the tragedian, (415),and perhaps the "cet-
-eri actores" referred to by Symmachus. (416)
The names "Praenestinus" and "Faliscus" seem to indicate that Roman
troupes were partly recruited from the local players of nearby towns,
probably actors who had had training in Atellan plays.
Between Terence and Cicero there is no one whose name has come down
to us as an actor.
The next name is that of the comic actor Roscius,who was born and
brought up at Lanuvium in apparently comfortable circumstances (417).
Later,when he was delighting the Roman audiences with his polished
acting,he enjoyed the admiration and friendship of prominent men.(418)
Cicero did not hesitate to defend him publicly in the law-courts and
to speak of his character in terms of high praise. (419)
In another place (420) Cicero says of him that he was such an artist
as to seem the only one fit to come upon the stage,yet such a man as
to seem the only one unfit to come upon it at all: and that his act-
-ion was so perfect and admirable that when a man excelled in any

other profession it had become a proverb to call him a "Roscius".(421)
And,again,in the year of Roscius' death (B.C.62) Cicero says that, although he was an old man when he died,yet on account of the sur--passing grace of his artistic performance it seemed that he ought not to have died at all. (422)
Sulla raised him to the rank of the "equites" (423); and Q.Catulus (B.C.78) expressed his admiration for him in an epigram. (424)
In addition to this,his sister was married to P.Quintius,a respectable man of means,well known as a client of Cicero. (425)
The tragedian Aesopus seems to have moved in much the same circle. He too enjoyed the friendship of Cicero (426),who,together with Quint--ilian,compares the two actors as equally great in their respective spheres. (427)
Horace,in referring to these two actors,speaks of Roscius as "doctus", and of Aesopus as "gravis". (428)
Both received large sums of money in payment for their work (429), and died wealthy. (430)
Roscius' daily pay for acting is said to have been about thirty pounds (431): whilst Pliny computes his annual profit at £4000. (432)
This artistic skill of Roscius and Aesopus was not attained without constant practice and attention to detail. So Valerius Maximus tells us that these two actors,whom he calls the most skilful actors in the world,would be always in the law-courts when Hortensius was pleading so that they might learn something from the postures and actions of the advocate. Hortensius,for his part,we are told,spent more time in practising a decent and comely motion of the body than in study--ing eloquence.

Valerius Maximus also says of Roscius that he was a notable example of theatrical industry, who never exhibited to the people any other action or gesture but what he had studied before at his own house. It was not the art of playing that made Roscius esteemed, but Roscius made the art of playing esteemed; whereby he obtained not only the favour of the people but the familiarity of princes. These, he adds, are the rewards of an intent, anxious and never-ceasing study. (433)

Besides acting themselves the famous actors of the day undertook the training of others, for which services they received ample remuner-ation. To have been trained by Roscius gave the pupil a reputation which he would probably not have obtained in other circumstances. (434)

A well-known pupil of Roscius was the slave Panurgus who, as Cicero says, owed his success entirely to the education and training given to him by Roscius. No-one looked at him because of his person, but people estimated him by his skill as a comic actor. By his own un-aided efforts he could never have earned more than twelve sesterces, but owing to the education given him by Roscius he let himself out for not less than 100,000 sesterces. (435)

Another actor of Cicero's time was Eros the comedian, who was driven from the stage not merely by hisses but even by reproaches. He took refuge with Roscius from whom he received protection and instruction, so that, as Cicero says, in a short time he who had not been even one of the lowest class of actors came to be reckoned among the very first comedians. (436)

In writing to Atticus from Rome Cicero mentions a certain Diphilus, an actor who introduced into his part a petulant attack upon Pomp-eius. (437)

To this period belongs also the actor Fufius, mentioned by Horace (438),

who,playing the character of Ilione in a tragedy of Pacuvius,was supposed to be asleep,when the ghost of her son Polydore called to her "Dear mother,hear me!" Fufius,having drunk too much,really fell asleep,and Catienus (who played Polydore) having called to him with-out getting any response,the whole audience took up the part of Catienus and cried out "Dear mother,hear me!"!

From Cicero,too,we know of the actor Herennius Gallus who was knight-ed and conducted to one of the fourteen benches of the theatre which had been appropriated to those of the equestrian order,at the games which the quaestor Balbus exhibited at Gades (Cadiz). (439)

Belonging to the Republican period,also,we know of M.Ofilius Hilarus from Pliny. (440)

Such,then,is the line of development of the profession of acting from the time of Livius Andronicus to Aesopus and Roscius.

In Cicero's time the opportunities had increased to such an extent that,besides such men as these,talented slaves,whose training was paid for by rich patrons,enjoyed successful and lucrative careers on the stage. There were in fact a number of capable men whose skill in acting was admired by the best Romans. (44I)

This statement may appear to be at variance with other passages of Cicero and Livy to the effect that actors were then without civil and military rights,and formed a class scorned by the general public. But these statements supplement rather than contradict each other, since the former refers to the artist who acted in standard plays of recognized literary value,whilst the two latter passages of Cicero (442) and Livy (443) concern mimes and actors of a lower class.

The Lex Iulia Municipalis of B.C.45 (444),and the Lex Iulia of B.C. I8 (445),both contain clauses imposing restrictions upon those who

participated in the "ars ludicra". The former imposes a fine for actual practice, the latter forbids senators to marry into the family of any such actors.

Since women did not appear in the artistic drama at Rome the law does not cast any reflection upon the associates of Roscius or his successors. It concerns rather the mime-players, among whom many women were numbered in the Empire.

It was by compelling Laberius, a Roman "eques" circa B.C.105-43, to act in a mime that Caesar, in B.C.45, temporarily degraded that playwright as a punishment for his outspoken political remarks. (446)

Laberius protested against this treatment which compelled him, after a life of sixty years without a blot, to leave his house as an "eques Romanus" and to return to it as a "mimus".(447)

By being forced to act in a mime which he himself had composed, Laber-
-ius was disgraced by contact with mime-players and forfeited his equestrian rights. If the equestrian order was disgraced, as is def-
-itely stated, and the senators were forbidden to marry into such fam-
-ilies, then probably Livy's statement that actors would lose their rights applies also to the same class, and not to such men as Roscius who presented dramas of literary value. This certainly is the case later in the Empire where it is clear that the Romans objected to the looseness of pantomimic actors. (448)

Actors were mostly slaves or freedmen; when slaves they were either kept for the entertainment of their owners or let out on hire. They were by law stigmatised by "infamia". They were liable to be sent in-
-to exile at any moment if they or their supporters caused disorder. In spite of all this, and the liability to personal chastisement, Tacit-
-us shows how important stage success had become in the time of the

Empire,and how extravagant was the court paid to popular actors. The attempts to drive them from Rome seem to have been all in vain. (448a) As we have seen,actors of eminence such as Roscius and Aesopus acquir-ed large fortunes even in the time of Cicero; under Emperors like Nero and Domitian they could become court-favourites and be very powerful,as Juvenal tells us that Paris was. (449)

It was one of Cicero's arguments on behalf of Archias (who claimed the possession of the franchise) that it was improbable that the citizenship had not been bestowed on his client,when at the same time it was being freely given to numbers of men of ordinary merit includ-ing stage-players. (450)

In later times in Rome actors were not accounted citizens; they were not enrolled as members of any "tribus"; and if a Roman went on the stage his name,as St.Augustine says,was struck off ~~by/the~~ from the roll by the censors of his tribe. (45I)

(2)After Cicero.

Augustus sometimes engaged Roman knights to act upon the stage,but the practice was prohibited by a decree of the Senate. (452)

The power of the magistrates of correcting the stage-players,which by an ancient law was allowed them at all times and in all places;was curtailed by Augustus who restricted their jurisdiction entirely to the time of performance,and to misdemeanours in the theatres. (453)

The proposal made in A.D.I5 "ut praetoribus ius virgarum in histriones esset" appears to have aimed at the restoration of the pre-Augustan law.

Augustus went so far in restraining the licentiousness of stage-players, that upon discovering that Stephanio,a performer of the highest class, had a married woman with her hair cropped and dressed in boy's

clothes,to wait upon him at table,he ordered him to be whipped through all the three theatres,and then banished him.

Hylas,an actor of pantomimes,upon a complaint against him by the praetor,he commanded to be scourged in the court of his own house, which however was open to the public.

Pylades he not only banished from the city,but from Italy also,for pointing with his finger at a spectator by whom he was hissed,and turning the eyes of the audience upon him. (454)

This same Pylades is said to have become so wealthy that in his old age (B.C.2) he himself provided "spectacula" at Rome. (455)

In order to secure themselves against a decree of the senate which prohibited their performing on the stage,the most profligate young men of the senatorian and equestrian orders voluntarily subjected themselves to an infamous sentence by which they obtained their degradation. Such disreputable persons were banished by Tiberius, so that no one in the future might evade by such artifices the in--tention and efficacy of the law. (456)

One of Caligula's "jests" was this - as he stood by the statue of Iupiter,he asked Apelles the tragedian which of them he thought was the bigger.Upon the actor demurring about it,he lashed him most severely,now and then commending his voice,whilst he was entreating for mercy,as being well modulated even when he was venting his grief. (457)

On the other hand,Mnester the pantomimus had to submit to being kissed publicly in the theatre by Caligula! (458)

This same Mnester,we are told,performed in a play which the traged--ian Neoptolemus had formerly acted at the games in which Philip, king of Macedon,was slain.

During Caligula's reign boys of noble birth were brought from Asia to act upon the stage. (459)

Under Nero (A.D.54-68) the partisans of the rival theatrical per--formers,as well as the actors themselves,were banished. (460)

Nero himself made his first public appearance as a performer on the stage at Naples. Although the theatre quivered wit the sudden shock of an earthquake,he did not desist until he had finished the piece of music he had begun. He played and sang in the same place several times,and for several days together; taking only now and then a short respite to refresh his voice. At Rome,too,he made no scruple of ex--hibiting on the stage (46I) even in the spectacles presented to the people by private persons,and was offered by one of the praetors no less than a million sesterces for his services. He also sang trag--edies in a mask;the visors of the heroes and gods,as also of the heroines and goddesses,being formed into a resemblance of his own face.

Amongst the plays in which Nero performed were the story of "Niobe", "Canace in labour","Orestes the murderer of his mother","Oedipus blinded",and "Hercules Mad." In the last tragedy,it is said that a young sentinel posted at the entrance to the stage,seeing him in a prison dress and bound with fetters,as the fable of the play re--quired,ran to his assistance. (462)

Nero also acted in a play the part of Turnus,as it is found in Vir--gil. Some say that he put to death the player Paris as a dangerous rival in this part. At any rate Paris was executed in A.D.67,during Nero's principate. (463)

Another actor named Paris fell under the displeasure of Domitian (A.D.8I-96). One of his young pupils was put to death for no other

reason than that,both in person and the practice of his art,he re-
-sembled his master. (464)

On the spot where this Paris,executed by Domitian,fell,many of his admirers strewed flowers and poured forth fragrances,whilst Martial wrote his epigram thus - "Wanderer on the Via Flaminia,do not pass by this noble marble monument. The delight of Rome,the wit of Alex-
-andria,art,grace,merriment,joy,the glory and the grief of the Roman stage,and all the goddesses and gods of Love lie here buried with Paris." (465)

Datus,a comic actor,was banished from Rome and Italy by Nero on ac-
-count of his political allusions. While repeating the words "Farew-
-well,father! Farewell,mother!" Datus mimicked the gestures of per-
-sons drinking and swimming,significantly alluding to the deaths of Claudius and Agrippina,and on uttering the last line "You stand this moment on the brink of Orcus" (Orcus vobis ducit pedes),he plainly intimated his application of it to the precarious position of the Senate. (466)

Panniculus and Latinus are two actors of mimi mentioned by Martial (467),by Juvenal (468),and by Suetonius (469). The last writer says that Latinus recounted the news of the day to the emperor at supper.

Tacitus mentions one Cassius,a mimus and of infamous character (so it was alleged) who was said to have been admitted amongst the wor-
-shippers of Augustus. Tacitus also says that Tiberius championed Cassius because of his generosity to his fellow-actors. (470)

The "planipedes" Fabius is mentioned by Juvenal,who also gives us the names of Thymele,who took the part of a wife,and Corinthus,who was a "stupidus."(471)

From Juvenal,too,we know of Damasippus who,it seems,went on the stage for the sake of getting money,and took the part of the "clamorous ghost" (clamosum Phasma) in one of the plays of Catullus,and of the "nimble Lentulus" (velox Lentulus) who acted the part of the brigand Laureolus. (472)

Stratokles and Demetrius were two actors of comedies who flourished in the time of Quintilian (first century A.D.),who mentions them as "maximos actores comoediarum." (473)

These are,doubtless,the same actors as those mentioned by Juvenal, together with Antiochus and Haemus,as being Greek actors in Rome.(474)

The "archimimus" Doctus,we are told by St.Augustine (475),used to perform in a mime every day in the Capitol.

That a few actors became wealthy and influential is shown by Plutarch who tells us (476) that "comedians and pantomimes who succeed on the stage are admired and envied by free men and even by the nobly-born."

Vitalis the mime,on his tomb-stone,states that his art brought him fame throughout Rome,reputation,a stately home and wealth. (477)

At the re-dedication of the theatre of Marcellus in the principate of Vespasian (A.D.69-79) the emperor gave every actor 40,000 sester--ces and many golden crowns,whilst to the tragedian Apollinaris he gave 400,000 sesterces. (478)

There were also prizes to be gained in actors' competitions,such as money,valuables,golden wreaths,or copper wreaths stained with ox--gall. (479)

Actresses appeared on the stage at certain exhibitions of games,and especially in the mimes. (480)

At the dedication of Pompey's theatre in B.C.55 an actress was brought on the stage who had made her first appearance in the

consulship of C.Marius the younger,and Cn.Carbo,B.C.82; but she made her appearance again in the time of Augustus A.D.9,in the con--sulship of Poppaeus,when she was a hundred and three years old, ninety-one years after her first appearance! (48I)

By the end of the first century A.D. the training of comic actors had become a strict tradition. Actors took their work seriously, and rhetoricians were zealous in instructing their pupils in elo--cution and deportment. Quintilian (A.D.40-I00) gives detailed directions for an orator's gesticulations. (482)

Such details as the pace of walking had to be in keeping with the part played e.g.slower for youths,old men,soldiers and married women; quicker for slaves,maid-servants,parasites and fishermen.

Occasionally in Plautus's day (483),as well as in that of Cicero (484),and Horace (485),and Ovid (486),good playing was rewarded with a palm; but the chief aim of the Roman actor was to please the audience and receive the applause requested in so many of the pro--logues,and openly invited at the close,of the plays of Plautus and Terence.

IV. COSTUME.

The chief literary references to costume in Roman Comedy are to be found in the plays of Plautus and Terence,and in the writings of Donatus and Evanthius. The "Onomasticon" of Pollux may also be regarded to some extent as evidence of probable usage on the Roman stage.

In general the costume of the actors in the "fabulae palliatae" was the actual dress of ordinary life,consisting of the tunica,pallium

and chlamys. The mention in Plautus (487) of a character being "pot-bellied"(ventriosus)perhaps suggests the use of some padding to produce the desired - possibly an exaggerated - effect,but it seems certain that the regular Roman stage did not make use of the indecent ornaments of the Greek comic stage such as the "phallus." Indeed Cicero attests (488) that in spite of the licentiousness of certain situations and words the actors observed modesty in their costume.

Sometimes the costumes were richly embroidered with purple,and ad--orned with silver or gold,according to the wishes of the magistrate who was organizing the games,and his desire to please the people.(489) The colour of the costumes was determined by a traditional convent--ion according to the age,condition and character of the wearer. Thus the old man in Comedy wore white,according to ancient custom. Young men wore a multi-coloured dress. Slaves wore a short dress because of their former poverty (paupertatis antiquae gratia),or so that they might move about more quickly. Parasites wore their pall--ium folded (cum intortis palliis). White was the colour for a cheerful character (laeto); for a sad person,a dull colour (aerumn--oso obsoletus). Purple for a rich man; purple-red (phoeniceus) for a poor man. Soldiers wore a purple cloak (chlamys purpurea). A foreign attire (habitus peregrinus) was proper for a girl. The "leno" wore a dress of variegated colours. Courtesans were given yellow on account of their avarice (ob avaritiam). (490) In the "fabulae atellanae" each of the typical characters probably had its traditional costume,or at least some distinguishing char--acteristic by which it could be recognized.

In the "fabulae togatae" the actors wore Roman costume.

In the "mimus" the actors generally wore the "recinium",or veil,and the white costume of a clown or the parti-coloured clothes of harle--quin.

Certain terms connected with the subject seem to require some defin--ition.

The "Choragus" was the man who supplied the costumes. This is clear from several passages in Plautus,e.g.in the "Persa",where Toxilus and Saturio are discussing the proposed disguise of the latter's daughter,Saturio inquires where the dress shall come from (Πόθεν ornamenta?),to which Toxilus replies that he must get it from the "choragus." (491)

Similarly the Sycophanta in "Trinummus",when speaking of the man who has hired him to disguise himself for purposes of deception,says - "as he dressed me out,so I am now equipped; his money did it. He him--self borrowed this costume,at his own risk,from the choragus." (492)

In "Curculio" the Choragus,who is also one of the dramatis personae, says that he is afraid he will not get back the costume which he has lent. (493)

From these passages just quoted it appears that the technical term for theatrical costumes was "ornamenta." In other places it is used in the same sense,though not in connection with the Choragus. (494)

Terence uses the word only once. (495)

The word "choragium",denoting the various things provided by the Choragus,occurs only once in Plautus: this is in the Prologue of the "Captivi" (496),where the speaker tells the audience that they are not to imagine because he has mentioned war that a tragedy is going to be acted,for this would be impossible for a "comic establishment"

to do at a moment's notice.

This interpretation of "choragium",as including not only the cos--tumes but all the stage "properties" and apparatus,is in agreement with Festus's definition of "choragium" as "instrumentum scaenarum". (497)

Neither "choragus" nor "choragium" is found in Terence.

Another term used with reference to costume,or,occasionally,to some piece of stage "property",is "ornatus" (used both as a substantive and a participle). Thus the Prologus in the second prologue of "Hecyra" (498) announces that he appears in the garb of a prologue--speaker.

There are three other passages in which Terence uses the substantive "ornatus". In "Andria" 365 it apparently does not refer to costume at all,but to the preparation for a wedding; in "Eunuchus" 237 Gnatho mentions meeting a friend whose life had been less prosperous than his own,and asks him what is the meaning of the ragged garb he is in (quid istuc ornatist?); in "Eunuchus" 546 the reference is to the costume of Chaerea garbed as the Eunuchus.

Plautus seems generally to use the substantive "ornatus" in the sense of "garb","attire." (499)

The participle "ornatus" is common in the sense of "dressed","at--tired","adorned." (500)

"Vestimentum","vestis" and "vestitus" are all used by Plautus and Terence. Festus says (501) that "vestis" is generally used to denote a covering,such as an out-of-door dress (502) or woman's dress (503); whilst "vestimentum" refers to some part of the costume such as the cloak,or tunic,or over-cloak.

Although in one instance (504) Plautus uses the word "vestimentum" in a sense which agrees with the definition of Festus,in most other

instances the word has a more general force meaning "garments" or "clothing." (505)

"Vestimentum" occurs only twice in Terence (506); the first instance it is used in conjunction with "vas", and apparently refers to furniture-coverings as well as to personal clothing, and in the second instance it is used of bed-clothes.

"Vestis" is most commonly used together with "aurum" and with reference to female clothing (507), but there is also one instance where it is used in reference to spiders! (508)

The "pallium", which was a Greek dress, was worn by Romans when they resided among Greeks. Slaves in comedy (comici servi) usually wore the "pallium", and would doubtless have it tucked tightly around them in order not to interfere with their work. (509) The "pallium" was usually worn over the left shoulder, then drawn behind the back and under the left arm, leaving it bare, and then thrown again over the left shoulder. It was worn on the journey, and also as the traveller comes home from the harbour. (5IO)

It was a "pallium" that Phronesium bade her maid throw over her as she reclined. (5II)

The "pallium" also appears to have been the customary dress of the Adulescens, because in the "Mercator" (5I2) Charinus Adulescens, who is about to give up the expedition in search of his love, wishes to lay aside his soldier's dress and calls for his "pallium", as if it were his usual garment.

In "Trinummus" (5I3) Lysiteles grasps Lesbonicus Adulescens by his "pallium"; and in "Eunuchus" (5I4) Thais calls to Chremes Adulescens, who is just leaving the stage, to take his cloak ("Attolle pallium!").

From Donatus (5I5) we learn that the garments of the Adulescens were parti-coloured,as also was the "pallium" worn by the Leno.
There is distinct mention of the "pallium" in the case of four of the ten "parasiti" who appear in the plays of Plautus and Terence. In "Captivi" (5I6) Ergasilus gathers it up and hastens to deliver a message. Curculio stakes his "pallium" against a ring at a game of dice (5I7). Some girls in love with Pyrgopolinices catch hold of the "pallium" of Artotrogus Parasitus,to ask him questions about the Miles. (5I8) Gelasimus is a parasitus "with only one coat" (cum veste unica),who has not a farthing to give away or to lend, who owns nothing save the cloak (pallium) he is wearing. (5I9)
Doubtless the articlws mentioned in "Persa" are typical. (520)
The "Senex" in "Casina" is clearly wearing the "pallium." (52I)
From Donatus (522) we lwarn that the clothing of "Senes" was white.
The mention of the "pallium" in connection with the "Servus" is not very frequent. (523)
Interesting are the references to the costume and equipment of the "miles",a role which occurs in the "Bacchides","Curculio","Epidicus", "Miles Gloriosus","Poenulus","Truculentus" and "Eunuchus."
The commonest attribute of the "miles" is the "machaera" or sword, which he frequently carries. (524)
The "clipeus",or round brazen shield of the Roman soldier,is referred to as belonging to the "miles",although he does not appear to have actually been wearing it on the stage. (525)
Among the garments worn by the "miles" are mentioned the "tunica" and the "tunica" and the "chlamys",or military cloak,and the "palli-um". (526) The colour of the soldier's "chlamys" is given by Don-atus as "purple." (527)

That the "chlamys" was a recognized part of theatrical costume is also shown by Horace,who tells us that Lucullus was once requested to furnish one hundred "chlamydes" for the play. (528)

Plautus gives detailed references to the appearance of Astaphium, the Ancilla of Phronesium Meretrix,in "Truculentus". She wears a "pallula" of uncertain colour ("Tr."27I),bronze armlets (T.27I-4), her hair is artificially curled and elaborately dressed (T.287),and her face is so covered with cosmetics that she has lost the power to blush (T.290-4)! She has also made plentiful use of perfumes (T. 289). (529)

These details would surely not be applicable to many "ancillae"! It would seem,however,that there must have been something distinct--ive in the dress of an "ancilla",for when Mysis appears before the house where the Andrian lives,Simo Senex (who,so far as we know,has never seen her before) asks "Is this maid-servant from the Andrian?" (530)

The costume of the "ancilla",it may be supposed,was generally of a simple character. (53I)

Sometimes a distinctive mark was placed in the costume of an actor so that the audience might be able to distinguish more easily one character from another. (532) By a stage-convention these marks were invisible to the other players. (533)

The rôle of "Gubernator" appears only once,namely in the "Amphitruo" He is Blepharo,the pilot of the ship in which Amphitruo returned home from his expedition against the Teleboae. (534)

From this play we get no information about his costume,but a very good description of the dress of a "gubernator" is given in "Miles Gloriosus",where the disguise of Pleusiclesisplanned. This com--prises a broad-brimmed hat of iron-grey,a woollen eye-shade,an

iron-grey cloak (for that is the sea-man's colour),which is to be fastened over the left shoulder,leaving the right arm projecting out. (535)

The foot-wear most frequently mentioned in the plays is "sandals" (soleae),which were worn both by men and women. (536) These were removed when reclining at table and resumed after the meal. (537) "Socci" were slippers,or low shoes,and were worn especially by actors in comedy. (538)

From Diomedes (539) we get information about the hair of the "dram--atis personae." He mentions three different colours for the wigs (galeribus),and says that the particular colour chosen is an in--dication of the age of the wearer. As the three colours are white a dark colour and red,it may be supposed that white was the colour of old men,and the dark colour that of young men. Red was the traditional colour for the wigs of slaves in the Greek theatre (540) and it may well have been that this tradition was generally followed in the early Roman theatre.

In Plautus two red-haired slaves are mentioned,namely Leonida who is described as "rufulus" (541),and Pseudolus to whom the epithet "rufus" is applied. ~~(541)~~ (541 a.)

In Terence two people are shown as red-haired,Davus the slave is described as "rufus"(542),and Phanocrata's daughter is referred to by Clitipho as "that red-haired girl" (rufam illam virginem). (543)

Head-coverings consisted chiefly of a broad-brimmed felt hat(causia) such as that worn by Pleusicles(544); or of a similar type of hat called a "petasus",such as that referred to as being worn by the "sharper" in "Trinummus." (545)

These were worn not only by actors but also by spectators in the theatre as a protection against the sun and weather. (546)
Another item of theatrical costume "subligar" is mentioned by Juvenal (547) and by Martial (548): this probably was equivalent to "tights."

Masks. (549)

Aeschylus (B.C.525-456),if not the inventor of the tragic mask,was the first to give it that distinctive character from which in later times it never varied except in detail. (550)
Donatus (551) maintains that Cincius (and) Faliscus for comedy,Min--ucius (and) Prothymus for tragedy,were the first to use the mask on the Roman stage.
Diomede (552),on the contrary,and he is probably following Suetonius who doubtless followed Varro,says that formerly the Romans used wigs not masks,and that Roscius Gallus the famous actor was the first to wear a mask (personis uti primus coepit R.G.praecipuus histrio).
Ribbeck (553) reconciles these two apparently contradictory testimon--ies by saying that Roscius wore a mask for the first time in a com--pany of comedy actors which had Cincius Faliscus for its "dominus gregis";and in a company of tragedy actors which had Minucius Pro--thymus for its "dominus gregis".
Cicero (554) attributes the innovation to Roscius,thus affording sup--port for the statements of Diomede,and says that the older Romans of his time preferred to see the face and eyes of the actor.
Ovid speaks of the wearing of masks in quite early times. (555)

Quintilian (556),writing later (A.D.c.35-95),repeats in general the sentiments of Cicero,and shows that the preference of the Rom--ans to see the unmasked face of the actors existed even in the Em--pire.

These statements all date from the time when the Romans required facial expression to be an important factor in differentiating character types.

Probably Plautus and Terence did not employ masks.

Festus (557),in explaining the phrase "personata fabula",suggests that Naevius,one of whose plays was entitled "Personata",may have used masks,but does not make any definite statement about it,indi--cating rather that they were not introduced until many years later.

In the time of Plautus (B.C.c.254-I84) the "personae" were distin--guished by costumes that were easily changed,and wigs whose colour indicated differences in age; whilst masks do not seem to have been used until long after Plautus.

Plautus himself gives evidence of the colour of wigs,e.g.in "Asinaria" 934 he describes the "Senex" as "cano capite",while Leonida the slave is "rufulus" ("As."400);and Philocrates ("Captivi"648) appearing as a slave is "subrufus aliquantum".

To represent changes of emotion an actor would sometimes substitute one kind of mask for another during the course of the play,or even

> make use of a mask with a double expression,the left side expressing a disposition opposite to that expressed by the right side. (558)

Besides obvious inconveniences the mask had also some advantages. It enabled men to play female parts more easily; the "quiproquos" caused by the confusion of two characters became possible,even al-

-though the natural appearance of the two actors was quite different; it hid any physical facial disfigurements in an actor which might have been a hindrance to his success (e.g.Roscius); and in particu-lar it enabled the same actor to take several parts in the same piece,thus reducing the number of actors in the company to a minimum. From the spectators' point of view the mask had advantages in that it acted as a kind of megaphone and carried the voice of the actor to the farthest seats in the auditorium; also its exaggerated features enabled the most distant spectators to recognize the type or rôle of the wearer. (559)

The mask (persona or larva (560)) was made of one or other of several materials,such as clay (561),or cork (562),or linen (563).

It covered not only the face but the whole of the head. (564)

To protect the top of his head the actor wore a cap,or pad of felt, on which the mask rested,and he kept it in place by a chin-strap.

The white of the eye was painted on the mask,but the place for the pupil was left hollow to enable the actor to see. The opening for the mouth was very large,and presented a formidable appearance.(565)

One of the most characteristic features of the tragic mask was the "onkos" (ὄγκος)(566),a cone-shaped top to the mask which was in-tended to add dignity to the appearance.

Lucian,who lived in the 2nd.century A.D.,thus describes the tragic actor of his day:- "In forming our estimate of tragedy let us first consider its externals - the hideous appalling spectacle that the actor presents. His high boots raise him out of all proportion, his head is hidden under an enormous mask;his huge mouth gapes upon the audience as if he would swallow them;to say nothing of the chest--pads and stomach-pads with which he contrives to give himself an

artificial corpulence lest his deficiency in this respect should empasize his disproportionate height." (567)

In Philostatus (568) there is an amusing story of the extraordinary effect produced upon a country audience in Spain by the appearance of a tragic actor before them for the first time. It is said that as soon as he came upon the stage they began to be rather alarmed at his wide mouth,his long strides,his huge figure,and his unearthly dress. But when he lifted up his voice and commenced his speech in the loud and sonorous clang of the tragic stage,there was a general panic,and they all fled out of the theatre as if he had been a demon!

The Rieti statuette (569) in Naples gives an excellent illustration of the appearance of a tragic actor of the Roman Imperial period. The number and variety of the masks used may be seen from the ac--counts in Pollux. (570) For the ordinary tragic personages he enumerates twenty-eight kinds. The principal features which dis--tinguish the different masks are the style of the hair,the colour of the complexion,the height of the "onkos",and the expression of the eye-places. In addition to these there were special masks for use when any unusual characters,such as mythological beings with strange attributes,were introduced; also for allegorical figures, and for personifications of inanimate objects.

Comedy also had its appropriate set of masks,many of which were of a grotesque and extravagant type. Pollux enumerates fourty-four different kinds of masks for comedy.

On many of the sarcophagi of the Christians in the catacombs at Rome masks are represented,as being types of the resemblance be--tween the course of human life and a part played upon the stage.

Whilst a pagan,proud of his career of duty done,had inscribed upon his tomb the words "While I lived,I lived well - my drama is now ended - yours soon will be - farewell and applaud me." (571)

V.SCENERY AND STAGE ACCESSORIES.

Q.Catulus was the first (in B.C.78) to spread linen coverings over the theatre. Lentulus Spinther made them of fine Spanish cloth.(572) Sometimes they were purple-coloured and diffused a rose-light over the whole audience. (573)

Cn.Pompey had the idea of making water trickle along the stair-cases and passages (aquae per semitas decursu) to keep the temperature cool. (574)

Instead of water,essences of balm and saffron or wine perfumed with saffron were sometimes pumped across the cavea in pipes and sprinkled in small drops on the audience below,and even on the stage itself.(575)

In order to divide the stage from the auditorium the Roman theatre had a curtain (aulaeum or aulaea) which was kept rolled round cylind-ers in a narrow cavity extending along the front of the stage under-neath the proscenium. This was raised when it was desired to hide the stage (aulaea tolluntur),and lowered to expose the stage to view (aulaea premuntur,mittuntur,subducuntur). (576)

The curtain was made of cloth with rich embroidery representing vari-ous persons and scenes. When,therefore,the curtain was raised"the figures of the persons rise up,showing first their faces,then little by little all the rest,until at last,drawn up with steady motion,the entire forms stand revealed,and plant their feet upon the curtain's edge." (577)

Ovid is here comparing the rising of the warriors from the ground where Cadmus had sown the serpent's teeth with the rise of the fig-ures embroidered on the stage curtain.

Virgil gives us evidence on the same point when he refers to the

pleasure of watching "how the scene divides with changing front, and how the inwoven Britons raise the purple curtains." (578)
Besides this chief curtain (aulaea),which of course extended across the entire front of the stage,the Roman theatre had also a small curtain (siparium) which was used for mimic performances. This was not raised or lowered but folded up (complicare) in draperies. (579) It left the front part of the stage free for the "mimi" to perform on either before,during or after the regular tragedies and comedies.(580. The stage itself,in addition to its architectural decorations and sculpture,was ornamented with richly embroidered draperies. (58I) There was,in fact,a certain rivalry amongst the organizers of the games in the elaborateness of the stage scenery.
According to Pliny (582) and Valerius Maximus (583),C.Pulcher (B.C. 99) was the first who adorned the scenes with a variety of colours. Previously there had only been panels (tabulae) on which nothing was depicted (nulla pictura). Later,C.Antonius and Murena used silver; Q.Catulus (B.C.78) ivory; Petreius,gold; the two brothers Lucullus (B.C.75) made them of turned work (versatilem fecerunt Lu--culli); Lentulus Spinther(B.C.64) used silver (argentatis choragiis); Nero,gold; not only for the stage scenery itself but for all the ap--purtenances.
In the theatre erected by M.Scaurus (B.C.58) the fittings (apparatus) included Attalic cloths interwoven with gold,pictures,and other stage properties (choragia),all of enormous value. (584)
Changes of scenery do not appear to have been frequent during the course of a play,nor even necessary for successive plays,though the first was tragedy and the second comedy. (585)

Vitruvius tells us that there are three kinds of scenes (scaenarum), namely tragic,comic and satyric,and that each had its appropriate decoration (ornatus).

The "scaena tragica" was designed with columns,pediments (fastigiis) statues and other regal adornments.

The "scaena comica" had the appearance of a private building with balconies and windows in imitation of ordinary dwellings.

The "scaena satyrica" was decorated with trees,caves,mountains and other country features designed in the style of a landscape. (586)

There were three principal methods of scene-changing. First there was the "scaena versilis" (587),which was a piece of wood or canvas with scenery painted on both sides (frontes),and mounted on a pivot; at the appropriate moment this was revolved to show the side which had hitherto been hidden. The second method was the "scaena duct-ilis" which consisted of two vertical wooden panels,painted on one side only. (588) If each panel was drawn aside at the same time in its groove,the one to the right,the other to the left,the scene disappeared,leaving in view a new scene which the first had kept hidden. The third kind of movable scenery was that called "peri-acti." This was composed of two "scaenae versiles" of a special kind designed for lateral scenery. To the left and right of the centre of the stage,between the side-wings (versurae procurrentes) and the doors of the back-scene (hospitalia),~~were~~ (589),were placed two triangular prisms which revolved on a pivot. Each of these re-volving prisms (periacti) had a different view painted on each side of its three faces,and the whole contrivance was turned round to present the particular view required by the action of the play.

The "periactus" to the right of the audience represented views in the immediate neighbourhood of the city where the scene of the action was laid; while the "periactus" to the left represented a more dis--tant country.

In correspondence with this, the entrance to the right of the audience was reserved for actors coming from the immediate neighbourhood; while that to the left was for those who came from a distance. (590)

It was, therefore, possible to make a change in the character of the scenery at each end of the stage, while the scene in the background remained the same.

The use of the "periacti" was regulated by conventional custom.

If only one "periactus" was turned round, the alteration in scenery was confined to that end of the stage only. This was done when the change of scene was supposed to be a slight one, such as from one part of the same district to another. But when the action was trans--ferred to an entirely new district, then both the "periacti" were turned round, and the scenery was changed at each end.

The representation of scenery on the "periacti" was probably of a simple and symbolical character; thus, a rock would stand for a mount--ainous district; a wavy blue line and a dolphin for the sea; a river--god, perhaps holding a vessel of water, for a river. (591)

Besides their use in effecting a change of scene, the "periacti" were also employed to introduce sea-gods and heavy objects. How this was done is not known certainly, but it is possible that of the two sides of the "periactus" which were out of sight of the audience, one con--tained a small ledge or balcony on which the sea-god took his stand. As the machine revolved he would come suddenly into view. (592)

The scene of the action was generally the public place,the street (platea,in via,ante aedes,ante ianuam,ante ostium).
It was here that the characters met,or came together discussing their affairs and even their secrets.
Tt was there that events took place which strictly belonged to the interior of a house; there that banquets were held; there that women did their toilet. (593)
The houses of different persons appeared to be in the same street or place,even though the nature of the plot or action rendered such proximity inadmissible in reality.
The space left for the position and movement of actors was very limit-ed,so that one sometimes saw two actors,or even two groups of actors speaking and acting as if unaware of each other's presence,although actually they were quite close. (594)
Sometimes the actors tried to minimize these incongruities by various devices. If an actor,or a group of actors,wished to escape being seen by another,he might hide in the recess of a door-way,or in a perpendicular recess in the front of the scenery (angiportus (595)) which represented the entrance of an alley between two buildings.
If someone wanted to dissemble a visit he was making,or to depart unperceived by others,he passed through a back-door (pOsticum). (596)

The door of each of the houses represented in the back-scene of the stage seems,in most instances,to have been composed of two folding-pieces.
In two passages of Plautus (597) we find evidence that these doors were double; and additional evidence is provided by the fact that nearly all the vases,wall-paintings and reliefs,representing scenes

in ancient drama, show the double door. (598)

A question that naturally arises in connection with the stage-doors is, Did the stage-door open outwards or inwards?

Turning for a moment to the Roman private house, we find clear evidence that from quite early times the street-door opened inwards.

For instance, Plutarch says (599) that, although all other doors opened inwards at that time, Poblicola's house, as a mark of special distinct-ion, was permitted to have its door opened outwards upon the street.

A statement to the same effect is made by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (600)

The special distinction granted to Poblcola is also mentioned by Pliny the Elder (601), and by Asconius (602).

The street-doors of the private houses unearthed at Pompeii regularly opened inwards, as in Rome. (603)

It does not follow, however, that the practice of the stage in a matter like this was necessarily the same as in private life; and there is some evidence in the plays to show that the stage-doors in all proba-bility opened outwards. (604)

This conclusion is confirmed by the archaeological evidence quoted above, which also shows one or more doors opening out upon the scene.

Several mechanical contrivances were employed on the ancient stage which no modern stage-manager would dream of allowing!

Perhaps the most peculiar of these was the "ekkyklema" (τὸ ἐκκύκλημα) of the Greeks, which was the "exostra" of the Roman stage. (605)

This was a small wooden platform on wheels, and when its use was re-quired one of the doors (usually three in number (606)) in the background of the stage was opened and this contrivance was pushed forward on to the stage. Upon it was arranged a group of figures, representing in a kind of tableau the deed or occurrence that had

just taken place inside the building.

The contrivance was a purely conventional one,due to the necessities of the ancient theatre,for exhibiting interiors. (607)

Another appliance of great importance was the "mechane" (μηχανὴ) or "machine". (608)

This consisted of a kind of crane with a pulley,by which weights could be raised or lowered. It was placed in a corner of the stage at the very top of the back-scene,and was used for supernatural ap--pearances or disappearances. By means of this device a god or hero could be lowered from heaven to earth,or raised up from earth to heaven,or even suspended in mid-air.

It is clear that from the beginning of the fourth century B.C. the "mechane" became the regular contrivance for introducing gods at the close of a drama on the Greek stage. Plato remarks that the tragedians,when in a difficulty,"have recourse to the mechane,and suspend their gods in mid-air." (609)

Aristotle speaks of the "mechane" as the invariable device on such occasions. (6I0)

To this we owe the expression "deus ex machina" as meaning a short way out of a difficulty.

Another means of exhibiting gods in a supernatural manner was the "theologeion". This seems to have been a narrow platform in the upper part of the back-scene,and to have been used for representing the gods as stationary in heaven,and not as moving through the air. (6II)

Several other devices are mentioned by Pollux as being in use on the Attic stage,and these would certainly have been employed in the Roman theatre.

The "bronteion" was a device for imitating the noise of thunder behind the scenes. This was effected by pouring pebbles into a large brazen vessel; or bags filled with stones were thrown against a metal surface. (6I2) Doubtless this was the ~~same~~ means used to provide the thunder when, as Vitruvius says, "the gods entered to the accompaniment of sudden claps of thunder" (cum tonitribus re--pentinis). (6I3)

The "keraunoskopeion" seems to have been an apparatus fixed to the top of the "periacti" and used for imitating lightning.

The "stropheion" was some kind of revolving machinery, by which heroes were exhibited in heaven, or deaths at sea or in battle were represented.

The "hemikyklion" was semi-circular in shape, and gave a distant view of a city, or of a person swimming in the sea.

The "hemistropheion" is merely mentioned by name, and no description of it is given. (6I4)

Another important piece of machinery in the theatre was the "pēgma", (τὸ πῆγμα), a wooden contraption by which players were suddenly raised aloft. (6I5)

VI. THE AUDIENCE.

The audience in the ancient theatre was composed of all classes of the people, of every age, and both sexes.

Plautus makes special mention of the youths in the audience (616), and we know from Terence (617) and Suetonius (618) and Tacitus (619) that women were present. (620)

From B.C.194 the front places in the theatre were reserved for senat-ors.

When the stone theatres after the Greek style were built, the orchestra was reserved for the Senate (621), and the first fourteen rows (sub-sellia) behind them were definitely set apart for the knights (equit-es) by the Lex Roscia Othonis B.C.67. (622)

Valerius Maximus records that for five hundred and fifty-eight years the Senate stood mixed among the common people to behold the public shows. But this custom Atilius Serranus and L.Scribonius, Aediles, ab-rogated, when they made plays to the mother of the gods, following the judgment of the elder Africanus, and setting up seats for the Senators distinct from the people. Which thing alienated the affection of the common people, and weakened the high esteem which they had of him. (623)

The places of the people generally were probably assigned to them ac-cording to their "tribes."

In the time of Augustus (B.C.27-14 A.D.) the confusion and disorder with which the spectators took their seats came to a head with an affront which was offered to a senator at Puteoli, for whom in a crowded theatre no-one would make room.

Augustus therefore procured a decree of the Senate (the Lex Iulia theatralis) that in all public spectacles of any kind, and in any place

whatever,the first tier of benches should be left empty for the ac-
-comodation of senators.
He would not even permit the ambassadors of free nations,nor of those which were allies of Rome,to sit in the orchestra,having found that some manumitted slaves had been sent under that character.
He separated the soldiery from the rest of the people,and assigned to married plebeians their own particular rows of seats.
To the boys (praetextati) he assigned their own benches,and to their tutors the seats which were nearest (proximum paedogogis).
He ordered that none clothed in black should sit in the centre of the circle (sanxitque,ne quis pullatorum media cavea sederet). (624)
Nor would he allow any women to witness the combats of gladiators, except from the upper part of the theatre,although formerly they used to take their places promiscuously with the rest of the spect-
-ators. To the vestal virgins he granted seats in the theatre,re-
served for them only,opposite to the praetor's bench. (625)
By the time of Domitian (A.D.8I-96) these regulations appear to have been disregarded,as we read that he"took upon himself the reformation of public manners,and restrained the licence of the populace in sitting promiscuously with the knights in the theatre." (626)
The evidence which we have of the composition of Athenian audiences in the Greek theatre renders it highly probable that a Roman theatre audience was similarly composed.
Thus we know from Plato that tragedy is a kind of rhetoric addressed to "boys,women and men,slaves and free citizens without distinction." (627)
In another passage he declares that if there was a general exhibition of all kinds of public amusements,and the audience were called upon to state what they were most pleased with,the"little children would

vote for the conjuror, the boys for the comic poet, the young men and the more refined sort of women for the tragic poet." (628)

There are, too, several passages in Aristophanes where women and boys are mentioned as forming part of the audience. (629)

An interesting side-light is thrown upon the character of at least one of the audience which was present at a performance of the "Capt--ivi" by the speaker of the Prologue, who, during his explanation of the play that is about to be presented, asks whether the audience is understanding him. Upon one man at the back replying "No!", the actor tells him to come nearer, as he has no intention of bursting himself for his sake (ego me tua causa, ne erres, non rupturus sum)! (630)

It must be remembered that performances in the theatre were originally connected with religious celebrations (631), and therefore the population of a widely-scattered district would make a special point of attending the festivals and the dramatic performances connected with them.

That the theatre held a great attraction for the people is evident from Varro, who tells us that the Roman people were more actively em--ployed (manus movere) in the theatre and circus than in the corn--fields and vine-yards. (632)

Then, as now, special attractions drew an extra large crowd of people, so that when Nero himself was advertised to appear personally on the stage at Naples the theatre there was filled with people collected from the small towns, and from the neighbouring colonies and munici--palities, together with the emperor's own attendants, and bands of soldiers. (633)

Sometimes a special favour was shown to distinguished visitors by inviting them to occupy the senators' seats in the theatre.

When this courtesy was omitted on the occasion of the visit of two Frisian kings, who came to Rome in A.D.58 to see Nero, the visitors claimed the privilege for themselves!

Thus Tacitus tells the story that, whilst waiting to see Nero, they were taken to the theatre of Pompeius to see the vast multitude of people. They were inquiring about the public seats and the various distinctions of rank, asking where the Senators sat, and where the knights, when they noticed some persons in foreign dress sitting in the senatorial seats. On asking who these persons were, and being informed that that privilege was accorded to the envoys of nations conspicuous for their valour, or for their friendship towards Rome, they remarked that "No nation on earth was braver or more loyal than the Germans", and straightway they marched down and took their seats among the Senators, greatly to the delight of the spectators. (634)

Nor was it only the wealthy or persons of distinction who were fav-oured with special seats, for we read that the household of the Helii (Heliorum familia), although not wealthy, was held in great estimation by the Romans. Sixteen of them at one time dwelt together in the same house in unity and concord. For their singular prowess and worthy acts they were allowed by the Senate and people of Rome a special place by themselves in the theatres. (635)

On the occasion of the visit to Rome of Tiridates, king of Armenia, Nero entertained him lavishly, and in the theatre seated him at his right hand. (636)

Although various classes of spectators had their own places in the theatre reserved for them, it would seem that originally no special seat was allotted to an individual. This, however, led to disturbances, and the authorities in charge of the proceedings decided to issue in advance tickets (tesserae) for individual seats. (637)

In the Greek theatre the tickets appear to have generally consisted of small bronze or leaden discs stamped with some theatrical emblem. The leaden discs could easily be renewed and stamped afresh for the different festivals. Many of them have been discovered in modern times both in Attica and elsewhere,and date from the 5th.century B.C. down to the Christian era.

In addition to these bronze and leaden discs,certain tickets made of ivory or bone have also been found,but only in Graeco-Roman districts. It is probable,then,that these ivory or bone tickets were used in the Roman theatres.

On the face of these "tesserae" was a representation of a mythical or historical personage,or an emblem; whilst on the reverse was a name, nearly always in Greek characters,descriptive of the figure or emblem, together with a number in Greek and Latin. (638)

The numbers never rise higher than fifteen,and cannot therefore refer to the individual seats in the different rows. Probably both the num--bers and the emblems denote particular blocks of seats (cunei).

In the Greek theatre,e.g.at Syracuse,certain blocks of seats were called after the names of gods and princes,such as Hieron,Zeus and Hercules. Similarly in the Roman theatre,Germanicus gave his name to a particular block. (639)

Roman theatre tickets,in the form of ivory discs carved in relief, have been found in recent years in a well-preserved state in the tombs of the ancient Roman city of Jader,near the modern Zara,situated in Dalmatia on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

These tickets bear on one side the seat number,and on the other side carved reliefs,usually figures of Cupid in various attitudes,such as playing,running,or sounding a lyre.

Jader was first occupied by the Romans after the Dalmatian campaigns in the last two centuries B.C.. It attained the dignity of an urban constitution under the emperor Augustus (B.C.27-I4 A.D.),who caused it to be surrounded with walls. It was probably at that time that the forum at Jader was established,and other public buildings and temples erected in the vicinity. (640)

To see that the people took their proper places,officials known as "dissignatores" were appointed. (64I)
Two freedmen,Leitus and Oceanus,who held this post under Domitian, are referred to by Martial. (642) They appear to have been a ter--ror to those who tried to take better places than those to which they were entitled!
But on one occasion,at least,confusion was deliberately brought about by the issue of tickets sooner than usual,so that the seats assigned to the knights might be all occupied by the mob! (643)

The religious character of the scenic representations,and,later,the presence of the Emperor and officials,required a certain decorum in the dress of those attending.
Thus we find that the citizens wore the white toga,and the magist--rates,priests,senators and knights were all dressed in the garments suitable to their dignity or rank. (644)
Cloaks could be worn by members of the equestrian order,but were discarded on the entry of the emperor. (645)
As a mark of honour to Pompey on his triumphant return to Rome in 6I B.C.,the tribunes of the people got a law passed that he might wear a purple-bordered robe and a laurel crown at exhibitions on the stage;but in his modesty he only once made use of this privilege. (646)

From the time of Naevius (B.C.264-I94) there is evidence of the ex-
-pression of approval or disapproval by the audience in the Roman theatre. (647)

At the end of a play applause was invited either by a single actor, as in most of the plays of Plautus and in all of Terence's,(648); or by the whole company (grex,caterva). (649)

The phrases used for this purpose all seem to be variations of a recognized formula. Thus in Plautus we have "clare plaudite","plaus-
-um si clarum datis","clare adplaudare","plausum date",or simply "plaudite": whilst in Terence "vos valete,et plaudite" is used in three of the plays,and "plaudite" alone in the other three plays.

As early as the time of Plautus arrangements were occasionally made for applause to be given to a particular actor,so that "inspectors" (conquaestores) were appointed to go from seat to seat throughout the house (per totam caveam),and if they discovered any "claqueurs"(favit-
-ores delegatos) they were to take possession of their togas as a security (pignus).

Sometimes,apparently,the actors themselves arranged for supporters to applaud them,and the inspectors were instructed to take note of this, too,so that the culprit should be punished by having his player's costume (ornamenta) cut to shreds,also his hide (corium). (650)

Approval was shown by the audience clapping their hands, (65I);or cheering (652);and by calls for the repetition of certain lines which specially pleased them.

In Cicero's time (B.C.I06-43) the public was keen to detect any fault of time or rhythm in delivery and gesture,and showed their disapproval when necessary by hisses,stamping and outcry. (653)

And Horace tells us that if the actor's words are incongruous with the part he is taking,then the Roman knights and the plebeians will raise a jeering laugh. (654)

When Nero made his first public appearance in the theatre at Naples he chose young men of the equestrian order,and above five thousand robust young fellows from the common people,on purpose to learn vari--ous kinds of applause (plausuum genera) called "bombi" (from the humming of bees),"imbrices" (from the rattling of rain or hail on the roof),and "testae" (from the clashing together of tiles.). These they were to practise in his favour whenever he performed. The members of these bands were remarkable for their fine heads of hair,and were very well dressed,with rings upon their left hands. The leaders had salar--ies of 40,000 sesterces. (655)

Tacitus,also,mentions that a body of Roman knights called "Augustani" were enrolled (conscripti sunt) - men in the prime of life and remark--able for their bodily vigour,who were occupied by day and night in applauding Nero as loudly as they could,applying to him and to his voice terms appropriate to the gods (deum vocabulis). (656)

Besides these professional applauders of Nero's theatrical perform--ances,the people of Rome also applauded him from one end of the theatre to the other,"in measured time"(certis modis),and"with a set form of clapping" (plausu composito). But those who had come from the country districts and distant provinces to these quinquennial games did not relish the performance and refrained from applauding,so that in consequence they were often struck by the soldiers who were station--ed in different parts of the benches (per cuneos stabant). (657)

When the total population of Rome is taken into account,perhaps about I,200,000 in the age of Augustus (B.C.27-I4 A.D.) (658),it is not

surprising to find Roman writers referring to the audience in the theatre as "crowded" (659);and the preservation of order amongst a gathering of about 80,000 persons (660),crowded together in a com-
-paratively small space (66I),must have been a matter of some diffi-
-culty and anxiety to the authorities.

In the Greek theatres certain officers called "staff-bearers" were stationed in the theatre for this purpose (662),and it is reasonable to suppose that a similar arrangement obtained in the Roman theatres. From Tacitus it appears that the praetors had power to punish the in-
-temperate conduct of the spectators (spectantium immodestiam) with exile (663); while from Horace we know that the spectators were some-
-times "drunk and disorderly" (potus et exlex)! (664)

To avoid disturbance during the performance of "Pseudolus",Plautus warns his audience that they are about to listen to a long play,and advises the hungry ones amongst them to go away and let their places be taken by those who have already eaten,for otherwise the hungry ones will only carp at the play. (665)

On the other hand it seems that sometimes the audience was sleepy, for in "Mercator" Charinus tells Acanthio to talk quietly,and the latter asks whether he is afraid of waking the audience! (666) (667)

VII. Circumstances of Performance.

Scenic performances were definitely added to the Ludi Romani (or Magni (668)) (held in September) in B.C.240, when Livius Andronicus' first play was given. At that time there was probably only one day for plays, but by B.C.214 the"ludi scaenici" lasted for four days. (669)

The curule aediles were, in the republican period, responsible for the management of these plays.

It was at these"ludi" that the Exhibitions by the Etruscan players (ludiones) were given in B.C.364. (670) Later, in B.C.161 the "Phormio" of Terence was presented and in the following year the "Hecyra."

The Ludi Florales date back to B.C.238 when a temple was erected to the goddess Flora in the Circus Maximus, and a theatrical festival instituted in accordance with the command of an oracle in the Sybilline books to obtain from the goddess the protection of the blossoms. (671)

From B.C.173 the festival was held annually, lasting six days from April 28th to May 3rd. (672)

On the first five days of the games, for the superintendence of which the curule aediles were responsible, there were theatrical performances largely consisting of coarse farces (mimi).

The Ludi Plebeii (held in November), first regularly instituted in B.C.220, included at least one day for dramatic performances, since Plautus' "Stichus" was staged at this festival in B.C.200. (673)

These "ludi" were held in the Circus Flaminius under the direction of the plebeian aediles.
Livy records that ludi scaenici were instituted in B.C.214 by the aedile Tuditonus who through his bravery had escaped the slaughter at Cannae. (674)
The Ludi Apollinares (held in July) were instituted in B.C. 212 in accordance with the advice of the Carmina Marciana, confirmed by the Sibylline books. (675)
In B.C.208 when a pestilence attacked Rome and the surrounding country, the praetor urbanus P.Licinius Varus proposed that a vow should be made to perform these games on a stated day in perpetuity. (676)
No scenic play is recorded in connection with these games earlier than the "Thyestes" of Iunius in B.C.169. (677)
When Brutus was praetor urbanus, and therefore responsible for the games, he invited Cicero to grace them with his presence. Cicero declined this invitation, but in writing to Atticus he expressed his hope that the games would go off alright and begged to be kept informed of their progrees.
One of the plays performed at this time was "Terens" a tragedy of Accius, which was much applauded by the people. (678)
It was, too, at the Apollinarian games that the actor Diphilus attacked Pompeius for his treatment of the people. This pleased the audience so much that they applauded vociferously and made the actor repeat the lines again and again. (679)
The Ludi Megalenses (held in April) (680) date from B.C.204, when they were organized in honour of the Magna Mater of Monnt Ida

Cybele, whose worship was introduced from Phrygia, and was the first of the oriental cults to be established in Rome. Theatrical entertainments were first introduced into the Megalesian games by the curule aediles Caius Atilius Serranus and Lucius Scribonius in the year B.C.198. (681)
The "Pseudolus" of Plautus, and three of Terence's plays were performed at the Megalesia. (682)
For the Ludi Ceriales (in April) instituted in B.C.202 there is no dramatic tradition before the Empire (683), and they may not have been more than circensian until the time of Augustus. Like the "ludi plebeii" this was a festival of the lower orders, Ceres being the goddess who looked after the "plebs". White garments were supposed to be worn at this festival, robes of dark colour not being allowed. (684) These games were under the direction of the plebeian aediles until Julius Caesar created aediles Ceriales in B.C.46.
Before B.C.200 there is no definite evidence that there were more than four days on which the public games included ludi scaenici, although by B.C. 190 the number may have been increased to seven or eight. At the end of the Republic, however, there were seventy-six days annually appointed for festivals, of which fifty-five were occupied with "ludi scaenici". (685)
In the Calendar of Philocalus (686) there are marked one hundred and seventy five days for ludi, ten of which are gladiatorial, sixty-four circensian, and one hundred and one scenic.
There remain to be mentioned the "Ludi Saeculares". This festival

was initiated in B.C.249 during the first Punic war, and was connected with the propitiation of the realm of Shades, the centre of the ceremony being an altar of Dis in the Campus Martius. The State vowed to repeat this celebration every hundred years. (687) Horaces's "Carmen Saeculare" was sung at this festival in B.C.17. Dramatic performances were held on a temporary wooden stage; these were called "Ludi Latini" and probably consisted of fabulae praetextae and togatae. Perhaps Atellan plays and mimes were also performed. (688) Augustus issued strict regulations in connection with the "ludi saeculares" held in his reign. (689)

It seems that there was a"close season" for the "ludi" during the cold winter months, that is from the plebeian games at the end of November until the Megalesian games at the beginning of April. (690)

Besides these annual festivals (sollemnes) there were "ludi extraordinarii" at which scenic performances were given. These were public games given at Rome by State officials in performance of a vow, or to appease the divine wrath when calamity had befallen, or at the dedication of a temple or public building. (691)

Such also were the triumphal games with which a victorious general celebrated his victories and returned thanks to the gods. (692)

Of a like character were the "ludi"Capitolini", celebrated as an act of thanksgiving to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, after the departure of the Gauls from Rome. (693)

From the circumstances in which they were undertaken such games are frequently called "ludi votivi".

Ludi extraordinarii, so far as they were voted by the Senate, were exhibited by the consuls. There were also "ludi privati" given by men of wealth (694) and especially by the Emperors, on special occasions. Of these the "ludi funebres" were the most important. (695)

The "ludi privati" were organised and managed by the givers, but the aediles exercised a general supervision.

An interesting point in connection with the presentation of the "ludi" is that if there occurred any kind of irregularity, or interruption, or accident, the games were held to be not duly performed (non rite facti) and had to be repeated lest the deities should be offended. This was termed "instauratio". (696)

Since the "ludi" were originally public religious ceremonies, the State undertook to provide the necessary funds (except in the case of the "ludi privati.")

This it did by handing over to the magistrates responsible for the games the money which they required.

This money was known as "lucar" perhaps because it was obtained from the revenues of the sacred groves (luci) near Rome. (697)

Up to B.C.200 the Senate voted in each case a sum fixed beforehand (pecunia certa). Thus 200,000 sesterces was at first voted for the Ludi Romani, but at the close of the third century B.C. the expenses of the games had so increased that the State vote in B.C.217 was 330,000 sesterces, and in B.C.54 it reached 760,000 sesterces. (698)

It was the duty of the praetor, aedile or other magistrate in charge of the games to use part of this money for the production and staging of scenic plays, and to pay the manager who bought the play from the poet and contracted with the actors.

From B.C.200 the Senate began to decree games without fixing in advance the sum to be allowed (pecunia incerta).

This innovation led to grave abuses, for the magistrates, and especially the aediles, desirous of pleasing the people and anxious to surpass the magnificence of their predecessors, contracted enormous debts for the liquidation of which they relied on the generosity of their friends, or on public subscriptions, or the emoluments of public offices which they hoped to obtain t in the future. (679)

By the time of Tiberius (14-38A.D.) matters had reached such a state of extravagance that the Emperor took upon himself the reduction of the expenses of the plays and public spectacles. (680)

Originally all citizens had the right of being present at the "ludi", slaves and foreigners (except public guests) alone being excepted. Places of honour were,as we have seen, reserved for magistrates and priests, and this privilege was gradually extended to senators and knights.

Where payment was made it was not, properly speaking, for admission but for the privilege of not having to wait in a queue for admission. (681)

The magistrate whose duty it was to give the games employed an agent or "conductor" who undertook the production and hired and

paid the actors.

Each troupe of actors (grex, caterva) was under the direction of a manager (dominus gregis), generally a freedman, who was also known as "actor". (702) The Plautine "actor" T.Publilius Pellio, and the Terentian L.Ambivius Turpio, are well known. At first plays were bought outright from the poet (703) but later the payment to the poet depended on the success of the piece.

When a poet had written a play, his object was to get it accepted by the aediles as being "ludorum solennium curatores". (704)

It seems that when an unknown author applied to them, the aediles were accustomed to refer him to some well-known playwright, and avail themselves of this man's opinion. So Terence was referred to Caecilius Statius, and treated somewhat haughtily by him at first on account of his humble appearance and mean dress; but he was quickly welcomed when Statius discovered his ability. (705)

When the play had been chosen, and whilst the actors were learning and rehearsing it, and the choragus was making his preparations, an announcement was made regarding the circumstances of performance. (705a.)

A herald (praeco) proclaimed the date, the hour and the place, and gave some information about the play and the actors taking part. (706) It was also the duty of the herald to call for silence in the theatre during a performance (707), and to make announcements of public interest such as the granting of

liberty to a province. Thus the herald declared the liberty of Achaia, (the name given by the Romans to Greece as their province) at the quinquennial games in the theatre at Nemea, and this so pleased the people that they called on him to repeat the proclamation. (70 8)

Later, play-bills (programmata) were fixed to the walls of the theatre, giving, with other information, the order in which the plays were to be acted (ludorum ordinem) (78 9)

The custom of attaching posters to the door of the theatre to attract an audience by representing either the characters in the play or one of the most interesting scenes, is said to date from the second half of the first century B.C. (71 0)

Several such inscriptions have been discovered at Pompeii. The scented cooling waters (sparsiones) and the protective awnings (vela) are specially mentioned as attractions! (71 1)

At the beginning of each play, after the 'overture' had been played by the flute-player an announcement (pronuntiatio tituli) was made from the stage, giving the people particulars of what they were about to see and hear. (71 2)

Frequently, too, there was an appeal for a silent and orderly hearing- a not unnecessary precaution when audiences were so fickle that sometimes they would desert the theatre in a body if they knew that something more exciting was going on nearby.

Thus when Terence first presented the "Hecyra" (B.C.165) the audience got to hear of a boxing bout and an exhibition of rope-dancing, and at once streamed out of the theatre to see this new diversion.

The same thing happened a few years later when, after the first act, a rumour spread that gladiators were about to be exhibited. (71 3)

This restless spirit is indicated by Seneca who refers to the great number of people who move through city streets eager to see the spectacle in some new theatre. (71 4)

So far as was practicable in the circumstances, provision was made affording some protection to the audience from the heat of the sun and, doubtless, also from the rain. Lucretius refers to the "trembling and fluttering yellow and red and purple awnings (vela), outspread upon posts and beams (per malos trabesque) over a great theatre, and casting a reflection of their own colours upon the assembly in the great hollow (cavea) beneath, and all the display of the stage (omnem scaenai speciem) and the stately company of the fathers". (71 5)

Propertius, too, mentions the tossing veils (fluitantia vela) that spanned the crowded theatre. (71 6)

Suetonius tells us that one way in which Caligula displayed his overbearing treatment of the people was that he ordered the theatre curtains to be drawn back so that the audience would be exposed to the heat of the sun. (71 7)

The usual word for the awning was "vela" (71 8) but Juvenal uses the word "velaria" when he speaks of the awning into which the pegma whisked the boys. (71 9)

The performances of plays began at a very early hour of the morning, when the spectators were half-asleep (semisomni). (72 0) and they lasted all day; on some occasions, e.g. the ludi

saeculares, the plays went on during the night by the light of blazing torches. (791)

St.Augustine refers to the presentation of plays extending over ten days in order to pacify the gods when the state was in grave danger (perhaps in B.C.63, the year of the second Catiline conspiracy, when Cicero was a consul.) (792)

The same writer also says that such was the excessive love of stage-plays among the Romans, that when Rome was sacked those who fled to Carthage struggled madly for the actors every day in the theatres. (793)

In a large mixed assembly of people, such as the theatre audiences, there were bound to be "incidents" of various kinds. A pleasant incident was the tumultuous reception given by the audience to Maecenas when he entered the theatre of Pompeius after recovering from a dangerous illness. (794)

Another incident of this kind occurred in May B.C.47 when the Senate passed a resolution (which finally became law on August 4th) repealing the decree of banishment of Marcus Tullius Cicero. The news caused great joy in Rome. Accius' drama of "Telamon" was being acted at the time, and the audience applauded each senator as he entered the Senate, and rose from their places to greet the consul as he came in. But the enthusiasm rose to its height when the actor who was playing the part of Telamon (whose banishment from his country formed part of the action of the drama) declaimed with significant emphasis the following lines:-

"What! he- the man who still with steadfast heart

Strove for his country, who in perilous days
Spared neither life nor fortune, and bestowed
Most help when most she needed; who surpassed
In wit all other men. Father of gods,
His house- yea, his! - I saw devoured by fire;
And ye, ungrateful, foolish without thought
Of all wherein he served you, could endure
To see him banished; yea and to this hour
Suffer that he prolong an exile's day." (725)

Of another kind was the incident which occurred when Octavius was present in the theatre , and a soldier , not finding his own seat, took one in the place reserved for the knights. The people pointed him out and Octavius had him removed. The soldiers were angry and gathered round Octavius as he was leaving the theatre, and demanded their comrade, who they thought had been put to death. When he was produced they thought he had been brought from prison. On his denial of this, they said that he had been told to tell a lie, and reproached him for betraying their common interests. Such was the example of the soldiers' insolence in the theatre. (726)

Tacitus mentions that the games in honour of Augustus in A.D.14 were embroiled by dissension arising out of the performance of pantomimes, (727) and in the following year the theatrical riots (theatri licentia) broke out with fresh violence. Several lives were lost in these disturbances, not only of the people, but also of the soldiers, including a centurion; whilst a tribune of a praetorian cohort was wounded in the attempt to restore order and protect the magistrates from insults.

In a discussion in the Senate it was proposed that the praetors should have power to have actors flogged, but this proposal was vetoed by Haterius Agrippa, a tribune of the people, for which he

was sharply rebuked by Asinius Gallus. Tiberius was silent, well pleased that the Senate should have this semblance of liberty. The veto prevailed, however, for the deified Augustus, whose decisions were sacred to Tiberius, had formerly given his judgment that"players were exempt from stripes." (708) Several decrees were passed to limit the salaries of actors,(709) and to check the excesses of their partisans. Of these the most notable were,that Senators should not be permitted to enter the houses of pantomime players, nor Roman knights to escort them when they went abroad; that performances should be held only in the theatre; and that praetors should have the power of punishing with exile any misbehaviour on the part of the spectators. (710)

Tiberius suppressed with great severity all tumults of the people on their first breaking out, and also took every precaution to prevent them, When, therefore, some persons were killed in a quarrel in the theatre, he banished the leaders of the parties, and the players about whom the disturbance had arisen; nor could all the entreaties of the people afterwards prevail upon him to recall them. (711)

On the other hand it was one of Caligula's whims to provoke disturbances between the people and the knights, when stage-plays were acted, by distributing the money tickets sooner than usual, so that the seats assigned to the knights might be all occupied by the mob. (712)

In A.D.55 the praetorian cohort, which was usually present at the public spectacles (ludis) was withdrawn, so that a

greater show of freedom might be displayed, and that the soldiers might not become demoralized through mixing with the licentiousness of the theatre, as well as to test the people to see whether, with the guard removed, they would maintain their good behaviour. (713)

This experiment, however, did not last long, for the soldiers had to be replaced in the theatre early in the following year. For this the people themselves were not entirely to blame, because Nero deliberately evoked theatrical disturbances and stirred up contests between the partisans of players, himself looking on, sometimes from a concealed position, but more frequently exposed to view. When, therefore, the people were torn with dissensions, and more serious commotions were apprehended, the only remedy that could be devised was to banish the players from Italy, and again guard the theatre with troops. (714)

In A.D. 60, Tacitus tells us, the pantomimic actors were again allowed upon the stage,following their banishment four years earlier. (715)

During Nero's reign (A.D.54-68), a great impetus was given to performances in the theatre by Nero himself taking part, and by the extravagant scenes which he encouraged.

In the games which he instituted, and ordered to be called "Maximi", many of the senatorian and equestrian order, of both sexes, performed.

On one occasion a distinguished Roman knight, mounted on an elephant, descended on the stage by a rope.

A Roman play composed by Afranius (c.140B.C.), was brought upon the stage, entitled "The Fire", and in it the performers were allowed to carry off, and keep for themselves, the furniture of the house, which, as the plot of the play required, was burnt down inthe theatre. (736)
When, however, a difficult situation arose on account of the liberties taken, he banished both the partisans of the theatrical performers and also the actors themselves. (737)
In A.D.64 whilst Rome was in flames, Nero is said to have gone on to the stage of his private theatre (domesticam scaenam) and sung "The Destruction of Troy" in the tragic dress which he used on the stage, comparing the present disaster with that of ancient times. (738)
When popular feeling was roused by resentment at the action of an official, the crowd in the theatre was not slow to show it. So when Titius , the slayer of Pompey, was celebrating games in the theatre, he was driven out from the exhibition, which he himself had given, by the execrations of the people- so stong was the detestation which he had incurred by such a deed. (739)
An amusing incident is that recorded by Phaedrus (740) of a certain flute -player named Princeps. This man, who was well known as being accustomed to accompany the pantomimus Bathyllus with his music met with an accident on the stage whilst the pēgma was being whirled along. He was picked up and carried to his house, where he had to lie up for some time.
When he was getting better, and able to walk about a little, he was prevailed upon by a certain nobleman, who was about to

exhibit a show, to make an appearance on the day of the show.

When the day came a rumour about the flute-player spread through the theatre. Some said that he was dead, others that he would shortly make his appearance.

At the hour of performance the stage-curtain fell, the thunders rolled and the gods conversed in the usual form. Then the chorus struck up a song which was unknown to the flute-player who had been confined to his bed for so long. The burthen of this song happened to be "Rejoice Rome in security for your prince is well." (Laetare, incolumis Roma, salvo principe).

At these words allthe audience rose and applauded the Emperor. The flute-player, however, imagined that the words referred to himself, and that this was the way in which his friends were welcoming his re-appearance on the stage!

The equites perceived his misapprehension, and with loud laughter encored the song.

When, however, the bulk of the audience realised what had happened they threw the wretched flute-player out.

Music.

In Roman comedy, and especially in the plays of Plautus, solos and the declaiming of passages to musical accompaniment, both known as "cantica" had an important place.

A clear example occurs in the "Pseudolus" of Plautus. As he leaves the stage at the end of the second "act", Pseudolus remarks "Meanwhile the flute-player (tibicen) here will entertain you" (v.573 "Ps.").

In two of the MSS. of Plautus there are marks in the margin to discriminate the portions of the play which were spoken and the portions which were sung. The result shows that, while the rest of the play was sung, the iambic trimeters were always spoken.

The mark C (canticum) denotes the part which was sung; DV (diverbium) the part which was spoken. These marks are found on Cod. Vetus (B), and Cod. Decurtatus (C), and the plays in which they occur are - "Trinummus", "Poenulus", "Pseudolus", "Truculentus", and parts of others.

In general it may be said that, both in tragedy and comedy, song was substituted for speech in those scenes where the emotions were deeply roused and found their fittest expression in music.

The music required for a play was composed by a musician whose name is usually given in the Didascalia to the plays.

These musicians appear to have been slaves, no doubt specially trained. Thus Marcipor (slave) of Oppius composed for Plautus; Flaccus (slave) of Claudius for Terence.

The instrument chiefly used was the flute or pipe (tibia), or twin-pipes (tibiae). (741) It was made originally of bone (hence its name) sometimes of box-wood (742); frequently of reed (743).

Four kinds may be distinguished, i.e. tibiae pares, tibiae impares, tibiae sinistrae, tibiae duae dextrae. (744)

The player was called the "tibicen". (725)

From the last scene of the "Stichus" of Plautus it may be gathered the the "tibicines" were good company!

The flute-player wore a kind of bandage (capistrum) which was placed over the mouth,with perforation to take the mouth-piece of the flute, and passed round to the back of the head where it was fastened; some--times there was also a supporting band passing over the top of the head. (726)

There were also female flute-players (tibicinae),who were especially in demand for weddings and other festive occasions,and whose services could be hired in the market-place. (727)

Two of these music-girls are mentioned by name by Plautus (728),one being called Phrygia,and the other Eleusium. The appropriateness of the former name lies in the fact that the flute was originally intro--duced from Phrygia, (729), whilst the latter name is probably de--rived from Eleusis in Attica where the mysteries of Ceres were cele--brated.

"Tibiae dextrae" were probably low-pitched,bass flutes; whilst "tibiae sinistrae" were high-pitched,treble flutes. (730)

"Tibiae sarranae",or Phrygian flutes,- Sarra being an ancient name of Tyre - are said to have been "tibiae sinistrae". "Tibiae dextrae" are defined by Donatus as being Lydian. (731) But,on the other hand, Servius speaks of a dextra Phrygian flute as well as of a sinistra one. (732)

The treble flute was also called the "tibia incentiva",or pitch-setter, whilst the "tibia succentiva" played the accompaniment. (733)

According to Donatus (734) "tibiae pares" are either right or left; "tibiae impares" would therefore be a combination of a "tibia dextra"

and a "tibia sinistra".

When "tibiae pares" were used, the mood (Dorian, Lydian, Phrygian) did not vary throughout the play; but with "tibiae impares" there was a change of mood.

It seems certain that the kind of instrument employed was chosen to suit the character of the piece which it accompanied, and the audience knew, before the actual play began, what kind of piece was going to be performed (quam fabulam acturi scenici essent) from the character of the "overture". (755)

Thus, "dextrae" tibiae signified by their low tone a certain serious--ness in the play, whilst "sinistrae" tibiae indicated by their shrill tone a lighter type of play.

When both "dextrae" and "sinistrae" tibiae were used a mixture of gravity and levity was indicated. (756)

The "Adelphi" was played with two "dextrae" flutes "ob seriam gravit--atem". (757) The "Eunuchus" with a "dextra" and a "sinistra", "ob iocularia, multa permixta gravitate". (758) The "Heauton-timor--umenos" in the first part with two "tibiae impares", in the second part with two "dextrae" tibiae. (759)

The flute (tibia) was used for comedy, whist both it and the lyre (fides) were used in tragedy (760); harps were also used (761).

In later times the instruments became complex and the music effeminate Orchestral concerts were given in the theatres with large choirs, and there were recitations and instrumental solos on stringed and wind instruments. (762).

Pylades, in B.C.22, introduced a chorus instead of the single vocalist, and an orchestral accompaniment instead of a flute. Among the instru--ments used were flutes (tibiae); σύριγγες (Pan's pipes); cymbals (cym--bala); harps (citharae); and the lyre or small harp (lyra).

The "Chorus".

Before the death of Aristophanes (c.386 B.C.) the Chorus in comedy lost its dramatic character and much of its importance. (743)
In the earliest Roman drama the Chorus followed the Hellenic type, and took very little part in the action, appearing mostly between the "acts" of the play.
The comedies of Plautus and Terence contain no choruses, except for a brief appearance of a band of fishermen in the "Rudens" of Plautus. (744)
In tragedy, however, Ennius (B.C.239-I69) seems to have gone back to the earlier Attic drama, and to have influenced the restoration of the Chorus to that part in song and dance and action which it played in the drama of the 5th. century B.C..
A quotation from a chorus in Ennius's tragedy "Iphigenia" is given by Aulus Gellius (745) which shows that the sound philosophy and moralizing of the ancient Greek Chorus had a place also in the Roman drama.
The fragments of Ennius, Pacuvius (B.C.220-c.I30), and Accius (B.C. I70-84) show a connection of the chorus with the plot and some of the characters. But it seems indisputable that, from the beginnings of tragedy to the end, the rôle and importance of the Chorus steadily declined. This conclusion is confirmed by the tragedies of Seneca, in which not only are the lyrics frequently dissociated from their context (746), but the Chorus seems to be absent from the scene be-tween its recitations.
Sometimes the difficulty of finding motifs suitable for the role of the Chorus caused the playwrights to introduce a second chorus of a different type. Thus in Seneca's "Agamemnon" there is a Chorus of Mycenean women and another of Trojan captives.

Against this decline in the function of the Chorus Horace urges that the Chorus should diligently sustain the part and character of an actor, and not sing anything between the "acts" which is not conducive to, and coherent with, the main design of the play. (767)

TESTIMONY OF THE EARLY CHURCH CONCERNING THE ROMAN THEATRE.

Evidence of the attitude of the Early Church towards the theatre may form a fitting conclusion to a survey of the ancient Roman theatre and its drama.

Clement of Alexandria, writing in the last half of the 2nd. century A.D., admits that the stadium and the theatre are the principal seat of evils. (768)

Tertullian (c.I60-220 A.D.) complains particularly of the theatre as appealing to low sensual human passions. His views are expressed in the "De Spectaculis" and the "De Idololatria", which were both written c.I97 A.D.. He maintains that stage-plays are essentially idolatrous, as being elements of pagan worship, and that the Christian, who at baptism has renounced the devil and all his works, has thereby renounced idolatry; and that the sanction which a Christian, by his attendance at stage-plays, would afford to idolatry is virtually a denial of Jesus Christ. The theatre, although it is the "shrine of Venus" (sacrarium veneris), is nevertheless also the "abode of Liber" (Liberi domum) and "court of immodesty" (consistorium impudicitiae).

Tertullian sums up his objection to stage-plays for Christians in the

opening words of the Psalter,for in his eyes to frequent the theatre is to "walk in the counsel of the wicked and to stand in the way of sinners". (769)

There is nothing which so clearly shows the world that a man has be--come a Christian as his"repudiation of the shows" (repudium spect--aculorum).

Tertullian's imaginative picture of the Day of Judgment (770) in--cludes a mention of the tragic actors and players (histriones) who will then meet with a fitting end "per ignem"!

Tertullian's attitude towards "shows"(spectacula) is further express--ed in his "Apologeticus",where he says that Christians can have nothing to do with the "shamelessness of the theatre". (771)

In spite of Tertullian's stern denunciation of the theatre,he is obliged to admit that it has certain merits and good qualities,but these only serve to cloak the underlying evils. The devil,he says, knows how to hide his mortal poison under an attractive and pleasing appearance! (772)

Another early Christian writer,Tatian - who became a convert to Christianity in Rome about the year I50 A.D. - also expresses criti--cism of the theatre and its spectacles. (773)

Minucius Felix,writing in the 2nd.century A.D.,condemns the licent--iousness of the plays which allow adultery"not only to be played but displayed" by effeminate actors. He censures the wild passion in the stage-plays in which every detail is acted,thus bringing disgrace on the gods,and complains of the demoralising effect on the audience which is moved to tears "for feigned sufferings" (simulatis doloribus) by "unreal nods and gestures" (vanis gestibus et nutibus). (774)

Cyprian (c.200-265 A.D.),Bishop of Carthage,who died a martyr's death,says in his denunciation of the spectacula that idolatry, which is condemned in Holy Scripture,is the mother of all plays (ludi),which he calls "monstrosities of vanity and levity"! To Euchratius,who had asked him if a stage-player might enjoy Christian communion,Cyprian wrote in reply that,in his opinion,so shameful and infamous an occupation was not in keeping with the Christian life. (775)

Lactantius,writing about 307 A.D.,says that Christians are bound to abstain from countenancing these "exhibitions of immorality and idolatry". If comedies,he says,are polluted by adultery and pro--stitution,so are tragedies by murder and incest; "cothurnata scelerata" he calls them. "The celebrations of the games are festivities of the gods". (776)

Hieronymus (St.Jerome),c.33I-420 A.D.,in a letter to Sabinius re--proaches him for having imagined crimes that "neither a mime could imitate,nor a buffoon play,nor an atellan actor recount".(777) Referring to the practice of introducing an actor at a banquet,the same writer says that modesty is with difficulty observed at feasts. (778)* St.Jerome and St.Augustine are at one in their condemnation of the evils of the theatre as they knew it. (779)

St.Augustine (c.354-430 A.D.) in writing of the first institution of stage-plays (scaenicorum ludorum) says that they were first instituted at Rome not by the corruptions of men,but by the direct commands of their gods,who commanded stage-plays to be presented in their own honour for the assuaging of a pestilence. (780)

Nasica opposed the erection of a theatre at Rome on moral grounds, and St.Augustine remarks with approval with what zeal Nasica would

have cleansed the city of Rome of stage-plays (ludos scaenicos) if he had dared. He says that the gods for the assuaging of infection of a bodily pestilence commanded stage-p;ays to be enacted in their honour,but the priest (pontifex) for avoiding pestilence of the mind forbade any stage to be built (scaenam constitui prohibebat). (781) Almost alone among the Fathers,St.Augustine seems to make some dis--tinction between the gross indecency of the mimes and the classical irama of an earlier age,approving the study of the latter for educat--ional purposes. (782) In St.Augustine's opinion the best kinds (tolerabilia) of stage-plays are tragedy and comedy,being poetical fables made to be acted at the public shows (in spectaculis). In these,he says,that notwithstanding some undesirable features of the acting,there was nothing in the words to which exception could be taken.

The opinion of the ancient Romans on this point is recorded by Cicero in his books "De Republica". (783)

The Romans,although they allowed their poets liberty regarding their references to the gods,nevertheless would not have the good names/ and manners of their citizens liable to the "quips and censures of the poets"(probris et iniuriis poetarum),but put to death any who dared to offend in that way. (784)

The chapters in St.Augustine's great work which exhibit the immorality of stage-plays in most detail are the forth to the fourteenth of Book II. One further extract will suffice.

(St.Augustine is speaking with first-hand knowledge,for he tells us in chapter 4 that he himself went as a youth to view these spectacles). He says that the beastliness of obscene speeches and actions which (785) the players acted in public,before the mother of all the gods,and in

the sight and hearing of a large multitude of both sexes,the players would be ashamed to act at home in private before their own mothers (coram matribus suis agere puderet). (786)

Another testimony of the Church is that of Gennadius,who,writing in the 4th.or 5th.century A.D.,says that no-one who had been a stage--player (qui ... in scena lusisse dinoscitur) could be admitted to Holy Orders. (787)

From time to time the Councils of the Church framed laws dealing with members of the theatrical profession.

Thus we find the 62nd.Canon of the Council of Elvira,306 A.D.,enact--ing that a pantomimus who wishes to become a Christian must not be admitted to the Church until he has renounced his former acts,and that if he returns to them he must be excommunicated.

The 5th.Canon of the Synod of Arles,314 A.D.,proclaimed the excom--munication of all theatrical persons.

The 35th.Canon of the Third Council of Carthage,397 A.D.,allowed stage-players and actors to be admitted or reconciled to the Church on certain conditions. (788)

On the other hand,the "Apostolical Constitutions",a fourth century treatise on Christian discipline,worship and doctrine,decree that no-one associated in any way with the stage may be baptised; or,if after baptism they relapse,they are excommunicated. (789)

But there were stage-players of both sexes who,after renouncing the stage,won the crown of martyrdom,e.g.SS.Gelasius,Genesius,Margaret of Antioch,Pelagia. (790)

Orosius (born c.390 A.D.),a pupil of both St.Jerome and St.Augustine, blames the evils of the theatre as being in great part the cause of the decay of the Empire. (791)

The same attitude is taken in about the middle of the 5th.century A.D. by Salvian,who devotes nearly a whole book to the "spectacula". (792) Already in 400 A.D. St.Augustine had been able to say that the theatres were falling on every side. (793)

Fifty years later Salvian confirms this,and also gives the reason that it was not due to the strictness of the Christians,but because the barbarians,who despised "spectacula",had sacked most of the cities. He adds that at Rome a circus was still open,and a theatre at Ravenna, and that these were thronged by travellers from all quarters of the Empire. (794)

There must,however,have been a theatre still in existence at Rome as well,for Sidonius found it there when he visited the city in A.D.467. He was appointed prefect of the city,and in one of his letters ex-·presses a fear that,if the corn-supply should fail,the thunders of the theatre may fall upon his head. (795)

In a poem written a few years earlier he mentions mimes,pantomimes and acrobats as still flourishing at Narbonne. (796)

The latest notices of the stage in the West date from the 6th.century A.D.. They are contained in the "Variae" of Cassiodorus (c.480-c.575 A.D.),which is a collection of Imperial rescripts of considerable historical importance. (797)

An interesting point is contained in an Imperial rescript dated A.D. 500,in Rome,which includes Christmas,Epiphany and Easter as days on which the theatres must close.

A letter from Theodoric to an architect,dealing with the repair of Pompey's theatre,digresses into a sketch of the history of the drama. (798) A number of documents show that the rivalry of the theatre-factions was still as fierce as it had been in the time of Bathyllos and Py-lades. (799)

All these passages seem to belong to the period between 507 and 5II A.D. when Cassiodorus was quaestor and secretary to Theodoric at Rome.

One later letter,written about 533 A.D.,in the reign of Athalaric, shows that the desire of the people for "spectacula" is still being gratified by their Gothic rulers. (~~80~~)

In the East.

On the state of the theatre in the Eastern Empire the writings of St.Chrysostom (347-407 A.D.),Bishop of Constantinople from 397,give a large amount of detailed information. (~~80~~I)

More than a century after the death of St.Chrysostom (in 407 A.D.) the theatre was still receiving State recognition at Constantinople A regulation of Justinian (b.482.d.565 A.D.),who was Emperor from 527,specifying the stage-performances at the "Ludi" given by newly-

-elected consuls,m[illegible]he "Harlots"(pornas). (~~80~~2)

By this date the s[illegible] the theatrical profession had undergone considerable modification.

During the first half of the 6th.century A.D. a series of decrees removed the marriage disabilities which had hitherto been imposed on actresses,but with the condition that they should leave the stage. It was also made an offence to compel slaves or freed-women to per-

-form against their will. (~~80~~3)

It was not,however,until the ~~en~~ so-called Council"in Trullo" (~~80~~4) in 692 A.D. that plays were condemned altogether by the Church; clerics being threatened with degradation,and the laity with ex-

-communication,if they assisted at theatrical performances. (~~80~~5)

Beyond this the history of the stage in the East cannot be traced much further with any certainty. (~~80~~6)

NOTES.

NOTES.

(The numbers correspond with the numbers bracketed in the text.)

.. Marlian "Antiquae Romae Topographia", Milan 1534. Lib.VI.c.5.

!. Livy VII.2.

. Dionysius "Antiq.Rom." III.68. cf.Ovid "Ars Am." I.103-8.

. Livy XXXIV.44. cf.54. Valerius Maximus "Romae Antiquae Descr--iptio", II.iv.3.

. Livy XL.51.

. cf.Terence "Andria" 726.

, Marlian supra.

, Orosius "Historiae" IV.21.

Valerius Maximus II.iv.2.

). Velleius Paterculus I.xv.

. L.Florus "Epitomae Livii" XLVIII. Val.Max. supra note 9. Tacitus "Annales" XIV.20.

. St.Augustine "De Civitate Dei" I.xxxi.

. Appian "Bell.Civ." I.xxviii.

. Tertullian "De Spectaculis" X. "Apolog." VI.

, Pliny "Hist.Nat." XXXVI.cc.2.24. XXXIV.17.

Marlian VI.i.

Pliny "H.N." XXXVI.24. cf.Marlian supra.

Vitruvius "De Architectura" III.3.

Middleton "Remains of Ancient Rome"(1892)vol.II.pp.62.66-8.

Dio Cassius XXXIX.38. Plutarch "Pompey" 52. cf.Vell.Pat. XLVIII.

Aulus Gellius "Noctes Atticae" X.i.6-10.

Plutarch "Pompey" XLII.

Pliny "H.N."VIII.7.20.(dedicatione templi Veneris Victricis).

Tacitus "Annales" XIV.20.2.

5. Suetonius "Nero" XII.

6. Catullus LV.6. cf.Suetonius "Nero" XLVI.

7. Martial II.I4.9. III.I9.

8. H.B.Walters "The Art of the Romans", Methuen I9II. p.36.
Sandys "Companion to Latin Studies", Cambridge. 3rd.ed. 5I.
Middleton supra note I9. pp.I7-I9.

9. Appian "Rom.Hist." II.xvi.II5.

0. "Res Gestae" IV.20. and Summary 3. Mommsen C.I.L. vi.9404.

1. Suetonius "Augustus" XXXI.

2. Middleton supra note I9. p.67.

3. Aulus Gellius "N.A." X.

4. Tacitus "Annales" III.72. 4,5.

5. ibid. VI.45. 3.

6. cf.Suetonius "Tiberius" XLVII. Vell.Pat. CXXX.

7. Suetonius "Caligula" XXI.

8. ib. "Claudius" XXI.

9. ibid. XI.

0. ib. "Titus" VIII.

1. Middleton supra note I9. pp.6I-74.

2. Suetonius "Iulius Caesar" XLIV.

3. Pliny "H.N." VIII.65. cf.XXXVI.I6.

4. Suetonius "Augustus" XXIX.

5. "Ephemeris Epigraphica" VIII.222.sqq. (I892).

Regio IX.

Vide note 28. supra.

"res Gestae" Summary 2. and IV.2I.

Livy XL. 5I.

Suetonius "Vespasian" XIX.

I. Sandys "Companion to Latin Studies", 3rd.ed. Fig.55.

2. Suetonius "Augustus" XLV. (trina theatra).

3. ibid. XXIX. Pliny "H.N." XXXVI.I6.
Dio Cassius LIV.25.

4. Middleton (note I9 supra) has a full description of the theatres of Pompey,Marcellus and Balbus.

5. Josephus "Antiquities" XIX.I3.

6. Vitruvius "De Architectura",esp.Lib.V.

7. ibid. V.8.2. ita his praescriptionibus qui voluerit uti,emendatas efficiet theatrorum perfectiones.

8. ibid. V.9.

9. cf.Livy XL.5I.

10. Vitruvius supra V.6.4.

11. Martial XII.29.

12. Val.Max. II.iv.6. Pliny "H.N." XIX.vi.

13. Lucretius IV.75.sqq. ibid.

14. Pliny "H.N." XXXVI.24.

15. Dio Cassius XLIII.24.

16. cf.note 4 supra.

17. But cf.Festus "De Verb.Significatione" s.v."Orchestra".

18. Suetonius "Augustus" XLIV. "Claudius" XXI. "Nero" XII. XXVI.

19. Tacitus "Annales" IV.xvi.6.

Suetonius "Caligula" XVIII.

ib. "Augustus" XLIV. Cicero "Phil." II.I8.44.

cf.Horace "Odes" IV.9.6. non si priores Maeonius tenet sedes Homerus (the fig.borrowed from the rows of seats in the theatre).

ib. "Epodes" IV.I5.

Plautus "Amphit." prol.65. Suetonius passim. cf. cf.note I2

Ovid "Ars Am." I. I57-I62.

ibid. III.2.I9. I.I39. Quintilian XI.3.I33.

cf. Virgil "Georgics" II.381.

Vitruvius V.vi.2.

Suetonius "Iulius Caesar" XXXIX.

Vide ~~note~~ p.25 infra.

Pollux "Onomasticon" IV.132.

ibid.

ibid. IV.124.

Vide Flickinger "The Greek Theater",Chicago,3rd.ed.1926. p.100. cf.pp.72,74.
Part of the frieze still remains,with an inscription dedicating the work to the emperor Nero. The inscription is to be found in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum",ed.Köhler.III.158.
cf.also Cook "Zeus",Cambridge 1914,vol.I.pp.708sqq.,and Plate XL.

Donatus "De Comoedia" VIII.3.

Plautus "M.G." 410.

Seneca "Medea" 973.excelsa nostrae tecta conscendam domus:
and995.en ipsa tecti parte praecipiti imminet.
cf.Pollux "Onomasticon" IV.127.(the only place where the word occurs) "speaking-floor" or "speaking-place of divinities".

Vide Fig.17.in Allen "Stage Antiquities",Harrap 1927.

Vitruvius "De Architectura" V.6. cf.Pollux IV.124,126.

Demosthenes "Meidias" § 17.

Vitruvius supra.

cf.Plautus "Captivi" prol. 61. (comico choragio).

Vitruvius V.ix.

Livy I.33.

Marcus Vipsianus Agrippa,the son-in-law of Augustus,(Tacitus "Annales" IV.40),was consul in B.C.27.

The "porta decumana" was the main entrance of a Roman camp, placed furthest from the enemy and opposite the "porta praetoria". cf.Caesar B.G.II.24. III.25. VI.37.
It was termed "decumana" because the tenth cohort of each legion was encamped there.

cf.Livy I.35 fin.

An interesting account of the theatre at Ostia is given by

Dr.Calza in an illustrated booklet entitled "Il Teatro Romano di Ostia".(S.E.A. Roma.)

99. Suetonius "Tiberius" IV.

100. Vitruvius V.iii.

101. C.I.L. XII.714.

102. Communication aux antiquaires de France "Bulletin" 26 fevrier 1913.

103. Klipfell "Nouv.Rev.histor.de droit francais et etranger", 1878 p.171.

104. C.I.L. XIII. 1921.

105. ib. XII. 714. 697.

106. Vitruvius V.vi.

107 ib. V.ix.

108. The evidence is discussed by Dr. and Mrs.R.E.M.Wheeler in their Summary of the Verulamium excavations in 1933. (St.Albans and Herts.Architectural and Archaeological Society's Transactions 1933.)

109. Tacitus "Annales" XIV.33. cf.Caesar B.G.V.xi.xviii-xxii.

110. This and other measurements were taken "in situ" by the writer when visiting Verulamium in July 1935.

111. The point is discussed by Haigh in "The Attic Theatre", Oxford 1907. pp.109-110.

112. Aelian."Var.Hist." II.28.

113. Plutarch "Lycurg." 51.E. "Athen." 19.E. "Alciphron" III.20.

114. Philostrat. "Vit.Apoll." IV.22.

115. Dion Chrys. "Or." XXXI.p.386 (Dindorf).

116. Suetonius "Claudius" XXXIV.

117. cf.Vitruvius V.vi.4.

118. H.Mattingly in "The Journal of Roman Studies", vol.XI.pt.2. states that the Carausian coinage was the first certainly issued in Britain.

119. It seems probable that the theatre may have been the place of the martyrdom of St.Alban. Bede in his "Hist.Eccles.Brit. Lib.I.c.2.says of St.Alban "Cumque ad mortem duceretur pervenit ad flumen quod muro et arena,ubi feriendus erat, meatu rapidissimo dividebatur."

I20. cf.Tacitus "Agricola" XII. British oysters were favourites with Roman epicures.

I2I. Report on Verulamium by Dr.R.E.M.Wheeler printed in "J.R.S." vol;XXIV.pt.2.(I934) p.209.
See also Plates XV - XVIII.

I22. Several plans of Gallic theatres are contained in de Caumont "Abecedaire d'archeologie,Archit.gallo-romaine" (I870) pp.29I ff.

I23. A description of the theatre at Verulamium by Miss K.M.Kenyon is given in the St.Albans and Herts.Archit.& Archaeol. Society's Transactions I934. This volume contains also a ground-plan of the theatre by A.W.G.Lowther,and some excellent photographs. (With regard to the photographic reproductions it should be noted,however,that the descript--ive titles are not all quite accurate,e.g.Fig.3.which is described as "View from West" is in fact a view from the South-West; Fig.4.,which is described as being a "View from East",is actually a view from the North-west; and Fig.6.might more accurately be described as "Theatre from South-east." R.H.T.)
An account of excavation work at Verulamium nearly a century ago is given in "A Description of the Roman Thhatre of Verulam,"by R.Grove Lowe. Bell.London.I848.

I24. Suidas s.v. Πρατίνας .... συνέβη τὰ ἴκρια, ἐφ' ὧν ἑστηκεσαν οἱ θεαταί, πεσεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου θέατρον ᾠκοδομήθη Ἀθηναίοις.

I25. A ground-plan of the Athens Theatre,copied from that given in Dorpfeld and Reisch "Griech.Theater",is conveniently reproduced in Haigh "Attic Theatre", Oxford I907.3rd.ed. Fig.3.

I26. Pseudo-Plutarch "X Oratorum Vitae" 84I. & C.

I27. Vide Figg.I - 5 in Haigh supra. Some excellent photographs of the Athenian Theatre are in Flickinger (vide note84 supra).

I28. Evanthius "De Fabula" I.i.initium tragoediae et comoediae a rebus divinis inchoatum.

I29. Ovid "Fasti" III.524-542.

I30. "De Lingua Latina" VI.xvi.
30 a. "Flamen" = "the kindler", his duty being to supervise the ceremonies connected with the burnt sacrifices. Mommsen I. pp. 168-9.
I3I. "Georgics" II.380-396.
cf. Livy V.52. Tacitus "An." III.58. Suet: "Caes." I. Ovid "Fasti" II.282. etc.

32. Tibullus II.i.50-56. cf.I.i.I9.

I33. "Epp."II.i.I39 sqq.
I45-6. Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

I34. Festus s.v."Fescennini versus"- Fescennini versus,qui cana-
-bantur in nuptiis,ex urbe Fescennia dicuntur allati,sive
ideo dicti,quia fascinum putabantur arcere.
Servius ad Aeneid.VII.695.- Fescennium oppidum est ubi nupti-
-alia inventa sunt carmina.

I35. cf.Servius ad Georg:II.385.- Carmina saturnio versu metro compta
ad rhythmum solum componere vulgares consueverunt.

I36. Horace "Sat:" I.vii.32. Some details of the "Versus Saturnius
are given in Joachim "Roman Literature" p.2.

I37. Livy VII.ii.7.

I38. Horace "Ep." II.i.I52-5.tr.Conington.

I39. "XII Tabulae" VIII.i.

I40. cf.Catullus LXI.I22.- ne diu taceat procax fescennina locutio.
Seneca "Medea" II3.- festa dicax fundat convicia fescennin-
-us,solvat turba iocos.

I4I. Livy supra.
cf.Val:Max:II.iv.4.- paulatim deinde ludicra ars ad saturarum
I42. modos perrepsit.
For the derivation of the name vide Diomed."Gram.Lat."III.(Keil
I.485.)

I42. Livy VII.iii.i.

I43. cf.Ovid "Ars Am."I.iii.- Dumque rudem praebente modum tibicine
Tusco,Ludius aequato ter pede pulsat humum.

I44. Livy VII.ii.8,9. cf.Quintil.V.x.9.- fabulae ad actus scen-
-arum compositae argumenta dicuntur.

I45. ibid. ||.

I46. The only texts which have preserved for us an account of the
origins of Roman comedy are those of Livy Vii.ii.(of which
a summary has been given here),and Valerius Maximus II.iv.

I47. cf.Varro in Nonius 27.- Socrates ... in exodio vitae; vitae cur-
-sum ... ab origine ad exodium adductae; ut ad exodium ducas

I48. Schol.Juv.III.I74-5.(tandemque redit ad pulpita notum exodium)
exodiarius apud veteres in fine ludorum intrabat,qui ridic-
-ulus foret,ut quidquid lacrimarum atque tristitiae,quae
exissent ex tragicis affectibus,huius spectaculi risus de-
-tergeret.

I49. Livy VII.ii.8.

I50. Cicero "Brutus" XVIII.- Livius qui primus fabulam --- docuit anno post Romam conditam quarto decimo et quingentesimo

I50 a. Merry "Selected Fragments of Roman Poetry",Oxford I898.pp.7-I3.

I5I. Horace "Epp." II.i.69-75.

I52. "Brutus" XVIII.

I52 a. Horace "Epp."II.i.I62 sqq.

I53. The question is discussed in Leo's article in "Hermes",I904. XXXIX.63.

I54. "De Comoedia"V.i-5.

I55. Cicero "De Republica" IV.xi.

I56. G.L. III.488. (Keil I.)

I57. cf.Plautus "Amphitruo" prol.5I-63.

I58. "De Fabula" IV.2.

I59. e.g.in Donatus "De Comoedia".

I60. cf.Donatus,Terence "Adel." prol.7.

I6I. cf.Diomede III.489-490.

I62. "Controv:" IX.xxvi.I3.

I63. Diomede III.489. Evanthius "De Fab."IV.i. Donatus "De Com." VI.5. Lydus "De Magist." I.40.

I64. Donatus "De Com."VI.5.

I65. Diomede supra. Evanthius supra. Festus s.v.togata.

I66. Diomede supra. Evanthius supra.

I67. Evanthius supra.

I68. cf.Neukirch "De fabula togata Romanorum" p.I5.
Munck "De fabulis atellanis",Leipzig I840.p.84.

I69. Diomede III.490. Donatus VI.2.

I70. Tacitus "Annales" III.ii.2. Persius III.29.

I7I. Suetonius "De Gramm." XXI.

I72. cf.Suet."Tib."XLV.Atellanicum exodium.
Juvenal VI.7I.exodium Atellanae.

I73. "Gramm.Lat." I.(Keil)490.-tertia species est fabularum Latin-
-arum quae a civitate Atella,in qua primum coeptae,
Atellanae dictae sunt,argumentis dictisque iocularibus
similes Satyricis fabulis Graecis.

I74. "De Fabula" IV.i.- Attellanas,a civitate Campaniae,ubi actitat-
-ae sunt plurimae.

I75. Livy VII.ii.- genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum.

I76. Val.Max. II.iv.

I77. Cicero "Ad Fam." VII.i.

I78. Tacitus "Annales" IV.xiv.4.

I79. Ribbeck "Comic.Frag." 503.

I80. Livy VII.ii.11.

I7I. Diomede I.(Keil)490.

I82. ibid. 488.- in Atellana Oscae personae inducuntur,
ut maccus.

I83. Aristophanes "Knights" 62.

I84. "Onomasticon" II.2.

I85. Vide Plates in Ficoroni "Le maschere sceniche"IX.2,3.

I86. ibid. Pl.XXIV.8. LIII.4. LVI.i.
cf.Plautus "Bacch." V.i.2.

I87. cf.Pollux IV.I42-4.

I88. Ficoroni supra Pl.XIII.2. XXVII.2. XXVIII.i,2. XXXII. XXXVI.

I89. C.I.L. I.430. V.2256. Pliny "N.H." XIV.92.

I90. Horace "Epp."II.i.I73.- Quantus sit Dossennus in edacibus para-
-sitis",which Conington renders "How farcical his [illegible]
[illegible] (gluttonous) parasites."

I9I. Seneca "Ep."LXXXIX.7.- hoc verbo (σοφία)Romani quoque ute-
-batur sicut philosophia nunc quoque utuntur. Quod et tog-
-atae tibi antiquae probabunt et inscriptus Dossenni monu-
-mento titulus "Hospes resiste et sophiam Dossenni lege."
cf.Merry "Fragments of Roman Poetry" p.I94.(XXVI).

I92. cf.Nonnus s.v.Sannio.

I93. cf.Horace "Satires" I.v.52,65.

I94. Horace "Ars Poetica" 340.- neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum ex-
-trahat alvo.

I95. s.Cicero "Div.in Caec." XV.48.

I96. Macrobius I.IO.3.- Novius,Atellanarum probatissimus scriptor.
VI. 9.4.- Pomponius,egregius Atellanarum poeta.
Hieron.ad Euseb.Chron.ad a.Abr.I928.-L.Pomponius Bononiensis, Atellanarum scriptor,clarus habetur.

I97. cf.Cicero "De Orat." II.255,279,285.

I98. Juvenal VI.7I.- Urbicus exodio risum movet Atellanae Gestibus Antonoës.

I99. Aulus Gellius "N.A." XVI.vi. XVIII.vi. XV.xiii. XVII.ii.
cf.Merry "Fragments" pp.I87-I95.

200. Suetonius "Tiberius" XLV. "Nero"XXXIX. "Domitian"X."Caligula" XXVII."Galba"XIII.

20I. ibid. "Nero"XXXIX. Tacitus "Annales"IV.xiv.

202. ibid. "Caligula"XXVII.

203. Seneca "De Tranq.Anim."XI. "Consol.ad Marciam"XI. "Epp."VIII, XCIV. CVIII.
Seneca(Rhetor) "Controv."III.xviii.
cf.Cicero "De Divinatione"II.x.25.

204. Cicero "Ad Fam." IX.xvi.

205. Macrobius "Sat." I.x.3.- Mummius --- diu iacentem artem atellan-iam suscitavit.

206. Diomede III.49I.- mimus est sermonis cuiuslibet motus sine reve-entia,vel facrorum et turpium cum lascivia imitatio; a Graecis ita definitus: μῖμός ἐστι μίμησις βίου τά τε συγκε-χωρημένα καὶ ἀσυγχώρητα περιέχων.

207. Evanthius "De Fab." IV.i.- ab diuturna imitatione vilium rerum et levium personarum.

208. "Orig." XVIII.49.- mimi sunt dicti graeca appellatione quod rer-um humanorum sint imitationes.

209. Donatus "De Com."VI.2.- planipedia dicta ob humilitatem argu-menti eius ac vilitatem actorum,qui non cothurno aut socco nituntur in scaena aut pulpito sed plano pede.

I0. Diomede III.490.

II. Festus s.v.Orchestra.

I2. Seneca "Ep." VIII.8.

I3. Quintil. VI.3.29.- oratori minime convenit distortus vultus gestusque,quae in mimis rideri solent.

214. Juvenal VIII.198. cf.also Cicero "De Orat."II.59,242. and "Verr." II.iii.34.(Isidorus).

215. Merry "Fragments" p.240.- eques Romanus egressus -- domum revertar mimus.

216. cf.Festus s.v.Recinium: and Varro "Ling.Lat."V.132.

217. Teuffel "History of Roman Literature" I.§ 7.

218. Diomede III.490.- ... cuius planipedis Atta .. ita .. memin--it:"daturin estis aurum? exsultat planipes."

219. cf.Festus supra.

220. Nonius 542.- ricinium ... palliolum femineum breve.

221. cf. Martial I.i. Ausonius "Ecl."XVIII.25. Horace "Sat."I.ii.

222. cf.Teuffel supra § 3.8.

223. cf.Cicero "De Orat."II.274.- Quid est tibi Ista mulier? Uxor. Similis,me dius fidius.
A general idea of the quality of these plays is given in Ovid "Tristia" II.497-518.

224. cf.Juvenal VIII.186.

225. Aul.Gell."N.A."XVI.vii.ix. XX.vi.
Specimens of the Mimus are given in Merry "Fragments of Rom--an Poetry" pp.237-241,250-252.

226. Horace "Sat."I.10.

227. Aul.Gell."N.A." XVII.xiv. (Specimens of the sayings (sentent--iae) of Publilius are also given in this chapter.)

228. cf.Hieron."Ep."LX.29.- eas quae rubore frontis addito para--sitos vincunt.

229. Apuleius "Apol." XIII.

230. cf.Arnobius VII.xxxiii.- stupidorum capitibus rasis.

231. Vide Teuffel supra,Note 222.

232. cf.Petronius 80.- grex agit in scaena mimum,pater ille voca--tur,filius hic,nomen divitis ille tenet.

233. Juvenal "Sat."VIII.198.- mimus nobilis.

234. ibid. XIII.111.(with the schol.) - mimum agit ille, urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli. cf.VIII.186.
Martial V.30.3. - facundi scaena Catulli.

235. Pliny "Ep."VI.2I.2.- nuper audivi Vergilium Romanum paucis legentem comoediam ad exemplar veteris comoedias scriptam. 4.- scripsit mimiambos ...

236. Juvenal "Sat."VIII.I85-I88.- ... ageres ut Phasma Catulli. Laureolum ... Lentulus agit.

237. Tertullian "Adv.Valentin."I4.- nullum Catulli Laureolum fu--erit exercitata.

238. Suetonius "Caligula" LVII.- in Laureolo mimo ... cruore scena abundavit.

239. Martial "De Spectaculis" VII. Josephus "Antiq."XIX.i.I3.

240. Juvenal VIII.I88.

24I. Ovid "Tristia" II.497-5I8.

242. Val.Max.II.x.8.- priscum morem iocorum.

243. Schol.Juvenal VI.2I0. Lactantius "Inst."I.xx. Tertullian "De Spect."XVII.

244. Martial VIII. cf.III.86.

245. Donatus on Virgil "Aen." V.64.

246. Macrobius "Sat." II.i.

247. Juvenal VI.66. cf.St.Augustine "De Civit.Dei" ~~VII~~. VI.vii.

248. Martial I.Preface.

249. cf.note 242 supra.

250. Suetonius "Aug." LXVIII.

25I. Cicero "Ad Fam."III.2. "Ad Attic."II.I9. XIV.3.

252. Suetonius "Caes.Aug." LXXXIX.

253. ib. "Vespas."XIX.

254. Tacitus "Annales" IV.I4.

255. Cicero "Orator"XXVI.xxviii. "De Orat."II.lix.242. lx.243. lxvii-lxviii.etc. cf.Quintilian VI.i.47. VI.iii.29.

256. Aulus Gellius XIII.viii.

257. Seneca "Ep."CVIII.8.

258. ib. "Dial." IX.xi.8.

259. Seneca "Ep.ad Lucilium"VIII.8.

260. Quintilian IV.ii.59. cf.II.x.I3.

26I. ibid. IV.ii.53.

262. cf.Plutarch "De sol.anim." XIX.

263. Cicero "Pro Cael." XXVII.

264. Suetonius "Calig."LVII. Horace "Epp."I.xviii.I2-I4.- iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit ut ... credas ... partis mimum tractare secundas.

265. Isidorus "Orig."XVIII.xlix.- habebant (mimi) suum actorem qui antequam mimum ageret fabulam pronuntiaret.

266. Macrobius "Saturnalia"II.vii.
cf.Merry "Fragments"pp.239-24I.

267. Hieron."Epp."LIV.I5.- etiamsi clementissima fueris,omnes comoedi et mimographi et communes rhetorum loci in nov--ercam saevissimam declamabunt.

268. Pliny "Epp."IX.34.

269. Cicero "Pro Caelio" XXVII.65. Suetonius "Calig."LIV.

270. Tacitus "Annales" I.54.

27I. Persius "Sat." V.I23.- nec cum sis caetera fossor,Tres tant--um ad numeros satyri moveare Bathylli.

272. Juvenal "Sat," VI.63.- Chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo,

273. Seneca "Suas."II.I9.- memini auditorem Latronis Arbronium Silonem,patrem huius Silonis qui pantomimis fabulas scripsit.

274. cf.Juvenal "Sat."VI.63.

275. cf.Lucian "De Saltatione" 37-6I.

276. Ovid "Tristia" II.5I9. V.7.25.

277. Hieron."Epp."43.- quomodo in theatralibus scenis unus atque idem histrio nunc Herculem robustus ostendit,nunc mollis in Venerem frangitur,nunc tremulus in Cybelen.
cf.Manilius V.479 sqq. Nonnus "Dionys."XIX.I36 sqq.
Cassiodorus "Var." IV.5I.

278. Fronto "Epp.ad M.Antonin.Aug.de oratoribus" IV.8.- histrion--es quom palleolatim saltant,caudem cycni,capillum Veneris furias flagellum eodem pallio demonstrant.

279. cf.Apuleius "Apol."74. Galen VI.I55. Nonnus "Dionys."XIX. Lucian supra.

280. Tertullian "De Idol."

281. Seneca "Epp."I2I.6.

282. ib. "Controv.epit."III.praef.

283. Tacitus "Dialog." 29.

284. ib. "Annales" I.77.

285. Suetonius "Domitian" VII. cf.Pliny "Epp."VIII.24.

286. Val.Max.II.6.7.- eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est; nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando,quorum argumenta maiore in parte stuprorum continent actus;ne talia spectandi con--suetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

287. St.Augustine "De Civit.Dei" I.32.

288. cf.Aulus Gellius XV.24.

289. ibid. II.23.

290. The question of the original element in Plautus has been dis--cussed in detail by K.M.Westaway "The Original Element in Plautus",Cambridge I9I7.

9I. Terence "Andria" I5 sqq. cf."Adel." 6 sqq.

92. ib. "Heaut." I6 sqq.

93. Plautus "Casina" prol.64.

94. Aulus Gellius III.3.I4.

95. ibid.

96. Cicero "Brutus" XV.60.

97. Aulus Gellius I.xxiv.3.- postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, comoedia luget,scaena est deserta,dein risus ludus iocus--que et numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrimarunt.

98. ibid. XV.xxiv.

99. Quintilian X.i.99.

00. Cicero "De Officiis" I.xxix.I04.- iocandi genus ... elegans, urbanum,ingeniosum,facetum.
cf."De Orat." III.xii.45.

01. Sid.Apoll. XXIII.I49.- Graios,Plaute,sales lepore transis.

02. Horace "Epp." II.i.I76.

303. Horace "Ars Poetica" 270-2.

304. cf.Hieron."Interpr.Chron.Euseb.Olymp." I50.
Aulus Gellius IV.xx.I3. Cicero "De Orat."II.40. "Brut."258.
"Ad Att."VII.3.IO.

305. Terence "Hecyra" prol.2,6.sqq.

306. cf.Suetonius "Vit.Terent."

307. Varro ap.Non.374.- in argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam.

308. Aulus Gellius XV.xxiv.- Caecilio palmam Statio do mimico.

309. Horace "Epp."II.i.59.- vincere Caecilius gravitate.
cf."Ars Poetica" 54.

3IO. Hieron. supra,- Statius Caecilius comoediarum scriptor clarus habetur.

3II. Cicero "Ad Att." VII.3.IO.

3I2. Ribbeck "Com."[1] p.35.

3I3. The source of information regarding the life of Terence is the extract from Suetonius' "De Poetis",preserved by Donatus in his commentary on Terence. This is mostly a compilation from the Grammarians.

3I4. Vide infra Note 325.

3I5. Aulus Gellius XV.24.

3I6. Suetonius "Vit.Ter." fin.

3I7. Cicero "Limon" preserved in Suetonius "Vit.Ter.".

3I8. Aulus Gellius VI(VII) xiv.6.

3I9. Horace "Epp."II.i.59.

320. Quintilian X.i.99.

32I. cf.Cicero "De Rep." IV.xii.

322. Diomede "G.L." I.(Keil) 241 490.8.- Atta togatorum scriptor.
ibid. 490.I6.- togatas tebernarias in scen-
-am dataverunt praecipue duo,L.Afranius et C.Quintius.

323. cf.Varro in Charis. "G.L." I.24I.

324. cf.Merry "Fragments of Roman Poetry" pp.I04-7,I59-I60.

325. cf.Suetonius "Vit.Ter."- Terenti numne similem dicent quem-
-piam?

326. Horace "Epp." II.i.56.

327. cf.Merry supra, pp.I6I-I70.

328. e.g.Cicero "Brutus" 45. "Fin." I.3. Horace "Epp."II.i.57.
Quintilian X.i.I00. Suetonius "Nero"XI. Velleius
Paterculus II.ix.3. Macrobius VI.i.4.

329. cf.Suetonius "Calig." LII. Lydus "De meg." I.40.

330. Vide p.42.

33I. Ribbeck "Trag."[2] pp.I-6.

332. cf.Horace "Epp."II.i.50 sqq.,also Aulus Gellius XVII.xxi.

333. Cicero "Brutus" 72.

334. Suetonius "Gramm." I.

335. Aulus Gellius I.24. XIII.2.

336. Fragments in Ribbeck "Trag." pp.6.I5.75.I36.
cf.Merry "Fragments of Roman Poetry".

337. Suetonius "Aug." LXXXV.

338. Vide infra,Note 342.

339. Horace "Odes" II.i. "Satires" I.x.43. Tacitus "Dial."2I.

340. Martial VIII.I8.7.

34I. Tacitus "Dial."I2. Quintilian X.i.98. III.viii.45.

342. A scholion in the Paris.7530 s.VIII,states (after the heading
"Incipit Thuestes Varii") - Lucius Varius cognomento
Rufus Thyesten tragoediam magna cura absolutam post acti-
-acam victoriam Augusti ludis eius in scaena edidit.pro
qua fabula sestertium deciens accepit.

343. e.g.Tacitus "Dial." I2. Quintilian X.i.98.
Two lines from it are preserved in Quintilian VIII.v.6.,and
Seneca "Suas."III.7. cf.Ovid "Amores" III.i.

344. Tacitus "Annales" XII.28. cf.XI.I3. and "Dial." I3.

345. Quintilian X.i.98.

346. Tacitus "Dial." 2.3.II.

347. Suetonius "Nero" VII.

348. Tacitus "Annales" XIV.52-56. XV.62-3.
Suetonius "Nero" XXXV.

349. e.g."Troades" 322-348. "Herc.Fur." 422-433.

350. cf.Quintilian X.i.I25-I3I.

35I. Vide Cunliffe "Early English Classical Tragedies",Clarendon Press I9I2.

352. "Adsum atque advenio Acherunte vix alta atque ardua,
Per speluncas saxis structas asperis pendentibus
Maximis,ubi rigida constat crassa caligo inferum."

Ribbeck "Trag.Rom.Frag." p.283.

353. "Mater,te appello,tu quae curam somno suspensam levas
neque te mei miseret,surge et sepeli natum."

Merry "Fragments" p.83.(IV)

354. ibid. pp.I20-I.

355. cf.Cunliffe "The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy" pp.44-46.

356. "Thyestes" 267-8.

357. cf."Troades" I70-I. "Agam." 53-56. "Thyestes"49-5I,I20-I.

358. cf.Propertius IV.7.89-9I,where Cynthia's ghost says "nox clausas liberat umbras ... luce iubent leges Lethaea ad stagna reverti."

359. "Oedipus" 549.- praestitit noctem locus.

360. cf.Virgil "Aen." II.270-286.

36I. Ribbeck "Trag.Rom.Frag."pp.23-25.-
"O lux Troiae,germane Hector!
Quid ita <iacentem te tuor> cum tuo lacerato corpore,
Miser,aut qui te sic tractavere nobis respectantibus?"

Macrobius preserved these lines in connection with Virgil "Aen."II.28I sqq.,comparing Cassandra's words to Hector in Ennius with Aeneas' address to the dream ghost of Hector. All three poets,Ennius,Virgil and Seneca,lay emphasis on Hector's wounds.

cf.Merry "Fragments" p.5I.(VI)

362. "Oedipus" 29I-402.

363. "Agam." 28-30.

364. "Troades" 360 sqq.

365. "Phaedra" 698-9.

366. "Oedipus" 1019.- Fati ista culpa est; nemo fit fato nocens.

367. Plautus "Casina"764. "Most."I. "pers."631. "Truc."615.

368. ib. "Aulul."280 sqq.- conduxit coquos ... apud forum.

369. ibid. 309-310.

370. ibid. 345 sqq.

371. ibid. 409-410.

372. "Menaech." 275.- Vae tergo meo!

373. "Most." I-5.

374. C.I.L. XIV.2875.

375. e.g."Aulul."280.429. "Mercator"697. "Pseud."798 sqq.

376. Plautus "Aulul." 324-5.

377. "Pseudolus" 790 sqq.

378. cf."Aulul." 448.- nummo sum conductus.

379. Terence "Eunuch." II.ii.24-28.

380. ibid. IV.vii.1-9.

381. "Adelphi" III.iii.66-76.

382. ib. V.ix.8-9.

383. ib. V.iii.59-61.

384. "Mercator" 413 sqq.

385. "Menaechmi" I.iv. II.ii.

386. Livy XXXIX.6.

387. cf.Apuleius "Metam." IX.2.

388. Plautus "Men." 329-330.- ire hercle meliust te interim at-
-que accumbere,dum ego haec adpono ad Volcani violentiam.

389. "Aulul." 359.- quamquam Volcano studes.

390. ib. 398-390.- Dromo,desquama piscis: tu,Machaerio,con-
-grum,murenam exdorsua quantum potest.

391. Plautus "Asin."441. Terence "Andria"860. "Adel."376."Heaut."
249.

392. "Miles Gloriosus" I397.

393. "Casina" 744.

394. cf.Rankin "The Role of the in the Life of the Anc-
-ient Greeks",p.77.

395. Plautus "Pseudolus" 790 sqq.

396. ibid. 828 sqq.

397. ibid. 840 sqq.

398. ibid. 85I sqq.

399. ibid. 855 sqq.

400. "Mercator" 74I sqq. cf.Apuleius "Metam." X.I3.

40I. "Aulul." 445.- ita me bene amet Laverna.
cf.Festus s.v.Laverniones. Laverniones fures antiqui dice-
-bant,quod sub tutela deae Lavernae essent.

402. e.g."Pseud."III.ii. "Merc."748 sqq. "Menaech."220 sqq.
"Aulul."280 sqq. 325 sqq. 4I3 sqq. "M.G."I398-9.

403. "Poenulus" I.ii.38.

404. Livy VII.2. Evanthius "De Comoedia" IV.3.- Latinae fabulae
primo a Livio Andronico scriptae sunt,adeo cuncta re
etiam tam recenti,ut idem poeta et actor suarum fabul-
-arum fuisset.

405. Aulus Gellius "N.A." I.xxiv.2.

405 a. Cicero "De Oratore"III.I2.45.

406. Festus p.2I7 - personata fabula.

407. "Curculio" I.2.I50.- ludi barbari.

408. "Bacchides" II.2.2I5.- etiam Epidicum,quam ego fabulam aeque
ac me ipsum amo nullam aeque invitus specto,si agit Pellio

409. Livy XXVII.xxxvii.7.

4I0. Festus p.333 - scribas:proprio nomine antiqui et librarios et
poetas vocabant ... Itaque cum Livius Andronicus bello
Punico secundo scribsisset carmen,quod a virginibus est
cantatum quia prosperius respublica populi Romani geri
coepta est,publice adtributa est et in Aventino aedes
Minervae,in qua liceret scribis,histrionibus consistere
ac dona ponere,in honorem Livi,quia his et scribebat
fabulas et agebat.

4II. Val.Max.III.vii.I↳ - magno spatio divisus est a senatu ad poetam Accium transitus. Ceterum ut ab eo decentius ad externa transeamus,producatur in medium. Is Iulio Caesari amplissimo ac florentissimo viro in collegium poetarum venienti numquam adsurrexit,non maiestatis eius immemor,sed quod in comparatione communium studi--orum aliquanto se superiorem esse confideret.

4I2. "Hecyra" I4-I5.

4I3. Donatus,"Andria" praef.I.6. Didascalia to "Heaut.Tim.", "Eunuchus","Phormio","Hecyra" and "Adelphoe." cf.Cicero "Sen."XLVIII. Tacitus "Dial."XX.

4I4. "De Senectute"XIV.48.

4I5. Donatus,"Adelphoe" praef.I.6. - haec sane acta est ludis scaenicis funebribus L.Aemilii Pauli agentibus L. Ambivio et L.(Minucio Prothymo)qui cum suis gregibus etiam tum personati agebant.
"De Comoedia"VI.3. - personati primi egisse dicuntur comoediam Cincius Faliscus,tragoediam Minucius Pro--thymus.

4I6. Symmachus X.2.- Roscio tamen Ambivio ceterisque actoribus fama non defuit.

4I7. Cicero "De Divinatione" I.79.

4I8. Val.Max.VIII.7. - nec vulgi tantum favorem,verum etiam prin--cipum familiaritates amplexus est.

4I9. Cicero "Pro Q.Roscio Comoedo" VI.- Quem populus Romanus melior--em virum,quam histrionem esse arbitratur; qui ita dignissimus est scena,propter artificium; ut dignissi--mus sit curiae,propter abstinentiam.

420. "Pro Quinctio" XXV.

42I. "De Oratore"I.28.- Ut in quo quisque artificio excellunt,is in suo genere Roscius diceretur.

422. "Pro Archia" I7.

423. Macrobius III.xiv.I3.- Is est Roscius qui etiam L.Sullae car--issimus fuit,et annulo aureo ab eodem dictatore donatus est.

424. Cicero "De Nat.Deorum" I.xxviii.79.

425. ib. "Pro Quinctio"XXIV.77.- Dicebam huic Q.Roscio,cuius soror est cum P.Quinctio cum a me peteret et summe contenderet ..."

426. Macrobius III.xiv.[illegible].- Ceterum histriones non inter turpes habitos Cicero testimonio est,quem nullus ignorat Roscio et Aesopo histrionibus tum familiariter usum ut res rationesque eorum sua sollertia tueretur, quod cum aliis multis tum ex epistulis quoque eius declaratur.

427. Cicero "De Oratore" III.26. Quintilian XI.3.[illegible].- Roscius citatior,Aesopus gravior fuit,quod ille comoedias, hic tragoedias egit.

428. Horace "Epp." II.i.82.

429. Cicero "Pro Q.Roscio Comoedo"VIII.23.- Decem his annis proxim--is HS sexagies honestissime consequi potuit;noluit.

430. Pliny "N.H." IX.59.I22.- Prior id fecerat Romae in unionibus magnae taxationis Clodius tragoedi Aesopi filius relictus ab eo in amplis opibus heres,ne triumvir--atu nimis superbiat Antonius.

43I. Macrobius II.IO.- Ut mercedem diurnam de publico mille denari--os solus acceperit.

432. Pliny "H.N."- HS quinquaginta annua meritasse prodatur. VII.39.

433. Val.Max."Romae Antiquae Descriptio" VIII.x.2. vii.7.

434. Cicero "Pro Q.Roscio Comoedo"X.30.- Si veniret ab Statilio, tametsi artificio Roscium superaret,adspicere nemo posset ... quia veniebat a Roscio,plus etiam scire quam sciebat videbatur.

435. ibid.

436. ibid. XI.

437. Cicero "Ad Att." II.xix.

438. Horace "Sat." II.3.

439. Cicero "Ad Fam." X.32.2.(Graevius)

440. Pliny "H.N." VII.I84.

44I. Cicero "Orator" XXXI.I09.- Histriones eos vidimus,quibus nihil posset in suo genere esse praestantius,qui non solum in dissimillimis personis satisfaciebant,cum tamen in suis versarentur,sed et comoedum in tragoediis,et tragoedum in comoediis admodum placere vidimus.

442. Cicero "De Rep."IV.IO.- cum artem ludicram scaenamque totam in probro ducerent,genus id hominum non modo honore civ--ium reliquorum carere,sed etiam tribu moveri notatione censoria voluerunt (Romani).

443. Livy VII.2.- movetur tribu,et a militaribus stipendiis repelli-
-tur.

444. Bruns "Fontes Iuris Romani" I23.- queive corpore quaestum fecit fecerit,queive lanistaturam artemve ludicram fecit, fecerit,queive lenocinium faciet,queive adversus ea in municipio colonia praefectura foro conciliabulo (in senatu)decurionibus conscripteisve fuerit sententiamve dixerit,is HS I[illegible] :p(opulo) d(are) d(amnes) e(sto) eiusve pecuniae quei volet petitio esto.

445. ibid. qui senator est,quive filius,neposve ex filio,pronepos-
-ve ex (nepote)filio nato,cuius eorum est erit,ne quis eorum sponsam uxoremve sciens dolo habeto libertinam aut eam,quae ipsa cuiusve pater materve artem ludicram facit,fecerit.

446. Macrobius "Sat."II.3.IO.- Deinde cum Laberius in fine ludorum anulo aureo honoratus a Caesare e vestigio in quattuor-
-decim ad spectandum transiit violato ordine et cum detrectatus est eques Romanus et comminus remissus,ait Cicero, praetereunti Laberio ...
cf.II.7.i.

447. The "prologus" is preserved for us in Merry "Fragments of Roman Poetry" p.240.

443. Tacitus "Annales" I.77.

443 a. ibid. cf.IV.xiv.4. XIII.xxv.4. xxviii.i.
XIV.xxi.2.etc.
cf.also "Edict.Praet.Dig."III.2.i.

449. cf.Juvenal "Sat." VII.86-92.

450. Cicero "Pro Archia" IO.

451. St.Augustine "De Civitate Dei" II.xiii.
cf.Tertullian "De Spectaculis" XXII.-Damnant ignominia et capitis minutione,arcentes curia,rostris,senatu, equite ceterisque honoribus omnibus simul ac orna-
-mentis quibusdam.

452. Suetonius "Aug." XLIII.

453. ibid. XLV.

454. ibid.

455. Pliny "H.N." VII.I28.

456. Suetonius "Tiberius" XXXV.

457. ib. "Caligula" XXXIII.

458. ibid. LV.

459. Suetonius "Caligula" LVII.LVIII.

460. ib. "Nero" XVI.

461. cf.Juvenal "Sat." VIII.198.- citharoedo principe.

462. Suetonius "Nero" XXI. XXII. cf.XLVI.

463. ibid. LIV. cf.Tacitus "Annales" XIII.19.4.

464. ib. "Domitian" X.

465. Martial XI.13.

466. Suetonius "Nero" XXXIX.

467. Martial III.86.

468. Juvenal VI.44.

469. Suetonius "Domitian" XV.

470. Tacitus "Annales" I.73.

471. Juvenal "Sat." VIII.191.197.

472. ibid. 185-187.

473. Quintilian XI.3.178.

474. Juvenal "Sat." III.93,99.

475. St.Augustine "De Civitate Dei" VI.x.

476. Plutarch "De Tranquill.Anim." XIII.

477. "Anthol.Lat." II.p.89. 1173 (Meyer) -
hic ego praevalui tota notissimus urbe,
hinc mihi larga domus,hinc mihi census erat.

478. Suetonius "Vespasian" XIX.

479. Pliny "H.N." XXXIV.94.

480. Vide p.54.

481. Pliny "H.N." VII.49.

482. Quintilian I.11.

483. Plautus "Amph." 65-66.- sive qui ambissent palmam (his) histri-
-onibus.

484. Cicero "Ad Att."IV.xv.6.- ne diutius pendeas,palmam tulit.

485. Horace "Epp." II.1.181.- valeat res ludicra,si me palma negata macrum,donata reducit opimum.

486. Ovid "Tristia" II.506.- plauditur,et magno palma favore datur

487. Plautus "Rudens" 317. "Pseudolus" 1213.

488. Cicero "De Officiis" I.xxxv.- Scaenicorum quidem mos tantam habet vetere disciplina verecundiam,ut in scaenam sine subligaculo prodeat nemo.

489. Val.Max.II.iv.6. Pliny "H.N."XXXIII.xvi.

490. Donatus "De Comoedia" V.

491. "Persa"157-160.- T. Et tu gnatam tuam ornatam adduce lep--ide .... Abs chorago sumito.
cf.Pliny "H.N."XXXVI.xxiv.- reliquus apparatus tantus Attalica veste,tabulis pictis,caetero choragio fuit.

492. "Trinummus" 357-8.-Ut ille me exornavit,ita sum ornatus: argentum hoc facit. Ipse ornamenta a chorago haec sumpsit suo periculo.

493. "Curc." 464.- ornamenta quae locavi metuo ut possim recipere

494. e.g."Amphitruo"prol.35. "Cistellaria" 784. "Captivi"615 (where "ornamenta" seems to mean the conventional stage-costume of Ajax.)

495. Terence "Heaut." 837.

496. "Captivi"prol.61.-Nam hoc paene iniquomst,comico choragio conari desubito agere nos tragoediam.

497. cf.Vitruvius V.91.- post scaenam porticus sunt constituendae ubi ... choragia laxamentum habeant ad comparandum.

498. "Hecyra" alt.prol.i.-Orator ad vos venio ornatu prologi.
cf. Festus ,ornatus appellatur cultus iose,quo quis ornatur.

499. e.g."Amph."prol.116,1007. "Bacch."110.125. "Curc."2. "Merc."910-912. "M.G."899.1177.1282.1286. "Pers." 463. "Poen."283. "Pseud."935. "Rud."293.431. "Trin."840.852.1099. "Truc."475.

500. e.g."Amph."prol.119. "Capt."997. "Cas."540. "M.G."872.897. "Most."249. "Pers."158. "Rud."573.
"

501. Festus s.v.Vestis. Vestis generaliter dicitur,ut stragula, forensis,muliebris; Vestimentum pars aliqua,ut pallium,tunica,penula.

502. cf.Livy XXXIII.47.- vestitu forensi ad portam est egressus.

503. cf. Nepos "Alcibiades" X.6.-muliebris vestis.

504. "Menaechmi"I67.659.where "vestimentum muliebre" is the "palla" (mantle).

505. "Rudens"523.573. "Persa"669.

506. "Heaut."I4I.- nec vas nec vestimentum.
903.- lectus vestimentis stratus est.

507. e.g."Curc."348.489. "Cist."487. "M.G."I099.

509. "Captivi"783.- pallium in cōllum conicere. cf.794.
"Phormio"V.vi.4.- umerum pallio onerare.

5I0. "Rudens"549-550.- Labrax Leno. Eheu!redactus sum usque ad unam hanc tuniculam et ad hoc misellum pallium.
"Amphitruo" 294.

5II. "Truculentus"479.- pallium inice in me huc.

5I2. "Merc."9II sqq.

5I3. "Trin." 624.

5I4. "Eun." 769.

5I5. Donatus "De Com."VIII.6.- adulescentibus discolor attribuitur.
ibid. - leno pallio colore vario utitur.

5I6. "Captivi" 779.

5I7. "Curc." 355.

5I8. "M.G." 59.

5I9. "Stichus" 350.257.

520. "Persa"I23-I25.- cynicum esse egentem oportet parasitum probe: ampullam,strigilem,scaphium,soccos,pallium,marsuppiam habeat.

52I. "Casina"237.637.945.974-5.978.I009; in 246 "palliolum".

522. Donatus "De Com."VIII.6.- comicis senibus candidus vestis in-ducitur,quod is antiquissimus fuisse memoratur.

523. "Amph."294. "Aul."646. "Cas."934. "Epid."1.194"palliolum" (but in Aul.Gell.IV.xvii.4.we have the reading "pall-ium"). "Pseud."I275.I279.I28I. "Phorm."844.863.

524. e.g."Bacch."887. "Curc."567.574.632. "M.G."5.I423. "Truc." 506.6I3.627.927-929 (ferrum = machaera).

525. cf."Curc."574. "M.G."i. "Trin."596.7I9. "Truc."506.

526. "M.G."I423. "Bacch."887. "Curc."6II.632. "Epid."435-6. "Merc."9I0-9I2.92I-927.

527. Donatus "De Com."VIII.6.- militi chlamys purpurea ... inducitur; cf.the costume of the soldier in tragedy,Pollux "Onom."IV.116.

528. Horace "Epp."I.vi.40-4I.

529. cf."Most."273.- mulier recte olet ubi nil olet.

530. "Andria"46I.- Ab Andria ancilla haec?

53I. cf.Juvenal III.93-95.- An melior cum Thaida sustinet,aut cum uxorem comoedus agit vel Dorida nullo cultam palliolo? cf.Pollux "Onom."IV.I54.

532. "Amphitruo"prol.I42-5.- nunc internosse ut nos possitis facil-ius,ego has habebo usque in petaso pinnulas;tum meo patri autem torulus inerit aureus sub petaso.

533. ibid. I46-7.

534. "Amphitruo" 949-95I.

535. "M.G." II77-II80.-
facito ut venias ornatu huc ad nos nauclerico.
causiam habeas ferrugineam et scutulam ob oculos laneam:
palliolum habeas ferrugineum,nam is colos thalassicust:
id conexum in umero laevo,exfafillato bracchio.

536. "Most."384. "Truc."479.63I.

537. "Truc."363-367. cf.Martial III.50.

538. "Trin." 720. "Bacch."II.iii.98. "Cist."IV.ii.29. "Epid." V. ii.60. "Pers."I.iii.44.
That the Senex wore "socci" is a natural inference from "Heaut."I24.- adsido:adcurrunt servi,soccos detrahunt.

539. Diomede "Gr.Lat." I.(Keil) 489.- antea itaque galearibus,non personis utebantur,ut qualitas coloris indicium faceret aetatis,cum essent aut albi aut nigri aut rufi.

540. cf.Pollux "Onom."IV.I49-I50.

54I. "Asin." 400.

54I a. "Pseud."I2I8. cf.the description of Philocrates Captivus as being "subrufus aliquantum" "Captivi"648.

542. "Phormio" 5I.

543. "Heaut," I06I.

544. "M.G."II78. cf."Pers."I.iii.75. Valerius Maximus V.i.4.

545. "Trin."85I. cf."Pseud."735.II86. "Amph."prol.I43.
Suetonius "Aug."LXXXII.

546. Martial XIV.29.(causia) In Pompeiano tectus spectabo theatro:
Nam ventus populo vela negare solet.
Dio Cassius LIX.7.

547. Juvenal "Sat." VI.70.

548. Martial III.87.4.

549. A critical review of the evidence for the introduction of masks in Roman Comedy is contained in an article by A.S.F.Gow on "The Use of Masks in Roman Comedy",in "The Journal of Roman Studies",vol.II.pt.i.I9I2.

550. Suidas s.v. Αἰσχύλος. Horace "Ars Poetica"278.

55I. Donatus "De Com."VI.3.- Personati primi egisse dicuntur comoed-iam Cincius (et) Faliscus:tragoediam Minutius (et) Prothymus.

552. Diomede I.(Keil) 489.- antea itaque galearibus,non personis utebantur.

553. Ribbeck "Röm.Trag."66I.

554. Cicero "De Oratore" III.lix.22I.- sed in ore sunt omnia.In eo autem ipso dominatus est omnis oculorum;quo melius nostri illi senes,qui personatum ne Roscium quidem magno opere laudabant.Animi est enim omnis actio et im-ago animi vultus est,indices oculi.

555. Ovid "Fasti" VI.654.686.

556. Quintilian XI.iii.74.

557. Festus p.2I7.s.v.personata fabula. Persona fabulata quaedam Naevi inscribitur,quam putant quidem primum a person-atis histrionibus.Sed cum post multos annos comoedi et tragoedi personis uti coeperint verisimilius est, eam fabulam propter inopiam comcedorum actam novam per Atellanos,qui proprie vocantur personati quia ius est is non cogi in scena ponere personam quod ceteris his-trionibus pati necesse est.

558. cf.Quintilian XI.iii.74.

559. ibid. 72-74.

560. Horace "Sat."I.v.64.- nil illi larva et tragicis opus esse cothurnus.

561. Lucretius IV.297.- cretea persona.
cf. Martial XIV.176.1.

562. Virgil "Georg."II.387.- oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis.

563. cf.Suidas s.v. θέσπις.

564. cf.Aulus Gellius V.vii.1.
Martial III.43.4.- personam capiti detrahere.

565. Juvenal III.175.- personae pallentis hiatum formidat infans.

566. Pollux IV.133-5,139.

567. Lucian "De Saltatione" 27.(trans.of H.W.and F.G.Fowler,Oxford 1905.)

568. Philostratus "Vit.Apoll." V.9.

569. "Monumenti Inediti" XI.13.

570. Pollux IV.133-154.

571. cf.the article,with illustrations,on "Masques scéniques",by H.Leclercq,in "Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne" vol.X.pt.2.coll.2646-2650. Paris 1932.

572. Pliny "H.N."XIX.I.6. cf.XXXVI.xxiv. XV.

573. Lucretius IV.73.

574. Valerius Maximus II.iv.6.

575. Horace "Ep."II.i.79. Ovid "Ars Am."I.104. Prop.IV.vi.74. Stat.Silv.II.i.160. Lucret.II.416. Sallust "Fragm."II. Apuleius "Met."X. Pliny "H.N."XXI.vi.- crocum vino mire congruit,praecipue dulci;tritum ad theatra replenda. cf.XXI.xvii.33. Seneca "Ep."XIV.ii.15. cf.Lipsius "De Amphitheatro" (1584) cap.XVI.

576. Ovid "Met."III.111 - aulaea tolluntur.
Horace "Ep."II.i.189.- aulaea premuntur.

577. Ovid "Met."III.111-114. -
sic ubi tolluntur festis aulaea theatris,
surgere signa solent primumque ostendere vultus,
cetera paullatim,placidoque educta tenore
tota patent imoque pedes in margine ponunt.

578. Virgil "Georg."III.24-25.- vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.

579. Apuleius "Met."I.i. viii. X.xxix.

580. Juvenal Schol.XIII.I85.
Donatus "De Com."VII.8.- velum,quod populo obsistit dum fabul-
-arum actus commutantur.
Cicero "De Prov.Con." VI.84.

58I. Ovid "Ars Am."I.I03. Pliny "H.N."XXXVI.24.

582. Pliny "H.N."XXXIII.I6. cf.XV.

583. Valerius Maximus II.iv.6.

584. Pliny "H.N."XXXVI.24. cf.XXXIII.I9.

585. Plautus "Menaech."72-3. cf.Apuleius "Florid."XVII.

586. Vitruvius V.vi.9. cf.8.

587. Servius on Virgil "Georg."III.24.- scaena quae fiebat aut
versilis erat aut ductilis erat. Versilis tum erat
cum subito tota machinis quibusdam convertebatur,
et aliam picturae faciem ostendebat.
cf.Pliny "H.N."XXXVI.I5.

588. Pliny "H.N."XXXIII.xxiv.II5. Val.Max.II.iv.8.- tabulae pictae
Servius on Virgil "Georg."III.24.- ... ductilis tum cum tract-
-is tabulatis huc atque illuc species picturae
nudebatur interior.

589. Vitruvius V.6.7.

590. Pollux IV.I26. Vitruvius V.6. Servius supra.

59I. cf.Pollux IV.I3I.

592. Navarre "Dionysos" p. I37. cf.Harzmann "Quaestiones scaen-
-icae",Marburg I889.

593. cf.Plautus "Mostellaria"I57 sqq.

594. ib. "Asinaria"V.iii. In the early part of this scene
the wife and the parasitus do not see Demaenetus,who
is carousing in front of Cleacreta's house at the
other end of the stage.

595. cf.Plautus "Pseud."IV.ii.5. vii.I37. Terence "Adelph."IV.
ii.37,39. "Eunuch."V.ii.6.
cf.Festus s.v.angiportus.

596. cf.Plautus "Most."III.iii.27.- per posticum se conferre.
Horace "Ep."I.v.3I.- atria servantem postico falle clientem

597. "Most."433.- has ambas foris.
"Capt."83I.- hasce ambas fores.

598. e.g.Vases in Baumeister "Denkmäler"III.p.I754.no.I830.
ibid. p.I753.no.I829.
Huddilston "Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase Paintings" pp.83-84.
Pompeian wall-paintings in Nicolini "Le Case ed i mon.di Pompeii",fasc.97. "Arch.Anz."I896.p.29.
Reliefs in "Arch.Jahr."XXIII.pp.I84 ff. Brunn "Relievi Delle Urne Etrusche"I.p.92.pl.74.2.

599. Plutarch "Vit.Poblic." 20.

600. Dion.Halic."Antiq.Rom."5.39.- Ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας, παρ' ἣν ὁ χαλκοῦς ἕστηκε ταῦρος, αἱ κλισιάδες θύραι μόναι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. δημοσίων τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν οἴκων εἰς τὸ ἔξω μέρος ἀνοίγονται.

601. Pliny "H.N."XXXVI.II2.

602. Asconius "In Pis." XII.

603. cf.Pottier,Daremberg-Saglio,s.v.ianua.

604. e.g.Terence "Adel."V.iii.2.- quis nam a me pepulit ... fores?
and the comment of Donatus "Cum pulsandae fores exituro foras. "Andria"IV.i.58.
Seneca "Medea"I77-8.- sed cuius ictu regius cardo strepit?
ipse est Pelasgo tumidus imperio Creo.

605. cf.Cicero "De Prov.Cons."VI.I4.- iam in exostra helluatur,antea post siparium solebat.
Pollux IV.I29. τὴν δὲ ἐξώστραν ταὐτὸν τῷ ἐκκυκλήματι νομίζουσιν.

606. Vitruvius V.6. Pollux IV.I24.

607. The "ekkyklema" is fully discussed in Haigh "The Attic Theatre" 3rd.ed.I907.Oxford. pp.20I-209.

608. Vitruvius X. Pollux IV.I28.

609. Plato "Cratyl." 425 D.

6I0. Aristotle "Poet." c.I5.

6II. Pollux IV.I30. A supposed representation of a "theologeion" on a medallion of the Roman period,found at Orange,is given in Baumeister "Denkmaler des klassischen Alter--thums" fig.I832.

6I2. Pollux supra.

613. Vitruvius V.vi.130. cf.Phaedrus V.vii.23.

614. Pollux IV.127.131.132.

615. Seneca "Epp." 88.19. Suetonius "Claud."XXXIV. Phaedrus V.vii.7. Juvenal IV.122. Martial VIII.33.3.

616. Plautus "Pseud." 126.

617. Terence "Hec."alt.pról.27.- clamor mulierum.

618. Suetonius "Aug." XLIV. "Nero"XXIII. XXXII.

619. Tacitus "Annales" III.23. IV.16.

620. cf.Vitruvius V.iii.

621. Vitruvius V.vi. Suetonius "Aug."XXXV. Livy XXXIV.44.54.

622. Vell.Paterc.II.32. Cicero "Pro Murena"XIX. Livy "Perioch."99. Juvenal III.159. XIV.324. Tacitus "Annales"XV.32. Horace "Epod."IV.15.

623. Val.Max.II.iv.

624. cf.Calpurnius (Siculus) "Eclog."VII.26 sqq. -
Venimus ad sedes ubi pulla sordida veste
Inter feminas spectabat turba cathedras
Nam quaecumque patent sub aperto libera caelo
Aut eques,aut nivei loca densavere tribuni.
cf.Suetonius "Aug."XL.

625. Suetonius "Aug."XLIV. cf.Ovid "Ars Am."I.96.163.etc.

626. ib. "Dom."VIII.

627. Plato "Gorg." 502 B - E.

628. ib. "Legg." 658 A - D. cf.817 A - C.

629. e.g."Nub."537-9. "Pax"765-6.962-7. "Ran."1050,1051.

630. Plautus "Captivi" prol.II-14.

631. cf.Livy VII.iii.1.

632. Varro "De Re Rust." II.

633. Tacitus "Annales" XV.33.

634. ibid. XIII.54. cf.Suetonius "Claudius"XXV.

635. Marlian "Antiquae Romae Topographia" IV.15.

636. Suetonius "Nero" XIII.

637. cf.Blanchet "Tessères antiques" (Revue archeo[illegible] ii.

638. Illustrated in Baumeister "Denkmäler" no.I83[illegible] II.i.59.

639. C.I.G.5369. Tacitus "Annales"II.83.5. cf.Virgi[illegible]

640. Illustrations of the Roman theatre tickets found at [illegible] given in "The Illustrated London News" for Janu[illegible] I932.p.50.
A discussion of the famous (false) tessera of Romanelli is found in Edélestand du Méril "Hist.de la Com."II.354. cf.Dziatzko "Quaestiones selectae" p.I4.

641. Plautus "Poenulus" prol.I9.

642. Martial III.95. V.8.23.27. VI.9. XIV.25.

643. Suetonius "Calig."XXVI.

644. Friedlander "Roman Life and Manners"II.pp.I6-I7.
cf.Suetonius "Aug."XL. "Claud."VI. Dion.LXXII.2I. LIX.7. LXVII.8.etc.

645. Suetonius "Claud." VI.

646. Vell.Pat.II.40.

647. cf.the fragment in Merry "Fragments of Roman Poetry"p.23...

648. Plautus "Amphit.","Curc.","Men.","M.G.","Stich.","Trin.".
Terence "Andr.","Eun.","Heaut.","Adel.","Hec.","Phorm.".
cf.Horace "Ars Poetica" I55.- donec cantor "vos plaudite" dicat.

649. Plautus "Asin.","Bacch.","Capt.".

650. ib. "Amphit."prol.65-68.8I-85.

651. ib. "Cas."fin.- manibus clare plaudite.
cf.Cicero "Att."XVI.2.3.- manus suas in plaudendo consumere.
Horace "Epp-"II.205.- concurrit dextera laevae.
Suetonius "Vitellius"XI. Florus IV.ii.

652. cf.Lucan "Pharsalia"I.I32.

653. Cicero "De Orat."III.5I.I96. "Orat."5I.I73. "Parad."3.26.

654. Horace "Ars P."II2-3.- si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.

655. Suetonius "Nero" XX.

656. Tacitus "Annales" XIV.xv.8.9.

657. ibid. XVI.iv.4.

658. Sandys "Companion to Latin Studies" § 523.

659. Horace "Odes" II.xvii.25.- populus frequens. cf."Epp."II.i.59 Suetonius "Aug."XLIV. LVIII. "Nero"XX. "Titus"VII.

660. cf.Pliny "H.N."XXXVI.II3-II5.

661. Horace "Epp."II.i.59.60.

662. called ῥαβδοφόροι (Schol.Aristophanes "Pax"734.),and
ῥαβδοῦχοι (ibid.).

663. Tacitus "Annales"I.77.5.

664. Horace "Ars P."224.

665. Plautus "Pseud."prol.

666. ib. "Merc."I60.

667. Other references to the audience are found in "Pseud."720-72I. "Poen."28. "Trucul."93I.

668. Livy I.xxxv.

669. ib. XXIV.xliii.7.- ludos scaenicos per quadriduum eo anno primum factos ab curulibus aedilibus memoriae proditur.

670. Vide supra p.4I.

67I. Pliny I8,29,69,§ 286.(prisci)Floralia IIII.Kal.Mai.instituerunt urbis anno DXIII.ex oraculis Sibyllae,ut omnia bene deflorescerent.
cf.Ovid "Fasti" V.327.

672. cf.Ovid "Fasti" V.I85.

673. Plautus "Stichus" Didascalia: - acta ludis plebeis Cn.Baebio C.Terentio aed.pl.

674. Livy XXIV.43.

675. ib. XXV.I2.

676. ib. XXVII.23.- ludi in perpetuum in statum diem voverentur.

677. Cicero "Brutus" XX.78. cf.Quintilian I.5.52.

678. ib. "Ad Att." XV.26.28. XVI.2.3.

679. ibid. II.I9.

680. Livy XXIX.I4. Tacitus "Annales"III.6. Aul.Gell.II.24.i. Ovid "Fasti" IV.357.

681. Livy XXXIV.54. XXXVI.36. cf.Val.Max.IV.v.i.

682. "Pseudolus"Didascalia: - M.Junio M.fil.pr.urb.ac(ta) M(egales-iis). The Didascalia for "Andria" B.C.166. for "Heaut."B.C.163.; for "Eunuchus"B.C.161. give: acta ludis Megalensibus.

683. The first references are - Juvenal XIV.263. and Tacitus "Hist." II.55.

684. Ovid "Fasti" IV.619.

685. Sandys "Companion to Latin Studies" §§ 786.792.

686. Mommsen "C.I.L." I.p.378. The official Calendar was in the year A.D.354 copied by Philocalus.

687. Censorinus XVII.8.

688. The details of this festival are given in Sandys supra §§ 147-8,791.

689. Suetonius "Aug." XXXI.

690. cf.Juvenal VI.67-69. Ovid "Tristia"III.xii.23-24.

691. Livy XXXVI.xxxvi. XL.lii. XLII.x.
Cicero "Ad Fam."VII.i.

692. Tacitus "Annales"XIV.xxi. cf.Vell.Pat.I.xiii.

693. Livy V.1.

694. cf.Val.Max.II.iv.5.

695. Terence's "Hecyra" was given at "Ludi funebres".
cf.Suetonius "J.Caesar" LXXXIV. Plautus "Mostell."427.

696. Livy II.xxxvi. Cicero "De Harusp.resp."XI.
cf.Dion.Cass.LX.vi.

697. cf.Tacitus "Annales" I.77.5.

698. Livy XXII.10.7. XXV.12.

699. cf.Cicero "De Off."II.xvi. Livy XXIV.33. XXVII.6.
Val.Max.II.iv.6.

700. Suetonius "Tiberius" XXXIV.

701. cf.Friedlander "Les jeux" in "Manuel des Antiquités romaines" Mommsen et Marquardt. XIII.ii.260.

702. cf.Plautus "Asin."prol.3.
For this use of "actor" = "manager" cf.Tacitus "Annales" II.xxx.3. III.lxviii.3.

703. Terence "Hecyra"57.- pretio emptus meo: and Donatus' comment-ary:- aestimatione a me facta,quantum aediles darent,et proinde me periclitante,si reiecta fabula, a me ipso aediles quod numeraverint repetant.
ib. "Eunuch."prol.20.- Menandri Eunuchum,postquam aediles emerunt.
cf. Horace "Epp."II.i.I75-6. Ovid "Tristia"II.508.

704. Livy XXIV.xliii.

705. Suetonius "Vit.Terent." § 3.
705 a. cf. Livy I.ix.(proclamation of the "Consualia").
706. cf.Tertullian "De Spect."X. Suetonius "Claud."XXI.

707. Plautus "Asin."prol.4.

708. Florus II.vii.

709. Seneca "Epp."CXVII.30.

710. cf.Horace "Sat."II.vii.96-I00. Holzenecht "Philol.Quarterly" II.(I923) 268.

711. Mus.Borb.I.p.4.- A.Suettii cerii aedilis familia gladiatoria pugnabit Pompeiis Pr.K.Junias venatio et vela erunt.
ib. II.p.7.- Dedicatione ... arum muneris Cn.Alii Nigidii Mai ... venatio,athletae,sparsiones,vela erunt.
Orelli Inscr.I.2556,2559.

712. Donatus "De Com."

713. Terence "Hecyra"prol.2. cf.Horace "Epp."II.i.I85-6.

714. Seneca "Herc.Fur."338-9.

715. Lucretius "De Rerum Natura" IV.75-83.

716. Propertius IV.i.15.

717. Suetonius "Calig."XXVI.

718. cf.Note 715 supra,and Ovid "Ars Am."I.I03. Inscr.Orell.2219. Val.Max.II.iv.6.

719. Juvenal IV.I22.

720. Cicero "Ad Fam." VII.i. "De Nat.Deorum" I.28. Plautus "Poen." prol.2I.

721. cf.Suetonius "Calig." XVIII. LIV.

722. St.Augustine "De Civit.Dei." II.xxvii.

723. ibid. I.xxxii.- in theatris cottidie certatim pro histrionibus insanirent.

724. Horace "Odes" I.xx.3,4. II.xvii.26.- populus laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum.
cf.Virgil "Georg." II.508-9.

725. Church "Roman Life in the days of Cicero" p.215.
cf.Cicero "Pro Sestio" 58.

726. Appian "Rom.Hist."V.ii.15. cf.Suetonius "Aug." XIV.

727. Tacitus "Annales" I.54.

728. This is not strictly correct,for Suetonius says (in "Aug."XLV) that all that Augustus did was to enact that actors should only be liable to correction by the magist--rates at the time of performance and in the the--atre (ludis et scaena).

729. Suetonius says of Tiberius ("Tib."XXXIV) - Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit mercedibus scaenicorum recisis.

730. Tacitus "Annales" I.77.

731. Suetonius "Tiberius" XXXVII.

732. ib. "Calig." XXVI.

733. Tacitus "Annales" XIII.24.i.

734. ibid. XIII.24.4. cf.XIV.15.6.
Suetonius "Nero" XXVI. cf.Vell.Paterc.II.126.

735. Tacitus "Annales" XIV.21.

736. Suetonius "Nero" XI.

737. ibid. XVI.

738. Tacitus "Annales"XV.39.3. Suetonius "Nero"XXXVIII.

39. Vell.Paterc. II.79.

740. Phaedrus V.vii.

741. Illustrated in a picture at Pompeii,cf.Dyer's "Pompeii"p.191.

742. Ovid "Fasti"VI.697. cf.the pun in Phaedrus V.vii.9.

743. Pliny "H.N." XVI.66.165.

744. Didasc.Terence "Andria","Eun.","Heaut.","Phorm.".

745. Plautus "Pseud."573. "Stich."V.iv.4I. Cicero "De Orat." II.83.338. Horace "Ars P."2I5,4I5.

746. cf.Virgil "Georg." III.I88;399.

747. Plautus "Stichus"II.ii.56. Terence "Adel."V.vii. cf.Horace "Epp."I.xiv.25. Ovid "Fasti"VI.687. Juvenal II.90

748. Plautus "Aulul."II.iv.v.vi.

749. cf."Stichus"IV.i.36.

750. Varro "R.R." I.ii.I5.

75I. Donatus "Adel."praef.I.6.- modulata est tibiis dextris,id est lydiis.

752. Servius on Virgil "Aen." IX.6I5.

753. Varro "R.R." I.ii.I5.I6.

754. Donatus "De Com."VII.- agebantur autem tibiis paribus,id est dextris aut sinistris,et imparibus. cf."Andria"praef.I.6.

755. ibid. cf.Cicero "Prim.Acad."II.vii.

756. Donatus supra VIII.

757. ib. //Eunuch.// "Adel."praef.I.6.

758. ib. "Eunuch."praef.I.6.

759. "Heaut." Didascalia.

760. cf.Cicero "De Leg."II.9. "Acad."I.ii.7.

76I. Florus II.vii.

762. Cicero "De Leg."II.I5. Horace "Ars P."202-2I9. Quintilian I.I0.3I. Juvenal X.2I3-2I5.

763. cf.Aristotle "Poetica" XVIII.

764. "Rudens"290-305. cf.Diomede "G.L."I.(Keil)49I.- Latinae comoediae chorum non habent.

765. Aulus Gellius "N.A." XIX.x.I2.

766. e.g."Oedipus"403 sqq.

767. Horace "Ars P."I93 sqq.

768. Clement "Paedagog."III.II. - nec inconcinne stadia et theatra "pestium cathedram" quis invocaverit.

769. Tertullian "De Spectaculis"III. X - XVIII.
"De Idol." VII.XIII.

770. ib. "De Spect." XXX.

771. ib. "Apol."XXXVIII.- nihil est nobis ... cum impudicitia theatri.

772. ib. "De Spect." XXVII.

773. Tatian "Ad Graecos" 22.(P.G.Migne VI.856).
"Ad Autolyc."III.15. Tr.in "Ante-Nicene Fathers"II.65-83.

774. Minucius Felix "Octavius" XXXVII.12.

775. Cyprian "Ad Euchratium"LXI. cf."Ad Donat."8,9. and "Epp."II. CIII.
An anonymous "De Spectaculis" has been ascribed to St.Cyprian (P.L.Migne IV.779.)

776. Lactantius "Divin.Instit."VI.20.

777. Hieron."Ep.ad Sabin." I.5. cf.Ep.LII.

778. ib. "Ep."II7.- difficile inter epulas servatur pudicitia. (P.L.Migne XXII.957)

779. Hieronymus "in Ezechiel" (P.L.Migne XXV.189) - a spectaculis removeamus oculos arenae circi theatri.
St.Augustine "De Fide et Symbolo" (P.L.Migne XL.639) - in the--atris labes morum,discere turpia,audire inhonesta, videre perniciosa.

780. St.Augustine "De Civit.Dei" I.32. - ludi scaenici,spectacula turpitudinum et licentia vanitatum,non hominum vitiis sed deorum vestrorum iussis Romae instituti sunt.

781. ibid. I.31.32.

782. ibid. II.8.

783. Cicero "De Rep."IV.10.33.

784. St.Augustine supra II.8.9.12.25.26.
cf.also IV.i.(quoting Varro).26.

785. ib. "Confess." III.2.where,speaking of his early life at Carthage,he says "rapiebant me spectacula the--atrica."

786. ib. "De Civit.Dei" II.4. cf.III.17. VI.6. VIII.5.

787. Gennadius "De Eccl.Dogm." LXXII.

788. Bingham "Antiquities of the Christian Church" XI.5.6.

789. "Apost.Const." VIII.32.

790. "Acta Sanctorum" I.Bollandus.
cf.Bury in Gibbon "Decline and Fall" I.50.

791. Orosius "Hist.adv Paganos"IV.21.5.- theatra incusanda,non tem-
-pora.

792. Salvian "De Gubernatione Dei" VI.

793. St.Augustine "De Cons.Evang." I.33.- per omnes pene civitates cadunt theatra.

794. Salvian VI.39.42.49.

795. Sidonius "Ep."I.10.2.- vereor autem ne famem Populi Romani theatralis caveae fragor insonet et infortunio meo publica deputetur esuries.
cf.Ep.I.5.10.

796. ib. "Carm."XXIII.263. cf.Ep.IX.13.5.

797. "Cassiodori Senatoris Variae":Recensuit T.Mommsen 1894.
(Monumenta Germaniae Historiae:Auctores Antiquissimi. Vol.XII)

798. Cassiodorus "Variae" IV.51.
Of the mime is said - mimus etiam,qui nunc modo derisui habetur tanta Philistionis cautela repertus est ut eius actus poneretur in litteris.
Of the pantomime - orchestrarum loquacissimae manus,linguosi digiti,silentium clamosum,expositio tacita.

799. "Variae" I.20,31-33.

800. ib. IX.21.- opes nostras scaenicis pro populi oblectatione largimur.

801. e.g.St.Chrysostom "Ad Pop.Antioch."Hom:XV.4.
"In S.Barlaam Martyr" 4.
"In Matt.Homil."VI.7. VII.5.
Sermon on Easter Sunday A.D.399 (P.G.Migne LVI.263. cf.LVII.71.426. LVIII.120.188.etc.)
A.Puech "St.Jean Chrysostome et les Moeurs de son Temps"(1891) has an interesting chapter on the "spectacula".

802. "Corpus Iuris Civilis"vol.III.cv.i.- faciet processum qui ad theatrum ducit,quem pornas vocant,ubi in scena ridiculorum est locus tragoedis et thymelicis choris.
cf.Choricius "Apology for Mimes",ed.Graux in "Rev.d.Philologie" I.209.

803. "C.Iur.Civ." supra vol.II. V.4.23. and I.4.33.

804. Trullo - The Council held in A.D.692 in Constantinople,under Justinian II.,is generally known as the "Council in Trullo" because it was held in the same domed hall (trulla,trullium) where the 6th.General Council had met. Its disciplinary Canons were recognized in the East,but not in the West.

805. Hefele-Leclercq "Histoire des Conciles",Paris I907. I.256,283, I032. II.87,89,I26,47I. III.566,569.

806. A~~r~~é remarkable collection of prohibitions against the stage is given in Prynne "Histrio-Mastix",W.Prynne I633.