Ancient Greek Theatre, Sicily and Medieval Comedy

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One of the features of the twelfth-century renaissance was the revival of secular Latin verse drama. The rehabilitation of man brought about or exemplified by St Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, stressing the humanity of Christ as well as his divinity, the re-introduction of Roman law based on intention as well as on result, these factors went towards making individual people worthy of respect and worthy of study.[1] On literature the effects were of enormous consequence. We see the re-emergence of autobiography after centuries of neglect: Guibert of Nogent's *Monodiae*, Peter Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum*. We see the breathing of real life into hagiography with the biography of a flesh and blood saintly lady named Christina of Markyate. We see the brilliant flowering of the lyric I, the first person poems of Hugh Primas, Walter of Chatillon and the Archpoet, which would be the subject of numerous books if they had been written in a medieval vernacular. And to bring me back to my beginning, we see the re-establishment of literary drama, like autobiography, absent from the literary map for the previous seven centuries, apart, that is, from the Saxon nun Rosvitha's brilliant fusion of ancient Roman drama and Christian martyrology. However, just as social, legal and philosophical conditions are necessary for a literary genre to flourish, so too are the linguistic conditions, and in the particular case of the revival of secular Latin theatre, knowledge of ancient Roman drama would appear to be a requisite. As for knowledge of the ancient Roman theatre, the study of Terence was far more widespread than it is today, the masters of the Loire Valley in France were reading Plautus, probably in the famous monastery of Fleury, and they were also studying Donatus' fourth-century commentary on Terence, which even today is the largest source of our knowledge of the ancient theatre. If I seem to insist on this last point it is because these facts seem to have

been forgotten and they are germane to my subject. In *The Theatre of Medieval Europe:New Research in Early Drama (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 1991), the editor, Eckehard Simon writes 'Terence the playwright and the Roman stage were unknown' and talking of Rosvitha and the 12th- century comedies: 'One doubts therefore that the authors thought of them as staged drama.' Now it is patently absurd to state that Terence and the Roman stage were unknown, as the Loire Valley evidence alone demonstrates.[2] To this one could add the fact that Boethius' work *De Duabus Personis* in which he discusses 'persona' as related to the Roman stage, was read and commented on from the Carolingian period right through the 12th century.[3] Commentators argued over whether 'persona' was the actor or the role he played or the mask that designated the role. Some 600 medieval manuscripts of Terence are still extant today, and some of those are illustrated. Many medieval commentaries of Terence have never been edited. As for the second statement, concerning what the medieval authors thought they were doing, that will have to be considered in detail, and moreover, that is where Sicily will come into the reckoning.

It is universally believed that the earliest of the twenty or so extant medieval Latin comedies is the one called *Pamphilus*, whose anonymous author was inspired by a poem of Ovid and wrote a dialogued version of Ovid's theme involving the would-be lover, the girl and the old bawd, acting as go-between. With one notable exception, scholars date this comedy circa 1130 and locate its origins in the Loire Valley of France.[4] Within the next twenty or so years comedies had been firmly set in a new direction which recalled ancient Roman theatre. Vitalis of Blois undoubtedly picked up a Plautus MS of the so-called Palatine recension which originated in the Loire Valley. He took the first play in the codex, the *Amphytruo*, and up-dated it, calling it by a new name, *Geta*, the name of a slave he introduced into the plot. This information Vitalis gives us in the Prologue to his second play, *Aulularia*, which he also claims to have adapted from Plautus:

> why that's Plautus' fault, not mine.
> I am free from all blame; I'm only following Plautus,
> and the subject demands great things for itself.
> This comedy - mine or Plautus' - gets its name from a pot,
> but that which was Plautus' is now mine.

I have curtailed Plautus, and he is enriched by the loss;
Vitalis' writings earn applause for Plautus.
First the "Amphitryon", and now the "Aulularia",
long oppressed by age, rejoice in Vitalis' help.
(transl. A.G.Elliott)

That Plautus is telling the truth, or what he thinks is the truth, has been demonstrated by Ludwig Braun and argued by myself from different standpoints but converging to reach the same conclusion.[5] This view is that Vitalis took a MS from Fleury and updated two of the plays at the beginning of it, the *Amphytruo* and the *Aulularia* (Plautus MSS have the plays copied in alphabetical order). The fact that the *Aulularia* is not actually by Plautus, does not invalidate this argument because the Palatine recension Plautus MSS contain precisely the Pseudo- Plautine *Aulularia* and not the genuine one. Plautus was virtually unknown at the time, so Vitalis clearly signalled that he was a playwright by placing at the beginning of his own adaptations a synopsis of the plot (Argumentum) and a prologue (Prologus) in which he complained about the difficult circumstances authors were experiencing. These features (Argumentum and Prologus) are characteristic of Terence's plays and Terence moans regularly in his prologues about his lack of success as an author. As everyone read Terence they would recognise the parallels. However, the Italian scholars who are re-editing the whole corpus of medieval comedies have a different view, one which they originally held some 15 years ago and to which they have recently returned after appearing to espouse in the meantime what one might call the theatre view expounded in 1978.[6] The Italian view, defended mainly by Ferruccio Bertini[7] and Giovanni Orlandi,[8] is that just as Terence in his prologues mentioned Menander as one of his sources, so Vitalis mentions Plautus, not because he actually is using Plautus, but simply by 'Imitatio'. This thesis raises some serious questions, however:

1. Why pick on Plautus as a source if you are not writing a play based on a play found in a Plautus MS? After all, Terence was indeed writing a play based on a Menander play as he stated.
2. How do you by accident choose as a source two Pseudo-Plautine texts circulating separately, the *Aulularia* which we possess and a supposed *Amphytrion* or *Geta* of which there is no evidence to be found in any medieval catalogue or in any medieval writer's work?

3. Why apply Terentian characteristics to the text if it is not a play?

To the best of my knowledge only the last question has even been acknowledged by the Italians and Orlandi simply says he finds any evidence of Terence's influence on Vitalis unconvincing.[9]

Notwithstanding the Italians, then, this firm establishment of the genre in the classical tradition, recalling its origins[10], while making it fit twelfth-century tastes, was further strengthened by the appearance of a third comedy, the *Alda* of William of Blois. It follows the pattern set by Vitalis. There is an Argumentum and a Prologus in which William claims to have based his work ultimately on the ancient Greek playwright Menander:

> Versibus ut pulicis et musce iurgia risi,
> occurrit nostro mascula virgo stilo:
> nominis accipio pro nomine significatum,
> non potui nomen lege domare pedum.
> Venerat in linguam nuper peregrina latinam
> hec de Menandri fabula rapta sinu:
> vilis et exul erat et rustica plebis in ore,
> que fuerat comis vatis in ore sui.
>
> (Prologue, 1-8)

> After I had mocked in my verse
> the quarrel between the flea and the fly,
> the tale of the 'Man-Become-Maid'
> offers itself to my pen (I've had to use
> a substitute title instead of the real one -
> the correct name would not scan in my meter).
> This play was a recent import, ravished
> from Menander's bosom, and already translated
> into Latin - a shabby job, however, unidiomatic,
> couched in the crude language of the common folk,
> although very elegant in its poet's native Greek.
>
> (transl. A.G.Elliott)

Now this is an extraordinary claim which the earliest historians of the medieval theatre at the end of the 19th century treated with contempt on the whole. Menander was unknown in the West in the Middle Ages except for the references to him in the Prologues of Terence's plays and in the commentary by Donatus, so in the eyes of

these earlier scholars this was simply an attempt by a medieval author to father his work on to an illustrious name in order to give it some spurious value that would ensure its survival. This early view was shaken by the discovery of some fragments of a Menander play called *Androgynos*. This would presumably be the 'Man-Become-Maid' or 'Mascula Virgo' referred to by William in his prologue. Unfortunately the Menander fragments are too small to enable any comparison with the *Alda*, but the fact remains that Menander wrote a play called *Androgynos*. Nevertheless, Bertini has recently taken his 'Imitatio' theory one step further.[11] According to the Italian scholar, William is simply copying Vitalis's idea, and instead of claiming Plautus as his source he claims Menander. But this puts us in an unacceptable situation. Having previously been asked to accept the existence of an unknown and unrecorded text (a Pseudo-Plautine *Geta*), we are now asked by Bertini to disregard a known text. By pure coincidence, we are led to believe, William wrote a story, probably based on a French fabliau like 'Trubert' (unfortunately thirteenth-c) or 'Le Sohaiz desvez' (by Jean Bodel c.1200), ascribed it to Menander and gave it the name of a Menander play whose existence was seemingly unknown before this century! The elements worthy of consideration in this theory are that it confines the problem to the Loire Valley and seems to fit into the literary or academic polemics voiced by the teacher-writers associated with the schools there.[12] William of Blois would be engaging in a bit of one-upmanship, falsely claiming to have read an even more obscure author than his fellow townsman Vitalis. I say 'seems to fit' because William does not say he has read Menander - on the contrary he says it was a poor Latin version of Menander's Greek he encountered.

In reply to Bertini's unsatisfactory model Braun has suggested another.[13] Following up his well-founded view that Vitalis was using a Plautus MS, he constructs what one might call the MS model, sadly neglected by the Italians. Various versions of a MS model proposed by other scholars are rejected by him. First, the existence of a late antique MS in which various plays by Menander and Plautus were included in the guise of Latin prose novels - a view propounded by Gaiser.[14] Second, the existence of a MS containing the synopses of Menander's plays - a view propounded by Neumann.[15] Braun proposes a more cautious solution, namely that in one of the numerous medieval commentaries, possibly extant, of Terence a commentator noted that the plot of Terence's play 'The Eunuch' is very similar to the

'Androgynos' of Menander. He then gave a resume or synopsis of Menander's play. This is what William of Blois read. William composed some scenes himself, but also modified one of Vitalis' scenes in the *Geta*. Braun's model is very seductive, and one could add further examples to those adduced by him to show knowledge of Greek literature in the Loire Valley which could best be explained by the commentary theory.[16]. But Braun himself points to one disturbing fact, namely the presence of an alternative Greek title to the *Alda* in a manuscript. If William adapted a Menander play whose Greek name he could only hint at in Latin in the prologue because of the constraints of Latin metre, why does a library catalogue of Erfurt, written in 1412 list 'Item Musa Blesensis egregia de antropygnaculo (sc. androgynaculo) id est de mascula virgine'? Why does it not give the Latin title *Alda* and where did it get the Greek name from? Since Braun's article further MS evidence has surfaced. In Hugh of Macon's *Gesta Militum* of the thirteenth century there are references to 'comedia que Grece dicitur Antrapiaculo' followed by a quote from the *Alda*, and to a 'comedia Ulphi que vocatur Antrapiaculo' with another quote from the *Alda*. This would suggest that William himself used the Greek title as an alternative but that copyists of the *Alda* either ignored it or were unaware of it. This does not invalidate Braun's model but it does seriously weaken it.[17] If we were dealing with a purely Loire Valley problem it is difficult to envisage how copies of the text lacked the Greek title yet people elsewhere knew it one or two centuries later. Braun's theory may still prove to be right, but at the risk of appearing churlish and guilty of contradictions myself in not adopting the neat, logical solution of Braun after rejecting the inconsistent and contradictory model of Bertini, let me pursue a third explanation, Sicily. This was suggested at the end of the last century but since Wintzweiller's edition of the *Alda* in 1930 has not been accepted by anyone except the occasional Grecist.

Now we know some things about William's career that might make his claim to have come into contact with a Menander play less extraordinary than first thought, and help to flesh out the meagre vague details of MS evidence. If we were to rely entirely on the latter we would know that a poet from Blois wrote a comedy variously called *Alda*, or *Alba* or *Antropygnaculum* or *Mascula Virgo* or *Antrapiaculum* or *Ulfus*. We would not know the author's name. Fortunately for us, and for William, Peter of Blois in a letter to his brother William, written in 1170, congratulates him on giving up his

position as Abbot of the Monastery of Matina in the Kingdom of Sicily, consoling him with the thought that his authorship of a tragedy called *Flaura et Marcus*, of a debate-poem called 'The Flea and the Fly', of a comedy called *Alda*, of sermons and of theological works, if they were more widely available and read, would bring him more glory than four abbacies. Now we know that Peter of Blois accompanied Stephen of Perche to Sicily in 1166 when he was appointed keeper of the royal seal and preceptor to the infant King William II in Palermo. It is certain that either William of Blois accompanied his brother or was called for immediately. William was a Benedictine monk, presumably from St Laumer in Blois, so some sort of religious appointment would appear to have been the most plausible reward for having joined the party that came to the aid of the widowed Marguerite of Navarre and her infant son William II. The post that Marguerite tried to obtain for him was that of Abbot Bishop of Catania, which was vacant at the time, but intense opposition from the local clergy prevented her from succeeding, and Marguerite had recourse to the Pope to offer him instead episcopal privileges to go with the abbacy of Matina, not on the island of Sicily itself but on the mainland of Italy in Calabria. This possibly saved William's life, because the attempts of Stephen of Perche's party to take control of Sicilian affairs caused a palace revolution in which they were virtually all killed according to Peter. He says that only he and another Norman literary man, named Roger, escaped.[18]. What does this tell us other than the fact that William of Blois was the author of the *Alda*? That William was in the Kingdom of Sicily from 1166/67 to 1170. That he had written the *Alda* by 1170. We could also justifiably argue, in my view, that William wrote his works while in Sicily. In 1170 Peter was writing from France and it is reasonable to think that if William had written his works while he was in Blois before 1166, these would be available for others to read. Their lack of availability in France can perhaps best be explained by the fact that they were written in Sicily, and copies had not yet been made for general circulation. I would suggest, too, that lines 5 & 6 of the prologue are better suited to a Sicilian context than to a Loire Valley one, though the actual meaning of 'nuper'(recently) and which word it is to qualify 'venerat' or 'peregrina' are the subject of scholarly controversy.[19]. The sound arguments of Bertini that the 'Argumentum' and 'Prologus' of the *Alda* are based on Vitalis' use of them does not invalidate my position. While it is true that we might find this fact more consistent with

William actually writing in the Loire Valley, it must be remembered that Vitalis' *Geta* was an immediate success and quickly became a school setbook all over Europe. That William should know it, or bits of it, by heart would not be surprising. Education was largely a question of learning texts by heart, and where books are few memory is enhanced. Even in the Renaissance, Petrarch's pupil Giovanni Malpaghini learnt his master's 'Carmen Bucolicum' by heart in 11 days - all 1883 lines of it![20] At the most William would have had to learn some 550 lines. But, following Braun's style of thinking, one could imagine that Peter had taken a copy of Vitalis' *Geta* along with him to teach the infant King in Sicily. Similarly the references to crude material in the last four lines of William's prologue do not show that William was totally unaware of the fact that Menander was a very uncrude writer; William is referring to the material of the Latin version that has come to his notice. In any case, the material of Menander's *Androgynos* can hardly have been totally innocent, even if the wording was. As it happens, William's vocabulary is not particularly crude, though perhaps not quite what one would expect from a Benedictine monk. It is more in keeping with a fabliau like 'L'Ecureuil' than with 'Le Marche aux Vits' or 'Les Quatre Souhaits de Saint Martin'. One might also observe that the name of the father is Ulfus, an obviously Norman name, and would thus better suit a Norman context in Sicily than a Loire Valley one. As far as I know, this is the only Norman name to be found in the twenty or so comedies we have. A further point to ponder is that the references to the 'comedia que dicitur de Antrapiaculo' found in Hugh of Macon's *Gesta Militum* referred to previously were quotations from Guido de Grana, an Italian sounding name. Is it possible, then, that a travesty of a Menander play could be found in Latin in the twelfth century in the Kingdom of Sicily? As the Normans had been in Southern Italy and Sicily for over 100 years by the time William arrived there, there would have been plenty of time for something in Greek to have been translated into Latin. The Muslim conquerors of the island who had ruled it for the two centuries preceding the Norman invasion had allowed the indigenous population, among whom were Greeks, to keep their customs and languages, and we find illustrations, even in thirteenth-c. MSS, of Greek, Saracen and Latin notaries at the royal court in Palermo.[21] And of course, there were Greeks in Southern Italy, Calabria, where William's monastery was, and Apulia. So, either on the mainland or on the island it was feasible to find Greek

culture which had been been in contact with Norman Latin culture for 100 years by the time of William's arrival. One might also find a more plausible explanation for William's statement in the prologue that he could not put Menander's title into elegiac verse. As scholars have pointed out, the genuine title *Androgynos* or the supposed deformed one *Androgynaculum* will both fit into elegiac verse, so doubts have been raised about William's Latinity.[22] Now nothing in William's verses suggest that his scansion was faulty. Indeed, his brother Peter even subjected his own work for William's correction. Also, the Greek titles found in Terence commentaries and cited by Braun are correct, so it is unlikely that an impossible title for the *Androgynos* would be found there. This leaves open the possibility that an unscannable title - *Antrapiaculum* - was heard by William in the Kingdom of Sicily, and that this title accompanied a MS which went to Germany, via Italy, while the 'Alda' title featured on a MS which William circulated on his return to France.

If what I have just said could explain the presence of a Latin translation of a Greek text in Sicily and the presence of a Greek title on MSS, what are the chances of a Menander text being known there in some form? Certainly the name of Menander was known to the Greeks in the 11th century, because the Byzantine teacher, Michael Psellos says he taught Menander to his pupils. The English Byzantinist Nigel Wilson thinks that Psellos simply taught his pupils Menander's name, but A.P.Kazhdan and A.W. Epstein think that Psellos knew more than the mere name, pointing out that in the next century two other teachers, Tzetzes and Eustathios wrote commentaries on the ancient tragedians as well as on Aristophanes.[23] In this context it is difficult to believe that Menander was not known, but I have to admit that William's statement, if true, is the only knowledge of him to be found in the twelfth century. So, as regards Menander, some knowledge of him was present in Greek-speaking communities, but we cannot be totally certain that the Kingdom of Sicily knew him, and we are left with no clear choice between it and the Loire Valley.

Would the Greeks have had any knowledge of actual theatrical performance of any sort in the twelfth century? Can we find, on the mainland of Greece, on the island of Sicily, which once had produced a whole dynasty of playwrights (their founder, incidentally, named Philemon, even beat Menander in theatre contests) or in Southern Italy, once called Magna Graecia, which, like Sicily has yielded to archaeologists a host of vases decorated with play scenes, can we find

any signs of theatrical performance in the middle ages?[24] Unfortunately, the latest research tool is silent on Byzantine theatre.[25]. We can ignore the hoary old chestnut of the *Christos Paschon*, the undateable Euripidean cento on Christ's Passion and still find evidence of religious theatre at least. We find this in the report of the Bishop of Cremona, Liutprand, who went on two diplomatic missions to Byzantium in the 10th century. On the second occasion he was insultingly treated by the Basileos, the Greek ruler, and showed his ill-feelings by writing a terse account of this mission in his *Legatio*. One tantalising remark simply notes that it was the day they performed an Elijah play.[26] Was this a prophet play? One can only hazard a guess about how it was performed, but the fiery chariot seems a must. Now on his first mission to the Byzantine court Liutprand was well received and he wrote a glowing account in his *Antapodosis*, remarking particularly on the 'automata', pneumatic or mechanical robots to be found there. Perhaps we could envisage the fiery chariot as an automaton. After all, it was the Basileos' throne that rose suddenly so high in the air, making it impossible, according to Liutprand, to hold a conversation with him.[27] If I seem to labour this point it is because the seduction scene in the *Alda* requires a male member that is capable of increasing and decreasing in size according to whether it is in the pre-coital or post-coital phase, or rather phases, since the innocent girl enjoys intercourse several times. Now obviously we do not have to posit the use of an automaton; imaginative use of the jongleur's marotte or fool's bauble for sexual scenes is what scholars argue for medieval French theatre. We could suggest that here. Similarly, we do not have to think in terms of Byzantine territory, since at the time William was writing the author of the French 'Roman d'Eneas' was describing automata, so it is possible to accept the automata theory but reject my geography and locate the writing of the *Alda* in France. However, the possibility of a Kingdom of Sicily origin for the *Alda* remains and will remain there until Ludwig Braun finds his MS or some other overwhelming evidence is brought to bear from another source.

As regards theatrical interest we have noted some among the Greeks. What about the Latin-speaking Normans? They are not renowned for their literary tastes, but some interesting facts are relevant to our topic. Another twelfth century comedy, *Pamphilus, Glycerium and Birria* comes from Normandy itself.[28] Also from Normandy is a late 11th-century MS containing dialogues. One of

these, featuring Semiramis, has been called a play by Peter Dronke,[29] while another dialogue, featuring Jezebel, contains quite a lot of obscenities. So there would appear to be some interest in things theatrical or potentially theatrical.[30] That is, it is not difficult to envisage the two roles in the dialogue being taken by two different people. However, the situation regarding religious theatre is far more promising for my thesis. Both in quality and in quantity the extant religious plays from Normandy are remarkable. So is their variety. Karl Young's monumental two-volume study, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* shows the same Biblical episode receiving different treatment according to whether it was performed in Rouen Cathedral, in some other Rouen church or somewhere else in the Diocese of Rouen.[31] This interest in religious theatre even went so far as to encompass the vernacular; both the *Jeu d'Adam* and *La Seinte Resurreccion* have Norman or Anglo-Norman origins.

To what extent the Normans who went to Sicily embraced these same interests is difficult to gauge, but not impossible. Young lists only two MSS of Sicilian origin, both of the twelfth century when the Normans held sway there. These are now in Madrid, presumably removed from Sicily to Spain before Spanish rule in the island collapsed in 1713. Unfortunately, Donovan's more recent *Liturgical Drama in Spain* (1958) adds nothing to our knowledge.[32] But it must be remembered that of all European countries Spain is probably the worst as regards cataloguing and identification of its MS holdings, so there may well be more waiting to be found. In fact, one has just been found. The French musicologist Marcel Pérès has recently discovered in Madrid a 12th-century *Peregrinus* or Journey to Emmaus play, complete with music, in a MS from Palermo Cathedral, now Madrid B.N. Vitrina 20-4. He performed it on May 17, 1991 in the Church of Notre Dame de la Gloriette in Caen in Normandy.

The subject-matter of the Sicilian plays gives us a strange picture at the moment. We possess one Easter Sepulchre, three Peregrini or Journey to Emmaus and one Magi play. While the Easter ceremonies appear pretty comprehensive (passion plays date from the thirteenth century and are very rare) it is inconceivable that there would be no Nativity to accompany the Magi, and considering the Normans' predilection for Prophet plays it is unlikely they would not have used them in Sicily. Similarly, as the shepherds feature in the Magi play, returning to their fields, we can surely expect there to have been a shepherds' play to precede it. Perhaps one day the Spanish libraries

will be better organised and more Sicilian MSS will come to light. Unfortunately, Young's Index does not allow us to access easily that part of the Kingdom of Sicily on the mainland of Italy, encompassing Calabria and Apulia.[33]

However, I hope that I have shown that the Sicilian connection for William of Blois' 'Alda' is not a weak one to be dismissed out of hand. I have been able to bring to bear on the problem the following points:

1. William's presence in Sicily from 1166/67 to 1169/70
2. The fact that 'nuper' and 'peregrina' in his prologue are marginally better suited to Sicily than to the Loire Valley
3. knowledge of Menander among the Greeks
4. knowledge of theatre among the Greeks
5. Norman interest in things theatrical
6. Norman religious plays in Sicily.

This is by no means conclusive, as I recognise, but at the moment it seems to me that it is preferable to the Bertini theory and at least as good as the Braun one. Until further evidence comes to light to disprove it, I think modern scholars are wrong to dismiss Sicily from the reckoning.

NOTES

[1] J.F. Benson, 'Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed.J.F. Benson and G. Constable (1982), pp.263-95, and K.J.Weintraub, *The Value of the Individual* (Chicago 1978), esp. chs3 and 4.

[2] Apart from the presence of MSS in the Loire Valley, one can note the use of Terence by the writers of twelfth-century comedies. H. Hagendahl, 'La "Comédie" latine au XIIe siècle et ses modèles antiques', in DRAGMA *Martino P. Nilsson dedicatum,* (Lund 1939), p.230, grudgingly accepts elements like the names of characters and the presence of arguments and prologues; S.Pittaluga, however, shows how Terence's phrases were used by the anonymous author of one comedy: 'Echi Terenziani nel "Pamphilus", *Studi Medievali,* 23 (1982), 297-302. The influence of Terence on the comedies is however much more profound than mere verbal echoes or the presence of arguments and prologues,and I hope to write more fully on this subject in the near future. See also M. Billerbeck, 'Spuren von Donats Terenzkommentar bei Hugo Primas', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, 103 (1975),430-34.

[3] M. Marshall, 'Boethius' Definition of "Persona" and Medieval Understanding of the Roman Theatre', *Speculum*, 25 (1950), 471-83.

[4] It was P. Dronke, 'A Note on "Pamphilus"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 42 (1979), 225-30, who identified it as being the earliest of the extant comedies, but he dates it to the end of the eleventh century and favours a Germanic origin.

[5] A.K. Bate, 'Language for School and Court: Comedy in *Geta*, *Alda* and *Babio*,' in L'*Eredita Classica nel Medioevo*: *il Linguaggio Comico* (Viterbo 1979), 143-56; L. Braun, 'Die "dramatische" Technik des Vitalis von Blois und sein Verhaltnis zu seinen Quellen', *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia* 13 (1985), 60-83.

[6] Bertini et al., *Commedie Latine del XII e XIII Secolo* (Genoa 1976, 5 vols so far). See also Bertini, 'Riflessi di polemiche fra litterati nel prologo della *Lidia* di Arnolfo di Orleans', *Sandalion*, 1 (1978), 193-209, esp. p.204.

[7] Bertini, 'Da Menandro e Plauto alla comedia Latina del XII secolo' in *Filologia e Forme Litterarie*, 5 (1987), 319-33.

[8] G. Orlandi in the introduction to his edition of *Baucis et Traso*, in *Commedie Latine*, III (1980),esp. pp.255-60, and in 'Classical Latin Satire and Medieval Elegiac Comedy', in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tadition*, ed. P. Godman and O. Murray (Oxford 1990), p.97-114.

[9] Orlandi, 'Classical Latin Satire', p.101, n.20.

[10] See e.g. A.G. Elliott, *Seven Medieval Latin Comedies* (New York 1984; B.Roy, 'Arnulf of Orleans and the Latin "Comedy", *Speculum*, 9 (1974), 258-66.

[11] Bertini, 'Da Menandro'. He gives a survey of the views on the origins of the *Alda* on pp.325-26.

[12] See Bertini's 'Riflessi' for a clear, penetrating study on this subject.

[13] L. Braun, 'Wie kam Menander in den Prolog der *Alda* ?', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 41 (1990), 241-55.

[14] K. Gaiser, *Menanders "Hydria"* (Heidelberg 1977), a work that over-emphasises the influence of the Greek theatre on the Middle Ages.

[15] G. Neumann, 'Menanders *"Androgynos"*', Hermes, 81 (1953), 491-96.

[16] E.g. Hugo Primas' poem 'Annus erat decimus et mensis in ordine primus', based on Horace, Satires II, 5, including those remarks of Odysseus in Homer omitted by Horace. Text in C.J. McDonough, *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel Lyricss* (Toronto 1984), p.44-47.

[17] Braun, 'Wie kam Menander' where he added the Hugh of Macon material as a "Korrekturzusatz".

[18] Much of the preceding material relevant to Peter and William in Sicily is conveniently assembled by Bertini in 'Da Menandro', 321-23.

[19] Bertini, 'Da Menandro', 325.

[20] G.W. Pigman III, 'Neo-Latin Imitation of the Latin Classics' in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, pp.199-210 (201-02).

[21] E.g. Bern MS 120/II f.98, reproduced in C. Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (London 1969).

[22] Braun, 'Wie kam Menander' 243, n.6.

[23] N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983), p.163; A.P. Kazhdan and A.W. Epstein *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley 1985), pp.123, 136.

[24] A selection of the vases, Phlyax and Gnathian, can be seen in M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (2nd, enlarged ed.), (Princeton 1961).

[25] E. Simon, *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama* (Cambridge 1991).

[26] Liutprand of Cremona, *Legatio* 31: 'Decimotertio autem, quo die leves Graeci raptionem Heliae prophetae ad caelos ludis scenicis celebrant, me se adire praecepit.'

[27] Liutprand: *Antapodosis* VI,5.

[28] (Ed. A. Savi) *Commedie Latine* I (1976).

[29] P. Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1970), pp.66-113.

[30] J. Ziolkowski, *Jezebel* (Los Angeles, 1989).

[31] Oxford 1933.

[32] Toronto 1958.

[33] I have deliberately omitted centres from the north of the Kingdom of Sicily like Monte Cassino and Beneventum. These would obviously offer many more examples of religious drama performed in the twelfth century but their relevance to the Normans is probably only marginal. Dr Jeremy Johns of Oxford informs me that a recent book by Salvatori Tramonta, *L'Ephemero nel Sicilia Normanna* (Palermo 1989), details much activity of a theatrical nature, but I have been unable to see a copy of it at the time of going to press. The Latin text with English, French and German translations and recording of the Peregrinus play are now available on CD Harmonia Mundi 901347.