

A Comparison of the Female Characters
in Plautus and in Terence

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INTRODUCTION.

For many years the critics of Plautus and Terence maintained that the characters in the plays of the two authors were only stock types, were much the same in both authors, and were simply shadowy imitations of the characters in Greek New Comedy.

In 1598 Beaumont¹ complained that "Terence followeth Plautus, Plautus Statius, Statius Menander, and Menander other Grecians before him." Their object was (he said)- "to shewe the wantonnesse of some young women: the loosenesse of many young men: the craftie school-pointes of many old bawdes...".

Although Aly² (1894) says:- "Plautus ist allerdings kein ^{Originalgenie} ~~original~~ genie, aber ebenso wenig ein blosser Übersetzer", he also goes on to remark:- "Um so ^{den} betender ist das, was Plautus in der Charakteristik selbst leistet: hier ist er offenbar vielfach über seine Vorbilder hinausgegangen." Teuffel³ (1916) comments:- "Die Hauptcharaktere sind sorgliche Väter, listige Sklaven, geld-und-liebehungrige Hetären."

Again Gomme⁴ (1937) states:- "In Plautus there is little

- 1 . F.Beaumont, Introductory letter to John Speght's edition of Chaucer, 1598.
- 2 . F.Aly, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur (Berlin, 1894), pp.45,47.
- 3 . W.Teuffel, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur (revised Kroll and Skutsch, 1916), p.26.
- 4 . A.W.Gomme, Essays in Greek History and Literature (Oxford 1937). "Menander", pp.249-295.

real observation of character." Anyone who has read and enjoyed Plautus will be outraged by this remark for Alcmena (Amphitruo), Cleostrata (Casina), Phronesium (Truculentus) are all depicted in detail together with many others. And we find Post⁵(1930) claiming that the characters of Terence are not sufficiently differentiated. We have only to compare two 'matronae', Sostrata in Hecyra and Sostrata in Heanton Timorumenos to know that this charge lacks substantiation.

Even Taladoire,⁶ surprisingly enough, in the enlightened year of 1956 writes of Plautus:- "Sauf à de rares exceptions la galerie des personnages est toujours la même." And again:- "Et le plus souvent ces types sont à ce point interchangeables, qu'on les confond aisément d'une pièce à l'autre, car à quelques nuances près, ils se suffisent à eux-mêmes et ne reflètent chacun, malgré les noms différents, qu'un seul et même exemplaire de comédie pure."

Bound up with all this is the question as to whether the early critics, notably those of the Germanic "Kwellenforschung" school, were not so absorbed in their specialities of textual criticism, language, metre, structure etc. that they were apt to forget the plays were primarily written for a holiday audience, not for scholars. Over the last few decades there has been a growing revolt against this over-analytical criticism, and

5 . L.A.Post, "The Art of Terence", C. W. 23, 1929-1930.
pp.121-128.

6 . B.A.Taladoire, Essai sur le Comique de Plaute (Monaco, 1956),
pp.158,159. (N.B. This was originally presented for a
doctorate in 1948).

Duckworth⁷ says:- "There has been far too much emphasis upon logic and art in a form of drama where entertainment and amusement should be the main criteria." Little⁸ adds that:- "The text of Plautus has been subjected to so minute a scrutiny that one is tempted to forget the author, his native tradition, and his audience." Frank⁹ and Duff¹⁰ both contribute similar views.

With the aid of scholars such as Duckworth, Flickinger, Prescott, Wilner, Hough, and others it has come to be understood that both Plautus and Terence were writers of pronounced calibre, and certainly had sufficient creative ability to individualise their characters. Tenney Frank¹¹ in an almost inspired paragraph writes: "In the Senate, in the Forum, in the fields of jurisprudence and administration, the Roman revealed daring, versatility, imagination.....whereas in literary expression, we are told, he was utterly imitative. The picture was not very convincing. Have we misread the modern connotation of the word 'imitation'? Have we neglected to penetrate the fog of concealing centuries into the active pulsating life of Roman men and women, and pursued, instead, the easier task of detecting parallels?"

7 . G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy (Princeton, 1952) p.198.

8 . A.Little, "Plautus and Popular Drama", H.S.C.Ph. 49 (1938), pp.205-228.

9.. T.Frank, Review of Jachmann's 'Plautinisches und Attisches', A.J.P. 53(1932), p.82.

10 . J.Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome (Revised A.M.Duff, Benn, 1960), pp.134 ff.

11 . T.Frank, Life and Literature in the Roman Republic (Berkeley, 1930), foreword.

The dogmatic statement that the characters were types in type situations can be refuted by a close study of the women in the plays. Certainly the characters - including the women - fall into certain groupings, but within these groups there is infinite variety. Among the 'meretrices' one has only to look at Plautus' rapacious Phronesium (Truculentus) and then contrast her with Terence's self-sacrificing Bacchis (Hecyra). Legrand¹² (Loeb) comments on the varied characters created within the limits of these groups and refers to "minor details of an infinite diversity." Michaut¹³ is even more explicit:- "Quelle immense galerie.....vieilles femmes tyranniques ou faciles à rire, jalouses ou aimables, intéressées ou disintéressées, égoïstes ou aimantes; femmes vertueuses, 'grandes dames', et bourgeoisies."

The superiority of Plautus over Terence and 'vice versa' has been a controversial subject for some time. Norwood¹⁴ states:- "Plautus wrote plays like a blacksmith mending a watch" - another of his picturesque but ill-founded similes. To demolish this one has only to read in Amphitruo the scenes between Alcmena and Amphitruo which are written most skilfully and handled most delicately.

On the other hand Wright¹⁵ says that into his (Plautus)

12 . P.E.Legrand, The New Greek Comedy (Tr. J.Loeb, London, 1917), p.173.

13 . G.Michaut, Plaute II (Paris, 1920), p.105.

14 . G. Norwood, The Art of Terence (Oxford, 1923), p.1.

15 . F.A.Wright, Three Roman Poets (New York, 1938), p.33.

creations "he breathes his own abundant vitality. They are the sort of people whom he had personally known in his rough passage through life.....they are not at all respectable; their conduct is often dishonest, their language coarse and vulgar, but they have one merit which in literature makes amends for all; they are alive." It is certain that Plautus realised the necessity for the 'aliveness' of his characters. If he had not succeeded in injecting warmth and animation into his people the audience would soon have lost interest, and we know from the prologues (Amphitruo 15; Captivi 12-14; Mercator 14-15; Poenulus 28-35) how difficult it was to hold their attention. And when Juniper¹⁶ states that the audience for which Plautus catered was not interested in character play, I would maintain that it was because the spectators recognised the universality of Plautus' characters that they showed delight.

Terence is an equally fruitful subject for dispute. Post¹⁷ would like us to believe that:- "There is an absence of creative power in Terence's characters" - a statement with which few would agree. Norwood¹⁸ on the contrary, over-estimates Terence when he regards him as "one of the most consummate playwrights in the whole history of the stage."

16 . W.Juniper, op. cit. See note 21.

17 . L.A.Post, op. cit.

18 . G. Norwood, The Art of Terence, p.1.

Harsh¹⁹ and Rose²⁰ support Terence's claims as a delineator of character, and arguments have been advanced to show that his women are carefully and faithfully drawn.

With regard to the comparison of women characters in the two authors, some critics denied that Plautus' and Terence's characters could be examined together because of the different outlook of the two playwrights. Juniper²¹ writes:- "Because they had entirely different viewpoints, no study of character portrayal in Plautus and Terence taken together can give very gratifying results." On closer examination this does not appear to be an accurate statement, and Duckworth²² retorts:- "On the contrary, a clear picture of the methods and aims of the two playwrights cannot clearly be discerned otherwise."

In this comparison of the women characters in Plautus and in Terence I shall endeavour: (A) to show that the women characters in the plays of both men were vital living creatures with their own individual thoughts and emotions, and (B) to consider and evaluate any differences in approach by Plautus and Terence to their women characters.

In considering these women characters the six extant plays of Terence and seventeen of the twenty plays commonly attributed to Plautus will be discussed. I have omitted Captivi,

19 . P.W.Harsh, A Handbook of Classical Drama (Stamford, 1944), p.376.

20 . H.W.Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature (Methuen, 1936), p.78.

21 . W.Juniper, "Character Portrayal in Plautus", C.J.31 (1936), pp.276-288.

22. G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.268.

Pseudolus, and Trinummus (except for occasional references) as these three have no women characters with speaking parts. The fragmentary Vidularia has also been disregarded.

To what extent Plautus and Terence limited themselves to the characters of Menander and other writers of New Comedy goes beyond the bounds of this thesis and I have not attempted to investigate the question.

Textual variations will not be examined. I have accepted the standard text of W. M. Lindsay (2nd ed., Oxford, 1910) for Plautus, and that of R. Kauer and W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1926) for Terence.

The women characters will be considered in five chapters under the headings of:- 'Matronae', 'Meretrices', 'Ancillae and Nutrices', 'Virgines', and Incidental Rôles. These characters will be analysed and compared in detail: (A) through their speech and action, (B) through technical devices used by the authors - description, contrast, repetition, significant names.

The sixth chapter is concerned with the mechanics by which the playwrights handled their women characters. These will be discussed under the headings of (1) monologues, (2) eaves-dropping and asides, (3) foreshadowing and recognition, (4) scenes in which women are central characters, (5) language of women, (6) inorganic female rôles.

The conclusion recapitulates briefly the main findings in the chapters.

Appendix I contains a table of the number of lines spoken by the groups of women characters as compared with other characters. Appendix II contains a table of the metres used by the women characters.

A full bibliography is appended.

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CHAPTER I.

Matronae.

"New Comedy is misogynous." This is the blunt statement made by Legrand.¹ He notes that in only three of the plays of Plautus and Terence do we find happy marriages - the two wives, Panegyris and Pamphila in Stichus; Alcmena in Amphitruo; and Philumena in Hecyra. The last is really in a different category as, although it is clear that this marriage is to be happy in the future, it is not so during the period of the play.

Duckworth² thinks that this statement of Legrand's is made in jest, but I feel that behind these four words lies a certain amount of truth - especially as Legrand somewhat cynically comments on the fact that these happily-married wives are women to whom their husbands have just returned after a long absence. I would add further that these are young wives who have not yet experienced the thousand and one irritations of a long-continued marriage.

There are eleven 'matronae' in Plautus' plays, and five in Terence's. These are in Plautus:- Alcmena (Amphitruo); Artemona (Asinaria); Eunomia (Aulularia); Cleostrata and Myrrhina (Casina); Phanostrata (Cistellaria); Philippa

1 . Ph-E. Legrand, The New Greek Comedy (Trans. J. Loeb, London, 1917), p. 116.

2 . G. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p. 284.

(Epidicus); wife of Menaechmus I (Menaechmi); Dorippa (Mercator); Panegyris and Pamphila (Stichus). In Terence we have:- Myrrhina and Sostrata (Hecyra); Sostrata (Heauton Timorumenos); Nausistrata (Phormio); Sostrata (Adelphi).³

These 'matronae' range through a wide scale. At one end we have the shrewish 'uxor dotata' (e.g. Artemona in Plautus' Asinaria) who, because she has brought a large sum of money into her marriage, assumes that she owns her husband, body and soul, for the rest of his life.⁴ The Roman audience undoubtedly enjoyed the picture of the nagging wife pursuing her errant husband, and Plautus exploited this to the full. At the other end we have the best type of Roman matron as portrayed in the characters of Plautus' Alcymena (Amphitruo) and Terence's Sostrata (Hecyra).

In considering the 'matronae' we shall have to remember the difference in status between the Greek woman of Menander's time and the Roman matron of Plautus' day. Legally and socially women in Athens occupied a low place at this period. A woman passed, on marriage, from the power of her father to the control of her husband. Her movements out of doors were severely restricted.⁵ (N.B. Gomme⁶ does not agree with this.) She spent most of the time indoors and went to her own quarters when

3 . It should be noted that the 'matronae' include widows among their number.

4 . Athenaeus XIII, 558; Men. Fr. 583K.

5 . Men. Fr. 546K.

6 . A.Gomme, Essays in Greek History and Literature (Blackwell, 1937).

"Position of Women in Athens in Fourth and Fifth Centuries B.C.", pp. 89-115.

guests arrived.⁷ Licht,⁸ however, remarks that this life of retirement was not unhappy; what one has never known cannot be missed. But the Greek wife was "civilly treated"(!) by her husband (Post),⁹ and to a great extent managed her own household. Post adds too that the Greek ideal marriage included affection, children and understanding.¹⁰ Nevertheless women in general were considered inferior to men and Athenian households were geared to this premise.¹¹

Educationally, the female sex was pretty well ignored. Girls learned elementary reading and writing, spinning and weaving, and received instruction in music. Menander's¹² brutal remark is:- "He who teaches letters to a woman does not do well; he feeds more poison to a frightful asp." Westrup¹³ states that the intellectual training given to young men and women in Athens, especially in the higher classes of society, differed incontestably in fundamentals. These different levels of education no doubt created a distance between husband and wife which contributed to separating them intellectually in their daily intercourse.

7 . Isaeus III, 14.

8 . H.Licht, Sexual Life in Ancient Greece (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932), p.19.

9 . L.Post, "Woman's Place in Menander's Athens", T.A.P.A. 71 (1940), pp.420-459.

10 . Demos.LIX: 38, 122.

11 . Post. Op. cit.

12 . Men. Fr. 702K.

13 . C.W.Westrup, Introduction to Early Roman Law (Comp. Sociol. Studies: The Patriarchal Joint Family, Vol.I) p.134.

In Rome the matron occupied a position of greater importance. Marriage in Roman life was significant because it nurtured a stable family life and because it produced "men able to serve the state in peace and war."¹⁴ Therefore the 'mater familias' was an individual in her own right, and not a mere cypher.¹⁵ She managed the household¹⁶ and moved freely about the house instead of being confined to her own quarters. She met her husband's guests, dined with him,¹⁷ and discussed with him all matters pertaining to the children and management of the house. Out of doors, too, she enjoyed more freedom than the Greek woman,¹⁸ though her dignity demanded that she should be always accompanied.¹⁹

One of the differences between Greek and Roman marriage law was that in Greece the 'dos' or 'ὑπόθηξις'²⁰ was absolutely necessary to the validity of the marriage²¹ - but not so in Rome. The 'dos' was given in order that the husband might have some help with the financial side of married life, and in Greek

14 . W.Warde Fowler, Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero (Methuen, 1937), p.138.

cf. Aul.Gell.IV: 3, 2; Suet.Jul.LII, 3.

15 . Livy XXXIX, 11.3; XXXVIII, 57.7.

16 . Tertull.XII. "...domus administranda, familia regenda, claves custodiendae, victus procurandus."

17 . Val.Max.II: 1,2.

18 . H.P.Walton, Historical Introduction to Roman Law (Green, 1920), pp.179-180.

cf. also Corn.Nepos (Praef. 6) who compares the position of the Greek wife with that of the Roman wife to the detriment of the former.

19 . Note Alcmena's words in Amphitruo 929.

20 . See Ribbeck, Frag.Com. p.135: "ego....comest"; p.144: "dotibus....ancillantus". (LEIPZIG, 1873)

21 . Demos.LIX, 113.

marriages the husband was the 'κύριος' of the dowry and could use the income for the upkeep of the house. He was, however, bound to return the dowry on the death or divorce of his wife.²² Divorce was a simple matter for the husband, as he simply had to send his wife away²³ - but the dowry went with her.²⁴

In Rome the 'dos' belonged to the husband but, although he was legally entitled to keep it after the termination of the marriage, it was customarily returned.²⁵

The importance of the dowry is amply evidenced in the plays and explains the interest of both playwright and audience in the 'uxor dotata'.

Undoubtedly when the scolding 'uxores dotatae' were portrayed, the Roman women in the audience could feel a smug satisfaction in the fact that these were Greek women....although, come to think of it, that Lesbia next door..... They could feel sympathy with the 'matres sollicitae' - perhaps some of them had experienced the same vicissitudes. Then, when the 'matronae morigerae' were presented, they could suggest to one another in astonishment that these were more like Roman women.....

22 . Demos.LIX, 52; Isaeus III, 36.

23 . Note Casina 210-2.

24 . Isaeus III, 35.

25 . See Livy IX: 43, 25; Val.Max: 9, 1; Aul.Gell. (IV: 3, 1-2) says that for nearly 500 years after the founding of Rome there were no lawsuits in connection with the wife's dowry since no marriages were annulled in this period.

A. Characterisation by speech and action.

1. 'Uxores dotatae'.

In Plautus' Asinaria²⁶ we find perhaps the most amusing of his waspish wives - Artemona. The plot, briefly, concerns Demaenetus who tries to find enough money to buy the girl with whom his son, Argyrippus, is in love. His wife, Artemona, who is a woman of some wealth, is owed money by a merchant for donkeys which her agent, Saurea, has sold.²⁷ Demaenetus and Argyrippus, with the aid of two slaves, manage to divert the money to their own use. Argyrippus buys Philaenium, the girl, before his rival, Diabolus, can do so. In a rage at this, Diabolus sends a parasite²⁸ to tell Artemona of the plot against her and that her husband, having obtained her money, is now sitting feasting with Philaenium and Argyrippus. The play ends with an uproarious scene in which Artemona bursts in on the banquet and drags the unhappy Demaenetus home.

This is not one of Plautus' best comedies, but it has some lively scenes and is very amusing.

26 . The original was Onagos by Demophilus.

27 . Isaeus X, 10 says that the law forbade women to contract "for the disposal of more than a bushel of barley". L.J.Th.Kuennen-Janssens, in "Some Notes upon the Competence of the Athenian Woman to Conduct a Transaction", Mnem. 3,9 (1941), pp.199-214, asserts that a 'medimnos of barley' was of considerable value; therefore the law was not as limiting as it sounded. He concludes from this, perhaps a little incautiously, that women had considerable freedom of action.

28 . A parasite was a man who picked up a living as a hanger-on of rich men. See J.O.Lofberg, "The Sycophant-Parasite", C.P. 15 (1920), pp.61-72.

Artemona's tyrannical disposition is made clear early in the play. In the opening scene Libanus, the slave, and Demaenetus are discussing (with a good deal of humorous by-play) how to obtain the money for Argyrippus to buy Philaenium. Libanus refers to Artemona as "illam quam tu metu^s uxorem tuam" (4), and later, having been rebuked by Demaenetus for impertinence when he jests about death, he adds swiftly:- "uxoris dico, non tuam" (43). To this Demaenetus replies indulgently:- "dono te ob istuc dictum ut expers sis metu"(44) - a pointed comment on his attitude to his marriage.

The picture continues to be built up. "Fateor eam esse importunam atque incommodam" (62) says Demaenetus despondently. He knows quite well that it is no use asking Artemona for the money for his son because "illum (Argyrippum) mater arte ^{ten}consequi habet" (78).

Also, adds Libanus sardonically:-

"dota²⁹lem seruom²⁹Sauream (huc) uxor tua adduxit, quod plus in manu sit quam tibi" (85-86).

Artemona apparently knows her husband well, and realises that money *given* to him would not be put to good use.

But Demaenetus' reply to Libanus deals with the whole crux of the matter. "Argentum accepi, dote imperium vendidi" (87)³⁰ he answers. And it seems obvious that a man under the domination of his wife with regard to financial matters would be inclined to break out in other directions so as to show his

29 . cf. Aul. Gellius XVII: 6, 5.

30 . Alexis 146K.

independence. This goes a long way towards explaining Demaenetus' questionable behaviour in the final scene.

In sudden anger at this situation Demaenetus orders Libanus to swindle his wife and Saurea by any means he can to get the money, and then departs to the forum to await events.

Libanus and Leonida obtain the money by a pretence that Libanus is Saurea, the steward, and the money is given to Argyrippus in an hilarious scene where the two slaves tantalise Argyrippus and Philaenium before handing over the cash. The money has been given by Demaenetus, the slaves say, on condition that he is allowed to share in the banquet and the wedding-night.

In the meantime Demaenetus creeps round the back way to join in the banquet at the house of Cleareta, the procuress.... "ne uxor resciscat metuit" (743), giggles Leonida.

Unfortunately all Demaenetus' plans for a pleasant evening are undone by Diabolus, Argyrippus' rival, who, on hearing that Argyrippus has bought Philaenium, sends his parasite to tell Artemona the whole story and the whereabouts of her husband.

Artemona herself now appears on the scene (851) with the parasite, raging at the information that her money has been stolen, that her son knew of his father's deception, and that they are all now drinking together. (They are in fact further down stage, but Artemona does not see them at first). She

breaks into loud lamentations³¹ and gives the audience the picture of her husband as she thought he was:-

"at scelestā ego praeter alios meum uirum frugi rata,
siccum, frugi, continentem, amantem uxoris maxime" (856-857).

The parasite cleverly contrasts this with the portrait of Demaenetus as he sees him:-

"madidum, nihili, incontinentem atque osorem uxoris suae" (859).

"Alas," wails Artemona, "every time he was away from home he told me he was busy in the senate or with clients" - obviously the equivalent of the present-day excuse - "I had to work late in the office, dear."

Artemona is hurt and grieved by this, but what really rouses her fighting temper is the fact that Demaenetus should have taught these bad habits to his son.... "is etiam corruptus porro suum corrumpit filium" (875). A husband's misdeeds she could perhaps overlook to a certain extent, but her son lies closer to her heart and that he should follow in his father's footsteps is too much for Artemona.

The parasite points out Demaenetus, Argyrippus, and Philaenium as they sit drinking together, and with difficulty restrains Artemona from bursting in on them.

"Wait," he advises, "let's listen to what they have to say."

The unfortunate Artemona now hears Demaenetus (who is sitting next to Philaenium) offering to steal his wife's best

31 . The whole of this scene (851-941) is in *tríchaic septenarii* - a suitable metre to convey Artemona's anger.

cloak and give it to Philaenium, and adding "non edepol conduci possum vita uxoris annua (886). Her wrath rises even more when she sees Demaenetus kissing Philaenium and hears him comparing these kisses with his wife's:

"nauteam
bibere malim, si necessum sit, quam illam oscularier"
(894-895),

he remarks candidly.

Perhaps now it is really driven home to Artemona that her husband's dislike of her is genuine, and she puts into words what she has probably known for a long time but refused to admit to herself - namely, that she was married for her money³² (898). And as she stands there she hears Argyrippus asking his father "ecquid matrem amas?" (900). "nunc amo," comes the cynical reply, "quia non adest" (900). And he follows up Argyrippus' query "quid quom adest?" with the vicious "periisse cupio" (901).

A more sensitive woman would have retired weeping at this, but Artemona, accustomed to fighting her own battles, simply warns in an aside:- "osculando ego ulciscar potissimum" (903).

Suddenly she turns to the parasite with "non queo durare" (907), and then confronts the astounded revellers. "ego pol vivam" (909), she screams at Demaenetus. Argyrippus greets his mother, but Demaenetus is too thunderstruck to say anything.

32 . Demosthenes (XXXVI, 30) remarks that it is disgraceful to make money the main consideration in marriage.

"mortuos est Demaenetus"³³(911), says the parasite contemptuously, and departs to tell Diabolus what has happened.

The enraged Artemona now turns on Philaenium and demands what she wants with her husband. Then, without waiting for a reply, she attacks her husband with:- "surge, amator, i domum" (921) - a phrase which, repeated four times, probably threw the audience into convulsions. For one can see clearly the foolish old man sitting there, dazed with drink and fright, his wreath tipped over one eye, looking anything but gallant - and the angry wife towering over him.

Artemona's temper is still on fire and she tosses aside the wretched Demaenetus' attempts to placate her. And mollify her he must because, as Artemona holds all the money, he dare not risk a complete break with her.³⁴ Argyrippus, who tries to calm his mother (931), is unsuccessful because this is still the main cause of Artemona's anger - that her son should have been corrupted.

It is noteworthy that Artemona, after her initial words to Philaenium, takes no further notice of her. The girl, stung by this contempt, makes several pert interjections,³⁵ and it is Demaenetus who, wrought beyond endurance by the whole scene, silences her. Moreover he even appeals to Artemona:- "iuben hanc hinc apscedere?" (939).

33 . Note here the repetition of the 'fear' motif. The meaning of the phrase is "Demaenetus is dead with fear."
Cf. Phormio 1026.

34 . Athenaeus XIII, 559B.

35 . For discussion on this see Chapter 2, page 152.

But Demaenetus is dragged off ignominiously by Artemona, and the audience undoubtedly spent a gleeful few minutes picturing to themselves the berating he would receive at home from the tongue of his frenzied wife. Philaenium goes inside with Argyrrippus and the play is over - although one fears that Argyrrippus too will be in serious trouble on his return home.

Artemona's behaviour is undoubtedly exaggerated in the final scene, but this is a farce and, as such, the character is successful.

A character who resembles Artemona in thought and action is Nausistrata from Terence's Phormio,³⁶ an amusing and attractive comedy. She is, however, a gentler version of Artemona, as one would expect from Terence who tends to minimise the unpleasant traits of his characters.

The story, in brief, is that two brothers, Chremes and Demipho, have left Athens for a short time, leaving their sons behind. Antipho, Demipho's son, with the aid of the parasite, Phormio, marries a poor unknown girl, Phanium. Phaedria, Chremes' son, is in love with a music-girl. On their return Chremes and Demipho are angry with Antipho, and they give Phormio thirty minae to marry Phanium himself. It then turns out that Phanium is Chremes' own daughter - by a woman he had married and then deserted years before in Lemnos. Chremes endeavours to keep this news from his wife, Nausistrata, but is unsuccessful, for Phormio, angry that the thirty minae (with

36 . The original was Epidikazomenos by Apollodorus of Carystus.

which he has bought the music-girl for Phaedria) are reclaimed by Demipho, relates the whole story to Nausistrata. The latter, however, forgives Chremes, and all ends well.

Nausistrata does not appear early in the play, but we have an uncomplimentary reference to women from Davus, the slave, who expresses his dislike of their greed and thoughtlessness (39-49).

Then, surprisingly enough, we find Demipho, who is indeed a more likeable individual and a stronger character than Chremes, expressing alarm at the fact that no sooner is one away from home than misfortunes occur; among these he includes "uxoris mortem" (244). This is in strong contrast to the majority of Roman Comedy husbands who generally express a desire for their wives' deaths, and not fear of this event. Of course this anxiety may be due to the fact that if Demipho loses his wife he loses her dowry too.³⁷

As in Asinaria we are introduced to Nausistrata by her husband (Chremes) who expresses his fear of her discovering his secret:- "vereorque ne uxor aliqua hoc resciscat mea" (585). Again Nausistrata, like Artemona, has all the money in the family. Chremes refers to this when he remarks that he has the rent from his wife's farm in his possession (679-680). Nausistrata, too, has a fierce temper - "conclusam hic habeo uxorem saevam" (744), and Chremes, the weaker partner in the

37 . Cf. Demos.LIX, 52.

marriage, is terrified of these displays of spirit. He would be in a very unpleasant position if Nausistrata divorced him. And one can imagine Nausistrata's rage if she learned of his ^{bi}polygamy.³⁸

Then Nausistrata enters with Demipho, her brother-in-law. He asks her (784) to persuade Phanium that the best thing for her to do is to leave the house and be married to Phormio. "Agedum, ut soles, Nausistrata," he coaxes, "fac illa ut placetur nobis" (784). And later he says:- "te oro, ut alia facta tua sunt, aequo animo hoc feras" (1020).

But is Nausistrata really as good-natured as Demipho pretends? Or is this just a subtle form of flattery in the hopes that she will fall in with his wishes? Can one call good-tempered a woman who is so constantly discontented with her husband?³⁹ She complains bitterly to Demipho as to how ineffectually Chremes runs her farm on Lemnos:-

tutatur" "quia pol mei patris bene parta indiligenter/
(788).

"Why," she continues, "my father used to get two talents a year from the products."

We ourselves can have a quiet laugh over this as it is strongly reminiscent of the present-day young husband:- "You

38 . J.W.Jones, Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks (Clarendon, 1956), p.185:

"There was nothing in the law of Athens explicitly prohibiting or penalising the open and admitted association with two or more women on a permanent basis and the maintenance of more than one family and household.

39 . Donatus comments on 793:- "est enim natura mulierum uti de viris querantur, maxime si ipsae divites sint."
(Vol. III, p.250).

should have tasted my mother's apple-pies...." only this time the sexes are reversed. And of course the audience knows what Nausistrata does not - namely, that a good deal of what Chremes produced from the farm went towards the upkeep of his Lemnian wife.

Nausistrata seems a capable woman - note her confidence in her ability to handle the situation with Phanium (785). It must have been maddening to her to think that the farm was being ruined by the mismanagement of her husband.⁴⁰ "virum me natam vellem," she boasts, "ego ostenderem" (792-793). She is about to expatiate on how she would manage affairs when Demipho interrupts and brings her back to the matter in hand. There seems to be in his

"parce sodes,
ut possis cum illa, mulier ne te adulescens defetiget" (793-794),

a reminder that Nausistrata is ageing and should remember this.

Chremes hurries in and has a long conversation aside with Demipho - a fact that makes Nausistrata suspicious. So much so that, after assuring Demipho that she will urge Phanium to marry Phormio, she now remarks that she thinks Phanium had better stay as she seems well-brought up (814-815). She goes inside only to be recalled by the shouts of Phormio. The parasite, infuriated by Demipho's demands for the thirty minae, determines to revenge himself by telling Nausistrata of Chremes' marriage on Lemnos. As he is being dragged off to the courts

⁴⁰ . Cf. Nausistrata with Artemona (Asinaria) who handles her own money.

by Demipho he calls for Nausistrata.

Nausistrata comes out and insists on being told what the disturbance is about. In spite of many interruptions from Chremes, and Demipho's alarmed interjections, Phormio blurts out the truth - Chremes married another woman (1005). Nausistrata's instant reaction is one of disbelief. But once the shock is over anger takes its place. "facinus miserandum et malum" (1008), she cries. And, like Artemona grieving at her husband's deceitful pretence that he was busy with clients, Nausistrata says bitterly:-

"haecin erant itiones crebrae et mansiones diutinae
Lemni? haecin erat ea quae nostros minuit fructus vilitas?"
(1012-1013).

Demipho nervously tries to place ^{at} the infuriated Nausistrata. "It happened fifteen years ago," he urges, "and only because he was drunk he seduced the girl. Can't you forgive him now?" But Nausistrata is wary, and the practical side of her nature comes into evidence. "aetate porro minus peccaturum putem?" she demands (1022).

Phormio, seeing the wretched Chremes' fear, - for where would Chremes be without Nausistrata's property - remarks dryly:- "verba fiunt mortuo" (1015), and:- "exsequias Chremeti quibus est commodum ire, em tempus est" (1026). This bears a close resemblance to the words of the parasite in Asinaria who, when Demaenetus is sitting paralysed with fear at the banquet because his wife has discovered him, comments "mortuos est Demaenetus", and "ecquis currit pollinctorem

accersere". In both cases strong emphasis is laid on the fear of the men occasioned by the power of a dowried wife over an unmonied husband.⁴¹

Now Phormio puts his finger on another reason why Chremes should be fearful:- "habet haec (Nausistrata) ei quod, dum vivat, usque ad aurem ogganiat" (1030). Chremes certainly blanches with horror at these words - is he to be subjected to Nausistrata's vituperation for the rest of his life?

Phormio then blandly informs Nausistrata that he has given the thirty minae to Phaedria for his mistress. Chremes tries to protest at this, but Nausistrata turns on him:-

"adeo hoc indignum tibi videtur, filius
homo adulescens si habet unam amicam, tu uxores duas?
nil pudere! quo ore illum obiugabi?" (1040-1042)

Like Artemona she is incensed that such a bad example should have been set her son. At another time she might have condemned her son's interest in the music-girl but, beside her husband's crime, his is but a mild peccadillo.

But Nausistrata is not as much of a virago as Artemona and, after she has somewhat reluctantly intimated that she will forgive her husband if her son agrees⁴² (1043-1044), it appears that Chremes will be less harshly treated than Demaenetus.

Undoubtedly it is easier to condone a marriage that happened

⁴¹ . Plato, Laws, 774C.

⁴² . T.B.L.Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy (Manchester Univ. Press, 1953), pp.207-208, says that this is reminiscent of the Epikleros in which a man and his wife went to law and their son gave the verdict.

fifteen years ago than to forgive the sight of a tipsy husband with his arm round a courtesan. Of course it is a very humiliating situation for Chremes to be dependent on his son's favour, but Nausistrata probably regards this as suitable and sufficient punishment. She is a more intelligent woman than Artemona and one would expect her, after her first anger has passed, to view matters from a more objective standpoint.

If we return to Plautus again and look at the wife in Mercator⁴³ we find another spirited version of the "uxor dotata". The Mercator (generally thought to be one of the earliest of Plautus' plays) has been the subject of much dispute. Norwood⁴⁴ rates it as the best of Plautus' plays, and says "it comes near to perfection in its own class.....sparkling, sophisticated, immoral light comedy". Wright,⁴⁵ on the other hand, complains that the Mercator is dull. Duckworth,⁴⁶ too, thinks that Norwood's high opinion of the play is exaggerated. He says that the characterisation is weak and the solution obvious. It would be wise to steer a middle course between these criticisms. The Mercator is a good comedy with neat structure and swift action, in which there are several excellent scenes.

The story is that Charinus has been sent abroad by his father, Demipho, to keep him out of mischief. While away he buys and brings back a courtesan, Pasicompsa. He pretends she

⁴³ . The original was Emperors by Philemon.

⁴⁴ . G.Norwood, Plautus and Terence (New York, 1922), p.36.

⁴⁵ . F.A.Wright, Three Roman Poets (New York, 1938), p.47.

⁴⁶ . G.Duckworth, The Complete Roman Drama, (Random House, 1942)
Vol. I, p.491.

is to be a gift for his mother. Demipho falls in love with her, says she is too pretty for the household, and hands her over secretly to his friend, Lysimachus, to look after. Unfortunately Dorippa, Lysimachus' wife, finds the girl in her house and assumes she is his mistress. The whole plot is now revealed and Charinus, who is about to leave Athens in despair, is persuaded to stay at home, while his father hands over the girl to him.

There appear to be two nagging wives in the play, but Demipho's wife is never seen on stage. He merely reminds us:- "iam iurgio enicabit" (557), because he is late for a meal; and his fear in the last scene is undisguised lest his wife should find that he has been the rival of his son for Pasicompsa's affections. Lysimachus and Eutychus berate him soundly for his behaviour - so unbecoming in a man his age! "All right" groans Demipho, "stop scolding. Whip me with thongs if you like" (1001-1002). "Sed istuc uxor faciet, quom hoc resciverit" (1003), answers Lysimachus callously, annoyed that he has been involved in this disgraceful affair of Demipho's. Eventually Eutychus promises Demipho that his wife will not be told, and the old man goes indoors reassured.

The 'fear motif' is again introduced with the first mention of Dorippa, Lysimachus' wife. "I won't keep your girl here more than a day" (585-587), Lysimachus warns Demipho. "Supposing my wife returned and found her in the house." But at this moment we do not know what sort of woman Dorippa is.

Does Lysimachus think that she will be merely annoyed, as any woman would be to find a strange girl staying in her house, or does he fear that she will take stronger measures?

In the next scene, however, Dorippa's character is promptly revealed. She hurries in from the country announcing that, as her husband has not returned to the farm, she has come to look for him (667-669). A suspicious nature has not allowed her to remain quietly on the farm and await her husband's arrival. Not a very pleasant individual, thinks the audience, as she rails at poor old Syra, her servant. "quin is ocius?" she demands (671). And when Syra, limping in, says this is impossible - "tantum hoc onerist quod fero" (672), she asks unfeelingly "quid oneris?" (673). She remains quite indifferent to Syra's complaints and simply orders the old woman to go inside.

And now, from a suspicious wife and a hard-hearted mistress, Dorippa, with a sudden change of mood, turns into an anxious mother. She approaches the altar, prays to Apollo to look after her household, and specifically mentions her son - the only member of the family to be thus honoured (680).

Her prayers are interrupted by old Syra who totters as fast as she can out of the house, crying and wailing:-
 "There's a woman in the house. How clever you were to come up from the country! She must be your husband's mistress."

And the noteworthy thing is that Dorippa instantly agrees. "credo mecastor" (689), she cries. There is no question of waiting for an explanation from her husband - he must be guilty.

And she hurries off indoors to see her supposed rival.

Lysimachus enters from the forum, and almost immediately Dorippa reappears from the house, crying with rage and shame. "em quoi decem talenta dotis detuli" (703), she shrieks. There is again the inference that, as she has brought him this tremendous dowry, the least he can do is to spend his life making her happy.⁴⁷

Lysimachus, petrified, listens to all this. Dorippa continues to bewail her misfortune in being married to such a monster, and Lysimachus, deciding to take the bull by the horns, goes up to her. After several hints about people who store up trouble for themselves (717), Dorippa asks him outright who the woman in the house is. Lysimachus hesitates and prevaricates, but is harried mercilessly by Dorippa determined to get to the bottom of the whole matter. Finally he says in desperation "sequestre mihi datast" (738). Dorippa laughs sarcastically at this, and Lysimachus whispers to himself "enim vere haereo" (740). At this point he is absolutely horrified to see the caterer approaching - a man whom he has ordered to provide a dinner at his house that night for Demipho, Pasicompsa, and himself.

In a hoarse whisper he orders the cook to go away, but the caterer cannot or will not understand. Not unnaturally he

⁴⁷ . Plutarch, in Amatorius 7, remarks that it is better to wear chains than be the slave of one's wife's dowry.

mistakes Dorippa for Lysimachus' mistress and condescendingly says:- "sati' scitum filum mulieris. verum hercle anet" (755). An uproarious scene follows with Lysimachus alternately begging and ordering the cook to go, while the latter, with the best of intentions, steadily makes matters worse:-

"nempe uxor rurist tua, quam dudum deixeras
te odisse (aeque) atque anguis" (760-761).

"ego illud numquam deixi (763), swears Lysimachus, but Dorippa, who has been standing silently by, boils over:-

palam istaec fiunt te me odisse" (763-764). "etiam negas?"

The caterer intervenes, trying to soothe her - "non, non ted odisse aibat sed uxorem suam" (765). Eventually he departs, bewildered and grumbling, while Dorippa explodes once more. "I won't have it," she screams, "to bring a harlot like that into my house". Finally, to the intense alarm of Lysimachus, she says:-

"Syra, i, rogato meum patrem verbeis meeis
ut veniat ad me iam semul tecum" (787-788).

And what else can these ominous words mean save that she intends transferring herself and her dowry back to her father's care.⁴⁸

Lysimachus protests again, but Dorippa ignores this and stalks off into the house, leaving the wretched man to curse his neighbour and the day he tried to help him. He hastens off to the forum....."uxor acerrimast" (796), he sighs.

⁴⁸ . Cf. Isaeus III, 38; Dem. LIX, 52.

The outcome of course is that Charinus explains the whole situation to the angry Dorippa (off-stage), and Eutyclus, arriving on stage, informs his father:- "uxor tibi placida et placast" (965). Lysimachus, remembering her fury, is not entirely convinced of this, and needs several reassurances from Eutyclus before he steps indoors. Even then his last words are:- "sed tamen metus miser" (1014).

Dorippa, it is evident, has not the strength of character of Artemona or Nausistrata. The two latter are fully capable of dealing with their erring husbands, but Dorippa proposes to summon her father to her aid - a variation of the more usual "I'm going home to mother", of the injured wife.

In the Menaechmi⁴⁹ of Plautus we find another wife who is unable to cope with her husband without her father's help - and with more reason this time - for, to a large extent, the tables are turned.

The play, briefly, is concerned with the confusion caused by identical twins. Menaechmus, lost at the age of seven, has been brought up by a rich merchant and now lives at Epidamnus. His twin brother (also called Menaechmus) who has been searching for him, comes to Epidamnus and is mistaken for the first Menaechmus by the latter's wife, father-in-law, mistress, and a parasite. The two men eventually meet after a number of farcical situations, and the mystery is solved.

⁴⁹ . The original is unknown.

This is an enjoyable, briskly-written play, and its popularity is evidenced by the numerous modern imitations. Webster⁵⁰ complains that there is "little characterisation" in the play, but I cannot agree. The vituperative wife, the doddering old father, the pompous doctor, even the covetous maid.....they are all real and full of vitality.

Strangely enough the "uxor dotata" in the play - the wife of Menaechmus I - is not named at all, either in the text or in the scene headings. Duckworth⁵¹ comments on this, and thinks that Plautus, contrary to his usual habit of naming his important characters, simply did not give her a name.⁵²

This wife, in spite of her dowry, does not have matters all her own way. We know she has money, for her father remarks on her quarrel with Menaechmus I:-

"ita istaec solent, quae viros supservire
sibi postulant, dote fretae, feroces" (766-767).

But at the beginning of the play we see Menaechmus I striding out of his house and calling back to his wife in angry tones:-

"nam quotiens foras ire vole, me retines, revocas, rogitas,
quo ego eam, quam rem agam, quid negoti geram,
quid petam, quid feram, quid foris egerim" (114-116).

Could there be a more damning indictment of a nagging wife?

Far from submitting meekly to her scolding and questioning, Menaechmus I takes strong exception to it. "portitorem domum

50 . T.B.L.Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy, p.68.

51 . G.Duckworth, "The Unnamed Characters in the Plays of Plautus", C. P. 33 (1938), pp.267-282.

52 . See page 99, Significant names.

duxi" (117), he flings at her. And he threatens:-

"praeterhac si mihi tale post hunc diem
faxis, faxe foris vidua visas patrem" (112-113).

Has Menaechmus money of his own? Or is he simply a stronger character than Demaemetus or Lysimachus, determined not to be brow-beaten?

He finishes his tirade by declaring that he intends to take another woman out to dinner so that his wife shall have something to see. And then he chuckles gleefully as he explains to the audience that he has just cheated his "clever guardian" (131) by stealing a dress from her to give to his mistress, Erotium. He refers to his wife as "the enemy" (134), and begs Brush, the parasite, to come away from "the lion's den" (159).

On the face of it Menaechmus seems a particularly disagreeable type of philanderer, but from his own account there is considerable provocation. It must be noted, too, that in spite of his contemptuous attitude to his wife's nagging, he takes good care that she shall not know he has stolen the dress. (The theft is perhaps an indication that he has no money, otherwise he would have bought Erotium a new dress).

There are further references to his and his wife's incompatibility - "ut ego uxorem, mea voluptas, ubi te aspicio, odi male!" (189) he says to Erotium; and then tenders the age-old cry of the misunderstood husband to the other woman - "una vivis meis morigera moribus" (202).

Even the cook refers to the effect his wife has on

Menaechmus:- "quam vis ridiculus est, ubi uxor non adest"(318).

The wife herself at last appears in company with Brush who, in revenge for missing his dinner, has told her of Menaechmus' theft of her dress. She bewails the fact that she is married to such a man (559), and then asks Brush what action she shall take against her husband. (This rather helpless attitude may be contrasted with that of Artemona who is also told of her husband's misdemeanours by the parasite.)

Then note the significance of the parasite's reply:- "idem quod semper: male habeas" (569). This is surely a definite substantiation of Menaechmus' complaints concerning his wife.

Menaechmus enters, tired and irritable after his morning in the law-courts. He commences a long diatribe against his client and mentions, as he finishes, that he hopes Erotium is pleased with the dress he stole for her. He makes for Erotium's door, but is stopped by Brush, and is then attacked furiously by the angry parasite and his still angrier wife. In the shock of realising that his wife knows something he attempts a few half-hearted caresses, but is pushed indignantly aside - "aufer hinc palpationes" (607). "quid negotist?" asks Menaechmus. "pallam" (609), replies his wife ominously. But Menaechmus will not admit that he knows anything about a dress. He prevaricates and avoids an answer while his wife's temper rises higher and higher. "nugas agis" (621, 622, 625) she screams at him three times.

The stinging interruptions of Brush are a spur to the

wife, and she is emboldened by the presence of the parasite to persist until Menaechmus finally admits:- "sic utendam dedi" (657) - "I only lent it to her." Whereupon the wife states categorically:- "domum nunquam introibis nisi feres pallam simul" (662). With this final victorious threat she disappears indoors.

A couple of scenes later Menaechmus II appears with the dress, and the wife coming out of her house mistakes him for her husband. She upbraids him furiously for the theft. "Flagitium hominis" (709), she hisses at him.⁵³

Menaechmus II naturally does not understand this, and a scene of unparalleled confusion ensues. Here we see the inherent weakness in the wife's character. When Menaechmus II insults her outrageously - for in his opinion what has she to do with the dress - she fails to deal with the situation. Unlike Artemona and Nausistrata who are perfectly capable of handling their own affairs, she sends off post-haste for her father to come and settle matters.

The old father totters in, muttering to himself that dowried wives always expect their husbands to be subservient. Possibly he has experienced something of this himself. So he is not inclined to be sympathetic at first. His daughter, still gasping from the language used to her by Menaechmus II, flings herself on her father, begging him to take her away.

53 . Note the effective use of hiatus in the wife's tearful utterances, 719ff.

"I've been made a laughing stock," she sobs, "and by the man you entrusted me to" (782-783).

This immediately puts the father in the wrong, although he brushes off the whole incident as a quarrel. The wife persists but when she mentions her husband's mistress she merely gets a sharp rebuke from her father who condemns her interference in Menaechmus' affairs. The wife is somewhat subdued after this, but she remarks plaintively that her husband has actually stolen her dress and jewellery to give to his mistress. At this the father asks Menaechmus II if this is so and, of course, the scene dissolves into confusion again, with the wife and the father first angry, then bewildered, and finally frightened at the denials of Menaechmus II that he knows them.

Finally both decide that Menaechmus II has gone mad, and Menaechmus II obligingly renders this more credible by pretending violence. The wife is terrified, and when Menaechmus II threatens to burn out her eyes (841) the father decides to have him chained up. He orders his daughter to run home, but even then she is more concerned about herself than about the madman. "sumne ego mulier misera quae illaec audio?" (852) she exclaims with true selfishness as she hurries inside.

And that is the last we see of Menaechmus' wife. A shrew, yes - but her complaints are more the irritable whining of a neglected wife than the outbursts of a virago such as Artemona.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ . C.M.Knight in the introduction to his edition of the Menaechmi states:-"he (Plautus) makes no effort to paint character." On the contrary, what could be clearer than the picture of this censorious wife?

There is, however, one further mention of her - exactly what one would expect from that realist, Plautus. Another author might have ended the play with a reconciliation between Menaechmus and his wife. Instead we find Messenio (the slave of Menaechmus II), who has been appointed to auction off Menaechmus' effects on his return to Syracuse with his brother, crying the auction with sardonic humour:-

"venibunt servi, supellex, fundi, aedes, omnia.
venibunt quique licebunt, praesenti pecunia.
venibit - uxor quoque etiam, si quis emptor venerit"(1158-1160).

We have no record of the wife's response to this!

Now in the Casina⁵⁵ there is a new and surprising development, for in this play the 'uxor dotata' is not only determined to thwart the love affair of her husband but is the individual who engineers the whole intrigue against him. Michaut,⁵⁶ in fact says:- "Elle ne se prive pas des plaintes, des reproches, des injures, mais de plus, elle ménage une rude punition à son coquin de mari et elle s'arrange de manière à le couvrir de honte devant tout".

Casina is a boisterous farce and one of the most amusing of Plautus' comedies.⁵⁷ Casina, a maid in Lysidamus' household, is desired in marriage by Chalinus (the personal slave of the son of the house) and by Olympio (the overseer of Lysidamus' farm). Cleostrata, Lysidamus' wife, is helping Chalinus as

55 . The original was Kleroumenoi by Diphilus.

56 . G.Michaut, Plaute I, p.265.

57 . See P.J.Enk, Handboek der Latijnsche Letterkunde (Zutphen, 1937), Part 2, Vol. I, p.125.

she knows her son is interested in the girl; Lysidamus supports Olympio's claim as he wants Casina for his own pleasure. The dispute between the slaves is decided by drawing lots. Olympio wins - to Lysidamus' delight - and prepares to marry Casina. Cleostrata, however, with the aid of Myrrhina, her neighbour, substitutes Chalinus for Casina before she is taken off for the consummation of the marriage, and this leads to a riotous conclusion and to the utter disgrace of Lysidamus. Casina and the son do not appear on stage at all, but this is not necessary as the play centres round the deception of Lysidamus.

Harsh⁵⁸ refers to the play as "grossly indecent"; Duckworth⁵⁹ remarks that it is on a "low and indecent level", and Beare⁶⁰ comments on the "riotous indecency" of Casina's closing scenes. This is perhaps an exaggerated view. In Plautus' time sexual matters were treated with the utmost frankness and, although Lysidamus is an old reprobate, he was probably regarded with a good deal of indulgence by the audience. Casina is swift, fast-moving fun, written solely to amuse, and we must regard it in that light.

Cleostrata appears in her first scene as a hard, domineering woman. She comes out of the house berating her husband

because:- "is mi et filio adversatur suo
animi amorisque caussa sui" (151-152).

We do not know how Cleostrata has found this out, but she

58 . P.Harsh, A Handbook of Classical Drama (Stamford 1944)p.351.

59 . G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.165.

60 . W.Beare, The Roman Stage (Methuen, 1950), p.52.

curses him soundly:

"flagitium illud hominis! ego illum fame, ego illum siti, maledictis, malefactis amatorem ulciscar" (155-156).

Her desire for revenge is so strong that undoubtedly the audience were immediately prejudiced in Lysidamus' favour.

While Cleostrata is frothing with rage,⁶¹ her next-door neighbour, Myrrhina, comes out of her house. Myrrhina is a totally different type. As Michaut⁶² says:- "une commère pleine de vie et pleine de bon sens". The two women are well contrasted in this scene.

Myrrhina notices Cleostrata's anger and says sympathetically:- "quid est quod tuo nunc animo aegrest?" (179), and adds, with true kindness:- "nam quod tibi est aegre, idem mist dividiae" (180-181).

Cleostrata responds to this and, embracing Myrrhina, plunges into the fearful story of her husband's misdeeds. But it seems clear that it is wounded pride and not love for her husband which has roused her anger - "vir me habet pessumis despiciatam modis" (189). What irritates her, too, is the fact that it is 'her' maid that her husband is trying to marry to the overseer. But much to her surprise, Myrrhina, apparently a dutiful wife, says:- "hoc viri censeo esse omne quidquid tuom

61 . Cleostrata's monody (151-164) is in a complicated lyric metre, the variations aptly expressing her emotions. It is followed by an attractive duet between Cleostrata and Myrrhina (165-215), embodying the same rapidly-changing rhythms.

62 . G.Michaut, Plaute II, p.88.

est" (202). Cleostrata is very much offended at this, but Myrrhina, a practical creature, advises her briskly to let her husband have his love affairs as long as she lacks for nothing at home.

At Cleostrata's fresh protests Myrrhina asks her calmly if she would like to hear the words "i foras, mulier (210-212).⁶³ The conversation is interrupted by the appearance of Lysidamus, and Cleostrata hurries her neighbour indoors.

"mox magis quom otium (et) mihi at tibi erit,
igitur tecum loquar" (215-216),

she says significantly. And even at this stage we suspect she has some plan maturing.

Cleostrata, from her doorway, watches contemptuously as Lysidamus arrives, preening himself, dripping with perfume, and congratulating himself on a new affair. "sed", he groans, "uxor me excruciat, quia vivit" (227). Then he catches sight of her. "blande haec mihi mala res appellanda est" (228), he says resignedly. He hurries up to her and attempts to embrace her, not one fears from any affection, but in an attempt to allay any suspicions she may have. Cleostrata, still angry and resenting this unusual show of affection, pushes him away and, as he persists, asks exasperatedly:- "opsecro, sanum es!" (232). Then, unfortunately for Lysidamus, she smells the scent the

63 . This was the conventional formula for divorce, and was all that was necessary. See F.Schultz, Principles of Roman Law, (translated M.Wolff, Clarendon, 1936), p.147:-
"Marriage and divorce were accomplished without the intervention of the state."

perfumer has poured on him, and bursts into a fresh tirade:-

"eho tu nihili, cana culex...." (239) she shrieks at him.

Lysidamus wilts under this stream of abuse, but eventually recovers sufficiently to say with some humour:- "relinque aliquantum orationis, cras quod mecum litiges" (251). He then plucks up enough courage to ask why the maid, Casina, should not marry his overseer. Cleostrata, now that the subject of contention has been actually introduced, becomes icily calm, merely reminding him that the maids should be her affair. As this argument does not prevail, Cleostrata, whose wits work rapidly, suggests that she should persuade the overseer to give the girl up to Chalinus. Lysidamus retorts that, on the contrary, he will urge Chalinus to give her up to Olympio. Finally Cleostrata goes inside to fetch Chalinus for this battle between the persuasive powers of Lysidamus and herself.

Lysidamus tries to induce Chalinus to surrender Casina, but to no purpose, and then Olympio enters, complaining about Cleostrata. The latter has struck at once as we see from "quid tu me tua, era, libertate territas?" (313). She has not succeeded, however, for Olympio says disgustedly and coarsely:- "dies atque noctes cum cane aetatem exigis" (320).

Lysidamus then insists on drawing lots to decide whether Olympio or Chalinus shall marry Casina, and Chalinus appears with the urn and the lots. "ille edepol videre ardentem te extra portam mortuam" (354), he says to Cleostrata, hoping to inflame her rage with her husband still further. But

Cleostrata, hardened to her husband's dislike, replies indifferently:- "credo ecastor velle" (355).

Even when Lysidamus, in his excitement and confusion, claims that Casina shall be married to him, and thus gives himself away:-

"mihi enim - ah, non id volui dicere:
dum 'mihi' volui, 'huic' dixi, atque adeo mihi dum cupio...."
(366-367),

she merely shrugs her shoulders and offers a few casual comments. So casual indeed that we immediately surmise that she has an alternative plan if the lot does not fall to Chalinus. The latter is far more overwrought than Cleostrata.

Cleostrata shows some irritation at the blows exchanged between Chalinus and Olympio, and Lysidamus says bitterly:- "patiumdum est, siquidem me vivo mea uxor imperium exhibet" (409) - an acknowledgment of the fact that his wife has the upper hand in their marriage.

The lots are drawn and Chalinus loses. Even then Cleostrata remains unperturbed and thoughtful. At Lysidamus' order she goes inside, without any remonstrances, to arrange the wedding.

When Cleostrata next appears, she has discovered why her husband has arranged with Alcesimus for his wife to be invited to her house - so that he may have an empty house where he may take Casina. She refers in her monologue with great virulence to the two men as "vetulis vervecibus" (535), and determines to thwart their plans. When Alcesimus enters she very adroitly

side-steps his efforts to have Myrrhina invited in, and whisks off into her house with a flirt of her mantle, calling over her shoulder that she will come and see Myrrhina when the wedding is over.

Cleostrata is far more nimble-witted than Lysidamus or Alcesimus, and in popular parlance can "run rings round them". Alcesimus disappears disconsolate, and Cleostrata (who has been hiding in her doorway) re-enters, chuckling vindictively:- "iam hic est lepide ludificatus" (558). But on hearing Lysidamus mention his love-affair in his monologue, she comes forward and lies to him quite deliberately. "I asked Myrrhina, and Alcesimus would not send her", she vows in the hope of causing trouble between Lysidamus and Alcesimus. Cleostrata has few principles when it is a question of getting her own way. And when Lysidamus complains:- "vitium tibi istuc maxumum est, blanda es parum" (584), she replies smoothly:-

"non matronarum officiumst, sed meretricium,
viris alienis, mi vir, subblandirier" (585-586).

Then Cleostrata, thwarted by the lot-drawing, swiftly devises another stratagem, and sends Pardalisca (the maid) outside to tell Lysidamus that Casina has a sword and is threatening to kill whomever she is forced to marry, and Lysidamus as well for his part in the affair. Unfortunately Lysidamus says, with surprising firmness, that Casina shall marry the overseer that very day, and Cleostrata's plot is of

no avail.

Finally she produces her master-stroke.- she and Myrrhina substitute Chalinus for Casina and deck him in the girl's wedding-garments. This we learn from Pardalisca who, at the same time, offers a surprising comment on the capacity for food of the two matrons:-

"novi ego illas ambestrices: corbitam cibi
comesse possunt" (778-779).

Thus gluttony is another of the unpleasant traits attributed to the 'uxores'.

We have seen how Myrrhina, up till now, has behaved as a dutiful wife, even rebuking Cleostrata sharply. But at this point a most remarkable change of attitude occurs in her.⁶⁴ We find her not only aiding and abetting Cleostrata in her intrigue, but actually enjoying it! "nunquam ecaster ullo die risi adaeque" (857), she says. And that she has connived at the deception is plain from:-

"nec fallaciam astutiores ullu' fecit
poeta atque ut haec est fabre facta ab nobis" (860-861).

What has brought about this sudden 'volte-face'? We can only presume that she has been over-ruled by Cleostrata's stronger personality, and is now so excited that she ignores the probability of her husband's disapproval when he finds out. There is also the fact that she may well be seriously annoyed at her husband's consenting to lend their house for such a dubious

⁶⁴ . H.Marti comments on this in Untersuchungen zur dramatischen Technik bei Plautus und Terenz (Schellenberg, 1959) p.69.

"censeo ecastor veniam hanc dandam, (Cleo^ustrata)" (1004).

And now Cleostrata's vindictiveness seems to have burned itself out. Satisfied by her husband's terrible humiliation, she agrees to forgive Lysidamus, and makes good this decision by ordering Chalinus to give Lysidamus back his possessions - the cane and cloak he had left behind in his undignified struggle with Chalinus-Casina.

In spite of Cleostrata's shrewish ways, one cannot help having a certain amount of sympathy with her in her contempt for her silly old husband. Her agile mind and quick decisions are distinctly refreshing after the somewhat unintelligent 'uxores dotatae' of the other plays. The sinewiness of her character is thrown into relief even more strongly by contrast with the more docile Myrrhina.

References are made to the 'uxor dotata' in several other plays.

In Epidicus Periphanes exclaims to Apoecides:-

"Hercules ego fui, dum illa mecum fuit;
neque sexta aerumna acerbior Herculi quam illa mihi
obiectast" (178-179).

Apoecides replies slyly:- "pulchra edepol dos pecuniast" (180), to which the rejoinder is:- "quae quidem pol non maritast" (180).

Simo, in Mostellaria, complains bitterly to himself and to the audience about his wife who is in the habit of dealing out 'curtain-lectures' to him:-

"si qui' dotatam uxorem atque anum habet,
neminem sollicitat sopor" (703-704).

And he adds gloomily to the spectators:-

"atque pol nescie ut moribus sient
vostrae: haec sat scie quam me habe(a)t male"(708-709).

In Cistellaria we have a short reference to the wife who

"diem suum obiit, facta morigera est vire" (175).

In the Adelphi, too, Micio has a quiet grumble about wives:-

"uxor, si cesses, aut temere cogitat
aut tete amari aut potare atque animo obsequi.." (32-33).

This must be from hearsay, for he tells us later with cold
cynicism:-

"quod fortunam isti putant,
uxorem, nunquam habui" (43-44).

And it is only under pressure that he later succumbs to marriage.

Periplectomenus, in Miles Gloriosus, is another who wishes to
remain a bachelor and says frankly:-

"propter divitias meas
licuit uxorem dotatam genere summo ducere;
sed nolo mi oblatricem in aedis intro mittere"
(679-681).

He expatiates upon the extravagance of wives and their continual
demands for money, and ends with:-

"haec atque huius similia alia damna multa mulierum
me uxore prohibent, mihi quae huius similis sermones
sera(n)t" (699-700).

In Aulularia Megadorus, like Periplectomenus, delivers a
brilliant diatribe on the extravagance of wives.⁶⁶ (505-522).

66 . After the repeal of the Oppian Law in 195B.C. Roman women
began to wear expensive jewellery and clothing.
See Polybius 32,12; Aul.Gell. V: 19,15; Caecilius Statius
I,(1); Ribb. Frag.Com. p.133.

He states that their heavy spending is due to women bringing large dowries with them and expecting to be kept in the lap of luxury ever after:-

"haec sunt atque aliae multae in magnis dotibus incommoditates sumptusque intolerabiles" (532-533).

This had apparently long been accepted, for Plato in the sixth book of the 'Laws' mentions that dowries make wives insolent to husbands, and so in his ideal legislation he prohibits dowries. Megadorus, in spite of his consenting to marriage to please his sister, has a poor opinion of women (140-141) and infers that a man who has reached a mature age and is still a bachelor would not dream of changing this happy state (150-151).

In Trinummus Callicles and Megaronides resentfully refer time and again to the drawbacks attached to marriage (42, 51, 801, 1186).

2. 'Matres sollicitae'.

In the next group of 'matronae' we have what may well be called the 'anxious mothers' - that is women who, at the moment anyway, are more absorbed in their children's welfare than in anything else. In these I would include Phanostrata (Cistellaria), Philippa (Epidicus), Sostrata (Heauton Timorumenos) Myrrhina (Hecyra), and Sostrata (Adelphi).

The text of the Cistellaria⁶⁷ is badly mutilated, but it is a comedy of recognition and one of the more serious of Plautus' comedies. The plot concerns Selenium, a young girl in love with Alcesimarchus. Selenium thinks she is the daughter of

67 . The original was Synaristosai by Menander,

Melaenis, a procuress. Alcesimarchus wishes to marry her but is compelled by his father to become betrothed to Demipho's daughter. Finally, of course, the true origin of Selenium is discovered. She too is the daughter of Demipho by a woman (Phanostrata) he had ravished years earlier, and whom he had eventually married after the death of his first wife. This woman had exposed her daughter⁶⁸ who was picked up by a courtesan and given to Melaenis to rear. With the recognition Alcesimarchus is entitled to marry Selenium.

It should be noted that this is a play rich in feminine roles - six altogether. Of these, Phanostrata, the 'matrona', has not a large part. She is first seen on stage when she is talking to Lampadio, the slave who has been endeavouring to find her lost daughter for her. She is wildly excited⁶⁹ by the news that Lampadio has learned the name of the courtesan, Melaenis, by whom the girl was reared, and is then abysmally downcast by the fact that Lampadio did not detain the old woman who gave him the information - both natural enough reactions for a woman hoping to recover her long-lost daughter. "animo bono es" (591) urges Lampadio, and goes off to find the old woman again.

At the next meeting between Phanostrata and Lampadio, the slave hands her a small casket he has just picked up. In reply to her question about the old woman he is enraged by his lack of success:- "quae dudum fassast mihi, quae ne infitias

68 . Exposure of girls is referred to by Stobaeus, Sermones 77:
7 & 8.

69 . Trochaic septenarii form the vehicle here for Phanostrata's excited talk.

eat?" (654) he storms. But to his surprise, and ours, Phanostrata does not burst into tears at this information. She is too much engaged in looking at the casket. "di, opsecre vostram fidem" (663) she breathes, and then volunteers the fact that inside the casket are the trinkets⁷⁰ with which her daughter was exposed. She appeals again and again to her gods, scarcely daring to hope what this may mean.

Then Halisca enters, looking for the casket. After Phanostrata's former emotional outbursts it is astonishing to find how calm she remains at this point when her whole future happiness is staked on Halisca's answers. She questions Halisca shrewdly and almost detachedly. Not unnaturally she shows irritation when Halisca at first does not answer straightforwardly the questions put to her by Lampadio, and he accuses the girl of being deceitful. "ecastor ita videtur" (727), replies Phanostrata acidly. But she is also a woman of some authority. Twice she reprimands Lampadio for interrupting when she is listening to the girl (734, 751).

Finally it seems clear that the girl to whom the trinkets belong is close at hand - next-door in fact, and Phanostrata cries in much delight:- "quod quaeritabam, filiam inveni meam" (759). But even in her joy at discovering her daughter she

70 . These trinkets or 'crepundia' were exposed with the child so that they might later aid in her recognition if she were rescued. References to these are made in Heliodorus II,31; IV,8.

finds time to think about Halisca whose mistress is doubtless angry with her for losing the casket. "at me huius miseret" (769), she says kindly, and goes indoors with Halisca to explain.⁷¹

Phanostrata appears as a kind-hearted loving woman, somewhat overwrought by her ordeal, but able in moments of crisis to maintain a firm grasp of the situation.

The Epidicus⁷² by Plautus, a play with a complex plot, depicts another 'anxious mother'. It is again a comedy of intrigue and recognition. Stratippocles has gone off to war leaving Epidicus, the slave, to buy for him the music-girl, Acropolistis. Periphanes, Stratippocles' father, is looking for his lost daughter who was born out of wedlock. Epidicus persuades Periphanes to accept Acropolistis into the house, pretending that she is his daughter, Telestis. In the meantime Stratippocles has fallen in love with a girl, a war captive, and brought her home. Epidicus tricks Periphanes into giving him money to pay for this girl and, after a number of complications, Epidicus' plots are all laid bare. However the situation is saved by the fact that Stratippocles' captive turns out to be the lost daughter of Periphanes and Philippa. The latter is a woman whom Periphanes had violated at Epidaurus and who had borne a daughter from this union. Later the girl

71 . T.B.L.Webster in Studies in Menander (p.96), says that Plautus has "scrapped Menander's fifth act in which Demipho probably had an interview with Phanostrata."

72 . The original is unknown.

was captured by the enemy but is now restored to her mother.

The unfortunate Philippa is a miserable and depressed woman.⁷³ She has had to struggle with extreme poverty, and has had to bring up her daughter unaided. Now the girl has been captured by the enemy and, as Philippa says:- "neque ubi meas conlocem spes habeo mi usquam munitum locum" (531). Athens, where she is searching for her daughter, is strange to her and she is overwhelmed by her difficulties. Then Periphanes appears and, half-fearfully, half-joyfully, she recognises him as the man who violated her in earlier years. "di boni! visitavi....antidhac?" (539) she exclaims. At least, she thinks, he may be of some help in this unknown city.

Periphanes, with a shock of surprise, recognises the woman too, and for some time the two spar verbally with each other, neither wishing to make the first approach. Finally Periphanes mentions the word "Epidaurus", and Philippa, with a sigh of relief, breathes:-

"ah! guttula
pectus ardens mi aspersisti (554-555).

She bears no resentment towards Periphanes for the unhappy life she has led, save for one single reproach:-

"tun is es
qui per voluptatem tuam in me aerumnam opsevisti gravem"
(556-557).

And it seems that she has some feeling for Periphanes for she

73 . Philippa's short monody (526-532) and the following conversation with Periphanes (up to 546) are in lyric metres which convey extremely well her grief, and then the excitement of the meeting.



says:- "salva sum quia te esse salvom sentio" (558).

Periphanes is touched by this and takes her hand. At this gesture of affection (belated though it is) Philippa's emotions are too much for her. She bursts into tears and tells Periphanes that their daughter is a captive. Periphanes comforts her. "domi meae eccam salvam et sanam" (563), he announces. But Philippa has suffered too much to believe that her misfortunes can be righted so easily. "fac videam, sei mea, sei salvam (me) vis" (567), she insists with suspicion.

And of course she is quite right. Acropolistis is led out in place of the expected daughter. One would expect Philippa to be overcome by grief again, but at first indignation and anger possess her, especially when Periphanes idiotically insists that this must be her daughter:-

"scio quid erres: quia vestitum atque ornatum immutabilem habet haec...." (577-578).

More practically she enquires how Periphanes identified the girl, and when Periphanes mumbles that his slave had said she was the long-lost daughter Philippa says plaintively:- "non poteras novisse, opsecre?" (599). And at Periphanes' reply:- "quid ego, qui illam ut preimum vidi, nunquam vidi postea" (600), she bursts into tears again. Periphanes, with a weeping woman on his hands, urges her indoors, presumably before all the neighbours can ask what is going on. "I'll find her" (602), he promises, and Philippa disappears indoors.

She does not appear again, and the ending of the play is

unsatisfactory in that we do not know whether she marries Periphanes or not. We must hope however that Periphanes would marry her and thus atone to some extent for the unhappy life he has caused her.⁷⁴

A very close parallel can be drawn between Philippa and Sostrata, the 'matrona' in Terence's Adelphi.⁷⁵ This is a very attractive comedy, perhaps the best of Terence's from the point of view of character portrayal. As Duckworth⁷⁶ has pointed out, the complications and misunderstandings of the plot are due, not to coincidence or intrigue, but to the "logical outcome of the weaknesses and virtues of the characters themselves.

As Demea has two sons he has allowed his brother, Micio, to adopt one. Demea has brought up Ctesipho with great strictness; Micio has treated Aeschinus over-indulgently. Now Aeschinus has behaved badly in seducing a poor but freeborn girl of Athens, Pamphila, the daughter of Sostrata, a widow. He has promised to marry Pamphila as she is to bear his child. However, to help his weak-kneed brother, Ctesipho, he removes

⁷⁴ . C.Keyes in "Half-Sister Marriage in New Comedy and the Epidicus", T.A.P.A. 71(1 950), pp.217-230, believes that Philippa is taken into Periphanes' home as his 'παλλακή' or concubine. T.B.L.Webster in Studies in Later Greek Comedy, p.226, concurs with this. M.F.Smith (The Technique of Solution in Roman Comedy) thinks that Philippa was introduced into the plot merely as an agent of discovery, and so is not important enough to warrant her marriage being arranged.

⁷⁵ . This was based on the Adelphi of Menander with additional material from the Synapothnescontes of Diphilus.

⁷⁶ . G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.144.

from the house of the 'leno' a music-girl with whom Ctesipho is in love. This act has been seen by Sostrata's slave, and the family immediately think Pamphila has been abandoned by Aeschinus. All is disentangled with the aid of Sostrata's friend, Hegio, and Micio and Demea both learn that moderation should be the key-note in the rearing of sons.

Sostrata is an even more pathetic figure than Philippa. She is widowed, friendless, and poverty-stricken, relying solely on the slave, Geta, (see 292, 481) to support her household consisting of her daughter, her old nurse, and herself.

When we first meet her, Sostrata is agitated and distressed⁷⁷ as her daughter is in labour, about to bear Aeschinus' child. She has no-one, she complains, to fetch the midwife or Aeschinus. "solus mearum miseriarumst remedium" (294), she says of Aeschinus. The old nurse, Canthara, tries to soothe her, but at this moment catastrophe approaches in the person of Geta. He enters raging and breathless, and when Sostrata, even more alarmed now, manages to get the story from him, he informs her that Aeschinus has abandoned Pamphila and quite openly taken a music-girl from the 'leno'.

Sostrata, at first, is quite stunned by this perfidy. "quid iam credas aut quoi credas?" (330) she cries in her despair. Geta advocates hushing the whole matter up, but Sostrata, now roused to almost tigress-like fury at the thought

77 . Here in the duologue between Sostrata and Canthara (288-298) we find a combination of trochaic septenarii and trochaic octonarii used to express emotional disturbance.

of her daughter's impending ruin, flashes at him:-

"ah minime gentium:
non faciam" (342-343).

She asserts that Pamphila's position can hardly be worse for she has no dowry, and now "pro virgini dari nuptum non potest" (346.) Also she has Aeschinus' ring which she will produce if proof is demanded, and if necessary she will go to court about the affair.

Geta is quite overcome by this sudden display of determination and independence by one who has always left every decision to him, and he says meekly:- "cedo ut melius dicas" (350). Sostrata then orders him off to tell her husband's old friend, Hegio (also a poor man), what has happened. She sends Canthara to fetch the midwife, and goes indoors herself to see to Pamphila.

Sostrata does not appear again. Further qualities of character are indicated by Hegio who relates the whole story to Demea. When Aeschinus came to Sostrata promising that he would marry Pamphila, Sostrata believed him:- "ignotumst tacitumst creditumst" (474). Sostrata has indeed a gentle trusting nature and it is only her daughter's peril that rouses her to such decided action. Aeschinus' seeming infidelity is, however, explained, and Demea urges Micio to marry Sostrata who is "proba et modesta" (930) although "natu grandior" (930). Micio, after a good deal of shilly-shallying, consents and presumably

the marriage is arranged.⁷⁸ Let it be noted that Sostrata's feelings in the matter are not consulted.

Sostrata, to my mind, is drawn with a more delicate touch than Philippa. Her reactions to events are natural and unforced. She is certainly a stronger character than Philippa for when a crisis approaches she takes action, whereas Philippa merely dissolves into tears.

In the Heauton Timorumenos⁷⁹ (Terence) we find another Sostrata. This is a play with an extremely complicated double plot of intrigue and recognition - so involved that one wonders whether the audience succeeded in grasping it in its entirety.

Menedemus, a harsh father, compels his son, Clinia, who is in love with Antiphila, to go to the wars. Clitipho, the son of Chremes and Sostrata (the neighbours of Menedemus), is in love with the courtesan, Bacchis. Menedemus repents of his anger and when Clinia returns he can refuse him nothing. Clitipho and Clinia aided by Syrus, the slave, concoct a plan, and Bacchis, is admitted to the house (as Clinia's mistress) by Menedemus who now over-indulges his son. With Bacchis is Antiphila as her attendant. It soon becomes clear, however,

78 . There is some evidence that the last scenes of the play were invented by Terence and were not in the original comedy of Menander. According to Donatus the marriage of Micio and Sostrata was in the original, but not the reluctance of Micio to engage in marriage. T.A.Dorey in "A Note on the Adelphi of Terence", G.and R. IX No.1, (1962), pp.37-39, thinks the original ended with the marriage of Micio and Sostrata, and that there were no further scenes leading up to a fresh climax.

79 . The original was a play of the same name by Menander.

that Bacchis is Clitipho's mistress and it is discovered that Antiphila is the long-lost daughter of Chremes and Sostrata, exposed years earlier. Antiphila is now free to marry Clinia, and Clitipho is married to another girl.

The emphasis in Heauton Timorumenos is very much on character. Sostrata does not appear till late in the play, but we get a clear idea of her personality. Here again is a gentle yielding woman aroused to action only by the threat of danger to her child. This is made plain in her first scene with Chremes. Sostrata is agitated and distressed⁸⁰ as she insists to the nurse that the ring Antiphila has is the ring with which her daughter was exposed when a baby (614). The nurse, a family retainer, concurs in this and goes inside to fetch Antiphila. Sostrata's anxiety is natural. For many years she has believed her daughter to be dead and now, like a bolt from the blue, a strange girl appears wearing her baby's ring.

Syrus notices her agitation when he arrives, but Chremes simply shrugs and remarks:- "ista hercle magne iam conatu magnas nugas dixerit" (621). We must gather from this that Sostrata is inclined to be difficult over minor matters - but exposing a daughter is enough to impair the nervous system for life.

Sostrata greets Chremes timidly and then prepares to break

80 . The conversation with the nurse (614-619) is in iambic octonarii - the metre of highest excitement.

the news to him, namely that, instead of exposing her daughter herself, she left the task to an old woman. She says nervously:-

"primum hoc te oro, nequid credas me advorsum edictum tuum
facere esse ausam" (623-624).

Chremes does not accept this, for he mutters to himself:-

"vin me istuc tibi, etsi incredibilest, credere?" (624).

But to Sostrata he says casually:- "credo" (625).

Sostrata then confesses the truth and Chremes loses his temper.

"si peccavi, mi Chreme,
insciens feci" (631-632)

says Sostrata humbly.

"certo scio
"te inscientem atque imprudentem dicere ac facere omni"
(632-633),

retorts Chremes. He then harangues Sostrata on her stupidity. It is not so much that she could not bear to expose the child:-

"misericordia, animu' maternus: sino" (637).

It is the fact that she handed the child over without thinking what future was in store for her - perhaps even the life of a slave.⁸¹ "quid cum illis agas qui neque ius neque bonum atque aequum sciunt?" (642) he ends furiously. There is a certain amount of justice in what Chremes says but, insensitive as he is, he has no conception of the grief and agony Sostrata must have suffered. And where her children are concerned, emotions rather than cold reason are apt to rule a woman's actions. Only her intense love for her daughter could have induced

81 . Ath. XIII, 568.

Sostrata to disobey Chremes' orders.

"mi Chreme, peccavi, fateor" (644), confesses Sostrata meekly. Her sole object is to pacify Chremes' wrath so that he will accept their long-lost daughter. Chremes' anger dies down and he says patronisingly:-

"istuc factum ignoscam; verum, Sostrata,
male docet te mea facilitas multa" (647-648).

Sostrata's relief that her flattery (645-646) has succeeded is tremendous. In sudden reaction she says almost tearfully:-

"quam timui male
ne nunc animo ita esses duro ut olim in tollendo, Chreme"
(664-665).

And Chremes, somewhat shamefacedly, excuses himself:- "non licet hominem esse saepe ita ut volt, si res non sinit" (666).

Antiphila is restored to her parents, but Syrus uses this to instil poison into Clitipho's mind. "Perhaps you are not their son", he suggests slyly. "Now they have their daughter back they are not interested in you" (985-989). And he mentions an important fact which we note with all the 'matronae':

"matres omnes filiis
in peccato adiutrices, auxilio in paterna iniuria
solent esse" (991-993).

But he adds:- "id non fit" (993). Now we know that this is not true. Sostrata is a loving mother to both her children, and this is evinced in the following scene⁸² with Chremes when she endeavours to dissuade him from handing Clitipho's

82 . Iambic octonarii are again used by Sostrata in her agitation (1003, 1005-1012).

inheritance to a trustee who will dole it out to the young man and prevent him from squandering it.

The surprising thing in this scene is the new self-confidence which Sostrata has acquired - due possibly to the restoration of her daughter. It is she who scolds Chremes:-
 "profecto nisi caves tu homo, aliquid gnato conficies mali"
 (1003). Chremes fights back obstinately, but Sostrata persists and Chremes is shocked when she assures him that Clitipho believes he is not their own child. And then, angry, he blurts out in quite uncalled-for accusation:- "confitere"
 (1015) to Sostrata. But Sostrata, secure in the knowledge of her innocence, brushes this aside impatiently:- "au te obsecro, istuc inimicis siet" (1015). Chremes, still rankling under Clitipho's deception, says sullenly that anyone could tell Clitipho is her son:- "nam illi nil vitist relictum quin siet itidem tibi" (1021). What Sostrata might have replied to this we shall never know, for Clitipho enters and immediately begs his mother to tell him who his real parents are.

Then develops one of those unpleasant scenes that happen in the best regulated families. Sostrata, much disturbed by Clitipho's fears, tries almost fearfully to reassure him. Chremes breaks out in a fit of rage:-

"gerro iners fraus helluo
 ganeo's damnosu' " (1033-1034)

he shouts at Clitipho. Sostrata tries to smooth over matters and defends Clitipho against his father's justifiable rage.

At this point Menedemus enters and suggests that Clitipho

has been sufficiently punished. Sostrata, too, adds her persuasions and Chremes finally agrees to forgive his son,

"si facit
quod ego hunc aequom censeo" (1054-1055).

The unhappy Clitipho abjectly answers:- "pater, omnia faciam: impera" (1055), but is quite taken aback when Chremes announces:- "uxorem ut ducas" (1056). Appalled, he starts to protest, but Sostrata, with a new firmness, says:-

"ad me recipio:
faciet" (1056).

She has realised that Chremes will put up with no more irresponsible behaviour from his son and that Clitipho must understand this. Almost certainly she thinks too that marriage would have a settling effect upon Clitipho.

Finally Clitipho agrees to this condition, although one cannot think that he is much consoled by Menedemus' words of comfort:

"haec dum incipias, gravia sunt,
dumque ignores: ubi cognori", facillia" (1058-1059).

Clitipho protests again when his father offers him the red-haired, freckled daughter of a neighbour, but Sostrata soothingly intervenes with: "aliam dabo" (1063). Clitipho at last mentions a girl of his own choice and Sostrata, intensely relieved that the whole affair is settled, says:- "perplacet" (1066).

It is interesting to notice the clever way in which Sostrata composes the differences between her husband and her son in the last scene, and how she charms them into becoming

members of a re-united and harmonious family.

Among the 'anxious mothers' we must include Myrrhina of the Hecyra⁸³ (Terence). This is undoubtedly one of Terence's best plays, but because of its unconventional treatment the Roman audience did not care for it and only at its third presentation was it successful.⁸⁴

Opinions on this play have varied greatly. Ashmore⁸⁵ says it is "the one (play) of least merit." Harsh,⁸⁶ too, decries the play. He remarks that "it is sadly lacking in dramatic action" and "that the characters are of no great interest in themselves." The latter is a surprising statement in view of the fact that the principal women characters, Sostrata (matrona) and Bacchis (meretrix), are two outstanding personalities. Rose⁸⁷ agrees that the play lacks action but adds that it has a moving plot and well-drawn characters. Norwood,⁸⁸ on the other hand, rhapsodises over the play to the extent of saying it is "the purest and most perfect example of classical high comedy, strictly so-called, which dramatic

83 . The original was the Hekyra by Apollodorus of Carystus.

84 . G.Norwood in The Art of Terence (p.92), comments on the spectators' disapproval of the changed female roles. We could note, however, that E.L.Minar in "Terence and the Poets' Guild", T.A.P.A. 76(1945), pp.XXXVI, holds the view that the two failures of the Hecyra were due to disturbances deliberately organised by the Poets' Guild.

85 . S.Ashmore, The Comedies of Terence (O.U.P.1910) p.33.

86 . P.Harsh, A Handbook of Classical Drama (Stamford 1944)p.394.

87 . H.J.Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature (Revised Ed. Methuen,1949), p.74.

88 . G.Norwood, The Art of Terence, p.90.

literature can offer from any age or nation." This is exaggerated praise, but the Hecyra is a real attempt to break away from the conventions of the day and depict the women characters in a new light.

The plot is simple. Pamphilus has been forced by his father, Laches, to give up the courtesan, Bacchis, and to marry Philumena. While he is away from Athens Philumena returns to her mother's house, and on his return Pamphilus finds she has had a son. This cannot be his child for his marriage with Philumena has not been consummated. Laches thinks that his wife, Sostrata (Philumena's mother-in-law), has driven the girl back to her home by unkind treatment. Sostrata tries to reconcile her son and his wife, but Pamphilus refuses to take Philumena back as his wife although he agrees to keep the birth of the child secret for her sake. Laches thinks this refusal is due to Pamphilus' love for Bacchis. Bacchis denies this to Myrrhina (Philumena's mother), and Myrrhina recognises a ring Bacchis is wearing. It then appears that Philumena is the girl whom Pamphilus has ravished in the street one night previously. He had taken a ring from her and given it to Bacchis. Philumena's child is thus the son of Pamphilus and all ends well.⁸⁹

89 . See Ph-E.Legrand, "A Propos du Dénouement de l'Hecyre", R.E.A. 43(1941), pp.49-55. Legrand thinks that Terence shortened various scenes from the original by Apollodorus of Carystus, e.g. Phidippus scolding Myrrhina. These scenes, he says, would have made up a fifth act, but Terence thought them ineffectual and cut them out.

Myrrhina is first heard off-stage begging Philumena, who is in labour, to control her cries. It is a terrible predicament for any mother to be in; she knows that the child is the son of the man who violated her daughter, and that the only hope for the unhappy Philumena is to keep the birth secret and get rid of the child before Pamphilus returns.

As we know, he arrives as the child is being born and, shocked and horrified, turns to go away immediately. In a long monologue he tells the audience how Myrrhina ran after him and knelt in front of him weeping, ignoring her dignity in her concern for her daughter:-

"per eam te obsecramus ambae, si ius si fas est, uti
advorsa eiu' per te tecta tacitaque apud omnis sient"
(387-388).

Pamphilus, who really loves Philumena, agrees to this but will not take her back, even though he feels deeply for Myrrhina's distress.

But Myrrhina's precautions are of no avail for her husband, Phidippus, discovers the baby, and is incensed by the fact that this has been kept a secret from him.⁹⁰ He accuses Myrrhina of having made a laughing-stock of him (526),⁹¹ but even then Myrrhina courageously manages to keep the real secret from him - that

90 . Normally Phidippus is a good-tempered individual and affectionately easy-going with his family (250, 271, 564, 667) but this concealment of the birth is too much for him.

91 . The scene between Myrrhina and her husband (516-565) is written in a combination of trochaic septenarii, trochaic octonarii, and iambic octonarii - Terence's substitute for the lyric metres of Plautus.

the child is (supposedly) not the son of Pamphilus. "perii!" she exclaims in answer to a question as to who the father is, "ex quo censes nisi ex illo quod datast nuptum obsecro?" (528). Phidippus obligingly accepts this, but now condemns Myrrhina because she has concealed the birth for the purpose of getting rid of the child. He works himself into a passion over this, declaring that Myrrhina has plotted it because she does not like her son-in-law. Myrrhina, now bearing the full brunt of her husband's displeasure, does not deny this:- "Quamvis causam hunc suspicari quam ipsam veram mavolo," she murmurs to herself (540).

So she listens patiently to Phidippus blaming her for her obstinacy and self-will in trying to defeat the arrangements he has made for his daughter. Only once does she interrupt:-

"adeo me esse pervicacem censes, quod mater siem,
ut eo essem animo, si ex usu esset nostro hoc matrimonium?"
(547-548).

To which Phidippus replies with a contemptuous snort:- "tunc prospicere aut iudicare in rem quod sit potes?" (549).

Phidippus commences a further homily on the naturalness of young men having mistresses, but Myrrhina, in a perfect fever now about her daughter's future, begs him to go and ask Pamphilus whether he wishes to take his wife back or not. "sin est autem ut nolit, recte ego consului meae", she defends herself (559).

But at this Phidippus is even more angered and upbraids her furiously. The whole crux of the matter lies in his words

"quam ob rem incendor ira esse ausam facere haec te iniussu meo" (562). This is what really infuriates Phidippus - that a mere woman, his wife, should dare to take any action without consulting him first. His pride, as head of the household, has been hurt, and he stalks off indoors to see that the child is safely cared for.

Myrrhina remains on stage, trembling with fear and distress for, as she says (567), she realises how extremely angry her husband will be when he learns the whole truth. After telling the audience⁹² that her daughter was violated in the dark and so does not know who the man was, she disappears indoors and we do not see her again.

In her brief appearance, however, we recognise another of the band of courageous mothers to whom their children's welfare matters more than anything else. Philumena is fortunate to have such a mother to protect her.

As it happens, the two fathers do not find out that Philumena has been violated and that Pamphilus is the man responsible. Bacchis, the courtesan, makes this possible and Myrrhina's courage is rewarded.

3. 'Matronae morigerae'.

In Stichus⁹³ we have two of the few examples in Plautus and Terence of happily married 'matronae'. This is a strange play

92 . Myrrhina's monologue is in iambic octonarii which express freely her distress and fear.

93 . The original was the Adelphoi by Menander.

with no conventional plot. It falls into three sections with only a slight connection between each. In the first part two faithful wives, the sisters, Panegyris and Pamphila, are awaiting the return of their husbands who are brothers and who have been away for two years. The father of the young wives, impatient of this, wishes them to divorce their husbands and re-marry.⁹⁴ Fortunately the husbands return safe and sound - but the wives are not seen on stage again. The second part deals with the home-coming of the husbands, Epignomus and Pamphilippus, and the attempts of the parasite, Gelasimus, to obtain dinner from them. The last group of scenes depicts the feasting and revels of the slaves in the households.

J. Wight Duff⁹⁵ calls the play "an interesting social document," and Duckworth⁹⁶ adds that "its main purpose seems to be the portrayal of certain social types and certain aspects of ancient life."

The two wives are well-drawn and it will be noted that, though they are similar in general outline, there is a good deal of contrast in the details of their dispositions. These two women are undoubtedly depicted as ideal wives - modest, virtuous, and affectionate.⁹⁷

Panegyris and Pamphila are first discovered in downcast

94 . See Greek Select Literary Papyri: (Tr. D.L. Page, Heinemann, 1941), Vol. III, pp. 184-188. Speech of a Heroine - Anon. The father demands that his daughter should marry a man of wealth because her husband is now poor.

95 . J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome, p. 133.

96 . G. Duckworth, The Complete Roman Drama (New York, 1942), Vol. 2, p. 3.

97 . Athen. XIII, 564.

mood, sitting resignedly in front of Epignomus' house.

Panegyris, the elder, remarks querulously that she quite understands how Penelope must have felt when she was 'widowed' for so long. But Pamphila virtuously says:-

"nostrum officium
nos facere aequomst" (7-7a).

And then, as she remembers her father's threat to separate them from their husbands, she breaks into sobs:-

"haec res vitae me, soror, saturant,
haec mi dividiae et senio sunt" (18-19).⁹⁸

It is this threatened fate hanging constantly over her head that is wearing her out.

Panegyris, as is the way of older sisters, attempts to comfort her. "novi ego illum (her father): ioculo istaec dicit" (23), she says reassuringly. She adds, a little resentfully, that after all their husbands have been away two years and they have not even let their wives know where they are or how they are.

Pamphila is shocked at this:-

"an id doles, soror, quia illi suom officium
non colunt, quom tu tuom facis?" (34-5-36).

And she goes on to rebuke her sister:-

"cave sis audiam ego istuc
posthac ex te" (37-38).

It is, she continues very smugly, right to do their duty regardless of what their husbands may be doing.

Panegyris meekly agrees to this although she might well

⁹⁸ . Note the clever use of lyric metre in the duet between the two sisters.

have resented her younger sister's officiousness.

At this point Antipho enters and a hurried whispering takes place between the two wives as to the line of action they should adopt if their father insists on taking them home. "nos oportet quod ille faciat, quous potestas plus potest" (69), says Panegyris, and then, with a sure knowledge of her father's disposition:- "exorando, haud advorsando sumendam operam censeo" (70). It would, she remarks, be a terrible disgrace if she or her sister opposed their father, and neither would do it. The regard for parental authority persisted even in married life, and indeed the father had the right to take his daughters back at any time.⁹⁹

Both girls immediately proceed to overwhelm their father with flattering attentions - kisses (in spite of Antipho's pretended irritability), cushions on the bench where he seats himself, and loving words. "numquam enim nimi' curare possunt suom parentem filiae" (96), says Pamphila sententiously. And like lightning, before Antipho can make any comment, she adds ~~that~~ *they should look after ---*

"Postidea, pater,
viros nostros, quibus tu voluisti esse nos matres familias"
(97-98).

Antipho, taken aback by this unexpected assault, says hurriedly and with feigned enthusiasm that this is the way good wives should feel. He, in turn, delivers a counter blow by telling the wives that he is now looking for another wife;

⁹⁹ . Demos. XLI, 4.

therefore he wishes to know:-

"quibu^s matronas moribus
quae optumae sunt esse oportet?" (105-106).

Both the young wives are horrified at this and immediately antagonistic. Pamphila says openly, referring to her mother:-
"meliorem neque tu reperies neque sol videt" (110). But Antipho persists in his questioning as to what characteristics they find most valuable in a woman, and finally Pamphila says with great good sense:-

"ut, per urbem quom ambulent,
omnibus os opturent, ne quis merito male dicat sibi"
(113-114).

And Panegyris answers that she approves of a woman "quod male faciundi est potestas, quae ne id faciat temperat" (117).

Here, in these two answers, the characters of the two wives are differentiated. Pamphila thinks of modesty of behaviour and the importance of a woman's reputation. Panegyris, deeper-thinking, values most inner strength of character.

To her father's question as to how a woman can keep herself from fault, Pamphila, with her quick tongue, replies sweetly:-

"ut cottidie
pridie caveat ne faciat quod pigeat postridie (121-122).

But Panegyris replies more seriously:-

"quae tamen, quom res secundae sunt, se poterit gnosceret,
et illa quae aequo animo patietur sibi esse peius quam fuit"
(124-125).

Panegyris is almost in tears, but Antipho bursts out laughing, and tells both women that he has simply been testing

them. They crowd round him in demonstrative relief, only to fall back as he informs them that he has been advised to come and take them home with him.

Pamphila, always the more forceful personality of the two, leaps into the fray immediately. "at enim nos quarum res agitur aliter auctores sumus" (129), she protests. Her sense of justice is a keen one, and she claims that her father has no right to take them away from the husbands to whom he has given them.¹⁰⁰ And she adds with dignity:- "idem animust in paupertate qui olim in divitiis fuit" (134).

Antipho protests several times, but half-heartedly. Like many fathers he realises he has little chance against his daughters' coaxing. Panegyris has been quite right in her estimate of his nature. Then she clinches matters by saying with calm common sense:- "hostis est uxor invita quae ad virum nuptum datur" (140). With a final effort Antipho grumbles that they are not obeying their father's orders. "Persequimur," persists Panegyris, "nam quo dedisti nuptum abire nolumus" (142).

With a gesture of despair Antipho gives the whole thing up, and departs to tell his friends. The young wives embrace each other jubilantly. Harsh¹⁰¹ points out that what could have been a dramatic situation - the wives being urged by Antipho to give up their absent husbands - is destroyed very early by

100 . cf. Pamphila in Menander's Epitrepontes.

101 . P. Harsh, A Handbook of Classical Drama, p.369.

Antipho yielding to their pleas.

Panegyris, the elder, reappears in a short scene with Pinacium, her young slave-boy, and Gelasimus, the parasite. Pinacium, a spoilt, good-looking youth, is shockingly impertinent to his mistress. It is surprising that Panegyris does not deal with him more severely. She reproves him certainly, but in indulgent tones:- "mihin fastidis, propudiose?" (334). Even when the wretched boy, after announcing importantly that he has good news, perversely keeps her husband's arrival from her for some time, she merely says "non ecastor, ut ego opinor, satis erae morem geris" (361). And when Pinacium eventually says he has seen Epignomus, she is too happy and excited to reprove him. Pinacium's insolence is a minor matter in comparison with her husband's home-coming. Possibly she thinks too that her husband will be able to deal with the young man.

Even in her excitement Panegyris unselfishly remembers to ask about Pamphila's husband, and is relieved to know he too is on his way. She orders Pinacium to see about preparing the altar for a sacrifice and, after refusing Gelasimus' eager offers of help, goes indoors.

One would expect the re-union of the wives and husbands to be depicted on stage, but this does not happen, and the wives do not reappear. Instead we have the farcical scenes with Epignomus and Gelasimus, and finally the banquet of the

slaves. Duckworth¹⁰² suggests that this last section is a burlesque of the festivities of their masters within the house.

Perhaps we could read into this change of scene and atmosphere the plain fact that Plautus became bored to death with his two virtuous but dull young women. He could not face, without a shudder, the prospect of bringing them back on stage - hence no re-union and hence the lighter relief of the parasite and the slaves.

The Aulularia¹⁰³ of Plautus is a play of character, centring round one Euclio, an avaricious individual who has found a treasure. In this play we find Eunomia, a striking example of the best type of womanhood.

Euclio has discovered a pot of gold which he is terrified of losing. (This is not the place to discuss Euclio but it should be noted that his miserly propensities spring from his former extreme poverty). In the meantime Megadorus, Euclio's neighbour, being urged to marriage by Eunomia, his sister, decides to marry Euclio's daughter. Eunomia does not know that her own son, Lyconides, has violated the daughter. Then Euclio's pot of gold is stolen, and his daughter gives birth to a child. However, the thief is Lyconides' own slave and Lyconides compels him to return the gold to Euclio.

Unfortunately the rest of the play is lost, but we gather from

102 . C.Duckworth, The Complete Roman Drama, Vol. 2, p.3.

103 . T.B.L.Webster in Studies in Menander (Manchester Univ. Press, 1960), pp.120 ff, connects Menander's Apistos with Aulularia. Cf. W.E.J. Kuiper,

The Greek Aulularia

the acrostic summary that Lyconides marries Euclio's daughter, and the treasure, or part of it, is given as dowry.

Eunomia is introduced early in the play (120). She is a selfless loving woman who is at this time absorbed in her attempts to persuade her brother to marry. "in rem hoc tuam est" (154), she says anxiously. That his marriage would be to her own disadvantage is obvious for otherwise she and her son Lyconides would fall heir to Megadorus' property. But she discounts this in her anxiety for her brother's happiness.

This woman is a curious mixture of dignity and humility.¹⁰⁴

"hau falsa sum nos odiosas haberi;
nam multum loquaces merito omnes habemur," (123-124)

she says diffidently to Megadorus, though one could not imagine Eunomia indulging in idle gossip, or ranting at her brother in shrewish tones. She is wholly concerned with his welfare, and she reminds him gently from her deeply affectionate nature:-

"tibi proxumam me mihique esse item te" (128). Megadorus, touched by her concern for him, replies "da mi, optuma femina, manum" (135). And then Eunomia, who is too modest to suppose these words could possibly refer to her asks:- "ubi ea est? quis ea nam optuma?" (136).

Eventually Megadorus, somewhat disgruntled, agrees to marriage, expressing the pious hope that his wife may die the

104 . Note the metre used in Eunomia's speech (120-134). Bacchiac metre, says W.Lindsay (Early Latin Verse, Clarendon, 1922, p.289), is admirably suited to Roman 'gravitas' and thus to this matron.

day after the wedding (156). Eunomia offers a further enticement - she will obtain the largest dowry she can, but the woman is not young! Michaut¹⁰⁵ says of this act:- "Et ce ne sont point là paroles en l'air, démonstration hypocrite: elle a cherché, elle a trouvé une femme riche, d'âge approprié, qui conviendrait à merveille à Mégadore."

This offer of a large dowry does not appeal to Megadorus. He shrugs his shoulders and then states outright that he wishes to marry the young daughter of Euclio. This must be a severe shock to Eunomia to have her choice ruthlessly set aside, but she generously conceals any hurt she may feel and agrees with Megadorus' suggestion instantly.

Eunomia is as good a mother as she is a sister.....although one could wish perhaps that Lyconides should receive some reprimand when he tells her that it was he who violated Phaedria (682). However, in Athens all things were excused to young men who were under the influence of wine,¹⁰⁶ and Eunomia merely remarks:-

"caussa iusta est, siquidem ita est ut praedicas,
te eam compressisse vinolentum virginem" (688-689).

She assures him that she will beg her brother to forego his marriage with Phaedria as the girl is about to bear Lyconides' child. And perhaps a touch of discipline at last - she insists that Lyconides should accompany her to explain the position to

105 . G.Michaut, Plaute, Vol. 2, p.89.

106 . cf. Aul. 794ff., Truc. 828; Adr. 470-471; Cist. 158-159; Phormio 1017-1018.

her brother. Her sense of social responsibility, too, would impel her to insist that Lyconides marries the girl he has ravished.

Kuiper¹⁰⁷ adopts an extraordinary attitude to this, saying:-
 "and it is really perfectly incomprehensible why Eunomia should accompany her son." On the contrary it seems quite clear that any woman as devoted to her son as Eunomia is would not dream of allowing him to make his halting explanations alone. She knows that she has considerable influence with her brother and that the matter is more likely to be amicably settled by her persuasions. This is made quite plain by:-

"i hac intro mecum, gnate mi, ad fratrem meum,
 ut istuc quod me oras impretratum ab eo auferam"
 (694-695).

Eunomia is, in short, one of Plautus' finer 'matronae'.
 Dignified, modest, and kindly, she is an example to all women.¹⁰⁸

In the Amphitruo and Hecyra we find the two finest women characters in Plautus and Terence respectively - Alcmena in Amphitruo and Sostrata in Hecyra. Of both it might be said, in Longfellow's words, "a noble type of good heroic womanhood."

The Amphitruo¹⁰⁹ is a mythological travesty - the only one we have in what is left of Roman comedy. It tells how Jupiter, in the shape of Amphitruo, spends the night with Alcmena, Amphitruo's wife, while Mercury, disguised as Sosia the slave,

107 . W.E.J.Kuiper, The Greek Aulularia (Leyden, 1940), p. 23.

108 . Note Cicero, De Oratore III, 45.

109 . Original unknown.

keeps guard outside.¹¹⁰ When the genuine Sosia and Amphitruo appear there is "confusion confounded" and Amphitruo accuses his wife of adultery. She then gives birth to twins, and eventually Jupiter, repenting of the mischief he has made, appears and explains that Alcmena is without guilt for she believed that he was her husband. The play is a clever one with several brilliant scenes of farce, nicely balanced by the serious passages in which Alcmena refutes her husband's accusations.

If we look more closely at Alcmena we shall see that she possesses all the qualities most admired in women at that time - dignity, virtue, modesty, loyalty, and courage.¹¹¹

In the prologue Mercury (disguised as Sosia) presents the whole situation to the audience. Jupiter, in the shape of Amphitruo, is inside with Alcmena, while he, Mercury, is keeping watch outside. The real Sosia appears and is driven off by Mercury who then tells the audience that Alcmena is pregnant by both her husband and Jupiter. The god has arranged that Alcmena shall bear both children together to protect her reputation. He promises too that Jupiter will not allow the blame to fall on Alcmena, as her husband is sure to find out.

Alcmena commences her first scene with Jupiter-Amphitruo

- 110 . See M. Bieber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre 1961 (Princeton, 1959), fig. 368 - a pair of lovers and a soldier.
 111 . J. Hansom in "Plautus as a Source-Book for Roman Religion", T.A.P.A. 90(1959), pp. 48-101, remarks that the 'pietas' of Alcmena is essential to the plot.

as he is departing, ostensibly to his troops. She is in a somewhat petulant mood (a well-known prerogative of pregnant women) induced by the fact that her pseudo-husband has been with her for such a short time. To go away so soon is unkind, she says:- "ecastor te experior quanti facias uxorem tuam" (508). Jupiter-Amphitruo remonstrates with her over this attitude, explaining that he had to leave his troops to come to her. "redibo actutum" (530), he reassures her. But even then Alcmena, whose affection for her husband is very strong, sighs:- "id 'actutum' diu est" (530).

Jupiter hands to her a cup given to him for his courage and Alcmena is softened and consoled by this. Her gentleness is evidenced in her plea to Jupiter not to be angry with Sosia (Mercury) who has been constantly interrupting.

Finally Jupiter somewhat abruptly inquires whether there is anything else she wants, and Alcmena in the eternal cry of women who need constant reassurance that they are loved, replies:- "ut quom apsim me ames, me tuam te apsentitamen" (542). Do we discern here, perhaps, a certain jealousy of her husband's interest in his men and his battles? Perhaps this is just spoken for her husband's benefit for in her monologue (633-653)¹¹² Alcmena shows quite clearly that she knows it is her husband's duty to return to his men. She can bear her husband's absence sustained by the Greek outlook that "virtus omnibus rebus anteit profecto" (649).

112 . Note the use of bacchiac metre suitable to dignified grief.

Alcmena has apparently learned the grim facts of life early, for she says:-

"satin parva res est voluptatum in vita atque in aetate agunda praequam quod molestum est?" (633-634).

In short, the pleasure of her husband's visit was small compared with the sorrow when he left.

The real Amfitruo now arrives home from battle, longing for a warm welcome from his wife. He addresses her affectionately:- "quam omnium Thebis vir unam esse optumam diiudicat, quam-que adeo cives Thebani vero rumiferant probam" (677-678),

and is much surprised at her casual words of greeting.

A scene of dramatic confusion now follows¹¹³ - Alcmena asking why he mocks her thus by pretending he has not just left her, and Amfitruo swearing he has not seen her earlier in the day. Sosia soothingly suggests that Alcmena is still dreaming, but is soon disillusioned by her sharp contradiction. Though a loving and gentle wife Alcmena is quite capable of dealing firmly with insolent slaves, and in answer to Sosia's impertinent remark that she is bringing forth madness, not a child (719), she replies:-

"equidem sana ~~sana~~ sum et deos quaeso ut salva pariam filium. verum tu malum magnum habebis si hic suum officium facit" (720-721).

In the second instance of Sosia's rudeness, Alcmena reproaches her husband for allowing this:- "iterum iam hic in me inclementer dicit, atque id sine malo" (742).

113 . Trochaic septenarii are used from 654-860 - a metre which expresses excitement.

But Amphitruo persists in questioning his wife, still incredulous of her reiteration that he has spent the previous night with her. Sosia, not unnaturally, continues to support his master in this statement. Amphitruo is bewildered though when Alcmena tells him she has received a golden cup from him - for he has one, and intends to give it to her. He is dumb-founded when she actually produces the cup, and Sosia accuses her of being a "praestigiatrix" (782).

The scene builds up until Amphitruo is struck to the heart by the realisation that Alcmena has not only received gifts from this usurper and dined with him, but has slept in the same bed with him.

Throughout this trying interrogation Alcmena has behaved with admirable calm and self-possession. Many women would have burst into hysterical tears, but Alcmena retains her dignity. Now Amphitruo, quite beside himself with grief and rage cries:-

"perii miser,

quia pudicitiae huius vitium me hinc apse est additum"

(810-811).

Alcmena's pride is roused at this accusation and she demands:- "opsecro ecastor, qur istuc, mi vir, ex ted audio?" (812). And again, stirred by the slur on her family name, she says:- "istuc facinus quod tu insimulas nostro generi non decet" (820).

In spite of all her denials Amphitruo does not believe her and declares harshly:- "mulier es, audacter iuras" (836). Alcmena, secure in the knowledge of her innocence, stands firm

and retorts:- "quae non deliquit, decet
audacem esse, confidenter pro se et proterve loqui"
(836-837).

Finally, provoked beyond endurance by his anger and contempt, she pours out to her husband what her marriage really means to her, and the ideals she tries to follow. A dowry, she says, should not consist of material wealth, but of

"pudicitiam et pudorem et sedatum cupidinem,
deum metum, parentum amorem, et cognatum concordiam,
tibi morigera atque ut munifica sim bonis, prosim probis"
(840-842).

At this revelation of Alcmena's true character, Amphitruo cannot but feel the overwhelming sincerity of her words and, with a gesture of despair, he says helplessly:- "delenitus sum profecto ita ut me qui sim nesciam" (844). Then he proposes to bring Naucrates, who was on board with him, to swear that he did not leave the ship the previous night. Alcmena agrees to this and goes into the house. Shortly afterwards she reappears, too disturbed and perplexed by her husband's vilifications to remain indoors. In a monologue (882-890) she makes it clear that unless Amphitruo explains his behaviour and apologises she will leave him:-

"neque me perpetiar probri
falso insimulatam," (887-888) she warns.

Jupiter, who overhears this, decides that he must intervene unless the marriage between Alcmena and Amphitruo is to be irretrievably ruined. Still in the guise of Amphitruo he approaches her, only to have Alcmena turn away from him. "inimicos semper osa sum optuerier" (900), she declares with spirit. The charge of immodesty is one she cannot forgive.

Jupiter tries to excuse the charges, saying they were in jest, but Alcmena is not appeased by this. "ego illum scio quam doluerit cordi meo" (922), she asserts, implying that she no longer has any interest in a man who does not know that adultery is not a matter for joking.

And, implacably, she states:- "valeas, tibi habeas res tuas, reddas meas" (928). Mindful of her status as a matron she asks for her women to accompany her in the street. Jupiter, stunned by this decision, does not answer her request, and she says with a fine dignity:-

"si non iubes,
ibo egomet; comitem mihi Pudicitiam duxero" (929-930).

Jupiter protests now that he believes her to be innocent, and Alcmena at last accepts his apologies, though it will be a long time before she recovers from her distress. In his relief Jupiter offers several foolish remarks about friends who have quarrelled being drawn even closer after the reconciliation, but Alcmena quietly rebukes him by saying:- "primum cavisse oportuit ne diceret" (944).

Jupiter proceeds to arrange for a sacrifice to celebrate the safe return from war, and Alcmena, like the good housewife she is (see 499), goes indoors to see that all is prepared.

Alcmena, perhaps to the audience's surprise, does not appear again. Bromia, the maid, relates to Amphytruo that his wife has given birth to two sons, and explains that Jupiter has been the father of one. All ends well with Amphytruo declaring

that he is content to divide his happiness with Jupiter.

Michaut,¹¹⁴ with a fine sensibility, explains Alcmena's non-reappearance thus:- "Mais au dénouement, Plaute l'a éloignée; il lui a épargné la confusion d'une explication, qui sans doute la disculpe mais la laisse un peu salie, malgré son innocence. Et c'est là un trait de délicatesse digne du talent avec lequel est dépeinte cette noble figure."

Sostrata, in the Hecyra (Terence) could well have been included in the 'anxious mothers', but she is more than this. In her compassion for her fellow-men she is the mother of all distressed humanity. Her affection extends not only to her son and her husband but to her neighbours and daughter-in-law as well.

And it is the relationship with the latter which is important in the play. Even in those days, apparently, the 'mother-in-law' joke existed, and this looks like a determined attempt on the part of Terence to break away from the orthodox picture of an interfering marriage-breaking harriidan.¹¹⁵ His success is undoubted for Sostrata is one of the most appealing women in Roman comedy.¹¹⁶

Laches, who is Sostrata's husband and an unpleasant

114 . G.Michaut, Plaute, Vol.2, p.89.

115 . P.E.Legrand in "A Propos du Dénoement de l'Hécyre", R.E.A.43(1941),pp.49-55, writes of the characters of Sostrata and Bacchis:- "un motif assez répandu dans le répertoire de la Nouvelle-Comédie est employé à l'inverse de ce qui avait lieu ordinaire."

116 . P.Harsh in A Handbook of Classical Drama,p.393, states that Sostrata is not portrayed with any depth. The discussion in the next few pages should serve to absolve Terence from this charge.

domineering bully, opens the scene for us by berating Sostrata for driving her daughter-in-law from the house by her unkind behaviour. "itaque adeo uno animo omnes socrus oderunt, oderunt nurus" (201), he complains bitterly. The unhappy Sostrata protests in vain. She is a gentle woman whose only wish is to live in peace and harmony with her family, and presently she is reduced to tears by Laches' censure. He accuses her of having disgraced him and the family (210) and having made enemies of their marriage-relatives; she is inconsiderate, selfish, and spiteful. He even goes so far as to say that if he had known how much Philumena disliked her and the house:- "illa hic maneret potius, tu hinc isses foras"(222).

Sostrata bears all this meekly - too meekly, indeed, and merely sobs:- "non mea opera neque pol culpa evenit" (228). Although, like Alcmena, she is innocent of the charges against her, she has not the latter's spirit to refute her husband's accusations with any show of confidence. Her self-conf^edence has crumbled away over the years through constant contact with Laches' overbearing disposition.

Now, adds Laches accusingly, she (Sostrata) has not even been admitted to the house where Philumena is staying. At this point Phidippus, Philumena's father, makes matters worse by entering and informing Laches that his daughter refuses to return to her in-laws' house until Pamphilus returns. Laches turns furiously on Sostrata again, but she is too overwhelmed by this fresh evidence to say anything but "heu me miseram"(271).

Left alone on the stage she becomes indignant:-117

"edepol ne nos sumus inique aequae omnes invisae viris
propter paucas, quae omnes faciunt dignae ut videamur malo"
(274-275).

And she re-iterates:- "nam nunquam secus
habui illam ac si ex^messet gnata"(278-279).

All she hopes now is that her son will come home soon and help her.

Pamphilus does return and is much disturbed by the trouble that has arisen between his wife and his mother:-

"quid restat nisi porro ut fiam miser?
nam matris ferre iniurias me, Parmeno, pietas iubet"(300-301).

Not only is filial obligation strong but Pamphilus is genuinely attached to his mother.

Parmeno airily waves away this trouble - a childish quarrel, he suggests:- "itidem illae mulieres sunt ferme ut pueri levi sententia" (312).

Sostrata now makes a second attempt to visit her daughter-in-law, and we find her hovering outside Phidippus' door.

"male metuo ne Philumenae mage morbus adgravescat:
quod te, Aesculapi, et te, Salus, ne-quid sit huius oro"
(337-338),

she prays, showing genuine affection for her daughter-in-law.

Parmeno advises her not to go in, and adds that Pamphilus has returned and is inside. Sostrata is overwhelmed with joy at this news:- "istoc verbo animu' mihi redit et cura ex corde excessit" (347). And indeed the poor woman doubtless feels

117 . Sostrata expresses her resentment in trochaic septenarii.

the need for some moral support in view of her husband's attitude to the situation.

Pamphilus enters and Sostrata, like any other over-careful mother, bombards him with questions as to his own and Philumena's welfare until he begs her to go indoors and he will follow.

Pamphilus, who has already insisted that his first duty is to his mother, persists in this attitude when he discusses the question of Philumena's return with his father. "nunc me pietas matri' potius commodum suadet sequi" (481), he says earnestly. Laches commends him - in a rather lukewarm manner - for this sentiment, but after Pamphilus has rushed off, still refusing to take back his wife, and Phidippus has gone into his house in a rage, Laches again vents all his temper on his wife:-

"porto hoc iurgium
ad uxorem, quoi(u)s haec fiunt consilio omnia,
atque in eam hoc omne quod mihi aegrest evomam"(513-515).

We should note here how the constant repetition by Laches that his wife is the cause of all the trouble serves, by contrast, to point Sostrata's true character.

Sostrata now reappears with Pamphilus, and in this scene¹¹⁸ we see, fully developed, the extent of her love and self-sacrifice for her family. She first assures Pamphilus that she has never wittingly offended Philumena, and that she now

118 . This scene is presented wholly in iambic octonarii (577-606) expressing the tension caused by Sostrata's decision to go away.

intends to go and live in the country:-

"ne mea praesentia obstet neu causa ulla restet relicua
quin tua Philumena ad te redeat" (587-588).

Pamphilus is aghast at this- both because he is fond of his mother and because he will now have no excuse for not accepting Philumena into the house. But Sostrata, with gentle determination, has made up her mind:-

"haec mihi nunc curast maxuma ut nequoi mea
longinquitas aetatis obstet mortemve expectet meam" (595-596).

And she adds with great dignity:- "sine me obsecro hoc effugere volgu' quod male audit mulierum" (600). Perhaps there is the slightest hint of reproach when, in reply to Pamphilus' exclamation of unhappiness, she says quietly:- "et mihi quidem; nam haec res non minu' me male habet quam te, gnate mi" (606).

Laches approves of his wife's plan to move to the country. "abi rus ergo hinc: ibi ego te et tu me feres" (610), he growls. Sostrata answers devoutly "spero mecastor" (611), and one senses a genuine desire in her heart that they shall live together in mutual respect and affection. Unfortunately this is not likely as Laches is a man of congenital ill-temper, and one cannot imagine a sojourn in the country improving his boorishness and brutality at all.

Laches then orders Sostrata to pack up his belongings, and acquiescent as ever, she goes indoors to do this. She utters no word of complaint about leaving her son, her friends, and her home.

Henry¹¹⁹ states that Laches and Sostrata now "give an illustration of real affection, sympathy and unity of purpose." I cannot agree with this, as 'sympathy' and 'affection' are not words that can be applied to Laches. 'feres' (610) is the word that indicates his attitude to his wife. Sostrata will certainly do her duty and act as selflessly as usual, but one foresees a grim future for her.

Gomme¹²⁰ speaks of Sostrata as "calm, kindly and sensible" - one "who has to manage a surly husband and a priggish son." This is not accurate as it is self-evident that Sostrata is not a sufficiently dominating personality to manage either husband or son. Sostrata's "foolish moralising" (274 ff.) is also castigated by Gomme, but these outpourings seem to me a perfectly natural protest from an innocent woman.

B. Characterisation by technical devices.

It will have been noticed in the foregoing pages how the characterisation has been built up by action and speech linked with description and strengthened by contrast and repetition.

119 . G.R.G.Henry, The Characters of Terence (S.Ph.N.C.12, 1915) pp.55-98.

120 . A.W.Gomme, Essays in Greek History and Literature, "Menander," pp.249-295.

1. Direct description.

a. Description in prologues.

Wilner¹²¹ has stated that the description of a character is generally proved accurate by later action. When this description takes place in the prologue only the fundamental traits of character are named: Casina 59 - Cleostrata's intriguing nature; (63) - her devotion to her son.

b. Self-description in solos.

Self-description occurs in solos, whether spoken or sung. This solo, Wilner says, "announces and develops some general theme, usually moral, and applies its conclusions to the singer himself." These descriptions normally refer to the traits, habits or feelings of the speaker or to his/her likes and dislikes. In Plautus:- Amphitruo: 633-653 (Alcmena's courage and affectionate nature), 882-890 (Alcmena's innocence); Casina: 162 (Cleostrata's gossiping tendencies), 561 (Cleostrata's mischief-making); Epidicus: 526-532 (Philippa's helplessness); Mercator: 704 (Dorippa's injured pride). In Terence:- Hecyra: 274-278 (Sostrata's affection for Philumena), 566 (Myrrhina's unhappiness).

121 . O.L.Wilner, "The Technical Device of Direct Description of Character in Roman Comedy," C.P. 33 (1938), pp.20-36.

These self-descriptions are invariably borne out as correct in later action.

c. Self-description in dialogue.

We then find the women describing themselves in the course of dialogue with another character. In Plautus we have Amphitruo: Alcmena: 663 - affection for husband, 730 - sanity, 824 - family pride, 833-834 - virtue, 839-842 - wifely qualities, 899-900 - dislike for enemies, 925-930 - chastity; Casina: Cleostrata: 174-175 - unhappiness in marriage, 182 - affection for Myrrhina; Myrrhina: 180-181 - sympathetic nature, 857-858 - risibility; Cistellaria: Phanostrata: 769 - sympathy; Epidicus: Philippa: 559-560 - misery; Menaechmi: wife: 614 - unhappiness, 782-783 - injured pride, 853- distress; Stichus: Panegyris: 7-8a - sense of duty, 50¹²² - gratitude, 53-54 - filial respect, 142 - loyalty; Pamphila: 10-14 - conscientiousness, 39-42 - sense of duty, 72-73 - self-respect, 96-98 - parental and wifely respect, 100-101 - wifely duty, 134 - steadfastness.

In Terence we find Hecyra: Sostrata: 205, 208, 228 - innocence of charges brought against her, 271 - misery, 347 - trust in son, 579-580 - regard for daughter-in-law, 593-595 - disinterest in material pleasures, 595-596 - unselfishness, 606 - unhappiness; Myrrhina: 516-517, 536 - distress, 547-548 - denial of obstinacy; Heauton Timorumenos:- Sostrata:

122 . Note that the passage 48-57 is bracketed by Lindsay and does not occur in the Ambrosian Palimpsest.

623-624 - obedience to husband, 644-646 - self-confessed stupidity, 649-650 - superstition; Phormio:- Nausistrata: 792-793 - capability, 1031-1032 - devotion to husband; Adelphi:- Sostrata: 291, 330 - distress, 348-350 - honourable behaviour.

d. Description by others during absence of character.

In addition to this self-description we have a considerable quantity of description by other characters in the absence of the character concerned. These characteristics mentioned in absence are generally correct and normally occur as passing references in dialogue. Occasionally the characterisation is false and thus serves, by contrast, to highlight the real traits of the individual concerned. In Plautus:-
Amphitruo:- Amphitruo on Alcmena: 654-655 - affection for husband, 1084-1085 - lack of chastity (false), Jupiter on Alcmena: 869-870, 1142 - innocence; Bromia on Alcmena: 1086 - chastity; Asinaria:- Libanus on Artemona: 19 - shrewishness, Demaenetus on Artemona: 60, 62 - shrewishness, 62 - nuisance value, 78-79 - strictness with son; Leonida on Artemona: 743 - anger; Casina:- Lysidamus on Cleostrata: 276-277 - contrariness; Olympio on Cleostrata: 320 - unpleasant nature, 325 - anger; Pardalisca on Myrrhina and Cleostrata: 778-779 - gluttony; Menaechmi:- Menaechmus I on wife: 159 - fierceness; Mercator:- Lysimachus on Dorippa: 796 - bad temper, 959 - anger; Eutychus on Dorippa: 923, 938, 954 - anger, 965 - tolerance; Demipho on his wife: 557 - nagging tendencies; Lysimachus on Demipho's

wife: 1003-1004 - vindictiveness; Stichus:- Epignomus on Panegyris: 525-526 - good housewifery.

In Terence:- Hecyra:- Pamphilus on Myrrhina: 338-339 - grief, Phidippus on Myrrhina: 632-633 - cause of trouble, 709 - anger, Laches on Myrrhina: 643-644 - unnatural behaviour, Laches on Sostrata: 513-515 - cause of trouble (false); Phormio:- Chremes on Nausistrata: 744 - bad temper, 965 - implacability; Adelphi:- Hegio on Sostrata: 602-603 - grief, Demea on Sostrata: 930 - uprightness and modesty, 931-932 - age and loneliness, Micio on Sostrata: 939 - decrepitude.

e. Face to face description by others.

There are, too, a great number of descriptive comments addressed to the characters themselves - mostly accurate, sometimes exaggerated in anger or flattery, occasionally inaccurate. We find in Plautus:- Amphitruo:- Jupiter to Alcmena: 499 - efficiency, 903 - anger, 932 - chastity, Mercury to Alcmena: 538 - nobility, Amphitruo to Alcmena: 676-678 - good wife and good reputation, 709 - pride and stupidity (false), 711-712 - modesty, 818-819 - untruthfulness and immodesty (false), 836, 838 - boldness (false); Aulularia:- Megadorus to Eunomia: 135, 146 - goodness; Casina:- Myrrhina to Cleostrata: 172-173, 179 - unhappiness, 204, 208-209 - stupidity, Cleostrata to Myrrhina: 182-183a - good traits, Lysidamus to Cleostrata: 249-251 nagging tendencies, 252 - bad temper and opposition to husband, 584 - lack of attraction, 1008 - charm (flattery); Epidicus:- Periphanes to Philippa: 549 - honesty; Menaechmi:- Menaechmus I

to Wife: 110-111 - stubbornness and stupidity, 114-117 - nagging habits, 122 - spying, 133 - craftiness; Brush to Wife: 569 - constant nagging; Menaechmus II to Wife: 714-718 - abusive nature, 731 - boldness, 743 - scolding; Senex to Wife: 793 - impertinence; Mercator:- Syra to Dorippa: 686 - astuteness; Lysimachus to Dorippa: 800 - anger; Stichus:- Pamphila to Panegyris: 34-35-36 - dutifulness; Antipho to Pamphila and Panegyris: 99-100 - good wives.

In Terence we find:- Hecyra:- Laches to Sostrata: 201-204 - hatred of daughter-in-law, 210-213 - disgraceful behaviour, 227 - selfishness, 229-232 - quarrelsomeness, 234, 239-240 - bad behaviour; (all these are false characterisation); Pamphilus to Sostrata: 591 - kindness, 601-602 - motherly qualities; Phidippus to Myrrhina: 532 - perversity, 544-545 - obstinacy, 549 - stupidity, 560-562 - disobedience; Heauton Timorumenos: - Chremes to Sostrata: 630 - stupidity, 632-633 - ignorance and foolishness, 637 - maternal feelings, 642-643 - stupidity and selfishness, 880-881 - stupidity, 1006-1007 - obstinacy and stupidity, 1010 - loquacity, 1021 - varied faults; Phormio:- Demipho to Nausistrata: 784 - tactfulness, 786 - helpfulness, 1020 - good nature; Adelphi:- Canthara to Sostrata: 290 - fear; Geta to Sostrata: 340 - good reputation.

f. Description of character ^{when} she she hears.

In some scenes there are descriptive comments which, though not addressed to the character concerned, are heard by

her. In Plautus:- Amphitruo: Sosia on Alcmena: 719 - folly, 782 - witchcraft (both false), Sosia and Amphitruo on Alcmena: 727 - madness (false), Amphitruo on Alcmena: - madness (false), 811 - dishonourable behaviour (false), Sosia on Alcmena: 843 - innocence; Asinaria:- Demaenetus on Artemona: 893-895 - unpleasant physical characteristics; Casina:- Lysidamus on Cleostrata: 409 - domination of husband, 497-498 - nagging tendencies; Cistellaria:- Lampadio on Phanostrata: 706 - goodness; Menaechmi:- Menaechmus I on Wife: 622 - anger, Senex on Wife: 810 - anger, Menaechmus II on Wife: 827 - troublesomeness, 835 - madness; Mercator:- Caterer on Dorippa: 755 - good appearance and age, 756-757 - attractiveness.

There are none in Terence concerning the 'matronae'.

g. Description of character when she does not hear.

There are occasional descriptive asides which the character concerned does not hear. In Plautus:- Casina:- Lysidamus on Cleostrata: 227-228 - anger; Epidicus:- Periphanes on Philippa: 533-534 - misery and fear; Stichus:- Antipho on Panegyris and Pamphila: 79-81 - determination, 82 - good behaviour. In Terence:- Heauton Timorumenos:- Chremes on Sostrata: 621 - habit of exaggeration.

2. Contrast.

Both Plautus and Terence use the technical device of contrasting their principal characters. In Casina Myrrhina and Cleostrata make a good foil for each other. Phanostrata,

the respectable matron in Cistellaria, is effectively contrasted with the bibulous old 'lena'. In Stichus the two 'matronae', Panegyris and Pamphila, though similar in outline, show numerous little differences in character. In Hecyra Sostrata and Myrrhina are revealed as two very different personalities.

There is the contrast which is brought out indirectly by the words and actions of two characters in a scene:- Casina 144-216: Cleostrata's dislike of and opposition to her husband is contrasted with Myrrhina's prim dutifulness; Stichus 1-57: Panegyris, the elder thoughtful sister, is contrasted with Pamphila, her more volatile younger sister; Adelphi 288-298: Sostrata's fear and helplessness are contrasted with Canthara's more optimistic and practical approach.

We must consider the effectiveness of contrast made to highlight the real qualities of individuals. In Amphitruo her husband's false charges against Alcmena (811-819, 1084-1085) present her sterling qualities in an even stronger light. In Hecyra 198-204 Laches accuses Sostrata of being the typical interfering mother-in-law although she does not exhibit any of these objectionable tendencies. Syrus, in Heauton Timorumenos 991-993, suggests that Sostrata does not help her son as mothers usually do, and this is of course quite incorrect.

3. Repetition.

Repetition too serves to emphasise character. In Casina Cleostrata's repeated attempts to thwart her husband's desire for Casina stress the determination and obstinacy of her

character.

Verbal repetition also plays its part. Among the 'uxores dotatae' the constant mention of the husband's fear of his wife's sharp temper occurs again and again. e.g. Asinaria 19, 911; Casina 575, 949-950; Mercator 275, 537, 586, 796, 1014; Phormio 585, 720, 744, 965.

In the Aulularia we have Eunomia's repeated assurances that she is acting solely in her brother's interests (121-122, 144, 154). Artemona in Asinaria displays her triumph over her husband in her repeated cries of "surge, amator, i domum" (921, 923, 924, 925). Conviction that at last fortune has turned and that her daughter has been discovered is expressed by Phanostrata repeatedly in Cistellaria (664-665, 666). In Epidicus Philippa depicts her misery by constant re-iteration of her unhappiness (526-531). Menaechmus I, in the Menaechmi, has a monologue in which numerous repetitions impress on us the jealousy and nagging habits of his wife (110-122). In a later scene the wife's re-echoing of "nugas agis" (621, 622, 623) expresses her anger. The constant recurrence of the view that a father commands respect (53-54, 73, 96) exhibits the filial piety of Panegyris and Pamphila in Stichus.

In the Hecyra the renewal of Sostrata's protests (205, 208, 228, 276, 580) emphasises her innocence. Sostrata, in Heauton Timorumenos, by repeated self-depreciation in her scene with her angry husband (623-667) shows her skill in handling him.

4. Significant names.

A considerable amount of attention has been paid to the use of proper names in Roman comedy, and it becomes apparent from the work done on the question¹²⁴ that in antiquity literary tradition required of the comic poets the selection and use of significant names, commonly known as "tell-tale" names or "redender name". i.e. names which suggest the characteristic feature of the individual.

Both Plautus and Terence attended carefully to this convention of assigning appropriate names to their characters. Austin¹²⁵ writes of Terence:- "It seems clear therefore that Terence consistently observed the rule of the significant name, employing it with individual significance if the elaboration of the character role permitted and, if not, at least with type significance." Seaman remarks the same practice in Plautus, qualifying it with the suggestion that the majority of names were descriptive of types rather than individuals, but that in a few instances they distinguished individuals.

If we look at some of the names given to the 'matronae' it will be clear that they do bear names consistent with their

124 . See The Significant Name in Terence by J.C.Austin (Univ. of Illinois, 1921);
W.Seaman, The Appropriate Name in Plautus (Illinois, 1939);
K.Schmidt, "Der Griechischen Personennamen bei Plautus",
Hermes 37(1902), pp.173-211, 352-390, 608-626.
See also Pliny, Epistles VI, 21. This passage refers to Old Comedy but this dramatic convention was presumably passed down to the writers of Middle and New Comedy. See Donatus on Ad.26 and on And.226.

125 . J.C.Austin, The Significant Name in Terence, p.123.

personalities. In Terence there are three 'matronae' with the name of Sostrata - in Hecyra, Heauton Timorumenos and Adelphi. This is considered to be a name of good omen, and is derived from the stem 'σω' and 'στρατός' - 'army', or perhaps we might regard it here as 'campaign'. The three 'matronae' all take action against something threatening their peace of mind. Sostrata, in Adelphi, is concerned with saving her daughter's honour; in Hecyra Sostrata attempts to preserve her son's marriage; in Heauton Timorumenos Sostrata is busied in recovering her daughter. Thus this name was entirely suitable to these 'matronae'.¹²⁶

Nausistrata (Phormio) again is connected with the word 'στρατός', and Austin¹²⁷ suggests this means 'on a campaign' - possibly against her husband as she is a dominating 'uxor dotata'. Myrrhina (Hecyra) has a name which, in comedy, seems to be used principally for 'matronae'. It is derived from 'μυρρίνη' - 'myrtle', and as the name of a flower is appropriate for all women. Plautus, in Casina, also uses the name Myrrhina for a 'matrona'.

Cleostrata (Casina) is derived from 'κλέος' - 'fame' and 'στρατός' - 'army' or 'campaign', and is entirely consistent with one who has defeated her husband so thoroughly. In Cistellaria Phanostrata, derived from 'φαίνω' - 'to make manifest', and 'στρατός' again, is waging a campaign against

126 . J.C.Austin, op.cit. comments on this. See p.102.

127 . J.C.Austin, op.cit., p.42.

the 'lena' to recover her daughter.

Eunomia, the name of the worthy and exemplary matron in Aulularia, is derived from 'εὐνομία,' meaning 'good order,' which is well in accordance with the character concerned. In Stichus the devoted wife, Pamphila - 'all-loving,' is appropriately named from 'φιλέω' - 'I love.' Dorippa, the 'uxor dotata' in Mercator, possibly derives her name from 'δορυ' - 'spear.' She too is waging a battle against her husband's interest in another woman.

In connection with these significant names we should notice the nameless characters. Terence named all his 'personae,' but Plautus has left a number without names. Flickinger¹²⁸ remarks on this:- "In comedy a character might almost as well have no name at all as one which had no associations for the spectators. Accordingly ... Plautus left many of his characters nameless." This, of course, is not sufficient as it offers no valid suggestion as to why Plautus did not find significant names for them. Seaman,¹²⁹ however, doubts whether the average Roman knew enough Greek to appreciate the meaning of the more literary

128 . R.C.Flickinger, "Influence of Festival Arrangements upon the Drama of the Greeks," C.J. 10 (1914-15), pp.115-125.

129 . W.Seaman, "The Understanding of Greek by Plautus' Audience," C.J. 50 (1954-1955), pp.115-119.

names.

One 'matrona', the Wife in Menaechmi, is not named, and this is surprising as she has an important part in the play.¹³⁰

Metre. In both Plautus and Terence the 'matronae' favour trochaic septenarii¹³¹ - the vehicle for excited talk (278 and 75 lines respectively). But here the resemblance ceases. Plautus' 'matronae' then have 190 lines in lyric metre, while Terence has only 2 so-called lyric lines (iambic dimeters) by 'matronae'. Terence prefers iambic octonarii (again a lively metre) to the extent of 72 lines while Plautus uses only 4 iambic octonarii for his 'matronae'. Terence's usual predilection for iambic senarii does not materialise here. His 'matronae' speak 10 lines only of iambic senarii; Plautus has 167 iambic senarii.

In summing up it must first be noted that nowhere in the comedies of Plautus and Terence is there a single unfaithful wife. Numerous other charges are brought against the 'matronae' but they are all, without exception, virtuous.¹³² The chastity of the matron was beyond reproach. That there was a double standard of behaviour for husbands and wives is clear, for old Syra (Mercator 817-828) complains of this. A man may

130 . Note that the Senex in the play - equally important - is not named either.

131 . See Appendix II.

132 . Alcmena cannot, in any circumstances, be considered adulterous as, to her knowledge, it is her husband who has spent the night with her.

have a mistress and go unpunished if his wife discovers it, but a wife is divorced if she is unfaithful. This is also commented on in Cistellaria 76 ff.

Faults the 'matronae' are accused of are:- jealousy: Menaechmi 114-116; Mercator 586-587; Rudens 895-896; 1046; Hecyra 710; ill-temper: Asinaria 19, 62; Casina 251; Mercator 557; Miles Gloriosus 681; Phormio 744; extravagance: Aulularia 505-522; Miles Gloriosus 685-700; Hecyra 224-225; contentiousness: Heauton Timorumenos 1006-1007; Hecyra 202, 231; stupidity: Hecyra 549; Heauton Timorumenos 621, 631-633, 880-881, 1009; garrulity: Casina 249-251, 497; Poenulus 32-35; Rudens 905; Trinummus 800-801; effusiveness: Rudens 1203-1204; gluttony: Casina 775-779.

With regard to the 'uxores dotatae' Plautus' dowried wives were undoubtedly exaggerated at some points for comic effect, whereas Terence's Nausistrata (Phormio) is a woman who may be found in any middle-class suburb - even today. One question that remains unsolved in either Plautus or Terence is, as Duff¹³³ puts it:- "whether hen-pecking is the cause or the effect of their husbands' lapses from virtue." However, in every case where the husbands have married for money they have been duly punished by their wives' assumption of power.¹³⁴ cf. Asinaria 87.

Another bone of contention between wife and husband is the

133 . J.Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome, p.134.

134 . Ath.XIII, 558-559.

upbringing of the children. e.g. in Asinaria and in Heauton Timorumenos. Henry¹³⁵ goes so far as to remark:- "Life in an Athenian household appears to consist largely in a combat between father and mother over the discipline of the son." As children are the most important factor in marriage it is natural that dissension should sometimes arise over methods of training, and Plautus' and Terence's disputations parents are found today as well.

In both Plautus and Terence the 'matronae' are devoted to their children. All exhibit traits of affection, unselfishness, and self-sacrifice. This is repaid by the filial respect shown to them by their offspring. It could be noted that the 'anxious mothers' of Terence take far more active measures for the protection of their daughters than do the 'anxious mothers' of Plautus. Sostrata (Heauton Timorumenos) has defied her husband in failing to expose her daughter herself. Sostrata (Adelphi) takes definite action towards bringing Aeschinus to punishment. Myrrhina (Hecyra) has deceived her husband in her efforts to safeguard her daughter. On the other hand Philippa (Epidicus) does little except weep (although admittedly she has had the courage to rear her daughter alone), and Phanostrata (Cistellaria) is dependent to a great extent on the slave, Lampadio.

It is clear in Plautus and Terence that the ideal

135 . G.K.G.Henry, "The Characters of Terence", S.Ph.N.C. 12 (1913), pp.55-98.

relationship of the wife to the husband was expressed in the word 'morigera'. Alcmena (Amphitruo 842) defines the proper attitude of a wife to a husband by this word. In the Menaechmi when the Wife complains to her father about her husband's behaviour he reminds her (787-789) that her duty is to her husband. In Cistellaria 175 we have the grim joke that it is only by dying that this wife can be 'morigera' ~~to her~~ towards her husband.¹³⁶ 'Morigera' occurs only once in Terence (Andria 294 - with reference to Glycerium) but it is plain from his characterisation of Sostrata (Hecyra) and from the attitude of the husband, Chremes, in Heauton Timorumenos that he values this quality as much as Plautus does.

Michaut¹³⁷ too has this to say:- "Sauf une exception en effet et il s'agit de jeunes femmes, celles du Stichus, il n'y a pas dans Plaute un seul ménage qui ait été uni par un mariage d'amour." It must be acknowledged though that the concept that love was an essential in marriage did not exist in Plautus' day - or even in Terence's time.¹³⁸ Marriage was a matter of convenience for the families concerned and could in no way be compared with the modern image of marriage.

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136 . See G.Williams, "Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals", J.R.S. 48(1958), pp.16-29.

137 . G.Michaut, Plaute, Vol.I, p.261.

138 . See pages 283 and 476 for discussion on this.

CHAPTER II.

Meretrices.

The role of the 'meretrix' presented Plautus and Terence with a problem. There were, at that time, no women in Rome approximating to the near-respectable 'hetairai' of Athens. Certainly there were prostitutes who could be visited¹ but they were regarded much as they are today. Roman family life was far too puritanical to countenance openly pleasures of this description.² Without the 'meretrices', however, the plots of the plays in Roman comedy would have been greatly restricted and denuded of a good deal of attraction. A love interest was essential and the difficulty of staging scenes with the 'virgo' was always present.³ It must be remembered, too, that the virtue of the 'virgines' and 'matronae' was sacrosanct.

Consequently Plautus and Terence used the 'hetairai' or 'meretrices' but, mindful of Roman morals, were careful to point out that these episodes occurred in Greece (Stichus 448).

1 . Tacitus in Annals II, 85 speaks of an official register of prostitutes kept in accordance with an early custom at Rome. See too O.Kiefer, Sexual Life in Ancient Rome (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1934):- "It is indeed the truth that prostitution and the frequentation of prostitutes by young men were an old and generally recognised custom in Rome; the Romans had no need to wait until that habit was introduced from Greece," p.56.

2 . Aul. Gell. IV: 3, 1-3.

3 . See page 282 in Chapter IV.

Wiss⁴ comments on this, comparing Roman comedy to American comedy in the nineteenth century, e.g. the plays of Bronson Howard. It was perfectly permissible for the French characters in the plays to have loose morals as long as American morality was preserved. He remarks, rather acidly, that the Greeks and French took a broader view and depicted life about them whether it was good or bad.

Towards the end of the fourth century the courtesans began to assume a disproportionate importance in Greek life. This struck at the very foundation of society - marriage; so much so that Plato⁵ dealt with the question, first hoping to forbid access to the 'hetairai', and then, bowing to the inevitable, permitting it if scandal was avoided. That married men visited the 'hetairai' was accepted in Athens. This was partly due to the unsatisfactory custom in Athens whereby marriage was arranged by the parents of both parties without any regard to compatibility.⁶ In an ill-assorted marriage men sought relaxation elsewhere and so the 'hetaira' came into her own.⁷ The husband, however, could not introduce the 'hetaira' into the house, otherwise the wife had the right to divorce him⁸ (Mercator 786).

4 . E.Wiss, "Roman and American Comedy", C.J. 29 (1933-34), pp. 691-694.

5 . Plato, Laws VIII: 841 A-E.

6 . Demos. Against Neaera. (Note that most ancient and modern critics believe this oration to be the work of someone other than Demosthenes.)

7 . Demos. LIX, 122: the 'hetaira' was for comfort, the 'pallake' for ~~comfort~~, and a wife for bearing children.

8 . Andocides, Against Alcibiades, 14. This oration has been attributed to Andocides, but the authorship is uncertain. Note, too, Adelphi, 746-747.

(Mercator 786).

It was regarded as quite natural that young men should take mistresses (Hecyra 541-543; Mercator 1021-1022; Mostellaria 1138-1141). In one exceptional case even the mother regards this indulgently - Nausistrata (Phormio) indignantly remarks that if her husband can take two wives, her son may certainly take a mistress. Unmarried daughters were protected so strictly that there was very little chance of the young men meeting them⁹, and for female company the latter were compelled to resort to the courtesans. It was understood that there should be no scandal, and that the relationship should cease when the time for the young man's marriage arrived¹⁰. Sometimes a case arose of the young man refusing marriage because of the 'meretrix'¹¹. This occurs in Hecyra when Pamphilus for some time resists his father's orders to give up Bacchis.

There were naturally different grades of courtesans. The lowest of all plied their trade in the official establishments where the recognised fee was one obol! Others, of a slightly better type, lived in the house of a patron, and these were usually slaves, foreigners, or freedwomen.¹² The slaves were often children stolen in infancy, or else exposed

9 . See Plutarch (Virt. Mul. 249D, E) where we hear that at Ceos marriages were successful as the young girls met in the temples for work and play, and could be watched there by the young men.

10 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: II, I; VII, 4.
Cf. Andria 155-156.

11 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: II, 4; VII, 4.

12 . Demos. LIX, 18; Isaeus VI, 19, 20.

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children who had been rescued and sold to the 'leno',¹³.

Sometimes, if a girl were particularly desired, a contract was made between the 'leno' or 'lena' and the customer to ensure exclusive use of the girl: e.g. in the Asinaria (751-754) Cleareta, the mother of Philaenium, and Diabolus draw up a contract between them¹⁴.

The 'leno' also kept, as well as the better type of girl, a number of less-favoured women to be used by passing visitors. In Pseudolus (178, 214, 228) Ballio, the 'leno', threatens to send the 'favourites' to the common brothel unless they obtain more goods from their lovers¹⁵.

The remainder of the courtesans worked independently. They were rarely citizens¹⁶, but generally freedwomen or foreigners for whom this was the easiest way of earning a living. In the Andria (74-79) we know that Chrysis found it simpler to earn money as a courtesan instead of by her loom. Sometimes girls were driven to this profession by poverty¹⁷ (Cistellaria 40-41).

The majority of the free 'hetairai' were extremely money-conscious. They expected to receive expensive attentions and normally sold themselves to the highest bidder. One of the

13 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: XIV, 2.

14 . Demos., Against Neaera, 20; Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: 1, 2.

15 . Cf. Antiphon I, 14.

16 . If a citizen's daughter, however, became an 'hetaira' she did not lose her citizenship. See Isaeus III, 17.

17 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans VI, I ff.

first essentials was that a courtesan should be good-looking, and there are innumerable references to this in the comedies. Fundamentals of the education of a courtesan were dancing, singing, and the ability to play on a lyre, harp, or flute¹⁸. This is borne out by the comedies themselves (Rudens 43; Phormio 80 ff.) Lucian remarks that the courtesans must dress attractively, be gay, and smile pleasantly¹⁹. Although Aristophanes in his 'Company of Women' mentions the courtesans beckoning and smiling from their windows, they were not restricted to their houses. They met their clients at festivals, the theatre, the temple of Aphrodite²⁰.

The 'meretrices' as with the 'matronae' cover a wide range from Plautus' voracious Phronesium (Truculentus) to Terence's self-sacrificing Bacchis (Hecyra). There are thirteen 'meretrices' in Plautus:- Philaenium (Asinaria); Bacchis and her sister (Bacchides); Gymnasium and Selenium (Cistellaria); Erotium (Menaechmi); Pasicompsa (Mercator); Philocomasium and Acroteleutium (Miles Gloriosus); Philematium and Delphium (Mostellaria); Lemniselenis (Persa); Phronesium (Truculentus). Terence has four 'meretrices':- Philotis, a protatic character, and Bacchis (Hecyra); Bacchis (Heauton Timorumenos); Thais (Eunuchus).

These women can be divided roughly into three groups.

18 . Xen. Conviv. II, I; Plato, Conv. 176E.

19 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: VI, 3.

20 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: XII, I; III, I; Athenaeus XIII, 581A, (quoting Machon).

There are the 'meretrices perfidiosae' - the older courtesans, hardened and brutalised by the life they have led; the 'meretrices fideles' - the younger courtesans who still have some affection for their lovers and do not value them simply for what they are worth financially; and finally the 'meretrices bonae' - women who differed from the common conception of the 'meretrix' by displaying qualities of kindness and generosity. This last category occurs in Terence alone.

A. Characterisation by speech and action.

I. 'Meretrices perfidiosae'.

Truculentus²¹ (Plautus) is a play which has as its principal character Phronesium, a courtesan, who would today be summed up as a 'tough customer'. This woman's relationship with three of her lovers constitutes the main theme of the play²². Diniarchus has spent most of his money on Phronesium and is now out of favour with her. She has become the mistress of a soldier, Stratophanes, who has however recently been absent from Athens. To hold his affections more firmly she now pretends to have borne a child of his - obtaining an unwanted child with the aid of her maids. At the same time she is interesting

21 . The original is not known. T.B.L.Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy (Manchester Univ. Press, 1953), p.150, thinks the play more likely to be derived from Philemon than from Menander.

22 . Note Plautus' hard-headed attitude to love. It is generally a vehicle for engineering comic situations.

herself in Strabax, a country youth, who at the moment has plenty of money. Then the child is discovered to be the son of Diniarchus and a free-born girl he has ravished. He marries the girl (although intimating that he will see Phronesium from time to time), and Strabax and Stratophanes, still quarrelling over Phronesium, are offered equal shares in her favours.

The Truculentus has roused varied opinions. Many critics have referred to it as immoral and sordid²³. Others (Lindsay and Enk) regard it as brilliant. Little²⁴ says that it is "as realistic as Hogarth, completely devoid of sentiment, and as immoral as Restoration drama." I do not think that the accusation of immorality is justified. Apparently the main charge against Phronesium is that, at the end of the play, she promises to divide her favours between Strabax and Stratophanes. Now once we have accepted the fact that Phronesium is a courtesan we have acknowledged that she is running a business. To Phronesium, selling herself means no more than selling meat does to a butcher - it is quite immaterial to him whether he sells his goods to one customer or to many. So it is with Phronesium. To retain the interest of both Strabax and Stratophanes is a practical businesslike decision and one to be expected of an experienced courtesan.

That Phronesium is an unpleasant individual is certainly

23 . J.W. Mackail, Latin Literature (London, 1895), p.18.

24 . A.Little, "Plautus and Popular Drama," H.S.C.P. 49 (1938), pp. 205-228.

true, and what we are to expect from courtesans is made clear from the very beginning - in the prologue (14-16). Young men exist simply so that they may be seduced into handing over all their property and money²⁵. Diniarchus, the young Athenian, enlarges on this in a bitter diatribe against courtesans and their habits (22-76). "priu'quam unum dederis, centum quae poscat parat" (51), he complains resentfully. Eventually his anger overpowers him and he relates the story of his relationship with Phronesium to the audience, so that her treachery towards Diniarchus in transferring her affections to the soldier: - "damniosiorem meo exinde immovit loco, quem infestum, odiosum sibi esse memorabat mala, Babyloniensem militem" 82-84)

- is immediately made known to us. Further, he says, she has pretended to have a child by the soldier so as to strengthen her hold on him. It all adds up to the picture of a thoroughly unscrupulous, greedy woman.

When Astaphium, Phronesium's maid enters, Diniarchus addresses his complaints to her: - "rem perdidit apud vos, vos meum negotium apstulistis" (139). He gets little sympathy here, for Astaphium is just as mercenary and heartless as her mistress. However, on the information that he still has a little property left, Astaphium invites him to go in to Phronesium. Then Astaphium, in the course of a long monologue, sums up the attitude of the whole trade-union of courtesans

25 . Isaeus III, 17.

when she says: - "dum habeat, tum amet; ubi nil habeat,
 alium quaestum coepiat.
 aequo animo, ipse si nil habeat, aliis
 qui habent det locum.
 nugae sunt nisi quoi, modo quom dederit, 26
 dare iam lubeat denuo."
 (232-234)

Truculentus, the slave of Strabax, enters and emphasises that his young master is being ruined at Phronesium's house (297-298), but Astaphium merely shrugs her shoulders and denies it.

Then Diniarchus re-enters and enquires aggrievedly why Phronesium takes so long to bath (322-323) - doubtless a reference to the time-consuming and lavish use of perfumes and toilet creams used by courtesans,²⁷ and to their elaborate dress.

Finally the object of all this discussion enters, powdered and fragrant, with hair elaborately curled, and probably dressed in saffron yellow.²⁸ This is Phronesium whose character we already know in detail. But at the moment she is exerting all her charm to draw Diniarchus into her net again that she may be able to acquire the rest of his property. She showers endearments on him (353, 421), embraces him, and flatters him by telling him that it is only to him that she confides her plans. Diniarchus resignedly accepts her explanation of the trick about to be played on the soldier. "ad suum quemque

26 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: XIV, I. (Dorio complains that he has been 'drained dry' by the courtesans.)

27 . Arist. Lysis: 48, 150.

28 . See M. Bieber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre, pp. 92 ff. Donatus, De Com. VIII, 6, writes: -
 "meretrici ob avaritiam luteum datur."

aequom est esse quaestum callidum" (416), explains Phronesium. It is certain that she despises and laughs at Diniarchus for his weakness and stupidity - weakness because he will put up with anything rather than lose her altogether, and stupidity because, overwhelmed by her flattery (439-440), he forgets that he too will be discarded as she threatens to turn away the soldier (418-420) when he has served her purpose.

But even now Phronesium cannot entirely conceal her greed:- "non audes aliquid dare mihi munusculum?" (425) she begs. And the spineless Diniarchus again agrees. Phronesium goes into her house well-satisfied that she has lured Diniarchus back into the fold.

Diniarchus departs and Phronesium re-enters immediately; in the monologue²⁹ which follows she reveals comprehensively her utter depravity. She calls to the maids inside to feed the baby, and then, clasping her hands in mock anguish, observes cynically to the spectators: - "ut miserae matres sollicitaeque ex animo sunt cruciantque!" (449-450). For a few moments she seems to have an attack of conscience - "edepol commentum male" (451). However this is nullified by the completely callous remark that she is afraid the baby will die and spoil her scheme! (454-456). Another twinge of uneasiness seizes her for she confesses: - "lucri causa avara probrum sum exsecuta" (459), but with more determination this

29 . The first part of this monologue (448-464) is in lyric metre as Phronesium gives vent to her own emotions. The rest (465-475) is in trochaic septenarii as she pronounces her views on women.

time shrugs it off with

"nullam rem oportet dolose adgredi
nisi astute accurateque exsequare" (461-462).

Her postulates concerning women are based, it would seem, on the characters of women of her own class: -

"nimi' quam paucae sunt defessae male quae facere
occeperunt,
nimi'que paucae efficiunt si quid facere occeperunt
bene:
mulieri nimio male facere melius onus est quam
bene" (468-470).

But she does admit finally: - "ego quod mala sum, matris opera mala sum et meapte malitia" (471). Is there perhaps a shade of regret in this confession, and a longing for a simpler, more upright life?

But it is forgotten in her hurried but effective preparations to deceive Stratophanes, the soldier, whom she is expecting, into thinking that she has just borne his child. When he appears she is lying on a couch in an attractive *negligée* with a coverlet tenderly draped over her. Her hands are limp, her voice is faint. (Note that she snaps out of this pose for a split second while she gives a sharp rebuke to Astaphium (500-501) who has officiously told her how to conduct herself.) Sulkily she welcomes Stratophanes and immediately demands money for food for the child (522-523).

"neque etiam queo
pedibus mea sponte ambulare" (526-527), she whimpers weakly, and grumbles that it is his fault she feels like this.

Stratophanes eagerly leads forward two Syrian maids as a

gift, but Phronesium with calculated indifference merely sighs that now she has two more mouths to feed. The soldier is taken aback, but he produces an expensive-looking cloak. "hoccin mihi ob labores tantos tantillum dari?" (537) moans Phronesium pitifully. In a frenzy of self-abnegation Stratophanes hands over balsam and incense. Phronesium, in spite of her contemptuous attitude towards the gifts, swiftly orders them to be taken indoors; and, once they are safely bestowed, says quite openly to Stratophanes who begs for her love:- "nihil ecastor neque meres" (542).

At this moment Cyamus, the slave of Diniarchus, appears laden with provisions and a purse of money. He indulges in a long monologue, a dirge in fact for the loss of his master's goods. "meretricem ego item esse reor, mare ut est:

quod des devorat <nec dat> is umquam abundat," (568-569)

he says, and accusing Phronesium directly: - "velut haec meretrix meum erum miserum sua blanditia intulit in pauperiem" (572-573).

Phronesium welcomes him and proceeds to play off Stratophanes against Diniarchus, complimenting Cyamus on the gifts and remarking loudly that she loves Diniarchus more than any other man (590). She then skilfully stirs up a quarrel between Cyamus and Stratophanes,³⁰ and finally drifts indoors, having made it quite clear to the unlucky Stratophanes that she has no further use for him.

30 . See Isaeus III, 13. "A courtesan ... evidence of quarrels, serenades, and frequent scenes which she occasioned."
See also Demos. LIV, 14.

for him.

Phronesium's charms are again emphasised by Strabax, the country youth, who comes on stage and asserts that Phronesium is she "quam mage amo quam matrem meam" (662). He goes inside to her and Diniarchus, arriving a few seconds later, is prevented from entering by Astaphium. No longer referring to Phronesium as "mea voluptas" he bursts into a tirade of invective - "inlecebra ... venefica ... suppostrix puerum," he yells (759-763), realising that he has again been tricked into losing every penny.

But he is quite unable to resist Phronesium's fascination, for at sight of her coming out of her house, he sighs: - "ne ista stimulum longum habet quae usque illinc cor pungit meum" (853).

When Phronesium returns she is loftily discussing with Astaphium the stupidity of courtesans who drink too much to be able to look after their own interests - another indication of her practical nature.

She sees Diniarchus and immediately tries to win him over by loving words. When she wants something no one can be more seductive than Phronesium, and now she makes full use of her attractions, playing on Diniarchus' weakness by the pathetic statement that she knows he is about to leave her (866-867). For she wishes Diniarchus to leave his baby with her that she may still deceive the soldier for a couple of days. Diniarchus,

one of the most ineffectual young men in Plautus, consents, and Phronesium has scored again at his expense. With blatant insolence she adds: - "ubi domi metues malum, fugito huc ad me: saltem amicus mi esto manubiarius" (879-880).

Profit, as usual, is uppermost in her thoughts. And then, making a final effort to entangle him again, she coos:- "iam me tuom oculum non vocas?" (881). The wretched Diniarchus, apparently as much under her spell as ever, answers that there will be occasions for that on the sly later on.

Phronesium gaily waves him off, and then turns her attention to tricking Stratophanes. Again she proclaims: -

"propter hunc spes etiamst hodie tactuiri militem;
quem ego ecastor mage amo quam me, dum - id quod
cupio inde aufero" (886-887).

And as she sees Stratophanes arriving she adds gleefully:- "ne istum ecastor hodie†hastis†confectum fallaciis" (892).

Stratophanes, although bringing with him a mina of gold, is immediately attacked by Phronesium and Astaphium. Bewildered and cowed by this treatment, he humbly begs them to accept the money. Phronesium complains that it is not enough (910), but she takes good care that the purse is handed over and taken inside by her maid.

Strabax now arrives, looking for Phronesium. She at once proceeds to embrace him, obviously with the intention of enraging Stratophanes and also of obtaining more goods from Strabax. Stratophanes is horrified to see her with her arms round this unkempt and grimy country bumpkin. Phronesium's lack of fastidiousness is another point against her.

against her.

Legrand³¹ suggests that an experienced woman will know that in order to off-set their ugliness, ill-looking suitors pay more than good-looking young fellows do.³² And certainly Phronesium confirms this by saying:- "omnes homines ad suum quaestum callent et fastidiunt" (932).

She continues to embrace Strabax, and Stratophanes in desperation tears off his money-belt, hands it to Phronesium, and challenges Strabax to produce his gift. Phronesium accepts the money, and informs Stratophanes "noster esto," but, ever-mercenary, adds "sed de vostro vivito" (953). She sends Strabax inside and kindly tells Stratophanes that he may come to her later:- "verum utrique mos geratur amborum ex sententia" (961). Stratophanes grumbles at being placed second on the list, but goes into the house with Strabax.

Phronesium, left alone, sums up her whole way of life in one devastating word - "aucupavi" she says (964). Huntress, she is without mercy or charity. Turning to the audience she remarks:- "si quis animatus facere, faciat ut sciam" (966). However, one can be quite sure that this offer is not gratuitous.

Phronesium is certainly an unpleasant individual but I cannot agree that a charge of immorality should be brought against her because of her acceptance of both Strabax and

31 . P.E.Legrand, The New Greek Comedy, p. 81.

32 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: VI, 3. Corinna asks whether she must be made love to by ugly men. "Certainly, daughter, they pay more."

Stratophanes as lovers. This seems a perfectly sound business decision. What one cannot forgive is the treacherous deception of Stratophanes.

Dunkin³³ asserts that Erotium (Men.), the two Bacchises (Bacch.), and Philaenium (Asin.) are as mercenary as Phronesium, but they do not seem to have the complete indifference to human feelings that Phronesium displays.

Erotium, the courtesan in Menaechmi, is certainly grasping, and this is evinced as soon as she appears on stage. Brush, the parasite, inquires why she has not said good-morning to him, and she replies:- "extra numerum es mihi" (182). She knows that Brush is of no use to her financially, hence she ignores him.

But Menaechmus, who has stolen his wife's dress for Erotium, is very much in favour - a fact cynically commented on by Brush:- "meretrix tantisper blanditur, dum illud quod rapiat videt" (193). Menaechmus hands over the robe and sighs that she is the only one who understands him. (One wonders how many times throughout the centuries this particular remark has been made to the other woman.) He then asks Erotium to have dinner for him at her house. Erotium, anxious to retain the interest of a man who gives expensive presents, agrees eagerly and sends the cook off to buy provisions. It should be noted that she stipulates the cook should buy:-

33 . P.L.Dunkin, Post-Aristophanic Comedy, p.89.

"quod sit satis:
neque defiat neque supersit," (220-221) - another sign of her thriftiness and practical nature. She then hurries inside to tidy up the house.

In the meantime Menaechmus II arrives from the harbour with his slave, Messenio, and on the return of Cylindrus, the cook, from the market, is invited into Erotium's house. But Messenio is as astute as Brush and warns:-

"nunc in istoc portu stat navis praedatoria,
aps qua cavendum nobis sane censeo" (344-345).

When Erotium re-appears she is bubbling over with gaiety and hospitality.³⁴ The house is doubtless immaculate for she has learned long ago that "munditia
inlecebra animost amantium" (353-355).

Menaechmus II (whom Erotium naturally mistakes for Menaechmus) is confused by the eager welcome she gives him and by her flattery (370-372). "Really," he says in shocked undertones to Messenio, "she's either drunk or mad. Listen to the way she's speaking to me - an absolute stranger" (373-374). Erotium continues with her light-hearted banter, and when Menaechmus II and Messenio deny any knowledge of her, assumes that this is a new form of teasing. "Delicias facis," she giggles (381).

Since Erotium persists that his dinner is ready waiting, Menaechmus II decides that he might as well take advantage of this unexpected invitation, and agrees to go inside. But

³⁴ . Erotium's canticum is in iambic and anapaestic measures skilfully handled.

Erotium, never satisfied, asks first that he will take the dress and have it embroidered for her. Menaechmus II agreeably consents to this (for how can it affect him) and, in spite of Messenio's agonised protests, follows Erotium.

"Habeo praedam," he says jovially (435), "mulier haec stulta atque inscita est" (440). This is a false estimate of Erotium as we know; but the audience must have enjoyed the spectacle of a courtesan, one of a profession notorious for deceit, being tricked herself.

Erotium is apparently a 'nagger' as well as mercenary, for Menaechmus II, coming out of the house after dinner, calls over his shoulder to her to be quiet - he will have the dress attended to (466). Shortly afterwards the maid appears, asking that Menaechmus will have some gold added to Erotium's bracelet (525-527) - another of the never-ending demands of the courtesan.

When Erotium next appears it is in a scene of great confusion with Menaechmus who is asking for his wife's dress to be handed back. (His wife has learned of the theft of the dress through Brush.) Erotium, who has handed the dress and bracelet to Menaechmus II, is first incensed at this, and then maddened by Menaechmus' continued asseverations that he has not seen either dress or bracelet. "video quam rem agis," she says bitterly, "quia commisi, ut me defrudes, ad eam rem adfectas viam" (685-686). Perhaps she has learned this from former

experience, or perhaps she is capable of judging other's motives only by her own.

With her temper thoroughly roused, she directs a tirade of invective at Menaechmus. "tibi habe, aufer, utere vel tu vel tua uxor, vel etiam in loculos compingite. tu huc post hunc diem pedem intro non feres, ne frustra sis" (690-692),

she shrieks hysterically. "aliam posthac invenito quam habeas frustratui" (695). And she refers with great self-pity to herself as "bene merentem" (693), fully believing that she is the injured party. Then she rushes inside, slamming the door, and leaving the bewildered Menaechmus to slink away to the forum where he may find some much-needed advice.

Erotium does not appear on stage again, and we hear little more of her except Menaechmus' resigned comment:- "condigne autem haec meretrix fecit, ut mos est meretricius" (906). As Menaechmus finally decides to return to Syracuse with his brother there is no prospect of a reconciliation, and Erotium has lost her lover, her bracelet, and a dress at one fell swoop. This is very satisfactory for the spectators who doubtless feel that this is a just retribution for Erotium's greed. She is certainly an avaricious woman, but by no means as odious a character as the dishonest Phronesium.

The Bacchides,³⁵ an amusing comedy with a complicated plot, has two courtesan sisters as the principal women characters. The beginning of the play is unfortunately lost, but Pistoclerus, 35 . Derived from Menander's Dis Exapaton.

friend of Mnesilochus, is engaged in looking for his comrade's mistress, Bacchis of Samos, who was hired by a soldier for a year and taken away. When he finds her he falls in love with her sister, also called Bacchis. The result of this is a quarrel with Mnesilochus who suspects Pistoclerus of playing him false, until he discovers there are two sisters of the same name. The problem of finding money so that Mnesilochus may buy his mistress from the soldier is as usual engineered by the slave in an elaborate intrigue against the young man's father. The play ends with the seduction of the two elderly fathers by the courtesans - an amusing if ribald scene - and the presumption that the sons and the slave are forgiven.

Leo³⁶ writes of the play:- "Zwei Hetären, zwei Liebhaber, zwei Väter, alle drei Paare nicht in sich kontrastiert, sondern nur durch leise Zeichnung differenziert." This is all very well, but actually the two sisters are very different individuals - Bacchis of Athens being far more dominating than her sister.

When the play (as we have it) opens, the two sisters and Pistoclerus are on stage. These two sisters are simply empty-headed butterflies, determined to make money and have a pleasure-filled life at the least cost to themselves. Their personal attractions are probably strong (838), but they are not likeable.

That Bacchis of Athens is the stronger personality of the two is clear from her early words:- "quid si hoc potis est ut

36 . F.Leo, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur (Berlin, 1913)
p. 120.

tu taceas, ego loquar?" (35); and the Sister meekly agrees. Further, the Sister continues:- "pol magi' metuo ne defuerit mihi in monendo oratio" (37), - a sign of lack of self-confidence, possibly due to the unpleasant year she seems to have spent with the soldier.

Pistoclerus, hearing the sisters whispering together, leans over and asks what they are discussing. "bene" teases Bacchis (40). But Pistoclerus is fully aware of the duplicity of courtesans and retorts that, if this is so, it is not her usual habit. "miserius nihil est quam mulier," pouts Bacchis (41), but she says it with an airy shrug, and is not sensitive enough to take Pistoclerus' sharp comment to heart.

She explains to Pistoclerus that the soldier is coming shortly to take her sister away, and that she would like him to stay and protect them. She invites him in, offers him a drink and a kiss. Pistoclerus recoils at this, his worst fears realised. He is too wary to be caught by flattery, he says contemptuously (50). Bacchis realises she has gone too fast with this young man and, determined to ensnare him, proceeds more cunningly. "Quid est?" she asks innocently. "quid metuis? ne tibi lectus malitiam apud me suadeat?" (54). And then, cleverly playing on youthful vanity - for what young man cares to be thought a coward - intimates that only he can defend them from the captain's anger.

But Pistoclerus is still cautious and openly asserts that

he does not trust her. The Sister tries, somewhat ineffectually, to help Bacchis by asking again why he is afraid, and Bacchis, jollyng Pistoclerus along, pleads "Well then, pretend to love me" (75). The reluctant Pistoclerus still struggles ... "Why?" ... and "I'm afraid" ... but it is a losing battle. Bacchis senses her coming triumph and gives it to the audience in a swift aside (86). Then she takes Pistoclerus by the hand and in spite of a final show of aversion from him, wins him over completely. "mulier, tibi me emancupo," he exclaims helplessly (92).

Bacchis, exultant, suggests he should go to market to buy food for a feast as a welcome to her sister, and when Pistoclerus insists on paying, does not quibble long over this. The bemused Pistoclerus departs to the forum, and Bacchis and her sister are overcome with amusement at the way he has fallen into their trap (102). "meus ille quidemst," says Bacchis carelessly (103). Then she shepherds her sister indoors to take a bath, remarking "nam uti navi vecta's, credo, timida es" (107). Indeed, one can only hope that it is the aftermath of seasickness that has caused the sister's stupidity, for a couple of her remarks have been almost moronic in their ineptitude.

Pistoclerus is now completely enmeshed by Bacchis' charms. He refers to her as

"Amor, Voluptas, Venu', Venustas, Gaudium,
Iocu', Ludus, Sermo, Suavisaviatio," (115-116)

when Lydus, the tutor, inquires who lives in that house. But

Lydus, who goes into Bacchis' house with Pistoclerus, is not deceived and on emerging, refers to her abode as Hell, and rants of "sorores, quae hominum sorbent sanguinem"³⁷ (372). To Lydus the 'welcome home' feast is "lutulento caeno" (384), and he raves to Philoxenus, Pistoclerus' father, concerning

Bacchis:- "quae tuom
perdidit, pessum dedit tibi filium unice unicum"
(406-407).

She is nothing but a whirlpool who sucks in anyone who approaches (471).

But the sisters' real unscrupulousness is only manifested in the last scene³⁸ of the play. The two elderly fathers, Philoxenus and Nicobulus, come to the house with the intention of dragging their sons out of this den of vice.. However they are met in the doorway by the two sisters, and from the very beginning are helpless against the playful coaxing of Bacchis³⁹. "Oves," Bacchis terms the two old men, but Sister, who seems to have recovered from the voyage, says smartly:- "attonsae hae quidem ambae usque sunt" (1125). When Bacchis

37 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans X, 1, refers to disapproval by tutors of courtesans and young men visiting them.

38 . Note the bacchiac metre from 1120 - 1140.

39 . Note the connection with the 'pappus' tradition - the foolish old man who was always deceived. This spectacle of senile love certainly amused the Roman audience. We should observe that though Plautus uses it in several plays (Asinaria, Bacchides, Casina, Mercator) Terence avoids this. Cf. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p. 246.

suggests that they entice the old men indoors she is reluctant - "omni' fructus iam illis decidit" (1135-1136). The old men are of little use to the sisters as all their money has been spent and they are no longer sufficiently virile to be interesting.

Philoxenus, smarting under Bacc^his' remark "vetulae sunt" (1129), is determined to show that the old dog has life in him yet. He demands the return of his son, and the two sisters move aside, ostensibly to discuss this. In reality, realising that she can only retain the two young men by holding the fathers' interest, Bacchis plans a campaign.⁴⁰ Sister is to make love to Philoxenus. She herself will deal with the more difficult Nicobulus. "possum^h nos hos intro inlicere huc," she whispers (1151). Sister makes a gesture of repulsion at this - "quam odiosum est mortem amplexari!" (1152) but agrees to co-operate.

Philoxenus proves an easy victim. In spite of Nicobulus' snorts of disgust he avers:- "ego amo" (1162). Nicobulus is a harder nut to crack, but Bacchis cleverly tries to lure him inside with the suggestion that, if he would only come into the house, he could there deal with his son. Nicobulus refuses to be persuaded. Then she suggests that his son and Chrysalus, the slave, should restore half the money they have got from him, and reluctantly, at the urging of Philoxenus, Nicobulus agrees

⁴⁰ . Isaeus VI, 21. Isaeus speaks of Alce seducing Euctemon, an elderly man, to neglect his wife and children.

to go inside. Bacchis sententiously points out to him:- "si dum vivas tibi bene facias tam pol id quidem esse hau perlonginquom" (1194), - a variation on the "Eat, drink, and be merry," theme.

Nicobulus continues to grumble about the deceit his son and Chrysalus have practised on him, but Bacchis, with endearments and caresses, succeeds in persuading him to forgive them. Resignedly Nicobulus suggests that Bacchis lead the way indoors. She steps forward with a final gleeful aside to the audience:- "lepide ipsi hi sunt capti, suis qui filiis fecere insidias" (1206), and then, with a swirl of her skirts, flounces away indoors, triumphant and victorious.

Harsh⁴¹ comments that the final scene of the play has often been criticised on moral grounds, but I would say, as in Truculentus, that the seduction of the two old men is merely good business by Bacchis and her sister. All is grist to the courtesan's mill.

The Miles Gloriosus,⁴² an amusing and successful comedy, has two courtesans, Philocomasium, a lively young woman, and Acroteleutium, a clever self-admiring intriguer.

The plot concerns a boastful soldier, Pyrgopolynices, who

⁴¹ . P. Harsh, A Handbook of Classical Drama, p.346.

⁴² . Greek original Alazon; author not known. T.B.L. Webster (Studies in Later Greek Comedy, p.183) thinks that this play shows Diphilus' influence more clearly than that of any other Greek poet, although he does not assert that the original was by Diphilus.

imagines that every woman is in love with him. He has brought to Ephesus a courtesan, Philocomasium, who is in love with a young Athenian, Pleusicles. Pleusicles has followed the girl and contrives to meet her by a pretence that Philocomasium has an identical twin sister. Next, with the help of a number of people, including Palaestrio, his slave, Periplectomenus, an old friend, and Acroteleutium, the sharp-witted courtesan, Pyrgopolynices is persuaded that a lady of high rank (Acroteleutium) is in love with him. He is induced to send Philocomasium away in order that he may enjoy the favours of this lady. Pleusicles and Philocomasium joyfully depart for Athens, and the soldier is lured into Periplectomenus' house, expecting to meet the lady there. He is then severely beaten by the waiting Periplectomenus who threatens worse if he does not depart immediately. All have enjoyed the deception - except Pyrgopolynices.

Since Palaestrio describes to Periplectomenus in detail what kind of woman he wants to carry out his deception of the soldier, we know Acroteleutium's character before she appears.

"ecquam tu potis reperire forma lepida mulierem
quoi facetiarum cor pectusque sit plenum et doli?" (782-783)

inquires Palaestrio.

Periplectomenus produces Palaestrio's requirements in the shape of Acroteleutium, and when she appears Palaestrio exclaims delightedly:- "quam digne ornata incedit, hau meretricie!" (872). From her first words Acroteleutium seems to be fully in control

of the situation. Of course she understands what she is to do, she avers. It would be stupid to pretend this if she did not know how to be deceitful (878-880). And she assures Periplectomenus petulantly:-

"postquam adbibere aures meae tuam oram orationis,
tibi dixi, miles quem ad modum potisset deasciarei" (883-884).

Then she remarks, as Phronesium did, that it is easy to remember his orders, for women remember wickedness more easily than they do good (887-890). Periplectomenus, who has no high opinion of Acroteleutium although he finds her useful, merely grunts that she probably deserves a thousand punishments. At this moment Palaestrio approaches and welcomes Acroteleutium who, with an air of outrage, turns to Periplectomenus.

"quis hic amabo est
qui tam pro nota nominat me?" (900-901). Introductions were apparently as necessary then as now. And Acroteleutium, conscious of her profession, is determined she shall not be regarded as inferior in any way.

Acroteleutium and Palaestrio then run through the details of the plot for deceiving the soldier. Acroteleutium is to pretend to be Periplectomenus' wife, and feign that she has fallen in love with the soldier. She is at once full of self-confidence - "novi indolem nostri ingeni" (921), and "alia cura" (929), she says, certain that she can handle "populi odium" as she calls the soldier.

It is quite clear that Acroteleutium, besides looking

forward to the money she will certainly be paid for the deception, is thoroughly enjoying herself. It is the kind of trick closest to her heart - where she can display her talents and capabilities as an actress.

In any case Palaestrio and Milphidippa (Acroteleutium's maid) have so praised Acroteleutium's looks and wit to the soldier (958, 967, 1003, 1054)⁴³ that in his absurd vanity he does not suspect that Acroteleutium is not what she seems. Palaestrio again checks through the plot with Acroteleutium who once more expresses her pleasure at the delightful fun she is about to enjoy:- "*voluptatem mecastor mi imperas*" (1162). She can hardly wait to begin her part.

Eventually Pyrgopolynices is on stage and Acroteleutium and Milphidippa enter from the house of Periplectomenus. Acroteleutium, with one quick aside of "*edepol nunc nos tempus est malas peiores fieri*" (1218), advances jauntily to the encounter. She then proceeds to put on a brilliant display as a love-sick woman, sighing and languishing all over the stage, flattering the soldier in exaggerated terms, and making quite sure that he hears. "*vivere sine illo scio me non posse*" (1241), she declares dramatically. The soldier finally succumbs to this display of unrequited passion and declares "*mutuom fit*" (1253). Acroteleutium, with a slightly overdone histrionic gesture, pretends to swoon away as she catches sight

⁴³ . Note that the M.G. has no songs at all unless we count the passage 1011-1093 which is in anapaestic septenarii.

of the soldier. Milphidippa supports her (both girls trying desperately to conceal their mirth) and is begged by Acroteleutium to approach the soldier - for herself she dare not. Pyrgopolynices condescendingly agrees to meet Acroteleutium, and the two women go into Periplectomenus' house, while the idiotic and badly-duped Pyrgopolynices promises to follow shortly.

Acroteleutium does not appear on stage again, but her ruse has been successful, and doubtless any re-appearance would be an anticlimax after her last magnificent scene.⁴⁴ Although Acroteleutium is not an adversary with whom one would care to contend, one cannot help liking her quickness of wit, her vivacity, and obvious enjoyment of life.

The two courtesans in Mostellaria⁴⁵ are well contrasted - Philematium who is young and affectionate, and Delphium, older and more experienced. Mostellaria is an attractive and pleasing farce. Philolaches has been leading a gay life during his father's absence. His father returns unexpectedly during a drinking party at his house. Tranio, Philolaches' slave, hurries the revellers inside the house, and warns

⁴⁴ . Note the tremendous amount of acting skill required for the 'meretrix' role in Plautus. Could Plautus have had a specialist in female roles for whom he wrote parts? This is a tempting but improbable theory. For discussion on actors see G. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, pp. 75-76, and W. Beare, The Roman Stage, pp. 156 ff.

⁴⁵ . This is derived from the Greek Phasma - possibly by Philemon.

Theopropides off with a story of a ghost haunting the house. However, the whole trick is given away by the money-lender to whom Philolaches owes a certain sum, and after further attempts at deception by the miscreants, Theopropides learns the truth about his son's riotous life. Finally all is smoothed over by Callidamates (Philolaches' friend) and both Tranio and Philolaches are forgiven.

Delphium is not concerned with the plot of the play, and is merely brought on to add colour to the drinking scene. Even here she has only a minor part. When she and Callidamates enter the latter is already heavily inebriated and Delphium is unwillingly supporting his wavering footsteps. She probably feels that this is outside her normal duties to her clients. Callidamates insists on embracing her, and resignedly she remarks:- "si tibi cordi est facere, licet" (323). However, she remains good-tempered in spite of his irritating behaviour, for after all she cannot afford to antagonise her source of supply. When he collapses in the street, dragging Delphium down into the dust with him, she simply fights her way clear and hauls him to his feet again. This equivalent of the 'slapstick' comedy of today must have delighted the Roman audience.

Delphium is a colourless and unintelligent individual, but even she realises that Theopropides' arrival portends trouble. She rouses Callidamates from his drunken sleep, hushes his noisy

threats, and follows as Callidamates is carried inside the house by slaves. Perhaps one cannot be surprised that Callidamates has drunk too much, for she is certainly an uninspiring companion.

In Cistellaria the two courtesans are again contrasted. Selenium is young and deeply in love with Alcesimarchus; Gymnasium is an unfortunate girl who has been compelled by her mother to take up the profession of 'meretrix' to keep them from starving. But from what we see of Gymnasium she has a number of good points and is not yet such a hardened creature as Phronesium or Erotium. She is kind-hearted and affectionate, for Selenium says:- "soror si mea esses, qui magi' potueris mi honorem ire habitum, nescio " (3-5).

And again:- "ita omnibus relictis rebus mihi frequentem operam dedistis" (6). Gymnasium replies graciously and charmingly - almost in the manner of a society guest - and gently reproves her mother who complains that she was not given enough to drink at Selenium's lunch party.⁴⁶

That filial respect was strong in daughters for their mothers, however unworthy the parent might be, is manifest from Gymnasium's next words. Her mother explains to Selenium that if she did not hire her daughter out every night, they would soon starve, and Gymnasium replies resignedly:- "necesse est quo tu me modo voles esse ita esse, mater" (46). "If you do

⁴⁶ . The opening of the first scene (1-39) is in lyric metre sung by the three women on stage. This is the only play in Plautus that opens with a trio.

as I say," asserts her mother, "you will always retain the charms you have and bring profit to me." "di faxint" (51), returns Gymnasium devoutly, preferring to rely on the gods instead of on her own efforts.

But now her sympathy for those in distress emerges. She has noticed Selenium's pallor and careless dress. And her pity is not confined to trite condolences. She is prepared to help - "eloquere utrumque nobis,
et quid tibi est et quid velis nostram operam ... " (56-57). Her warm heart cannot bear Selenium's tears (58).

When Selenium confesses that she is so unhappy that she is in actual pain, Gymnasium whispers hurriedly that she must conceal it:-

"in latebras apscondas pectore penitissimo.
tuam stultitiam sola facito ut scias sine aliis arbitris"
(63-64).

Surely these lines are an indication that the unhappy Gymnasium herself has suffered from some ill-starred love-affair, and that because of her mother and her profession, she has been compelled to disguise it. This seems to be confirmed by her following words. "I have a heartache," says Selenium. "id unde est tibi cor" (65) inquires Gymnasium cynically. And then with the utmost bitterness:-

"namque ecaster Amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus;
gustui dat dulce, amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit"
(69-70),

she cautions in an endeavour to persuade Selenium to forget her foolish ideas on love. She is genuinely attached to Selenium

and dislikes the thought of Selenium suffering as she has done. "perfidiosus est Amor" (72), she warns.

But we perceive with regret that Gymnasium's kind heart does not extend to the interests of her clients. When Selenium relates how generous Alcesimarchus was to her in the matter of presents, Gymnasium's training by her mother asserts itself:-

"mihi istunc vellem hominem dari,
ut ego illum vorsarem" (93-94).

Selenium bursts into tears again at the thought of her absent lover; the kindly Gymnasium weeps with her and promises to look after Selenium's house while the latter visits her mother. She generously ignores the fact that this will cause her a considerable loss of revenue. But her professional taste is shocked by the fact that Selenium proposes to set off in a very grimy dress. "sicine inmunda, opsecro, ibis?" (113-114),

she expostulates. After Selenium has left the stage she remarks thoughtfully to her mother:- "ecastor mihi visa amare," (117-118), only to be brought to earth again by a sharp rebuke from her mother and an order to go inside.

Unfortunately a large portion of the play is lost, and much is corrupt, including several scenes with either Gymnasium or Selenium. There is then a short scene where Gymnasium pretends to be Selenium in order to deceive the father of Alcesimarchus - an incorrigible old libertine, it seems, from his remarks to himself (305-308). However, when he addresses

Gymnasium as "mali damnique inlecebra" (321), thinking this girl is Alcesimarchus' mistress, she has enough spirit to keep up the illusion that she is Selenium. "ludam ego hunc, nam occasio videtur" (367), she says between her teeth. No woman likes her own sex being abused.

The fragment then breaks off and Gymnasium does not appear again. Gymnasium seems a woman more sinned against than sinning. She has qualities that would make of her an excellent wife and mother; but through force of circumstances she has been compelled to adopt a profession in which none of these qualities is valued.

Among the older, more experienced courtesans we must include Bacchis of the Heauton Timorumenos (Terence) - the only 'meretrix' in Terence (except the minor protatic character, Philotis) who approximates to the Roman spectators' conception of what a courtesan should be.

Bacchis' mercenary habits are made known to the audience before she appears on stage, for Clitipho, her lover, remarks that he is utterly miserable through not being able to provide her with the presents she desires. "da mihi" and "adfer mihi" (223), she orders. Clitipho admits quite openly that she is "procax, magnifica, sumptuosa, nobilis" (227).

In matters of intrigue she is as clever as Acroteleutium - "perdoctast probe" (361) says Syrus, the slave. Her attractions must be considerable for Clitipho admits that she has her choice

of many wealthy lovers (363). Any courtesan so spoilt is no mistress for an impecunious boy. Syrus, too, comments on her good looks (523), and on her clever handling of one of her lovers (366-367).

Thus, in the course of Clitipho's soliloquy and a conversation between Syrus, Clitipho, and Clinia, the audience has learned that Bacchis is mercenary, spoilt, extravagant, but sharp-witted.

Bacchis has, however, one redeeming feature - her kindness towards the young Antiphila. The two women appear on stage followed by a train of servants carrying Bacchis' luggage - another manifestation of her extravagance. But she speaks affectionately to Antiphila and commends her for her morals (382). There is certainly more than a tinge of regret and bitterness in "nam expedit bonas esse vobis; nos, quibuscum est res, non sinunt" (388). And there is a definite acceptance of the fact that it is her beauty alone that holds men's interest. She has nothing more to offer them, and when her looks have faded, her lovers will fade away too. She excuses her present opportunism by saying:- "nisi si prospectum interea aliquid est, desertae vivimus" (391). There is certainly envy of Antiphila in her words, but it is not a malignant envy - it is merely a sigh for a life that has

passed her by.⁴⁷

Shortly afterwards her extravagance is commented on with great annoyance by Chremes who has entertained her to dinner. "Ten maidservants," he grumbles, "weighed down with jewels and clothes" (451-452). He adds virulently:-

"satrapa si siet
amator, nunquam sufferre eius sumptus queat" (452-453).

The unfortunate man has been compelled to open every jar of wine in the house in an effort to find something that pleased his guest's palate. Thus greed and lack of courtesy to a host are two more faults that can be ascribed to Bacchis.

Bacchis has entered with gusto into the deception that she is Clinia's mistress instead of Clitipho's, and has scored heavily because, through this, Syrus has obtained ten minae to give her. That she cares only for what Clitipho can give her and not for the youth himself appears in her short monologue (723-728). If Syrus has deceived her she will never see Clitipho again, and supplements this with the vicious "Syrus mihi tergo poenas pendet" (728).

As soon as she catches sight of the men, Bacchis decides to force the issue one way or another; either Syrus must give

47 . O.L.Wilner, "Contrast and Repetition as Devices in the Techniques of Character Portrayal in Roman Comedy," C.P. 25 (1930), pp. 56-71. "These two lines (spoken by Antiphila) ... put an effective period to the fulsome praises and feigned humility with which Bacchis cloaks her self-satisfaction." I cannot agree with this - I feel that Bacchis' melancholy is sincere.

her the money or she will co-operate no longer. She nudges Phrygia, her maid, and inquires which way it is to Charinus' house - Charinus being the owner of the house where her soldier is staying. Phrygia remembers, and Bacchis urges her to hurry to the soldier and say that she (Bacchis) is detained against her will, but will come as soon as she can. It is a clever trick, and Syrus is panic-stricken as he hears this - for he cannot complete his intrigue without Bacchis' help. "quin est paratum argentum" (737), he shouts in desperation. "quin ego maneo" (737), answers Bacchis graciously. "atque iam dabitur" (738), persists Syrus frantically, still afraid lest she should really depart. And with consummate impudence Bacchis replies "ut lubet. num ego insto?" (738).

But she becomes uneasy at the suggestion that she should move over to Menedemus' house, for even her quick wits cannot follow the Machiavellian machinations of Syrus' mind. The mention of the money again persuades her, and she disappears into Menedemus' house.

This is Bacchis' last appearance, but we know that she obtains no more money from Clitipho after the ten minae, as Chremes, Clitipho's father, proposes to put all Clitipho's inheritance into the hands of a trustee so that he shall not squander it. His association with Bacchis is ended by this, because she will certainly have no more to do with a youth who has only an empty purse.

purse.

Bacchis is not a likeable individual, and reminds one of the more unpleasant women in Somerset Maugham. She is one of the harpies who prey on young inexperienced men, and Clitipho is fortunate to escape from her toils without worse befalling him.

In Terence's Hecyra Philotis (a protatic character) is in much the same position as Gymnasium (Cistellaria). As the latter is urged by her mother to make as much money as she can while she can, so Philotis is incited by the old bawd, Syra, to strip her lovers of all their possessions.

Philotis is still young enough to have some faith in the better nature of men. Her opening words express her horror at a newly discovered fact:-

"per pol quam paucos reperias meretricibus
fidelis evenire amatores, Syra" (58-59),

for Pamphilus, she hears, has forsaken his mistress, Bacchis, and married. Syra takes advantage of this at once, and emphasises that this is why courtesans must never show any mercy to their lovers (64-65). Philotis asks doubtfully whether she is to spare no one - for she does not believe that all men are alike. Syra snorts with indignation at this; men get what they want as cheaply as they can so why should the girl not set a trap in return? At this Philotis, with some vestige of common-sense, says firmly:- "tamen pol eandem iniuriumst esse omnibus" (71).

omnibus" (71).

At this moment Parmeno, Laches' slave, appears and asks Philotis why she has been away for such a long time. Philotis, with many a reminiscent shudder, gives a brief but highly-coloured account of her two years in Corinth with a soldier. "Inhumanissimo" she terms him, but as far as we can tell, his greatest cruelty consisted in bridling her lively tongue.

The fact that Bacchis has been deserted by Pamphilus seems to weigh heavily on her mind, for she refers to it again immediately. Parmeno agrees that Pamphilus is married, but adds gloomily that he does not think it will last. "ita di deaeque faxint, si in rem est Bacchidis" (102), breathes Philotis fervently. Her sympathy for Bacchis doubtless springs partly from the fact that she fears this may be her own future fate.

Filled with curiosity she asks Parmeno why Pamphilus' marriage is not satisfactory, but her glib and careless tongue is well known⁴⁸ for Parmeno refuses the information:-

"nunquam tam dices commode ut tergum meum
tuam in fidem committam" (108-109). However, she persuades him, and Parmeno relates the full story. Philotis' sympathies now centre on Pamphilus who has been forced into marriage by his father. But as soon as Parmeno mentions that Bacchis became more difficult and exacting when Pamphilus

⁴⁸ . Antiphanes 253K - women cannot keep a secret.

belonged to another woman, she extends her pity to Bacchis again. "non edepol mirum" (160), she says hotly, intimating that she, in the same position, would behave in the same way.

Philotis, having acted as the 'feed' for Parmeno while he sketches in the situation, has played out her part and departs to the forum to keep a rendezvous. Terence has presented us with a slight but clear vignette of this young woman - a gossiping chatterbox, but good-hearted withal, and not as predatory as the majority of her professional sisters.⁴⁹

Pasicompsa, the young 'meretrix' in Mercator, is a lively and amusing personality. We know that she is attractive, although Charinus' phrase "mulier, qua mulier alia nullast pulchrior" (101), is a lover's exaggeration. Demipho, Charinus' father, instantly falls in love with her, and this leads to the complications of the play. These good looks can be a drawback, however, for Charinus says gloomily to Acanthio:-

"neque ille credet neque credibile est forma eximia mulierem
eam me emisse ancillam matri" (210-211).

Indeed Demipho uses Pasicompsa's prettiness as a reason why she should not be given as a maid to Charinus' mother.

"neque illa matrem satis honeste tuam sequi poterit comes
neque sinam" (404-405),

he says decisively. "Why ever not?" asks Charinus.

"quia illa forma matrem familias
flagitium sit sei sequatur" (405-406),

⁴⁹ . T.Carney (ed. Hecyra, 1962, p.40) says:- "Philotis' objections show that she has a good heart; in contrasting her in this respect with the stock type of courtesan, Terence is preparing for his representation of Bacchis as a noble courtesan."

replies Demipho.

As to Pasicompsa's disposition, both Demipho and Charinus conclude that her character is impeccable (392-393), but one cannot rely on this statement from two infatuated men.

When Pasicompsa appears on stage for a brief but diverting scene with Lysimachus, the 'senex,' her frank repartee makes it quite clear that with this young woman her own interests are paramount. Towed unwillingly along by Lysimachus, she weeps bitterly, much to his exasperation. "Stop crying," he shouts. "How can you be so stupid! You're making your eyes all red" (501). But Pasicompsa's tears continue to flow as she realises she has been taken away from her lover, and bought by this old man. Shrewdly, she decides to make it clear to him that she is quite useless as a general worker. However, she pretends obedience and willingness at first - "facere certumst pro copia et sapientia quae te velle arbitrabor" (505-506), but continues "namque edepol equidem, mi senex, non didici baiolare nec pecua ruri pascere nec pueros nutrire" (508-509).

"If you're a good girl you'll be treated well," says Lysimachus patronisingly. And Pasicompsa's pert reply comes back - "tum pol ego perii misera" (510) "quia illim unde huc advecta sum, malis bene esse solitumst" (511).

Lysimachus is not above a quick retort himself, and his "quasi deicas nullam mulierem bonam esse" (512), is to the point. Again Pasicompsa's cynical reply is worth recording:- "Nec

mos meust ut praedicem quod ego omnis scire credam" (513).

Lysimachus now thinks that he has a bargain; not only is she beautiful but witty as well. He informs Pasicompsa that he has for her "a sheep, sixty years old ... for her very own" (524-525). "mi senex, tam vetulam?" (525) pouts Pasicompsa. If you're careful of it, you ought to be able to shear it nicely" (526), hints Lysimachus, so that Pasicompsa, perhaps thinking there might be something in this, replies sedately:- "honoris caussa quidquid est quod dabitur gratum habebō" (527).

Her delight when Lysimachus announces that he has bought her, not for himself, but for her own master, is overwhelming, for she naturally assumes he means Charinus, not Demipho.

A short but delightful scene of confusion now occurs. Lysimachus declares that her master is wildly in love with her, although he has seen her for the first time that day. Pasicompsa is bewildered by this - "ecastor iam bienniumst quom mecum rem coepit" (533). Lysimachus, in his turn, is equally taken aback by this statement, and even more dumbfounded when Pasicompsa asserts that she and Charinus had made a pact not to make love to anyone else. "What about his wife?" enquires Lysimachus sardonically. "amabo, an maritust?" ⁽⁵³⁸⁾cries Pasicompsa, horrorstruck at this perfidy. "Nullum adolescentem plus amo" (540), she adds in an aggrieved tone. It should be noted that she does not say that she loves Charinus alone - only that he is her favourite.

"Yes, yes, he's only a boy still," agrees Lysimachus airily.

"It's really not very long since his teeth fell out" (540-541). At this fresh shock Pasicompsa is almost speechless. "quid, dentes?" (543) she whispers faintly. But Lysimachus is tired of this abortive conversation and, grumbling, takes Pasicompsa by the arm and leads her indoors.

It is a pity we do not see Pasicompsa again, because, in spite of her shallow nature, she is an attractive and entertaining personality. Demipho's little intrigue is discovered and the girl is handed back to Charinus. Pasicompsa, as far as we know, does not receive her freedom but remains a slave. Lysimachus has remarked that Demipho will set her free (531-532), but there is no further mention of this when she is returned to Charinus. It is an unsatisfactory ending, for she may, like Scapha (Mostellaria), be deserted in later life and left to fend for herself.

In Persa⁵⁰ the 'meretrix', Lemniselenis, does not play a large part, although the plot hinges on the attempts of Toxilus to obtain money to buy her.⁵¹ This is an unusual comedy in that the characters come from the dregs of society - slaves, a slave-dealer, a parasite and his daughter. Toxilus, a slave, wishes to buy Lemniselenis from Dordalus, the 'leno'. He has no money and so induces Saturio, the parasite, to offer his daughter for sale to Dordalus as a prisoner of war from overseas.

50 . Original unknown.

51 . T.B.L.Webster in Studies in Later Greek Comedy, p.80, states that this is the only example in comedy of a slave intriguing for himself and not for his young master.

Dordalus buys the girl, handing over the money, and then

- Saturio appears, claiming his daughter as a free-born citizen. The 'leno' thus loses the whole of the purchase money, since the bargain is invalid. The play ends with Toxilus, Lemniselenis and the other slaves enjoying themselves at a banquet.

Lemniselenis is first seen standing in her doorway, while Sophoclidisca, her maid, calls back to her in exasperated tones to stop nagging (168). For five years she has been Lemniselenis' maid, and in that time Lemniselenis has not yet learned that she is quite capable of carrying out her orders. "potin ut taceas? potin ne moneas?" (175) she shrills. Lemniselenis retires indoors before this tirade without speaking, and Sophoclidisca, galled beyond endurance by the stupidity of her mistress, departs to take a message to Toxilus. What the message is we do not know - probably a frantic appeal from Lemniselenis to obtain freedom for her as soon as possible.

It seems strange that she does not reprove the maid for her manner of speech, but presumably Sophoclidisca is, after five years, a privileged retainer. There is also the fact that, according to Sophoclidisca, Lemniselenis relies completely on her maid. This may well be, as Sophoclidisca appears far the more intelligent of the two women.

Toxilus pays Dordalus the money for Lemniselenis, and she re-appears as a free woman in the final lively banqueting

scene.⁵² But even here she remains a somewhat negative personality. Not even her newly-acquired freedom has roused any spark in her. She is affectionate to Toxilus - "omnia quae tu vis, ea cupio" (766), and grateful to him for having freed her (775).

Dordalus enters unexpectedly to be greeted with ribald laughter by the revellers. Seething with rage at the trick that has been played on him, he addresses Lemniselenis ironically as "bona liberta" (798), and accuses her of having known of the plot and having concealed it from him. Now Lemniselenis neither denies nor acknowledges this accusation. She puts aside the whole matter with "stultitiast
quoi bene esse licet, eum praevorti
litibu'" (798-800).

But it is exceedingly doubtful if Lemniselenis did indeed know of the plot. All that Toxilus ordered Sophoclidisca to say was that he had arranged for the money. There is no point in Toxilus informing Lemniselenis of the intrigue before it is complete as she can be of no assistance to him in its execution.

Toxilus now suggests that they should make fun of the 'leno', but Lemniselenis demurs:- "nisi si dignust, non opust.
et me hau par est" (833-834).

One can assume from this that Dordalus has treated her well while in his possession, and that she thinks he has suffered enough in the loss of the sixty minae. However, Toxilus takes

52 . Note the rollicking lyric metre of the final festive scene (753-858).

strong exception to her attitude; he affirms bitterly that this is the way with all freed men and women - unless they can oppose their patrons⁵³ and show themselves ungrateful, they do not believe themselves free (838-840).

Lemniselenis is horrified at this. "pol bene facta tua me hortantur tuo ut imperio paream" (841), she assures Toxilus hurriedly. "Go on, then," urges Toxilus, "make a fool of him." After some thought - any mental exercise is painful for Lemniselenis - she invites Dordalus to dinner. "mea Ignavia," hisses Dordalus, "tu nunc me inrides?" (850). He refuses angrily, and Lemniselenis, with a shrug of her shoulders, lets the conversation drop and turns back to her cup of wine. Drinking is a far more pleasant occupation than baiting Dordalus.

Dordalus, completely discomfited by further ridicule from Toxilus and Sagaristio, disappears into his house, and the play ends as the slaves continue their feast. The submissive and simple Lemniselenis may be a suitable adjunct to a drinking party, but as a life-long companion she leaves a lot to be desired. Undoubtedly the vigorous and quick-witted Toxilus will realise this in due course, and Lemniselenis will have to find herself another lover.

2. 'Meretrices fideles'.

Philaenium of the Asinaria is a more likeable character

53 . Toxilus makes it clear that he regards himself as Lemniselenis' patron.

altogether. She is another unfortunate who is compelled by her mother to adopt an unpleasant profession. As has been remarked before, filial respect was pronounced in those days, and daughters of procuresses were no exception. Argyrippus (the lover) realises this, and in his infuriated ranting against her mother, Cleareta, he says "tuo facit iussu, tuo imperio paret: mater tu, eadem era es" (147). Because he is penniless, he is no longer allowed to visit Philaenium.⁵⁴ However, his complaints are of no avail, for Cleareta insists on the money, cash down, before he is permitted to see his inamorata. Philaenium herself has no say at all in the matter.

In spite of this, the audience see Philaenium, in a later scene, desperately begging her mother to allow her to be with Argyrippus whose love she returns. But Cleareta is flaming with rage which is not appeased when Philaenium states openly:- "neque quae recte faciunt culpo neque quae delinquent amo" (510). It seems, perhaps, a little strange that Philaenium should have such a strong sense of right and wrong when one considers the household in which she has been reared. That she has a frank and open nature is evident from her confession that she says what she thinks (512).

She sighs again that she is prevented from seeing Argyrippus, but Cleareta, in a fresh passion - any disapproval from a daughter is aggravating - demands that she should be

⁵⁴ . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans VII. Mothers decided who were suitable lovers.

"meus ocellus, mea rosa, mi anime, mea voluptas" (664), she addresses Leonida, half-jokingly, half-entreatingly, as she begs for the money.

It is to be noted that Philaenium is not consulted when it is suggested that Demaenetus shares the wedding-night with his son in return for finding the money.⁵⁶ This is Argyrippus' decision alone.

Again, during the argument as to whether Philaenium should sit next to Demaenetus or Argyrippus at the banquet, Philaenium utters not a word on the subject, but remains entirely subservient to Argyrippus' wishes.

The banquet proceeds amid much enjoyment as the participants are quite unaware that Artemona, the angry wife, is observing all. It is Philaenium who, in all innocence, rouses Artemona's rage to its fullest pitch. "dic amabo," she says to Demaenetus, "an foetet anima uxoris tuae?" (894) and expresses pity for Demaenetus who finds his wife's affection so nauseating.

As we know, Artemona bursts in on the happy group, and Duckworth⁵⁷ complains that Philaenium now 'plays the part of a pert and wanton courtesan.' This, I feel, is a misinterpretation. Philaenium has sat perfectly quiet through the first uproar, and it is only when Artemona is impolite to

56 . G.Norwood, Plautus and Terence, p.66. Norwood regards this development as 'bad taste' and I am inclined to agree with him here.

57 . G.Duckworth, The Complete Roman Drama, Vol. I, p.61.

her that she retaliates by a couple of flippant remarks. "de palla memento, amabo" (939), she calls wickedly to Demaenetus, hoping to irritate Artemona, - and again "da ~~sa~~vium etiam priu' quam abitis" (940). I suggest that this is merely the reaction of a young girl, who on being discourteously treated, has not sufficient maturity to ignore such an attack.

In any case she has the last word, for she addresses Argyrippus as "mi anime" in front of his mother, to establish the fact that he at least is in her power. Then, holding her willing lover by the hand, she disappears inside her house with him.

Philocomasium, in Miles Gloriosus, is another young courtesan who is genuinely in love (100-101). She, again, has a mother who is interested in her daughter only for what she can make out of her. The result is ^{that} the mother ^s has been tricked by a soldier, and Philocomasium has been carried off to Ephesus. Fortunately, Philocomasium is intelligent, and when she sees her lover's slave (Palaestrio) looking for her, she signals to him not to show that he knows her in front of the soldier. Her lover is then notified as to where she is, and now, unbeknown to the soldier, they are meeting in the house of the next-door neighbour by means of a hole dug through the wall.

When a household slave catches sight of her kissing her lover, Palaestrio airily dismisses this catastrophe

Philocomasium's cleverness will overcome this, he asserts:-

"os habet, linguam, perfidiam, malitiam atque audaciam,
confidentiam, confirmitatem, fraudulentiam" (189-189a).

This is repeated in 191-192.

And indeed Philocomasium enters into the scheme with great spirit, and pretends that she is her own twin-sister. This young woman is full of self-confidence and tells Palaestrio quite pettishly to stop giving her advice.

"cedo vel decem, edocebo
minime malas ut sint malae, mihi solae quod superfit"
(355-356),

she assures him.

With an excellent pretence of outraged innocence she turns on Sceledrus and demands angrily what he means by accusing her of kissing a strange young man (366). The unfortunate Sceledrus, who is at first positive about what he has seen - "atque his quidem hercle oculis" (368) - begins to waver under her indignant and virtuous denials. Her threats disturb him even more (368-369), and when Philocomasium relates with much by-play her dream of her twin sister, he fears that he has indeed been mistaken. Philocomasium, with a final stab at Sceledrus:- "neque me quidem patiar probri falso inpune insimulatam" (396), flounces indoors, and one can almost see the little triumphant wave of her hand to Palaestrio as she disappears.

Almost immediately she re-appears as her twin sister - a

grave, sedate girl solely intent on sacrificing to Diana in return for her safe voyaging (411-414). When Sceledrus addresses her as Philocomasium she ignores him, though she must be bubbling with laughter inside. Even under his abuse:- "viti probrique plena" (423), she remains unmoved, and calmly denies all knowledge of Sceledrus and Palaestrio. "Who am I, then?" demands Palaestrio, fired to emulation by her consummate acting.

"mihi odiosus, quisquis es" (427), answers Philocomasium languidly, and goes on to announce that her name is Dicea. "ἀδίκος es tu, non δικάια," growls Sceledrus, all his suspicions aroused by the really astounding likeness. "mala es" (442), he spits at Philocomasium, and the girl, thinking she has played her part long enough, shrugs her shoulders and answers "immo ecastor stulta multum quae vobiscum fabuler" (443). Infuriated by her contempt, Sceledrus seizes her by the arms, and Philocomasium, flashing into anger at his use of force, threatens to strike him if she is not released. Eventually, on Philocomasium giving her word that she will go with him, Sceledrus frees her. But a promise, of course, means nothing to a woman like Philocomasium, and she immediately slips away into the house of Periplectomenus.

Her acting has been superb, and Palaestrio recognises this when he says "ut utrubique orationem docte divisit suam" (466).

Meanwhile Philocomasium has hurried back through the hole

in the wall, and to Sceledrus' bewilderment he finds his master's mistress lying on the couch in his house. His apologies to Periplectomenus for the ill-treatment of his guest are abject. For the next few minutes Sceledrus, urged on by Periplectomenus, who is enjoying himself greatly, hurries backwards and forwards between the two houses, and each time there is Philocomasium-twin sister lying on a couch in each house. It is fortunate that Philocomasium is young and energetic as a good deal of agility and physical fitness must have been required for the hasty dashes between the two houses. A long dress is not conducive to scrambling through a hole, or to disposing one's limbs gracefully on a couch if pressed for time.

In the end Sceledrus departs dejectedly, and Periplectomenus, with a hearty chuckle, informs the audience "nimium festivam mulier operam praehibuit" (591).

The second deception progresses, and Pyrgopolynices arranges to send Philocomasium home so that he may enjoy the affections of the 'lady' who has fallen in love with him. Palaestrio has persuaded him to let Philocomasium take with her all her jewellery and clothing that she may leave him "per gratiam bonam" (1125 f.).

Philocomasium's outstanding talents as an actress are again evident from Pyrgopolynices' next conversation with Palaestrio. "nunquam ego me tam sensi amari quam nunc ab illa muliere"

(1202), comments Pyrgopolynices wonderingly; and undoubtedly Philocomasium has created a tremendous scene, begging and imploring that she may stay with the soldier (1203). Finally he has persuaded her to go - plus all she demands, and this includes Palaestrio!

In their final scene with Pyrgopolynices, both Palaestrio and Philocomasium nearly wreck the whole intrigue by exuberant over-acting. Philocomasium enters, dripping with tears and shaken by sobs. Palaestrio, deliberately emphasising her grief for the benefit of the soldier, enquires resignedly when she is going to stop crying. "quid ego ni fleam?" wails Philocomasium, "ubi pulcherrime egi aetatem, inde abeo" (1311-1312).

When Pleusicles (who is to take her to the ship) is brought to her, she looks at him without interest. "ibo; quamquam invita facio" (1319), she murmurs faintly. And then, with a final effort at impressing Pyrgopolynices with her unwillingness to leave him, she bursts into a paeon of adulation (1321-1324). Anyone but a man of incredible vanity and stupidity would suspect treachery when Philocomasium says adoringly:- "opsecro licet complecti prius quam proficisco?" (1329). Then she flings herself on Pyrgopolynices' breast, sighing:- "o mi oculo, o mi anime" (1330). Her shoulders heave with emotion. Pyrgopolynices assumes this is due to uncontrollable sobbing, but it is more likely to be stifled laughter at the idiocy of

her late owner.

Palaestrio hurriedly pulls her away and leads her over to Pleusicles. But Philocomasium, realising that she is actually with her lover again and longing to be even closer, conveniently swoons into his arms. Pleusicles, overcome by her nearness, kisses her, and for a few moments it looks as if even Pyrgopolynices' gullibility is not proof against this exhibition of affection. But Pleusicles' threat to let her go (1337) is sufficient, and Pyrgopolynices sends for Philocomasium's luggage.

Philocomasium now revives with a great deal of flustered "quid hoc? quae res? quid video? ... " (1344). She stares at Pleusicles in assumed horror, and enquires

hominem?" (1345-1346). ^{"quem amplexa sum} Then she sinks into his arms again until Palaestrio, now really afraid of Pyrgopolynices' justified uneasiness, urges Pleusicles in a frenzied aside, that the whole matter is becoming too public (1348). He bustles Philocomasium and Pleusicles off before any more questions can be asked. They go slowly, while Philocomasium, determined to play her part to the end, throws a final wistful glance at Pyrgopolynices. Presumably they reach Athens safely, for we hear nothing more of this.

Philocomasium is an attractive wench and the spectators must have greatly enjoyed the skill and verve with which she entered into the deception of the soldier.

soldier.

Philematium of the Mostellaria is another young courtesan very much in love with a young man. Unfortunately, she has neither the intelligence nor the personality of Philocomasium.

However, Duckworth⁵⁸ refers to Philematium as 'a model of gratitude', and Sonnenschein⁵⁹ remarks on her 'pretty simplicity of character' and 'girlish delight in dress.' Harsh⁶⁰ says she is 'delightfully naive.' I would say that 'simplicity' and 'naive' were euphemistic terms for the extreme poverty of Philematium's intellect. For this young woman, pretty and sunny-natured though she may be, is nothing but a bird-brain.

Her first scene is a lengthy one in which she is making her toilet with the aid of her maid, Scapha. Philolaches (her lover) is already down stage when the two women appear, and his pointed asides add liveliness to the scene. There is no preliminary description of Philematium or Scapha, but their respective characters come over quite clearly in their conversation, aided by the remarks of Philolaches.

Philematium has only two ideas in her head:- her personal appearance, and her affection for Philolaches. Her very first words refer to her toilet - the refreshing cold shower she has just had (157-158). But she is not quick enough to grasp Scapha's analogy (159), and merely says blankly:- "quid ea

58 . G.Duckworth, The Complete Roman Drama, Vol. 2, p.619.

59 . Mostellaria, ed. E.A.Sonnenschein, 1907, p.XIV.

60 . P.Harsh, Handbook of Classical Drama, p.362.

messis attinet ad meam lavationem?" (160).

Here Philolaches, catching sight of her, exclaims to himself "o Venu' venusta" (161). And he has undoubtedly used this phrase to Philematium. No wonder the wretched girl is vain, and the sycophantic flattery of her maid encourages her further. "How do I look?" asks Philematium, twirling round and round in her new dress. "volo me placere Philolachi, meo ocello, meo patrono" (167), she confides. "quin tu te exornas moribus lepidis, quom lepidam tute es?" (168) responds Scapha. And again, as Philematium, greedy for more compliments, tries on various ornaments and demands "quid nunc?" (172), she praises the girl:- "virtute formam [id] evenit te ut deceat quidquid habeas" (173).

Even the shallow Philematium feels a little uneasy at this fulsomeness and says doubtfully "nolo ego te adsentari mihi" (176). Scapha laughs at this, and Philematium adds vehemently: "ego verum amo, verum volo dici mi: mendacem odi" (181). One wonders, on this remark, whether Philematium does not at times have an inkling that she is lacking in intellect and is determined to make up for it by force of moral character. "venusta es" (182), repeats Scapha impatiently, and then offers:- "I'm surprised that anyone as clever and able and skilfully brought-up as you should behave so stupidly" (186-187). Philematium in hurt surprise - for how should anyone as beautiful as she suffer criticism - enquires what mistake she is making.

is making.

Then we have the old tale from Scapha - courtesans have no business to devote all their attentions to one man. When Philolaches is tired of her he will leave her and she will be destitute.⁶¹ Philematium, who is quite incapable of thinking for herself, is much agitated at this (197) and says:-

" solam ille me soli sibi suo <sumptu> liberavit:
illi me soli censeo esse oportere opsequentem"
(204-205).

Here emerges the other fixed idea in Philematium's head - Philolaches has set her free; therefore she owes him herself for the rest of her life. Philolaches, listening from his corner, is of course overjoyed at this statement. "mulierem lepidam et pudico ingenio." (206) he exclaims. Scapha is openly contemptuous of Philematium's attitude (208), but Philematium with the determined obstinacy of most unintelligent people declares:- "nunquam ego illi possum gratiam referre ut meritust de me" (214).

Eventually Scapha shrugs her shoulders and Philematium says affectedly:- "ego si bonam famam mihi servasso, sat ero dives" (228), - a strange sentiment, surely, for a 'meretrix'.

"And what about your other lovers?" asks Scapha sceptically. To which Philematium makes the astounding and illogical reply

quom <me> videbunt gratiam referre <magis amabunt
<bene mere> nti"
(231-232).

61 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans VII, 2.

Scapha now develops another line of attack and says conclusively that in any case Philolaches' estate will soon be ruined as he thinks of nothing but eating and drinking. But Philematium's temper is roused by this uncomplimentary reference to her lover. "nec recte si illi dixeris, iam ecastor vapulabis" (240), she threatens. Scapha capitulates instantly, and Philematium's feathery wits immediately fly to her own appearance again:- "cedo mi speculum et cum ornamentis arculam actutum, Scapha" (248). There is more flattery from Scapha (251), more prinking from Philematium (254), and further praise from Scapha (255).

More is to follow. Philematium calls for powder and rouge, but is refused these by Scapha who says that young girls do not need make-up. This remark, of course, has been re-echoed by countless mothers down the centuries. Scent, too, is disapproved of, but finally Philematium's toilet is complete and she again seeks approval (282).

Philolaches now thinks it is time to come forward, and he speaks to the two women. In reply to his "What are you doing here all this time?" (293) Philematium's mind flutters from her personal appearance to her other idea - "tibi me exorno ut placeam" (293), she coos. And when Philolaches suggests a drink together, she assures him "quod tibi lubet idem nihi lubet" (296).

But she does not like Philolaches' somewhat insensitive

reference to the fact that he paid thirty minae for her, and she draws back reproachfully. "Qur exprobras?" (300) she asks plaintively. Philolaches hurries to comfort her and Philematium harks back to the old theme:- "certe ego, quod te amo, operam nusquam melius potui ponere" (303).

The pair sit down, and Philematium, in the full glory of her new freedom, calls imperiously to a slave to bring water and set the table. Delphium and Callidamates enter, and Philolaches announces that he will go to meet them. "Iam revortar" (338), he assures Philematium. "diu est 'iam' id mihi," sighs his mistress.

The banquet now commences but Philematium takes little part in the scene. True to her easy-going nature she is quite unperturbed by the inebriated Callidamates. "Just leave him alone, dear" (346), she comforts the agitated Delphium. As she says not a single word more we cannot tell whether she is alarmed or not by the threatened arrival of Philolaches' father. She simply disappears inside the house with Delphium on Tranio's instructions.

There is no further evidence as to Philematium's future, and the spectators are left in suspense. She cannot, of course, as a freedwoman, become the wife of Philolaches.⁶² Thus we do not know whether she will later be deserted by him as Scapha

62 . Isaeus VIII, 19; Dem. LIX, 70. Citizenship was essential for marriage to an Athenian citizen.

prophecies, or whether a happier fate is in store for her.

Selenium, in Cistellaria, is another young woman who is in love with one particular young man - in this case, Alcesimarchus. Norwood,⁶³ still busy writing that "it (character) is hardly to be discovered in Plautus," says that Selenium has charm, dignity, and candour, but cannot be distinguished from Philematium. That this is not true can easily be proved by a study of the two girls. Selenium has far more depth of character than Philematium, and is certainly more sensitive and intelligent. This is a girl who is essentially good.

This is made evident in her words to Gymnasium when she expresses her gratitude for her kindness. "eo ego vos amo et eo a me magnam iniistis gratiam" (7), she says with great sincerity. Gymnasium replies graciously, thanking Selenium for the lunch-party, and Selenium answers

"lubenti[que] edepol animo factum et fiet a me,
quae vos arbitr<ab>or velle, ea ut expetessam"
(12-13)

It is the reply of a well-mannered hostess, but there is little doubt that Selenium, unlike most society hostesses, really means these words. And she is very disturbed when the procuress complains that the servant at the luncheon could have been better trained (16). "quid ita, amabo?" (17) she asks anxiously, but is relieved to hear that the Procuress' only complaint is that she has not had enough to drink.

63 . G.Norwood, Plautus and Terence, pp.55-56.

to drink.

Although Selenium is fond of her friends it is quite clear that she has a strong aversion to the profession of prostitute, for she expostulates with the old procuress when she explains why Gymnasium must be a courtesan - to keep them from starving. And one can almost see her shudder as she ventures:- "at satius fuerat eam viro dare nuptum potius" (42). A little later she says:- "ego nolo me meretricem dicier" (83).

Meanwhile Gymnasium has noticed that Selenium's appearance is not as usual - "nunquam ego te tristiores vidi esse" (53-54). And she continues:- "neque munda adaeque es, ut soles et pallida es" (55-56). Selenium, at this sympathetic remark, immediately bursts into tears, and sobs that she is miserable and unhappy; that her head and her eyes ache; and that it is her own fault she is suffering such grief (59-61).⁶⁴ "at mihi cordolium est" (65), says Selenium piteously and begs of Gymnasium whether love is worthwhile if it is so bitter (68). She again repeats that this misery is entirely her own fault (76). Then the overwrought Selenium pours out the whole story - Alcesimarchus is, and has been, her only lover.⁶⁵ He saw her at a festival, and by gifts and coaxing won her affection. Now he is being forced by his father to marry a relative's daughter.

64 . The shallow Philematium could not have experienced such tortures; nor would she have had the intelligence to blame her own behaviour for her sorrow.

65 . This is important because, if Selenium is to marry a free citizen, she must be morally fit to be his wife.

Consequently Selenium's mother has sent for her to come home.

The procuress thinks that Selenium is getting what she deserves for falling in love, but she kindly consents to let Gymnasium look after Selenium's house while she is away.

Selenium now turns to Gymnasium, and we see that all her concern is for Alcesimarchus:-

"si me apsentē Alcesimarchus veniet, nolito acriter
eum inclamare: utut erga me est meritus, in cordi est tamen"
(108-109)

Fresh sobs accompany this outbreak, and Gymnasium weeps in sympathy. That Selenium's grief is genuine is evident from her total unconcern for her appearance. "You're not going like that, are you?" says Gymnasium, scandalised at Selenium's slatternly appearance. "inmundas fortunas aequom est squalorem sequi" (114), answers Selenium indifferently.⁶⁶ Gymnasium tries to arrange Selenium's dress for her, but she twitches it out of Gymnasium's hands, exclaiming "sine trahi, quom egomet trahor" (115). She drifts off-stage, her drooping head and shoulders indicative of her despair.

Selenium's deep affection for Alcesimarchus is pointed out to us by the lover himself in his conversation with his slave. "quae me amaret contra" (239), he states. Her trusting nature is fully conveyed in the words "quae mihi esset commendata et meae fide concredita" (245). This affectionate disposition

⁶⁶ . Philematium would have wept bitterly, recovered, and put on her best frock and jewellery.

expresses itself openly and without reserve. "quae mellillam me vocare et suavius solitast suom" (247), reminisces Alcesimarchus.

In another fragment (the text is corrupt for several hundred lines) we find Selenium, Alcesimarchus, and Melaenis together in an emotional scene. Selenium, in spite of her pleas to Gymnasium not to hurt Alcesimarchus' feelings, has decided that he needs to be brought to his senses. "molestus es" (449), she says to him. At his attempts to soothe her, she dashes his hand away and refuses to listen this although she is still in love with him. (Contrast this strength of character with that of Philematium who would have protested but eventually submitted to his embraces.) It must be remembered, too, that Selenium has probably been subjected to much exhortation by Melaenis in the meantime.

However, when Alcesimarchus dashes on to the stage with his sword in his hand, threatening to kill himself (639-640), she quickly abandons this attitude. She screams to Melaenis and Halisca to run to his aid, while she throws herself into his arms. Her pride is forgotten in the fear of losing her lover to Death. Alcesimarchus sweeps Selenium into his arms and carries her off indoors, vowing he will never let her go.

Shortly afterwards Selenium is found, by means of the trinkets in the casket, to be the lost daughter of Demipho and Phanostrata. Alcesimarchus is thus enabled to marry her, and

all ends well.⁶⁷

Selenium is one of the most pleasing of Plautus' women characters. Enk⁶⁸ sums this up neatly when he says:-

"Pragtig getekend is die liefvallige Selenium die in een bedorven omgewing onbedorven is gebleven."

3. 'Meretrices bonae'.

The last two courtesans, Terence's Thais (Eunuchus) and Bacchis (Hecyra) stand apart from the rest. Terence is now approaching a new conception of the courtesan. She is no longer a hardened, predatory man-hunter, but a human being who can manifest as many good qualities as any other woman.

Eunuchus⁶⁹ was an extremely popular play,⁷⁰ and financially Terence's most successful.⁷¹ This is a play with dual-plot construction. Phaedria is in love with a courtesan, Thais, and buys a eunuch to give to her. Thraso, the soldier, is also in love with Thais. Phaedria's brother, Chaerea, is in love with Pamphila, a girl given to Thais by Thraso. Chaerea goes into Thais' house disguised as the eunuch his brother has

67 . Compare Cistellaria with Andria where Glycerium is in much the same situation as Selenium.

68 . P.J.Enk, Handboek der Latijnsche Letterkunde, Part 2, Vol. I, P.270.

69 . Adapted from Menander's play of the same name, but has a soldier and a parasite from Menander's 'Colax.'

70 . See E.K. Rand's excellent article 'The Art of Terence's Eunuchus.' T.A.P.A. 63. (1932) pp.54-72. He remarks that Terence has introduced a 'notable vivacity' into the play. He claims that this is 'vis,' about the lack of which Caesar complained.

71 . See Suetonius' 'Vita' in Donatus.

given Thais, and rapes Pamphila. There is a great commotion when this is discovered, but Pamphila's brother appears and claims her as a free-born citizen. Chaerea is thus enabled to marry her; Thais, in return for her good qualities, is taken under the patronage of Laches, Phaedria's father, and allowed to live with Phaedria. Thraso, the soldier, although outwitted, is permitted to share Thais' favours.

Thais is at first presented to us in an unpleasant light.⁷² Phaedria, who has been shut out of her house the day before, arrives on stage ranting and raving at "meretricum contumelias" (48). He will not return to her, he declares^s. Parmeno, his slave, abets this outburst, telling Phaedria that Thais will laugh at him if he goes back.(55) But, he adds sardonically, he knows that Thais has only to shed a few tears and Phaedria will succumb again. "nunc ego
et illam scelestam esse et me miserum sentio" (70-71), groans the unhappy Phaedria.

At this moment Thais enters from her house and Parmeno hisses "ipsa egreditur, nostri fundi calamitas," (79) - the usual accusation that courtesans deprive their lovers of all their property.

But as soon as Thais appears it is apparent that the early impression of her character and qualities given to the spectators is incorrect. She has indeed refused Phaedria entrance, but for a very good reason, and not simply because

72 . This is early false characterisation to emphasize the later inversion. Cf. Bacchis in Hecyra.

she preferred another lover. Her first words are ones of anxiety as to Phaedria's reactions on being shut out; she fears (and rightly) that he may have misinterpreted her action. When she catches sight of Phaedria she is almost over-effusive in her welcome (86-87). And her misgivings are increased when Phaedria does not answer. "anime mi, (mi) Phaedria" (95), she cries to him in desperation, "sed ita erat res, faciundum fuit" (97).

Looking from one to the other she sees that they are still unconvinced, and decides to tell them the whole story. Pamphila, the girl who has been brought up with Thais, has been sold, but by great good fortune bought by the soldier, Thraso, as a present for Thais. On finding that Thais has another lover (Phaedria), the soldier no longer wishes to give the girl to Thais. Now Thais' affection for this young girl is genuine, and she fears the worst:- "sed ego quantum suspicor, ad virginem animum adiecit" (142-143).

She is most unwilling that the girl should remain in the possession of the soldier, and if only Phaedria will let Thraso have the exclusive use of her (Thais) for the next few days, she can obtain the girl and hand her over to her own people.

Another of Thais' good qualities is her honesty, for she admits frankly:-

"sola sum; habeo hic neminem
neque amicum neque cognatum: quam ob rem, Phaedria,
cupio aliquos parere amicos beneficio meo" (147-149).

Phaedria takes strong exception to the suggestion that the

soldier should enjoy Thais while he is excluded, and says angrily and unjustly "You prefer him to me, and now you're afraid that this girl he has will supplant you in his affections" (160-161). Thais is astounded at this accusation and exclaims "ego id timeo?" (162). It is plain that the idea has never occurred to her, and she is shocked enough to concede to Phaedria that she will do as he wishes rather than quarrel with him. Phaedria, with somewhat poor taste, reminds her of the presents he has given her, but speaks from his heart when he begs her to be sincere with him (176-177).

Thais shows a spark of resentment in her reply:-

"quam ioco
rem voluisti a me tandem, quin perfeceris?" (179-180).

And in the end, by coaxing and begging, she gains the favour of the two days with the soldier. Phaedria cannot resist her charm; he even orders the eunuch and the slave-girl (an Ethiopian) he has bought to be taken to her.

Having gained her wish, Thais prepares to depart, admonished by Phaedria "cum milite isto praesens absens ut sies" (192). Her affection for her pseudo-sister has brought about a difficult situation, but she has handled it very neatly. The spectators could doubtless hear her sigh of relief as Phaedria goes off into his father's house.

But Thais is still unhappy at the thought that Phaedria is judging her from other courtesans he has known - "atque ex aliarum ingeniis nunc me iudicet" (198). Certainly she knows

the reputation generally assigned to 'meretrices' - that they grasp at the lover with most money - and she fears that Phaedria still suspects this of her. She is, as Austin⁷³ remarks, eager to prove herself superior to the usual run of courtesans. In her short monologue she vows that she cares for Phaedria more than anyone else, and that she has only adopted this plan for the sake of the girl. That she really has the girl's interest at heart is proved by the fact that she has been looking for, and has found, the girl's brother (203-204).

Thais' charm is again made clear in the next scene where Phaedria doubts his ability to remain away from her even for a short time (217-218), and again in 638-641. That she has beauty as well as bewitching ways we learn from Parmeno (231). However, Parmeno, the cynic, believes that Thais is as mercenary as any other courtesan, for seeing Gnatho leading Pamphila to Thais' house, he says bitterly:- "*hisce hoc munere arbitrantur suam Thaidem esse*" (269-270). He follows it up with the comment that now his master will not be allowed into Thais' house again (275-276), and grumbles to Gnatho that it is only the present of the girl that has brought his master, Thraso, into favour.

Chaerea, too, includes Thais in the general run of courtesans. He refers to them as "*quae nos nostramque adulescentiam*"

73 . J.C.Austin, The Significant Name in Terence (Univ. Illinois, 1921), p.109.

habent despicatum et quae nos semper omnibus cruciant
modis" (383-384).

Courtesans were considered 'fair game' if their clients could possibly turn the tables on them.

Again Gnatho points out to Thraso in a matter-of-fact way that of course Thais loves him because "quod tu das exspectat atque amat" (447). These false evaluations of Thais serve by contrast to emphasise her real character.

Then Thais herself enters from her house. She welcomes the captain affectionately, but is disturbed by his wish to proceed to dinner immediately. She is expecting Chremes (Pamphila's brother), and does not wish to be away when he appears. Consequently she welcomes the few minutes' delay when Parmeno presents her with the eunuch and Ethiopian maid given by Phaedria. On the excuse of taking the new slaves indoors and giving orders (492-493) she gains another short respite, but Chremes does not arrive, and Thais is compelled to go off with the captain. She manages, however, to give detailed instructions to Pythias, her maid, as to what to do if Chremes arrives. There are final admonitions about Pamphila - "curate istam diligenter virginem" (505), and orders to the servants to remain at home. Thais has her household well under control. This may be noticed again when Pythias realises that the blame for Pamphila's rape will rest on her shoulders (655). Further, Pythias, loitering unnecessarily, is rebuked by Thais (754).

Thais (754).

In the next scene Chremes is convinced that Thais has some ulterior motive behind her constant interest in him. "ita me ab ea astute video labefactarier" (509), he exclaims. He suspects that she wishes to deprive him of his property (520), and that she is endeavouring to claim she is his lost sister. Eventually he goes off to Thraso's house on Pythias' instructions, determined to find out what Thais really wants.

What happened there we learn from Dorias, another of Thais' maids. Thais, in her anxiety to question Chremes, appears to have been somewhat tactless. She ignores Thraso and devotes all her attention to Chremes. Thraso immediately retaliates by ordering Pamphila to be fetched. Thais is outraged at the idea of a young girl being brought to a drinking-party (625-626), and a quarrel springs up between her and Thraso.

A new side of Thais' character now presents itself. She storms on to the stage and in a fury dares Thraso to take Pamphila from her ... "atqui si illam digito attigerit uno, oculi illico ecfodientur" (740). But her anger vanishes when she sees Chremes and realises that she now has the chance to determine the question of Pamphila's future. Thais has certainly done her best for the girl, but like many other philanthropists, she is determined her efforts shall be appreciated. So she complains to Chremes:-

"dum tibi sororem studeo
reddere ac restituere, haec atque huius modi sum multa
passa" (745-746).

She then assures him, a little self-consciously perhaps, in view of her status, that Pamphila has been brought up "uti teque illaque dignumst" (748).⁷⁴ She generously adds that she wants no reward for this.

Thais sends Pythias off to fetch the box with the tokens, and then is astonished by Chremes' very obvious fear at the threat of Thraso's approach. Thais is no coward herself, and it requires much brisk encouragement before Chremes can be persuaded to stand his ground. This reluctance on Chremes' part highlights Thais' fearlessness, and also her skill in persuasion. "minus potens quam tu, minus notus, minus amicorum hic habens" (760), she wheedles. But it has been an exhausting few minutes, and she sighs to herself:- "perii, huic ipsist opus patrono, quem defensorem paro" (770).

However, when Thraso, fully armed, is actually in front of Thais' house where Chremes and Thais are looking out of an upper window,⁷⁵ Thais again has to bolster Chremes' morale. She herself is quite indifferent to Thraso's alarming appearance, and expresses all her contempt for Thraso's jealousy and stupidity in one pertinent sentence:- "quid cum illoc agas?" (795). She does not exert herself even to add her say to the argument between Chremes and Thraso over Pamphila. And when

74 . Note the irony in this statement, as Thais does not know that Pamphila has already been violated.

75 . There has been a great deal of discussion as to the use of the upper window. See G. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.95. Note, too, that this scene requires eight actors (although three are silent) and must be a spectacular one.

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Thraso asks whether she supports Chremes' statements, she flings at him "quaere qui respondeat" (810), and disappears from the window.

Real anger is roused in Thais when she discovers that Pamphila has been assaulted. Pythias bears the brunt of her fury. "Scelesta, ... venefica ..." (817-825) she screams at her maid, accompanying it no doubt by several vigorous slaps. Thais is overwhelmed by the realisation that Chaerea has raped Pamphila. Anger, pity for the girl, and injured pride (832-833) mingle in her. But when Chaerea appears she addresses him calmly at first; it is only when he defiantly contends he has done "paulum quiddam" (856), that she attacks him.

Pythias exclaims angrily (859-860) at Chaerea's excuse that he thought Pamphila was a slave, but she is still out of favour with Thais, for on this interruption, her mistress orders her away. With an effort Thais regains her composure and says with some dignity "si ego digna hac contumelia sum maxime, at tu indignu' qui faceres tamen" (865-866).

Then she realises that her plans for the girl are defeated, since she can no longer hand her over as a maiden. "And," she cries to Chaerea with anguish, "I had hoped by this to gain some real advantage for myself" (871). Her candour is refreshing; she does not hesitate to admit that her interest in restoring Pamphila is not wholly altruistic.

Chaerea, in an attempt to avoid blame, follows this with the surprising suggestion that perhaps some god contrived it

all (875). Thais graciously accepts this (876), and on Chaerea's earnest explanation that he acted out of love for Pamphila, and not in an attempt to insult Thais, she assures him that he is forgiven.

"non adeo inhumano ingenio sum, Chaerea,
neque ita inperita ut quid amor valeat nesciam" (880-881),
she adds as a gentle reminder that she, too, is capable of emotion.

That Chaerea trusts in her desire to help him is clear from "ego me tuae commendo et committo fide[i]" (886) and Thais accepts this trust. She sharply reprimands Pythias (899) who is unwilling for Chaerea to enter the house, and leads him indoors with her as Chremes approaches.

Rather surprisingly Thais herself does not appear again, but her future is satisfactorily arranged as we learn from the conversation between Parmeno and Chaerea. Thais' good qualities have so impressed Laches, Chaerea's father, that he has taken Thais under his protection and become her patron (1039-1040). Thus her unselfishness has had its reward. Above all she is to belong to Phaedria (1040).

"nil est Thaïde hac, frater, tua
dignius quod ametur: ita nostrae omnium faulrix familiae"
(1051-1052),
asserts Chaerea.

But in the final scene a new development occurs. Thraso is heartbroken at the thought of losing Thais altogether. He implores Gnatho to arrange some means by which he can retain at

least a small share in Thais' favours (1055)⁷⁶

By a clever piece of argument Gnatho persuades Phaedria that Thraso will be a most useful man to have about the place. Thais is accustomed to living well; Phaedria cannot supply the money for this, so Thraso should be mulcted in return for a share in Thais' affections. Phaedria agrees and the arrangement is satisfactorily concluded.

It is this final determination to share Thais between Phaedria and Thraso that certain critics have condemned so strongly. Duckworth, too, likens this to the final scene of Truculentus, and refers to "the rather sordid conclusions of the Truculentus and the Eunuchus."⁷⁷

But again, one must realise that Thais is a courtesan, and this is a business like any other business. It will mean nothing to Thais to share her nights with Thraso as well as with Phaedria. This is borne out by the fact that nowhere is it even remotely suggested that Thais will offer any objections to this scheme. Thais says she loves Phaedria; this is certainly an improvement in the usual attitude of courtesans to their clients. But I am certain that after years of earning her living as a prostitute, Thais' love for Phaedria is not concerned with a physical relationship. Therefore her behaviour in accepting two lovers (as doubtless she will do)

76 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans XII, 3, says that young men should not display jealousy over the favours of a 'meretrix.' See, too, Athen. XIII, 588E.

77 . G.Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, pp.302-303.

cannot be held objectionable. Her love for Phaedria is a separate thing; her physical relationship with either man is merely 'business.'⁷⁸

The 'meretrix,' Bacchis, in Hecyra is one of Terence's most carefully drawn characters. In her he has presented a woman who, in spite of her profession, shows the qualities of generosity and dignity. Duckworth⁷⁹ speaks of her in glowing terms, and Gomme⁸⁰ refers to her as kindly and gracious. Post⁸¹ alone finds her disagreeable and announces that she is smug and unbearable. In any case she is an innovation, a complete reversal of the 'meretrix' hitherto depicted in comedy.

Bacchis' charm is instantly emphasised for the spectators in Philotis' first words concerning her, for Pamphilus, her lover, had declared he would never marry while she lived (60-62). Not unnaturally, Bacchis began to suffer from extreme jealousy at the news of Pamphilus' impending marriage (158-159). The inevitable result was that Pamphilus

"victus huius iniuriis
paullatim elapsus Bacchidi atque huc transtulit
amorem" (168-170).

He transferred his affections to his wife and Bacchis was put aside.

Now, when Pamphilus refuses to take Philumena back into

78 . Perhaps Phaedria himself realises this. Cf. Eunuchus 192.

79 . G.Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, p.259.

80 . A.W.Gomme, Essays in Greek History and Literature: -
"Menander."

81 . L.A.Post, "The Art of Terence," C.W. 23 (1930), pp.121-128.

his house, Laches and Phidippus are convinced (in spite of his denials) that this is because he is still involved with Bacchis. Phidippus suggests that they see Bacchis and try to deter her from seeing Pamphilus in future (716-718).

Then comes a remarkable scene with Bacchis - one which displays the true goodness of her character. In spite of her anger with Pamphilus for deserting her and her jealousy of Philumena, she puts these feelings aside and does her utmost to clear Pamphilus of the charge of still being her lover.

Bacchis comes on stage, gripping nervously at the folds of her dress. Laches has sent for her, and it must be something serious to warrant this interest. Afraid that he is about to accuse her of some misdeed she is on the defensive immediately. She tells Laches that she knows the name of her profession brands her, but she adds "*mores facile tutor*" (735). Laches reassures her; if she is not misbehaving she has nothing to fear from him, and he continues sententiously that it would be wrong for him to harm her if she did not deserve it (739-740). Bacchis waxes sarcastic at this:-

*"est magna ecastor gratia de istac re quam tibi habeam;
nam qui post factam iniuriam se expurget parum mi prosit"*
(741-742).

In her exasperation at Laches' pomposity her fear is overcome.

Laches then comes straight to the point, and accuses her of allowing Pamphilus to visit her. He orders her to find some other lover and give up Pamphilus. Bacchis, astounded, demands to know who brings this charge against her. Laches

informs her impatiently that it is Pamphilus' mother-in-law, and, what is more, she has taken her daughter home, and is trying to get rid of the child that has been born (748-749).

The full import of this extremely grave situation strikes Bacchis at once, and she firmly denies that she has seen Pamphilus since his marriage (752). The sincerity in her voice and words must be marked since Laches, rather astonishingly, believes her instantly. But there is one thing he wishes Bacchis to do - to go inside and assure his wife and Myrrhina that their accusations are false.

Bacchis blenches at this. For her to enter the house of a married woman and discuss this subject with her requires fortitude, courage and dignity. A courtesan conversing with respectable wives was almost unheard-of.⁸² (One can imagine the scandalised whispering of the spectators at this suggestion.) She hesitates a moment, and then says resolutely "faciam" (756). But she is careful to impress on Laches that this is a tremendous effort she is making for Pamphilus' sake (756). However, she is still genuinely fond of Pamphilus, and prepared to sacrifice herself for his welfare. "nam meritu' de me est quod queam illi ut commodem" (760), she says to Laches.

Laches is reassured by this promise, but his customary boorish self still comes to the surface:-

"nunc quam ego te esse praeter nostram opinionem comperi,
fac eadem ut sis porro" (762-764).

82 . N.B. In Menander's Arbitration wife and courtesan meet on stage.

And he takes it for granted that threats (765) will hold Bacchis to her given word. In this scene Laches' incivility and Bacchis' quiet dignity are well contrasted.

At this moment Phidippus appears and is contemptuous of Laches' assurances that Bacchis is innocent. "nec pol istae metuont deos neque eas respicere deos opinor" (772), he sneers. Bacchis' indignation is roused by these doubts. "ancillas dedo," she flashes at Phidippus, "quolubet cruciatu per me exquire" (773).⁸³ But her chief concern is that Pamphilus' wife should return to him:-

"quod si perficio non paenitet me famae,
solam fecisse id quod aliae meretrices facere fugitant"
(775-776).

Does Bacchis fear the reproach - or even worse - of the other courtesans of the town? Will they accuse her of trying to spoil their livelihood?⁸⁴ These words of Bacchis convey a definite uneasiness.

At last, on the urging of Laches, Bacchis prepares herself for the coming interview. But she is now even more uncomfortable, for she suddenly realises that Philumena will be present too. "They'll hate me, I know," she sighs (788). And she refers to Philumena in particular in "nam nupta meretrici hostis est, a viro ubi segregatast" (789).

Laches and Phidippus reassure her that the women will be

83 . Isaeus VIII, 10. Evidence of slaves was accepted only under torture.

84 . See E.G.Sihler, "The Collegium Poetarum at Rome," A.J.P. 26 (1905), pp.1-21. The members of the Collegium disliked Terence for spoiling their livelihood.

friendly when they learn why she has come, but Bacchis is still reluctant. She murmurs, half to herself "perii, pudet Philumena" (793), and walks slowly with bent head into Phidippus' house. She will gain considerable benefit from this action for Laches comments that she has won favour for herself (795), and says:- "scit sibi nobilitatem ex eo et rem natam et gloriam esse" (797). Bacchis has maintained her dignity throughout both scenes. The loneliness of her professional life has been hinted at in masterly fashion.

When she re-appears from Phidippus' house she looks a different woman. Relief and gladness are expressed in all her movements. She sees Parmeno standing nearby and calls joyfully to him to run at once and fetch Pamphilus. "To you?" asks Parmeno, surprised. "Immo ad Philumenam" (809), answers Bacchis triumphantly. From this we gather that her meeting with Myrrhina, Sostata, and Philumena has been successful, and this is confirmed in her monologue which follows as soon as Parmeno has left on his errand.

"Quantam obtuli adventu meo laetitiam Pamphilo hodie!
quot commodas res attuli! quot autem ademi curas!" (816-817)

she announces. She has given him back his son and his wife. And all this has arisen through the ring on her hand which Pamphilus gave her some months earlier. He had taken it from the finger of a girl he violated in the street. Now Myrrhina has recognised the ring as one belonging to her daughter, Philumena. Thus Pamphilus is the father of Philumena's child,

and all is well.

Bacchis is genuinely overjoyed that Pamphilus' problems are now solved, though she admits again:-

"etsi hoc meretrices aliae nolunt; neque enim est in rem
ut quisquam amator nuptiis laetetur" (834-835).^{nostram}

But, she adds sincerely, (and this is probably the key-note of her character):-

"verum ecastor
nunquam animum quaesti gratia ad malas adducam partis"
(835-836).

Pamphilus has been kind and pleasant while her lover (837), and now she must resign herself to whatever inconveniences may arise from his dissociation with her.

Here Parmeno returns with Pamphilus, both discussing the matter of the ring which Bacchis had impressed on Parmeno as important. Pamphilus and Bacchis are delighted to see each other, and Pamphilus, taking her hand, confesses that she still retains all her old fascination (858). Bacchis, not to be outdone, laughingly informs him:-

"at tu ecastor morem antiquom atque ingenium obtines
ut unus hominum homo te vivat nunquam quisquam blandior"
(860-861).

And then, in more serious mood, she says generously "recte amasti, Pamphile, uxorem tuam ... (862) ... perliberali' visast" (864). At this Pamphilus enquires anxiously whether his father knows the whole story. "nil" (865) says Bacchis, and between them they determine to keep the facts secret from

the fathers.⁸⁵ Whether Pamphilus should be shielded thus from parental rebuke is open to question, but Bacchis is determined to safeguard him (869) and the other women will certainly not betray him.

In the last scene Bacchis is presented to us as the vivacious attractive woman with whom Pamphilus first fell in love. If we add to this her sympathy and understanding of human nature, her generosity and graciousness, we have one of the most significant women characters in Roman comedy.

^{85a.}
Chrysis, in Andria, we do not meet at all as she has died before the play opens. From the account of her life as given by Simo, she is drawn on similar lines to Thais and Bacchis (Hecyra). She was forced to come to Athens from Andros because of her poverty, and at first earned a living by weaving. As she was "egregia forma atque aetate integra" (72), she soon won the interest of young men and adopted the life of a courtesan. But her tender-heartedness and generosity were shown by the care and affection she gave to the young girl, Glycerium, commonly supposed to be her sister. Glycerium has been carefully protected (288), and Chrysis' sole consideration on

85 . G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.138, remarks on the break with convention - the failure to inform the rest of the cast of the recognition scene. G.Norwood, The Art of Terence, p.105, says that Pamphilus' comment "placet non fieri hoc itidem ut in comoediis" (866), is the voice of Terence himself maliciously insisting on the originality of his work.

85 a. See Note 50 on page 265.

her death-bed is that Glycerium should be looked after.

In Pseudolus Ballio, the 'leno,' abuses four of his courtesans who are brought on stage with him, but who do not speak. Ballio is enraged because the courtesans have brought in very few gifts from their lovers. If the girls do not produce a better supply, they will all be sent to the common brothel - a punishment dreaded by the meretrices in a better-class establishment (178). Hedylium is to see that her lovers hand over more grain; Aeschrodora is to obtain quantities of meat from her clients; Xytilis should ensure that plenty of olive-oil is brought in; and Phoenicium, "deliciae summatum virum" (227), is to provide him with mixed foodstuffs from the farms of her lovers. Phoenicium seems to have incurred Ballio's especial dislike, for she is threatened with a whipping as well as the brothel if she does not conform (229).

In Ballio's reprimands these courtesans are accused of a number of faults:- vanity (173); greed (175); laziness (175); insobriety (183, 221-222). Beyond this biased account we know nothing of their characters.

B. Characterisation by technical devices.

1. Direct description.

a. Description in prologues.

The traits of the 'meretrices' are mentioned in the prologue to Truculentus (12-16). Here Phronesium is accused of the principal vices attributed to courtesans - avarice

and cupidity.

b. Self-description in solos.

In their monologues the 'meretrices' describe their own traits and habits, their likes and dislikes. In Plautus we have:- Menaechmi:- Erotium: 353-355 - neatness, 359-360 - obsequiousness; Truculentus:- Phronesium: 448-475 - deceitfulness and cunning. In Terence:- Hecyra:- Bacchis: 816-820 - generosity, 835-836 - lack of avarice; Heauton Timorumenos:- Bacchis: 728 - deceitfulness; Eunuchus:- Thais: 200 - truthfulness.

It should be noted again that these descriptions are invariably proved correct by the character's actions.

c. Self-description in dialogue.

The 'meretrices' describe themselves in conversation with other characters. In Plautus:- Asinaria:- Philaenium: 510 - self-righteousness, 512 - frankness, 514, 517 - respect for parent, 544 - obedience, 591, 595 - affection, 608 - innocence; Bacchides:- Bacchis: 1206 - wiliness; Sister: 37 - diffidence, 1152 - dislike of old men; Cistellaria:- Selenium: 1, 20, 109 - affection, 59-61, 65, 67, 71 - misery, 77, 85, 109 - devotion, 83 - fastidiousness, 84 - obedience, 88 - chastity; Gymnasium: 46 - obedience, 93-94 - cupidity, 110 - tenderheartedness, 368 - innocence (false); Menaechmi:- Erotium: 693 - self-righteousness (false); Mercator:- Pasicompsa: 505-506 - obedience, 508-509 - dislike of hard work, 522 - education;

Miles Gloriosus:- Philocomasium: 356 - deceitfulness, 264 - innocence (false), 370, 443 - stupidity (false);
 Acroteleutium: 880, 942 - deceitfulness, 894, 1218 - baseness, 921 - cunning, 1235 - lack of charm (false), 1237 - beauty, 1241 - love for soldier (false); Truculentus:-
 Phronesium: 388 - confiding nature (false), 419-420 - quarrelsomeness, 501 - cunning, 632 - ill-health (false), 867 - loneliness, 886 - deceitfulness, 887, 901 - cupidity, 964 - rapacity.

In Terence we have:- Hecyra:- Philotis: 106-107 - denial of gossiping tendencies; Bacchis: 734 - fear, 735 - good behaviour, 756 - courage, 774, 864 - truthfulness, 788-789 - self-depreciation, 793 - self-condemnation;
Heauton Timorumenos:- Bacchis: 387 - lack of morals, 389 - beauty, 735 - trickery; Eunuchus:- Thais: 128 - trusting nature, 146-147 - loneliness, 179, 827-828 - unhappiness, 831-832 - shame, 854 - cruelty, 865-866 - self-denigration, 880-881 - denial of unkindness and inexperience.

d. Description by others during absence of character.

As might be expected there is a tremendous amount of description of the 'meretrices' by others. Most of this occurs in the absence of the subject. In Plautus:- Asinaria:-
 Argyrippus on Philaenium: 146-147 - blamelessness, 209-210 - affection; Bacchides:- Chrysalus on Bacchis' sister: 195 - cupidity, Pistoclerus on Bacchis' sister: 208-210 - love for

Mnesilochus; Chrysalus and Pistoclerus on Bacchis and her sister: 216-217 - bravery and beauty; Lydus on Bacchis and her sister: 371-373 - rapacious blood-suckers, 406-407 - temptress, 471 seductress; Cleomachus on Bacchis: 863 - boldness; Cistellaria:- Alcesimarchus on Selenium: 245 - trusting nature; Menaechmi:- Menaechmus on Erotium: 180-181 - beauty; Messenio on Erotium: 344-345 - rapaciousness; Mercator:- Charinus on Pasicompsa: 101, 210 - beauty, 391-392 - good character; Demipho on Pasicompsa: 260 - beauty, 393 - good character, 395 - superior appearance, 405-406 - beauty; Miles Gloriosus:- Palaestrio on Philocomasium: 189-192 - wickedness, boldness, deceitfulness, 466 - cunning; Sceledrus on Philocomasium: 312 - promiscuity, 456 - deceitfulness; Periplectomenus on Philocomasium: 490 - appearance of good-breeding, 509 - modesty, 591 - acting ability; Pyrgopolynices on Philocomasium: 1203 - obstinacy; Periplectomenus on Acroteleutium: 789 - beauty, 804 - charm; Palaestrio on Acroteleutium: 871-872 - good figure and dignity, 958 - charm, 967-968 - graciousness, 1031-1032 - unhappiness; Pyrgopolynices on Acroteleutium: 968 - beauty; Milphidippa on Acroteleutium: 1040 - unrequited affection, 1054 - beauty, 1068-1069 - unhappiness; Truculentus:- Diniarchus on Phronesium: 81-90 - deceitfulness, 143-149 - trickery, 168 - rapacity, 178-180 - treachery, 322-323 - vanity,

337-338 - avarice, 434-442 - confidence, trust and loyalty (false), 759-763 - treachery and wickedness; Astaphium on Phronesium: 213 - covetousness; Truculentus on Phronesium: 297-298 - seductress; Stratophanes on Phronesium: 640 - affectation; Cyamus on Phronesium: 572-574 - flattery.

In Terence we find:- Hecyra:- Parmeno on Bacchis: 159 - arrogance and spite (false), 168 - discourtesy; Laches on Bacchis: 797 - graciousness; Heauton Timorumenos:- Clitipho on Bacchis: 227 - extravagance, impudence, pride; Syrus on Bacchis: 361 - education in trickery, 366 - persuasiveness, 524 - charm and wittiness, 599 - evil habits; Chremes on Bacchis: 449-450 - extravagance, 523 - beauty; Eunuchus:- Phaedria on Thais: 48 - insolence, 71 - wickedness (false), 152 - bad behaviour (false); Parmeno on Thais: 79 - avarice (false), 361 - good looks, 927 - avarice (false); Chremes on Thais: 509 - cunning (false), 525 - audacity, 527 - age; Chaerea on Thais: 1051-1052 - good-will; Gnatho on Thais: 1075 - extravagance.

It should be noted that in those plays where the courtesans are the principal intriguers (Miles Gloriosus, Bacchides, Truculentus) the amount of description by others is markedly greater than in other plays.

e. Face-to-face description by others.

The descriptive comments used to the faces of the courtesans are often derogatory - made by disappointed lovers, impudent slaves, angry mothers. Sometimes they contain exaggerated

flattery, referring to the courtesan's looks or to her cunning in intrigue.

In Plautus we find:- Asinaria: Cleareta to Philaenium: 504, 509 - disobedience, 511 - talkativeness; Libanus to Philaenium: 642 - fastidiousness; Leonida to Philaenium: 674 - beauty and good-nature; Bacchides:- Pistoclerus to Bacchis and sister: 40-41 - evil habits, 55, 62-64 - deceitfulness. Nichobulus to Bacchis: 1171a-1173 - beauty and persuasiveness, 1176 - wickedness; Cistellaria:- Selenium to Gymnasium: 3-4, 20-21 - affection, 107 - goodwill; Procuress to Gymnasium: 49 - charm; Father to Gymnasium: 321 - seductress; Gymnasium to Selenium: 55-56 - neatness; Alcesimarchus to Selenium: 644 - preserver of his life; Menaechmi:- Menaechmus to Erotium: 202 - understanding nature; Mercator:- Lysimachus to Pasicompsa: 501, 540 - stupidity, 514 - wittiness, 517 - beauty, 521-522 - goodness and maturity; Miles Gloriosus:- Palaestrio to Philocomasium: 355 - lack of cunning (false); Sceledrus to Philocomasium: 423-424 - evil nature, 442 - wickedness; Pleusicles to Philocomasium: 1319 - common-sense; Pyrgopolynices to Philocomasium: 1320 - stupidity (false); Palaestrio to Acroteleutium: 1170 - beauty; Milphidippa to Acroteleutium: 1238 - beauty, 1250 - madness (false); Mostellaria:- Scapha to Philematium: 168 - charm, 173, 182, 251, 255, 259, 262-264 - beauty, 176, 187, 194, 208 - stupidity, 186-187 - shrewdness (flattery); Philolaches to

Philematium: 309 - freshness; Callidamates to Delphium: 323 - charm; Persa:- Toxilus to Lemniselenis: 770 - prettiness; Dordalus to Lemniselenis: 789-790, 798 - goodness (sarcasm); Truculentus:- Astaphium to Phronesium: 714 - charm; Strabax to Phronesium: 923 - prettiness; Stratophanes to Phronesium: 930 - prettiness and wittiness.

In Terence we have:- Hecyra:- Syra to Philotis: 74-75 - youth and prettiness; Parmeno to Philotis: 108 - powers of flattery; Laches to Bacchis: 763-764 - good behaviour; Pamphilus to Bacchis: 856 - helpfulness, 858 - charm; Eunuchus:- Parmeno to Thais: 122 - greed (false).

It will be seen that there is very little face-to-face characterisation of the 'meretrices' in Terence.

f. Description of character when she hears.

In some scenes there are descriptive comments which the character may or may not hear. The asides which are heard are few.

In Plautus:- Bacchides:- Philoxenus on Bacchis: 1169 - charm; Cistellaria:- Gymnasium on Selenium: 66 - state of her affections; Miles Gloriosus:- Pleusicles on Acroteleutium: 1156-1157 - cunning; Truculentus:- Stratophanes on Phronesium: 944 - promiscuity.

There are none in Terence.⁸⁶

g. Description of character when she does not hear.

Asides describing characters are more commonly not overheard.

86 . Terence tended to avoid the aside as violating dramatic probability.

In Plaut^us:- Bacchides:- Philoxenus on Bacchis: 1161-1162 - charm; Nicobulus on Bacchis: 1166-1167 - disgraceful behaviour and persuasiveness; Cistellaria:- Father on Gymnasium: 306 - beauty, 315 - charm and wit; Miles Gloriosus:- Pyrgopolynices on Acroteleutium: 1003 - daintiness, 1256 - capacity for divining, 1266 - fear; Palaestrio on Acroteleutium: 1259 - state of her affections; Milphidippa on Acroteleutium: 1272 - fear; Menaechmi:- Brush on Erotium: 193 - powers of flattery; Mostellaria:- Philolaches on Philematium: 161 - beauty, 206 - charm and modesty; Truculentus:- Diniarchus on Phronesium: 353-354 - freshness and beauty, 864 - frankness; Stratophanes on Phronesium: 542 - rapaciousness.

There are again none in Terence.

2. Contrast.

As with the 'matronae' contrast is extensively used in characterisation of the 'meretrices.' Perhaps the foremost example is the striking contrast between the mercenary, cold-blooded courtesan, Bacchis, and Antiphila, the gentle and affectionate 'virgo' in Heauton Timorumenos. This distinction is further emphasised by Clitipho contrasting Bacchis and Antiphila early in the play (220-227), followed by Syrus' description of Antiphila⁸⁷ (282-295) and of Bacchis (365-368).

87 . This description seems to have been closely modelled on Menander H.T. 142K.

In Cistellaria Gymnasium and the soulless Procuress set off effectively the finer qualities of Selenium. Philematium, in Mostellaria, appears almost polished in comparison with the coarser Delphium. The two courtesan sisters in Bacchides are, like the two sisters in Stichus, similar in general outline, but dissimilar in detail. Bacchis is a stronger personality than her sister. Thais (Eunuchus), in her scene with Pythias (817 ff.), is the angry overbearing mistress contrasted with the luckless servant. In Asinaria we have the affectionate quiet Philaenium contrasted with the angry girl she turns into at the end of the play.

There is, again, the contrast produced by false description, e.g. in Hecyra the early description of Bacchis (158-159) as mercenary and troublesome is not borne out by her future actions. In Eunuchus Thais is referred to as a grasping courtesan (927) and impudent (994), and this is not so. Menaechmus II in Menaechmi calls Erotium a stupid woman (440) simply because he does not understand the confusion that has arisen. In Miles Gloriosus Palaestrio says doubtfully that he fears Philocomasium may not be cunning enough (355) while the audience knows that she is remarkably astute. Scapha (Mostellaria) flatters Philematium by telling her she is "shrewd" (186-187) - an inaccuracy if there ever was one.

In Miles Gloriosus Philocomasium does not really love the soldier, though she has given him the impression that she does (1200 ff.). In the same play Palaestrio assures Pyrgopolynices

that Acroteleutium is weeping and in misery because of her love for him (1031 ff.) whereas this is not so. Phronesium in Truculentus sends a message to Diniarchus that she loves him truly (589-592), but she is interested only in the money she can obtain from him. Parmeno, in Eunuchus, contrasts the habits of courtesans when in the presence of their lovers with their habits when alone.

3. Repetition.

The technique of repetition proves its use in several plays. In Truculentus Phronesium's greed and cupidity are marked by the repetition of the successive despoiling of her three lovers. In Miles Gloriosus the repetition of Milphidippa's admiration of the soldier by Acroteleutium serves to emphasise the credulity and vanity of Pyrgopolynices. The repetition of seduction - first of the two sons, then of the fathers, stresses the money-making propensities of the two sisters in the Bacchides. In Mostellaria Philematium's constant enquiries as to her looks (166, 172, 254, 282) emphasise her vanity and superficiality.

The good looks of the 'meretrices' are often stressed in the plays, e.g. Asinaria 674; Cistellaria 306; Menaechmi 179-181; Mercator 19, 101; Miles Gloriosus 871; Mostellaria 161, 168, 173; Truculentus 714, 923, 930; Heauton Timorumenos 523; Hecyra 75. Pasicompsa's beauty (Mercator) is made clear by Demipho's reaction to his first sight of her. "His eyes nearly fell out of his head," says Acanthio succinctly (183).

succinctly (183).

The courtesans are accused of many faults, the primary one being their greed for money.⁸⁸ "Sans cesse elles tendent la main," says Legrand.⁸⁹ Honour, compassion, affection, do not exist for them in their predatory struggle for gain, e.g. Eunuchus 385, 927. I think it should be noted here that, although the courtesans are mercenary, this is due to a very real fear of becoming destitute in their old age. (Mostellaria 201-202; Cistellaria 40-41). With no husbands to provide for them, their future depends on how much they can garner while young and attractive. To do this they will stoop to any deception. Michaut writes⁹⁰ "La courtisane doit être après l'esclave le second agent de duperie." He remarks correctly that the courtesan's tricks are for her own benefit, and not, as in the case of the slave, for the young man. It is generally against the young man that her intrigues are directed:- "C'est lui, inexpérimenté, passionné, confiant, qu'elle doit attirer,

88 . See Lysiteles' diatribe against courtesans in Trinummus 242-255.

89 . P.E.Legrand, "Les 'Dialogues des Courtisanes' Comparés avec la Comédie," R.E.G. 20(1907) pp.176-231.

90 . G.Michaut, Plaute, Vol. 1, p.272. This is certainly accurate as five of Plautus' 'meretrices' (the two Bacchises in Bacchides, Philocomasium and Acroteleutium in M.G. and Phronesium in Truc.) and one of Terence's (Bacchis in H.T.) are all concerned in deception. In several cases they either assist, or are involved with, the 'servus Callidus'; Bacchis in H.T. conspires with Syrus; Philocomasium and Acroteleutium aid Palaestrio in his scheme. Bacchis and her sister (Bacchides) manage their own deception of the Senes, and Phronesium conducts her own schemes.

retenir, exploiter, et ruiner." Quite naturally the audience's sympathy is not with these harpies. At times her tricks are directed against older men, e.g. in Bacchides. "Choisir un vieillard pour dupe, rien n'est plus légitime," writes Michaut.⁹¹

The 'meretrices' are also accused of:- jealousy - Hecyra 159; Eunuchus 160-161; gluttony - Eunuchus 935-936, 939; Pseudolus 175; impudence - Eunuchus 994; Asinaria 939; Coquetry - Asinaria 775-778, 784; Bacchides 482; Miles Gloriosus 652; Heauton Timorumenos 563; cunning - M.G. 189-192; H.T. 366; Truculentus 26, 134; Bacchides 55; uncleanliness - Eunuchus 935, 937; unpunctuality - M.G. 1292; H.T. 239-240; extravagance⁹² - H.T. 227, 451-453, 457-460; Bacchides 373; cupidity - Truculentus 50-56, 169, 568-569, 760; Bacchides 372; intemperance - Pseudolus 183; Truculentus 312; vanity - Truc. 270-271.

Frequently, of course, these accusations are made by slaves who resent the fact that their master's goods are handed over to these women.

4. Significant Names.

The most common name found among the 'meretrices' is Bacchis. Terence uses this name in Heauton Timorumenos and Hecyra, and Plautus uses it in Bacchides where both sisters are named Bacchis. This name is derived from 'βάχχος' (Dionysus), and in its allusion to the Bacchic festivals was entirely

91 . G. Michaut, Plaute, Vol. 1, p. 277.

92 . See Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans: VII, 2.

appropriate for a 'meretrix.'⁹³ The two Bacchises in Plautus and Bacchis in Terence's H.T. conform to this interpretation. As for Bacchis in Hecyra, here is a case where emphasis is added by the name describing what the owner is not, rather than what she is. Bacchis is not the usual 'meretrix,' so her name accentuates the contrast.⁹⁴

Menander's Thais⁹⁵ perhaps set the fashion for names of courtesans, for the name has been a significant one since then. Austin⁹⁶ remarks that Thais was supposed to be the perfect embodiment of the 'hetaira.' But only one of the 'meretrices' in Roman comedy bears this name - Terence's Thais in Eunuchus.

Acroteleutium (M.G.) - 'ἄκρος' and 'τελευτή' can be read as 'the peak of perfection,' and this is doubtless a reference to her attractions. Erotium, the courtesan in Menaechmi, is called 'little love' ('έρώτιον'), again an appropriate name for one in her profession. Philematium (Mostellaria) - from 'φιλημάτιον' ('precious kiss') - is similarly called. Pasicompsa's name (Mercator) - 'pretty in the sight of all' - refers to her beauty.⁹⁷ Selenium (Cistellaria) is named for her looks - 'σελήνιον' - light of the moon. Lemniselenis (Persa) derives from the same word. Philocomasium's name (M.G.) is a reference to her appearance -

93 . Cf. Bacchides, 53, 371.

94 . J.C.Austin, The Significant Name in Terence, p.89.

95 . Based on Thais, the mistress of Alexander the Great, who, after his death, married Ptolemy I of Egypt.

96 . J.C.Austin, op. cit. p.110.

97 . Merc. 517.

'φίλος' and 'κομάο' - 'one who loves to let the hair grow long.' Philaenium, in Asinaria, loves to attract attention - hence 'praise-lover' ('φιλέω' and 'αἶνος'). Phronesium (Truculentus) is derived from 'φρόνησις' - 'thought,' and apparently refers to its owner's general shrewdness and cunning. Philotis, a typical name for a courtesan, derives again from 'φίλος.' Chrysis, from 'χρυσός' - 'gold,' possibly refers to this courtesan's kind heart and generosity.

It might be noted that Athenaeus⁹⁸ mentions that certain names (e.g. of revered festivals) were forbidden to prostitutes and women of slave class.

Metre

As with Plautus' 'matronae' his 'meretrices' favour trochaic septenarii (317) to be followed by iambic septenarii (150) and then 119 lines of lyric metre. Terence reverts to his most common metre, iambic senarii (163), with 51 lines of iambic septenarii and 44 of trochaic septenarii.

In conclusion, Terence viewed the 'meretrices' with a kindlier eye than Plautus. If Plautus' 'meretrices' are not actually intriguing despoilers (Phronesium, Bacchis, Acroteleutium) they are merely young affectionate girls (Philaenium, Philematium). They have neither the maturity nor the breadth of Terence's Thais (Eunuchus) and Bacchis (Hecyra). Plautus' most unprepossessing courtesans are concerned only with their own interests. The better ones are good to their lovers and to members of their own profession,

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98 . Ath. XIII, 587.

e.g. in the Cistellaria. But in Terence the 'meretrix' has shown that she can develop the qualities of generosity and kindness towards other sections of society, e.g. Thais' aid to the young girl, Pamphila (Eunuchus), and Bacchis' (Hecyra) interest in Philumena's welfare.

I would suggest, too, that Terence, in his passion for Greece, disliked the commonly accepted picture of the mercenary courtesan. In his first play Andria, he introduced Chrysis who was depicted as a good, kindly woman, although he ^{would} ~~did~~ not ^{have} ~~ventured~~ to bring her on stage. In his next play, Hecyra, he threw overboard all his misgivings and created Bacchis - a fine character in spite of her profession.⁹⁹ This, however, added to other innovations, was too much for the Roman audience, and the play was a failure. Two years later Terence produced the Heauton Timorumenos, and here, after the shock and disappointment of the Hecyra's rejection, he reverted to the rapacious, extravagant courtesan that the audience expected and enjoyed. But Terence still had at the back of his mind the notion that a courtesan could be a normal human being with virtues as well as vices; and so we have Thais in Eunuchus - a kindly, well-intentioned woman. Perhaps Terence thought his luck ought not to be pushed too far, for Phormio has no 'meretrix.' The Hecyra was again presented in 160 B.C., and

99 . T.Frank remarks that a century earlier Terence would not have dared to present Bacchis like this. - Life and Literature in the Roman Republic, p.83

again failed. Adelphi too is without a 'meretrix' - whether due to the second failure of Hecyra or not is open to question.

Croce¹⁰⁰ thinks that this attitude to the courtesans is due to Terence's sensitivity to his fellow-creatures:- "Si direbbe che Terenzio non ammetta nell' uomo radicale cattiveria, e che gli repugni escludere creature umane dalla cerchia dell' umanità." Terence had a passionate sympathy for his fellow-men, and nowhere does this manifest itself more strongly than in his pictures of the 'meretrices.'

100 . B.Croce, "Intorno alle commedie di Terenzio," La Critica 34 (1936), pp. 401-423.

CHAPTER III.

Ancillae and Nutrices.

Slavery was accepted from the earliest times as a necessity in the social and economic side of Greek life. The slaves came from various sources. Kidnapping was rife in the Mediterranean¹ and many children were sold into slavery (e.g. Planesium in Curculio.) War captives, again, provided many slaves (cf. Captivi 24-25), and the Thracians, indeed, sold their children for slave export.² The exposure of infants³ was another, but very minor, source of slaves.

Slaves were owned by people in comparatively humble circumstances.⁴ In Adelphi Sostrata is in poor circumstances financially, but she has in her household a nurse and a male slave. A.H.M. Jones⁵ has computed that in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. in Athens the total slave population was approximately 20,000 slaves, of which 10,000 were domestic servants. Finley,⁶ however, disagrees with this and thinks

1 . Isocrates IV, 115; cf. XVII, 36.

2 . Herodotus V, 6.

3 . Exposure of infants. See Men. Epitrepontes 28; Aristotle (Pol. VII, 14, 10) says exposure was countenanced. See also Pliny, Epist. ad Traianum, 65 f.

4 . Dem. XXIV, 197.

5 . A.H.M. Jones, "Slavery in the Ancient World," Economic History Review, Second Series, 9 (1956) pp. 185-199.

6 . M.I. Finley, "Was Greek Civilisation Based on Slave Labour?" Historia 8 (1959), pp. 145-164.

the total estimate too low.

In Italy slavery was common during the last two centuries of the Republic. Owing to the constant wars many thousands of prisoners came on to the market. Piracy flourished and provided another source of slaves. The majority of Roman households had their quota of domestics or labourers.

We know, as far back as Homer⁷, that the slave's master had complete control over him or her to the point of life or death. Abuse, or lack of it, depended solely on the particular owner.⁸ Whipping was the most common punishment for slaves.⁹ Ballio in Pseudolus threatens Phoenicium with a whipping (229), and Philematium in Mostellaria uses the same threat to Scapha (240). Gallicles' maid (Truculentus) has received a flogging before her entry. Old Staphyla (Aulularia) asks why she is beaten (42). We might note, however, that these punishments are never carried out on stage.¹⁰

The economic value of the slave protected him to some extent from cruel treatment, but he was altogether his master's property.¹¹ This state of affairs prevailed in Rome too,¹² and

7 . Iliad XXIII, 174-176.

8 . W.L.Westermann, The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity, (Philadelphia, 1955) Ch. 1.

9 . Dem. XXII, 55, comments on a slave punished by a whipping, whereas a free man is fined for the same offence.

10. G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.290. Whipping occurred on the stage in Old Comedy, e.g. Aristophanes, Frogs, but it is not known to have taken place on the stage in New Comedy.

11. Plato, Laws VI, 777D; IX, 865D.

12. F.Schultz, Principles of Roman Law (Tr. M.Wolff, Clarendon, 1936), p.28. Cf. Gaius, Inst. I, 53.

it is apparent that here slaves were more harshly treated than at Athens.¹³

There are sixteen 'ancillae' and 'nutrices' in the twenty plays of Plautus, and eight in Terence's six plays. In Plautus there are:- Bromia (Amphitruo); Staphyla (Aulularia); Pardalisca (Casina); Halisca (Cistellaria); Leaena (Curculio); a maid (Menaechmi); Syra (Mercator); Milphidippa (Miles Gloriosus); Scapha (Mostellaria); Sophoclidisca (Persa); Gidē^dna^s and a maid (Poenulus); Crocotium and Stephanium (Stichus); Astaphium and a maid (Truculentus). In Terence we have:- Mysis (Andria); Phrygia and a nurse (Heauton Timorumenos); Sophrona (Eunuchus); Pythias and Dorias (also Eunuchus); Sophrona (Phormio); Canthara (Adelphi).

These 'ancillae' and 'nutrices' fall into three groups:- (1) the old family retain^ed who generally assists in the recognition of the long-lost daughter, e.g. the nurse in Heauton Timorumenos; (2) the intriguing maid who assists in the plays of deception, e.g. Milphidippa in Miles Gloriosus; (3) the maid who is an ordinary household slave and is of little importance in the action, e.g. Crocotium in Stichus.

A. Characterisation by speech and action.

1. 'Nutrices fideles.'

The old family servant was not uncommon in Greece. She

¹³ . Revolt of slaves in Italy punished by crucifixion. See Pauly-Wissowa, R.E.⁴, 1728.

might have been born on the estate¹⁴ or else bought as a young child. Slaves of long service in Athens were customarily leniently treated,¹⁵ and possibly the loyalty of the elderly nurses in the comedies was due to this factor.¹⁶ Their work was that of foster-mother,¹⁷ or simply looking after the children of the household.¹⁸

In the group comprising old family servants Plautus has three:- Gidēnais (Poenulus), Syra (Mercator), and Staphyla (Aulularia).

The Poenulus¹⁹ is not one of Plautus' most attractive comedies. It is overlong and apt to drag. Lyco, a slave-dealer, owns two sisters, Adelphasium and Anterastilis, who were stolen in early childhood, together with their nurse. Agorastocles, also stolen away in his youth, is in love with Adelphasium, but has no money to buy her. His slave, Milphio, plots against the 'leno' to compel him to surrender his property including the girls. Milphio succeeds in his deception, but then discovers that the girls are free-born citizens. At this

14 . Children of a slave father and slave mother were slaves; but in Greece children of a master by a slave mistress were free, whereas at Rome the child of a slave mistress was necessarily a slave. See J.W.Jones, Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks (Clarendon Press, 1956), p.282. At Rome slavery by birth depended on the status of the mother - Gaius Institutes I, 82.

15 . Plato, Rep. VIII, 563B; Dem. Phil. III, 3; Cf. Stichus 447-450.

16 . Odyssey XIX, 467-475.

17 . Inscriptiones Graecae, Ed. minor, 2 (i) 1553-1378.

18 . Plato, Lysis 208.

19 . The original is the Carchedonios, possibly by Menander.

point Hanno, the Carthaginian, arrives. Milphio now plans a second intrigue in which Hanno is to claim the girls as his daughters. As we might expect, this turns out to be an actual fact, and Hanno is recognised by Giddenis, the nurse, as the father of her charges. Agorastocles is found to be Hanno's long-lost nephew, and marries Adelphasium.

Giddenis plays a small but essential part in the plot, for she is the instrument of recognition. The audience is told several times that she was stolen with the girls from Magara (86, 898, 1105).²⁰ Then, when Hanno arrives and Milphio induces him to aid in his deception of Lycus, Hanno begins to hope that the two girls held by Lycus may be his daughters. He enquires what the nurse looks like, and we have from Milphio a picture of a pleasant-looking, short, plump woman with dark eyes and a rather sallow complexion (1112-1113).

Hanno, overcome with excitement, urges Milphio to fetch her at once, and Giddenis enters from the house, asking what Milphio wants. No sooner does she set eyes on Hanno than she breaks into exclamations of delight and thankfulness. Her fondness for her charges is evident from her reference to them as "mearum alumnarum" (1123). She clings to her master's hand and nearly breaks down as she confesses she had never hoped to see him again - "Hanno insperatissime" (1127). And one can only guess at the misery and fear she has undergone in the past years trying to guard and look after her charges.

20 . Magara - an area in Carthage.

She tells Hanno he has arrived just in time to save his daughters from a life of prostitution (1138-1139). It would not have been in her power to prevent this, however much she cared for the girls.

Suddenly she is greeted by the slave-boy with Hanno, and recognises him as her son. She embraces him fervently until Hanno orders:- "tace atque parce muliebri supellectili" (1145). There is no further speech from Giddenis, and shortly afterwards she is sent indoors by Hanno. It has been only a short appearance, but we have learned that she is a kind woman who is devoted to her nurslings.

Staphyla, the family retainer in Aulularia, has no functional part in the plot. She is the nurse and guardian of Euclio's daughter, but her principal role is to define the character of the miserly Euclio even more clearly.

When she first appears, pushed roughly out of doors by Euclio,²¹ we see a wretched, downtrodden old woman whose miseries are more than she can bear. Euclio shouts at her to go outside, and she whimpers abjectly:- "nam qur me miseram verberas?" (42). She is quite bewildered at being ejected from the house, but Euclio refuses to explain and still shouts at her to be off:-

"si hercle hodie fustem cepero aut stimulum in manum,
testudineum istum tibi ego grandibo gradum" (48-49).

21 . Cf. Euclio's treatment of Staphyla with Knemon's treatment of Simike in Menander's Dyskolos.

Poor Staphyla, "stimulorum seges" (45) has reached the limits of her endurance.

"utinam me divi adaxint ad suspendium
potius quidem quam hoc pacto apud te serviam" (50-51), she moans. She stands shivering and shaking on the spot where Euclio has ordered her to remain. The old woman knows nothing of the gold hidden in the house, although Euclio fears she may have discovered it. Euclio hurries off inside, and Staphyla sobs helplessly to herself. And now to add to her unhappiness

"neque iam quo pacto celem erilis filiae
probrum, propinqua partitudo quoui appetit,
queo comminisci" (75-76).

It is obvious that she has failed to look after her charge as she should, and the only thing left for her to do is to hang herself (77-78).

Euclio returns, having found his gold to be safe, and orders Staphyla to return to her work. But a spark of rebellion flares in Staphyla:- "quippini?
ego intus servem? an ne quis aedis auferat?" (81-82). No-one, she says contemptuously, will go inside for there is nothing to steal save cobwebs.

The half-crazed Euclio leaves her instructions not to lend water, tools, or fire. Even if Good Fortune comes, she is not to be admitted. Staphyla's bitter retort to this is:-

"pol ea ipsa credo ne intro mittatur cavet,
nam ad aedis nostras nusquam adiit quaquam prope" (101-102).

At last she goes indoors, and Euclio departs to fetch his money from the guild.

the guild.

On Euclio's return he calls to Staphyla that he has arranged for his daughter to be married on that very day. Staphyla at first is overjoyed:- "di bene vortant" (272), she exclaims; but suddenly she realises that now Phaedria's pregnancy will inevitably be discovered. She is overcome with despair again - "nunc nobis prope adest exitium, mihi atque erili filiae" (275), and finally totters off indoors to prepare the sacrificial vessels as Euclio has ordered. The spectators may have wondered why Staphyla did not take some decisive action towards helping her nursling, but Staphyla is too old, too tired, too beaten-down to question Fate's decisions.

When Strobilus knocks at the door, bringing the cooks and the food for the wedding, she is reluctant to open it, knowing well what Euclio's reaction will be if she admits anyone. Strobilus becomes impatient, but Staphyla remarks stolidly that it is no use taking the cooks and food indoors as there is no wood for the fire. Congrio, the cook, answers indifferently:- "sunt asseres?" (357). This rouses Staphyla to indignation (359-361), but Strobilus insists on entering, and Staphyla finally leads the way indoors.

Staphyla does not appear on stage again, but Lyconides, the young man who has violated Phaedria, informs us that "ea (Staphyla) rem novit" (807). This we have already learned, but it emphasises the fact that Staphyla has the girl's confidence.

confidence.

Staphyla is one of Plautus' most pathetic characters, and a pitiful example of the straits to which an old and neglected slave might be reduced.²²

Syra, in the Mercator, is also elderly - "annos octoginta et quattuor" (673), she tells us. But she suffers from the scoldings of a harsh mistress instead of a cruel master.

Dorippa, coming on stage, calls back impatiently to old Syra to hurry up; the old woman staggers on to the stage, bent almost double under the load she is carrying. One would expect a woman to have a certain amount of sympathy with an older woman, but this is not the case with Dorippa. Syra pants out that she cannot hurry with her heavy burden. "What burden?" asks Dorippa callously (673).

"annos octoginta et quattuor;
et eodem accedit servitus, sudor, sitis.
simul haec quae porto deprimunt" (673-675), answers

Syra wearily - a reply that would have roused any reasonable mistress to pity. But Dorippa merely seizes a branch of laurel from Syra for the altar, and the old woman hobbles slowly away indoors.

She has not been inside more than a few seconds when she shuffles out again as fast as possible, crying aloud:- "disperii,

22 . According to the law slaves had no feelings or dignity. In Plato, Laws 868A, the penalty for murdering a slave in anger was merely the payment of twice the slave's value to the owner.

perii misera, vae miserae mihi!" (681). Dorippa demands to know what the matter is, but Syra, hysterical with shock, can only repeat her mistress' name (683). Eventually she manages to stammer out that there is a woman in the house - a courtesan. Syra has already forgotten Dorippa's unkindness, and now she says approvingly:- "nimium scis sapere ruri quae non manseris" (686).

And Dorippa, in this crisis, forgets that Syra is a slave. Both women unite against a common threat - the much-disliked 'meretrix.' In words that must have made the audience shake with laughter, Syra cries:- "i hac mecum, ut videas semul
tuam Alcumenam paelicem, Iuno mea" (689-690).

In spite of Dorippa's harshness to her, Syra is a loyal servant. Any threat of danger to her mistress immediately brings her to her side. And when Dorippa, determined not to condone her husband's misdeeds any longer, sends for her father (787), Syra goes willingly to fetch him in spite of her tired old legs.

She returns on stage, not having found Dorippa's father, and is about to go into the house when Eutyclus, Dorippa's son, enters. Here, in Eutyclus, is probably the reason for Syra's loyalty to the family, for she addresses him as "alumnule" - foster-child (809). We infer from this that she has looked after Eutyclus since he was a baby. Syra immediately tells him of Lysimachus' shocking behaviour. Again, Syra's support for Dorippa and antagonism to Lysimachus should be noticed. "pater bellissimus" (812), she says sarcastically. Eutyclus

vanishes indoors, agog to see what is happening.

Syra, left alone on stage, commences an extraordinary monody in which she complains bitterly of the 'double standard' of morality for men and women²³ (817-829). Men are not punished for having mistresses, but women are divorced merely for going out of the house without a husband's knowledge. This moralising is not usual from a slave - presumably they had more material worries. It would have been more understandable on the lips of a 'matrona.' Possibly, however, Syra feels the indignity her mistress is suffering reflects on her too. Having spoken her mind, she disappears indoors and does not re-enter.

Syra, though her life is hard, is in better case than Staphyla, and one can only hope that Eutychus, now he has returned, will smooth her path as much as possible.

There are elderly 'nutrices' in four of Terence's plays, and in three of these (Heauton Timorumenos, Eunuchus, Phormio) the nurse is used for the purpose of recognition.

In Heauton Timorumenos the nurse plays so small a part that there is little to be said about her. She is used solely for the purpose of recognising the ring that Sostrata had given to be exposed with her baby daughter. Now when Antiphila is brought into the house, and hands Sostrata the ring while she bathes, the mother of course recognises it. She calls in the

23 . M.Cato, "On the Dowry" - quoted by Aul. Gell. X, 5. "If you take your wife in adultery you may kill her, but if you should commit adultery, she may not lay a finger on you, nor does the law allow it."

nurse to verify her hopes. The latter immediately confirms that the ring is the same one (616) and assures Sostrata that she has looked very carefully at it (617). Obviously she has been with the family some considerable time, and from the fact that Sostrata affectionately calls her "mea nutrix" (617), it seems that this old retainer is more fortunate than Staphyla or Syra, for she has a good mistress.

The nutrix (Sophrona) in Eunuchus plays a similar part - small, but vital, for she is the only one who can confirm, by means of the tokens, that Pamphila is Chremes' sister. We are told twice that the nurse will recognise the proofs (807-808, 892). In this last comment we learn that Sophrona was actually Pamphila's foster-nurse. Then Sophrona herself enters, urged on by Chremes, who wearies of her slow pace (910-913), due no doubt to her old age. Sophrona herself does not acknowledge that she recognises the tokens; Chremes merely assures Pythias that this is so, and Sophrona limps off indoors.

We have a clearer impression of Sophrona, the nutrix in 'Phormio.' Geta mentions her first (97-99) when he speaks of the old woman who had helped Phanium with the funeral arrangements. This is Phanium's nurse, who has a high sense of duty and has made the girl a good guardian. Geta tells Davus that his master, Antipho, who has fallen in love with Phanium, is not allowed to see her unless he makes her his wife:-

"Illa (the nurse) enim se negat
neque eum aequom facere ait" (113-114).

When Sophrona herself appears on stage she is in great

distress. Antipho, on the pretence of being Phanium's nearest kinsman,²⁴ has married the girl and now Sophrona fears retribution from Antipho's father who has returned from abroad. One can understand the poor woman's anxiety. "quem mi amicum inveniam misera?" (728) she asks. She has had to struggle alone with the problem of Phanium's future, and now, although she has acted for the best, difficulties threaten on all sides. Yet her first thought is for Phanium. "nam vereor era ne ob meum suasum indigne iniuria adficiatur," (730) she moans, wringing her hands. And then, not seeing Chremes, she continues with her outcry:- "quod ut facerem egestas me impulit" (733). She knew the marriage could be proved invalid,²⁵ but she had taken the step to keep Phanium from starving.

Now she bewails the fact that they cannot find Phanium's father anywhere, although they had come from Lemnos to look for him. But Chremes suddenly recognises Sophrona as his daughter's nurse, and speaks to her. Sophrona calls out in great surprise:- "di obsecro vos, estne hic Stilpo?" (740). This was the name Chremes had used when he lived with Phanium's mother on ~~Lesbos~~^{Lemnos}. Chremes at first denies the name vigorously, but then tip-toes stealthily away from his door, beckoning Sophrona to come with him. He explains that he has a bad-

24 . The nearest agnate could claim marriage with a fatherless girl through 'ἐπιδικασία' - Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks, J.W.Jones, p.179. See Dem. XLVI, 22.

25 . Consent of young man's father always necessary. This applied in Rome too. See F.Schultz, Principles of Roman Law, p.200.

tempered wife, and called himself Stilpo so that no suspicions should be aroused. "em istoc pol nos te hic invenire miserae nunquam potuimus" (747), says Sophrona reproachfully, thinking of all the misery Chremes' deceitfulness has caused. Chremes learns that his daughter is still alive, but that the mother has died of grief.

Now Sophrona is no longer able to control her agitation, and pours out the whole story to Chremes, hoping that his wrath will not be too terrible:-

" ego autem, quae essem anus deserta egens ignota,
ut potui nuptum virginem locavi huic adulescenti
harum qui est dominus aedium" (751-753).

Chremes can scarcely believe this at first, but is delighted when he realises that Phanium has actually married the man he wished (758-759). But Sophrona's fears are not completely allayed - Antipho's father is said to be very angry. Chremes intimates that she may expect no difficulty from this source, and then warns Sophrona not to let anyone know the facts of the matter. Sophrona, who is a sensible and discreet woman, reassures him:- "nemo e me scibit" (765), and then follows Chremes indoors to hear the rest of the story.

Sophrona has more force of character than Terence's other 'nutrices' and is certainly more clearly depicted. She, too, is a necessary adjunct to the plot, for it is she whom Chremes recognises, and so discovers where his lost daughter is.

There is no 'recognition' in the Adelphi, so Canthara, the nurse, is not essential for this purpose. She serves merely

as a contrast to her mistress, Sostrata. The first scene between the two women is a good example of this. Pamphila is about to bear her child, and Sostrata's agitation is pitiful. But Canthara applies brisk common-sense to brace Sostrata's failing spirits.

"quid fiet, rogas?
recte edepol spero" (288-289) she says forthrightly, and then a little impatiently:- "iam nunc times, quasi nunquam adfueris, nunquam tute pepereris?" (290). Sostrata continues to bewail her loneliness and helplessness, but Canthara maintains a cheerful attitude, assuring her that Aeschinus will arrive shortly. And she adds, in mild reproof:- "e re nata melius fieri haud potuit quam factumst" (295). Her outlook is extremely practical - since the girl has been ravished, what a good thing it was by such a fine young man of good family! (296-297).

At this point Geta, the slave, enters, greatly disturbed and reviling Aeschinus and his household. Sostrata again falls into a state of perturbation, but Canthara calmly suggests that they should approach Geta and find out exactly what he means. Geta, hurrying on his way, is recalled, and Canthara, the only unruffled one of the three, says soothingly:-

"quid festinas, mi Geta?
animam recipe" (323-324).

The slave recovers his breath, and relates the whole fearful story - Aeschinus has begun an affair with another woman. He wonders whether they should tolerate this, or seek help from

someone else. Canthara is horrified at this.

"au, au, mi homo, sanun es?
an hoc proferendum tibi videtur esse?" (336-337)

she exclaims. We have already remarked on the change in Sostrata when her child is threatened, and now she is the stronger of the two women. She over-rides Canthara's objections (343) and proposes to take the matter to law. When Canthara realises that Sostrata is determined, she raises no further objections, and goes off, on Sostrata's orders, to fetch the midwife.

Canthara is portrayed as a kindly sensible woman, who looks on the bright side. However, we all know how depressing it is to live with an optimist, and this may partly explain Sostrata's melancholy.

2. 'Ancillae Callidae.'

The 'ancillae' were used mainly for household duties or as ladies' maids. In the country the life of the female slave seems to have been harder. Pasicompsa (Mercator), bought as a slave by Lysimachus, warns that she does not know how to carry heavy loads or look after sheep (508-509). In the Adelphi the furious Demea threatens a very unpleasant life on the farm to the deceitful music-girl. He will see that she cooks and grinds corn till she is covered with ashes. She will have to reap corn in the hot sun till she is burnt black (846-849).

When we come to the intriguing 'ancillae'²⁶ it will be noted that among these there are three who play an important part, and all occur in the plays of Plautus:- Astaphium (Truculentus), Milphidippa (Miles Gloriosus), Pardalisca (Casina). The first two of these are the servants of courtesans, and it is perhaps natural that they should become impregnated with the deceitfulness of their mistresses. They are loyal, according to their own light, because in each case the maid aids and abets her mistress against one of the opposite sex.

Astaphium (Truculentus) is fully as mercenary and grasping as her mistress, Phronesium. Diniarchus in his opening monologue, says meaningly:- "cum ea quoque etiam mihi fuit commercium" (94). The word 'commercium' certainly indicates some financial transaction, and one might perhaps infer that Diniarchus has at one time been Astaphium's lover as well.

Astaphium enters, calling back to those inside the house²⁷ to beware that their clients do not steal anything (95-98). She then turns to the audience and says brazenly with a loud laugh:- "at ecastor nos rusum lepide referimu' gratiam furibu' nostris:
nam ipsi vident quom eorum agerimus bona atque etiam
ultro ipsi aggerunt ad nos" (107-111).

26 . Ath. VI, 264C says "for there is nothing sound in a slave's soul and no-one in his senses ought to trust them in anything."

27 . M. Johnston in Exits and Entrances in Roman Comedy (Geneva, 1933) says that conversation with someone left inside gives an air of naturalness to the conversation, and "connects visible action on stage with invisible action within."

Money and material possessions are Astaphium's sole interest, and she does not care who knows it.

When she starts on her way to fetch an unknown "eum" (114) she is recalled by Diniarchus (already on stage). She is most unwilling to listen to the voice behind her, and even when Diniarchus tempts her with 'multa bona' she merely says "dato, si esse vis" (117-118).

This would seem quite out of character in Astaphium, but she knows well that this is Diniarchus' voice, and that Phronesium has already mulcted him of his property. It is unlikely that he has anything left to give. So, without bothering to turn round, she calls to him to stop annoying her (119). "pessuma, mane" (120) snarls Diniarchus, hoarse with rage. "optime, odio es" (121), Astaphium flings back at him.

At last Astaphium realises she will have to speak to this man so, turning suddenly, she greets him with well-assumed surprise. As she is an excellent actress, Diniarchus is quite taken in, and even when Astaphium with mock courtesy says:- "tuis servio atque audiens sum imperiis" (125), he does not perceive the insolence behind the phrase. But when she tells him she is going to fetch the midwife, Diniarchus (who has overheard her former conversation with someone in the house) loses his temper. "mala tu femina es, oles unde es disciplinam" (131), he fulminates, "manifesto mendaci, mala, teneo te" (132). Astaphium tries to escape this accusation. "quid iam, amabo?" she enquires brightly. "Because you said 'him,' not 'her'," (133) growls Diniarchus. He demands to know who Phronesium's

new lover is. Astaphium avoids this by changing the subject, and taxing Diniarchus with having too much leisure because he is always interfering in other people's affairs (137).

An unseemly wrangle now develops in which Diniarchus explains that his leisure is due to the fact that he no longer has any property left to keep him occupied. Phronesium and Astaphium have robbed him of it. In a series of swift verbal exchanges, using farming as an analogy, the two bicker over Diniarchus' position.

Astaphium wearies of these sallies and cuts the whole matter short with:- "tu a nobis sapiens nihil habes; nos nequam aps te habeamus" (161). Diniarchus remarks bitterly that this was not the way she spoke when he had money. But Astaphium is completely callous, and with a shrug says "You only bring complaints to your mistress now" (167). Then, in another of her apt similes, she offers:- "amator similest oppidi hostilis" (170), and follows it up with:- "quam primum expugnari potis (est), tam id optimum est amicae" (171).

But what a change of voice and attitude occur in Astaphium when Diniarchus mentions that he still has land and houses. She urges him inside:- "qur, opsecro, ergo ante ostium pro ignoto alienoque astas?" (175). She is sweet and enticing, and places a coaxing hand on his arm. Diniarchus is not deceived - "dicta lingua dulcia dati', corde amara facitis" (180), he protests. And then grudgingly, in reply to Astaphium's flattery, he admits:- "mala es atque eadem quae

soles inlecebra" (184). It is he alone whom Phronesium loves, continues Astaphium dramatically. Diniarchus longs to hear this, but he knows in his heart that this welcome is due solely to the property he still retains. He goes inside to wait while Phronesium has her bath.

Astaphium, left alone on stage, is doubled up with laughter. Diniarchus has again fallen into the trap, and she and Phronesium will acquire the rest of his property. This remarkable monody²⁸ of Astaphium's (209-254) contains the very distillation of the courtesan's creed, and conveys at the same time an extraordinary sense of evil (224-230). We know courtesans are mercenary; it is to be expected. But this overpowering rapacity is inhuman.

"nam ecastor nunquam sati' dedit suae quisquam amicae
neque pol nos satis accepimus neque unquam ulla sati' ^{amator,}
^{poposcit}" (239-240),
she states. Finally she adds, looking towards the house of Strabax, that courtesans ought always to be alert for new lovers with fresh treasures. Strabax - "nimi' pol mortalis lepidus nimi'que probu'dator" (247) - has visited them last night, and she is determined to see him again. However, she is a little uncertain about his slave, Truculentus - "unus servus violentissimus" (250).

28 . Four monodies in Truculentus are devoted to the theme of the courtesan's profession. Astaphium sings two of them. All except this one (a link monologue) are entrance monologues. This monody consists of a number of lyric metres and is the only monody in Plautus preceded by iambic septenarii. These are repeated later within the monody.

violentissumus" (250).

She knocks at the door, and Truculentus bursts out angrily. The scene between Astaphium and Truculentus demonstrates clearly that her physical attractions are considerable. She knows this well, for almost her first words to Truculentus are:- "respice ad me" (257). But Truculentus is not to be caught so easily. He roars at her savagely - "inpudens" (263), and threatens to trample on her (268), trying to conceal the fact that he is fascinated by her appearance, her cloak, and her bracelets.

Astaphium is quick to perceive this, and pretends she enjoys his rudeness:- "nunc places, quom mi inclementer dicis" (273). Truculentus, at this flattery, seizes her hand, but this from a country clown (probably none too clean) is too much for Astaphium. "ne attigas me" (276), she says pettishly. Truculentus drops her hand, and shouts that he would rather spend the night with a cow than with her. He demands again to know what she wants.

Astaphium cleverly extracts from him the information that there are no women at his house at the moment. But here Truculentus feels his resistance weakening again, and bawls at her to go away. He looks at her hair, curled and perfumed (287-288), and her rosy-painted cheeks (290), and is filled with anguish because she looks so desirable; but he knows she is not for him, and he knows, too, that under the seductive exterior Astaphium is a harsh, calculating machine.

When Truculentus refers to her rouged face, Astaphium

protests. "Erubui mecastor" (291), she explains, although obviously there is nothing that could bring a blush to her cheeks. The slave now accuses Phronesium and Astaphium of ruining his master's son, Strabax. "dicis contumeliam" (299), says Astaphium briskly. His accusations leave her quite unmoved. Truculentus realises this, and grumbling about the waste of his master's money, he goes off to the forum to tell him about it.

Astaphium heaves a sigh of relief. Truculentus is proving a tougher proposition than she anticipated:-

"verum ego illum, quamquam violentust, spero immutari potis blandimentis, hortamentis, ceteris meretriciis (317-318).

She adds vindictively that she has seen wild animals tamed before now.²⁹

Then Diniarchus comes on stage, dejected because Phronesium is still bathing. He urges Astaphium to call her for him, and after a final piece of impudence (333-334) Astaphium goes into her house.

When Astaphium reappears it is in order to attend to Phronesium who is lying on a couch, pretending she has just given birth to the soldier's child. Astaphium hurriedly whispers to her that the soldier, Stratophanes, is approaching. "nunc tibi opust aegram ut te adsimules" (500), she urges her mistress, only to receive a sharp rebuke³⁰ equivalent to "don't

29 . This is probably the sense, although the Bembine MS has a page missing at this point, and the line is corrupt in the other MSS.

30 . Isocrates, Archidamus 97, refers to "present-day licence of speech by slaves."

teach your grandmother to suck eggs" (501).

Down stage Astaphium welcomes Stratophanes, and proceeds to put him into a good humour by the intentionally absurd statement that his baby son demanded weapons the moment he was born (506). Stratophanes is delighted at this, and Astaphium adds flatteringly "nimium tui similest" (507). She leads the soldier over to Phronesium's couch, and then listens gleefully to her mistress outwitting the unfortunate Stratophanes. Finally, on Phronesium's instructions, she reluctantly leaves this enjoyable scene and takes inside the two Syrian maids Stratophanes has brought.

Astaphium's greed is again evinced when Cyamus brings further gifts from Diniarchus. Cyamus, against Astaphium's wishes, retains the vessels in which he has brought the gifts, and she accuses him of impertinence. Cyamus retaliates with the abusive phrase "stabulum flagiti" (587), and the argument is only cut short by Phronesium.

When Astaphium next meets Truculentus he is less aggressive. Her attraction for him is overwhelming, and Astaphium recognises his first words "nimio minu' saevos iam sum" (673) as a plea for her attention. Her first action is to ascertain that he has the necessary cash (679-680), and on Truculentus showing her his purse, she welcomes him enthusiastically:- "sequere intro me, amabo, mea voluptas" (687).

Coming out of her house again, she calls back to Phronesium to attend to her own business inside, and she will see to matters

outside (711). Astaphium cannot put two sentences together without the money motif entering into it, and now she advises:- "ama, id quod decet, rem tuam: istum exinani" (712). Strabax is to be completely ruined, and she will keep guard so that no-one comes to interfere before Phronesium has obtained all she can.

But now Diniarchus (who has been listening to her speech down-stage) appears, much to Astaphium's annoyance (721). She vindictively determines to make him as miserable as possible, and informs him jauntily that Phronesium has come across a new and untouched treasure house (725). She adds spitefully:- "animo bono male <rem> gerit," (728) - a hint to Diniarchus as to his own behaviour. Ignoring this, Diniarchus grumbles about how badly he has been treated, until Astaphium loses her patience with him. "stultus es qui facta infecta facere verbis postules" (730), she observes. Diniarchus asks again to be admitted - after all he has sent provisions to Phronesium that morning and five minae of silver. Astaphium laughs at him:- "de eo nunc bene sunt tua virtute" (741), and laughs even more when the wretched Diniarchus rages at the thought of his rival, the soldier, enjoying the food he has sent. "Stultu's" (743), repeats Astaphium, wondering how any man can be such a fool.

Diniarchus now begs for a half-share in the provisions, but Astaphium callously brushes this aside, and tells him:- "nam item ut Accherunti hic <apud nos> ratio accepti scribitur"

(749) - an apt simile, perhaps. She turns to go inside, but the frantic Diniarchus catches her arm, demanding admittance. Astaphium is adamant. She pretends that she heard Phronesium calling her, and slips suddenly indoors, leaving Diniarchus on stage where, for a few minutes, he behaves like a madman in his anger.

In the scene where Phronesium begs Diniarchus to leave his child with her for a few days in order to deceive the soldier, Astaphium stands by, cynically watching as Diniarchus is lured into meeting Phronesium's wishes. Diniarchus departs, and Astaphium warns Phronesium that Stratophanes is approaching. Phronesium welcomes the news and immediately proceeds to show Stratophanes how angry she is with him. Astaphium supports this attack:- "*merito ecastor tibi suscenset*" (898). The bewildered Stratophanes is now relieved of a mina of gold, and Astaphium is ordered to take it into the house, where presumably there is no fear of it being reclaimed.

While she is inside, Strabax arrives, and shortly afterwards Astaphium re-enters and stands in the doorway where she watches with great amusement Stratophanes and Strabax quarrelling over Phronesium. Eventually her contempt at this spectacle becomes too much for her, and she ejaculates:- "*stultus atque insanus damnis certant*" (950). "*nos salvae sumus*" (950) are the last words we hear from her, and these, as we should expect, refer to the future material prosperity of Phronesium and herself.

herself.

Astaphium is quite the most objectionable of all Plautus' women characters. Her attractive looks conceal a very unpleasant personality and it would be hard to find a more rapacious, unsavory individual.

Milphidippa, the pert little maid of Acroteleutium in Miles Gloriosus is a much more attractive character. She certainly fulfils Periplectomenus' estimate of her - "est prime cata" (794), for she carries out her part of the plot skilfully and with considerable enjoyment.

Periplectomenus explains earnestly to Acroteleutium and to Milphidippa (874-877) how vital it is that they should follow out instructions as to tricking the soldier. However, Milphidippa says nothing - it is Acroteleutium's place to assure Periplectomenus that they understand, but she is regarded as a full accomplice for Acroteleutium says:-

"ubi facta erit conlatio nostrarum malitiarum,
hau vereor ne nos subdola perfidia pervincamur" (942-943).

As the plot comes to maturity Milphidippa's important scene approaches. It is her task to persuade Pyrgopolynices that her mistress is wildly in love with him, and wishes to have an affair with him. Pyrgopolynices and Palaestrio are on stage when she comes out of Periplectomenus' house.

"edepol haec quidem
bellulast" (988-989),

exclaims Pyrgopolynices, quite taken aback by this delectable wench.

wench.

Milphidippa glides forward and with obvious relish tells the audience in an aside:- "iam est ante aedis circus ubi sunt ludi faciundi mihi" (991). The whole affair is, in common parlance, 'right up her street,' and she is going to make the most of the ensuing fun. She immediately proceeds to flattery, announcing loudly in Pyrgopolynices' and Palaestrio's hearing that her mistress loves to distraction

"hominem nimium lepidum et nimia pulchritudine, militem Pyrgopolynicem" (998-999).

The self-centred Pyrgopolynices assumes from this that Milphidippa too is in love with him, and praises her mode of speech (1001). He begins to think that to fall in love with her might be very pleasant. Palaestrio is intensely alarmed at this. Such a development will certainly disrupt his scheme. He hurries forward to meet Milphidippa who now plays her part with superb effrontery. She begs for a few moments alone with Palaestrio, and once she has him apart, says flippantly:-

"quo pacto hoc Ilium appelli velis, id fero ad te consilium" (1025-1026). This is merely for effect, as she knows quite well what has already been arranged. But she is bursting with self-confidence and the knowledge that she is in full control of the situation.

Pyrgopolynices condescendingly tells Palaestrio that Milphidippa may approach if she wishes, and, stifling her laughter, she says reverently:- "pulcher, salve" (1037). Only an intensely stupid man would accept her gross flattery:-

"ecastor hau mirum si te habes carum,
hominem tam pulchrum et praeclarum virtute et forma, factis.
deu' dignior fuit quisquam homo qui esset?" (1041-1043).

Milphidippa continues to enthuse over the feelings her mistress has for the soldier, coming to a climax with:- "quae per tuam nunc vitam vivit" (1051). "mi Achilles," she calls him dramatically, "urbicaepe, occisor regum" (1055).

The soldier accepts all this gravely, and Palaestrio and Milphidippa are hard put to it to conceal their hilarity. "dabitur quantum ipse preti poscet" (1061), promises Milphidippa. "I have plenty of money," says Pyrgopolynices proudly, "I've over a thousand pecks of gold coins" (1063-1064). At this boasting Milphidippa can contain her mirth no longer. "eu ecastor hominem peiurum" (1066a), she breathes to Palaestrio, and then ^{after his 'ut ludo?'} with intense delight:- "quid ego? ut sublecto?" (1066a).

She turns to the soldier again and in heart-rending tones begs him not to torture her poor mistress any longer, but to give her an answer. Pyrgopolynices patronisingly answers that her mistress may come out and he will do what she wishes. With difficulty Milphidippa disguises her amusement, turning aside to Palaestrio. But the latter's extravagant and fantastically exaggerated statements - "Why, he could sell his favours to another woman for his weight in gold," (1076), and "Great fighters spring from those he makes pregnant, and his sons live eight hundred years" (1077-1078), are too much for her. Nearly expiring with laughter, she begs Palaestrio:- "iam iam sat,

amabo, est. sinite abeam, si possum, viva a nobis" (1084).

Telling Pyrgopolynices that she will fetch her mistress, she goes towards her door. Palaestrio follows and whispers to her that Philocomasium must cross over to his house. But, Milphidippa tells him, Acroteleutium and Philocomasium have been listening from the doorway all the time - a fact which adds greatly to Milphidippa's pleasure. For her two partners in the deception have now seen how astutely she has played her part. Palaestrio, much attracted by Milphidippa's sparkling vivacity, puts an arm round her as he whispers, only to be ordered off by Milphidippa as she disappears indoors.

Palaestrio has been very much impressed by Milphidippa's clever handling of the soldier, and in his next scene with Milphidippa and Acroteleutium he remarks twice on this. "Why, compared with you, I'm not fit to knock a nail into the wall" (1140), he exclaims to Milphidippa. And he adds admiringly:- "nimi' facete nimi'que facunde mala's" (1141). He turns to Acroteleutium and says "ut lepide deruncinavit militem!" (1142).

Then comes the delightful scene in which Milphidippa and Acroteleutium in a perfect partnership, so bemuse the soldier that he is clay in their hands. Pyrgopolynices is already on stage when the two women enter, but they pretend not to see him. "tuomst principium" (1219), says Milphidippa, generously giving her mistress the first opportunity to bedevil the soldier. Acroteleutium in an awed voice enquires whether Milphidippa really spoke to him. Milphidippa assures her that the soldier

loves her alone, and Acroteleutium threatens that she cannot live if the soldier does not marry her (1239-1241). She intends to break down the door to reach him if he does not come out.

Pyrgopolynices listens smugly to this ridiculous conversation. Finally Acroteleutium pretends to catch sight of him, and Milphidippa, giggling furiously, is forced to support her as she is near fainting, overcome by the soldier's good looks. Then Milphidippa approaches Pyrgopolynices and implores him to ask her mistress to come to him. The exaggerated story goes on:-

"verbum edepol facere non potis, si accesserit prope ad te.
dum te optetur, interim linguam oculi praeciderunt"
(1270-1271).

"What is it she wants?" asks Pyrgopolynices pompously (1274). Milphidippa explains that Acroteleutium has turned her husband out of her house (part of her dowry) for Pyrgopolynices' sake. The soldier is quite unsuspecting, tells the women to go on ahead, and that he will follow soon.

"vide ne sies in expectatione,
ne illam animi excrucies" (1279-1280),

pleads Milphidippa in a final bout of wickedness. Pyrgopolynices waves them away, and the girls hurry jubilantly indoors to collapse on the nearest couch in gales of laughter. Their deception has succeeded and all is set for the final discomfiture of the soldier.

Milphidippa does not appear again, but her good looks and keen wit have enlivened the play.

the play.

As Milphidippa aids Acroteleutium, so Pardalisca in Casina aids Cleostrata in the intrigue against the latter's husband. Pardalisca, though, is a much more rustic individual without Milphidippa's little refinements of speech and manner. Milphidippa is almost certainly Acroteleutium's personal maid, and Pardalisca is merely a house-servant. Even in Victorian days the lady's maid had a higher social standing than the housemaid.

Cleostrata and Pardalisca enter while Cleostrata is calling back to the servants to close the store-rooms as she wishes to visit her neighbour (144-145). If her husband wants anything, Pardalisca is to send for her. Pardalisca's blunt reply to this is that the 'senex' wants his breakfast (147). But Cleostrata, irritated by her husband's peccadilloes, simply orders Pardalisca indoors, and we do not see her again until she takes part in the deception organised by Cleostrata. The latter has already failed to thwart her husband's plans by the lot-drawing, so she enlists Pardalisca's aid in a new attempt.

Having been carefully rehearsed, Pardalisca rushes on stage in assumed terror, shrieking at the top of her voice "nulla sum, nulla sum, tota, tota occidi ..." (621).³¹ She spins round and round, clutching her head, much to the bewilderment of Lysidamus (already on stage). Then she darts

31 . Note the use of cretic metre to express alarm.

back to the doorway and, apparently more terrified than ever, screams to Cleostrata:-

"cave tibi, Cle^ustrata, apscede ab ista, opsecro,
ne quid in te mali faxit ira percita.
eripte isti gladium, quae suist impos animi" (627-629).

"Pardalisca!" roars Lysidamus, "what the blue blazes is going on here?" (630-631). But all that Pardalisca will answer is "perii!" (631) and "vae tibi!" (634). Lysidamus can get nothing else from her as she cleverly builds up the suspense, and finally, pretending to be fainting with terror, sinks into Lysidamus' unwilling arms. "tene me," (634) she gasps, "face ventum, amabo, pallio" (637). "Been drinking like a fish,"³² snorts Lysidamus. But he loses patience when Pardalisca with a sigh and a meaning gesture to the audience, tries to snuggle closer. "Damn you," he shouts, pushing her roughly away, "if you don't tell me instantly what the matter is, I'll knock your brains out" (643-644).

Pardalisca, realising she has overplayed her part, sobers down at this, and eventually after several false starts, informs Lysidamus that Casina is running riot with a sword. "insectatur omnis domi per aedis" (662), she relates dramatically, enjoying the horror on Lysidamus' face.

"per omnis deos et deas deieravit,
occisurum eum hac nocte quicum cubaret" (670-671), she continues with relish. Lysidamus instantly falls into the trap. "She's going to kill me?" he quavers.

32 . Suggest this is modern equivalent for 639-640.

he quavers.

"an quippiam ad te attinet?" (672) asks Pardalisca in puzzled innocence. Lysidamus mutters that he has made a mistake. But Pardalisca is quite relentless. She tells him that Casina is enraged with him because he is marrying her to Olympio, and that she intends to kill them both and herself before the next morning. "I'm finished," groans Lysidamus. "dignu's tu" (682), sniffs Pardalisca in an aside. She follows it up with another joyous remark to the audience that she is deceiving him splendidly because this is just a story invented by Cleostrata and Myrrhina.

Lysidamus' nerves are now in a shocking state. "Has Casina still got a sword?" she enquires feverishly. "habet, sed duos" (692), is the callous reply. One is for Lysidamus, explains Pardalisca, and the other is for the overseer. Lysidamus' agitation is pitiful to see. "What about my wife? Why doesn't she go and take them away from her?" he begs. "nemo audet prope accedere" (697), says Pardalisca inexorably.

At last she agrees that she will implore his wife to deal with Casina. "at blande orato, ut soles" (707), pleads Lysidamus, giving us another glimpse of Pardalisca's disposition. He promises her shoes, a ring, and other goods if she does this. Pardalisca has the upper hand, and she knows it. She saunters off stage, leaving the unhappy Lysidamus behind.

Olympio, the overseer, is made of sterner stuff. When Lysidamus tells him the horrid tale of Casina and the sword, he

merely remarks:- "nugas agunt: novi
ego illas malas merces" (754-754a).

When Pardalisca re-appears, she is still in the highest spirits, bubbling over with delight at the way Lysidamus and Olympio are being tricked. Inside the house dinner is being prepared on Lysidamus' excited instructions; Olympio is ready for his wedding;³³ Chalinus is being dressed by Myrrhina and Cleostrata to take the place of the bride. The cooks are delaying the dinner purposely so that Lysidamus shall have none (759-779).

While Pardalisca is relating this Lysidamus enters, calling back to Cleostrata that he will have dinner in the country as he wishes to escort the bride and groom home. Pardalisca chuckles at this; it is just as she thought - "incenatum senem foras extrudunt mulieres" (788-789).

Lysidamus sees her and asks irritably what she is doing there. Pardalisca has no excuse, for she has simply rushed out of doors to give vent to her feelings. But with her usual ingenuity she says she is taking a message for Cleostrata. Lysidamus, still annoyed at her previous behaviour, orders her indoors. "pessumarum pessuma," he calls her (793). Pardalisca is quite unmoved by this epithet, and strolls leisurely into the house.

Lysidamus waits on stage. Olympio joins him, and then Chalinus-Casina, wearing a bride's veil and robe, is led

33 . In connection with this see Casina 67-68. Marriage of slaves was not recognised at Rome, and was called 'contubernium' as opposed to 'connubium.' See Ulpian V, 5; Justinian, Codex IX: 9,23.

towards the overseer by Pardalisca and the other maids.

Pardalisca is most solicitous for the bride's welfare. "sensim super attolle limen pedes, nova nupta" (815-816), she warns, holding her tenderly by the elbow.³⁴ Undoubtedly Pardalisca herself would have made an excellent 'uxor dotata,' for she proceeds to exhort the bride to take control of the marriage straightaway, and to deceive her husband whenever possible (817-824).

This infuriates Olympio, but he is silenced by Lysidamus, who is in a fever to get the girl actually into their hands. With due ceremony Pardalisca presents Chalinus-Casina to Olympio, and begs him piteously "amabo, integrae atque imperitae huic impercito" (832-833). She would like to pat the bride soothingly, but Chalinus' horny hand must be concealed under his robes to avoid discovery.

Pardalisca and the maids bid the wedding couple farewell, and retire indoors with Cleostrata.

In the scene when the three women exult over the humiliation of Lysidamus and Olympio, Pardalisca is no longer merely the maid - she is an equal in the conspiracy against the two men. Cleostrata, Myrrhina, and Pardalisca enter from Lysidamus' house, having enjoyed a good laugh over the marriage of Chalinus-Casina. Pardalisca is placed on guard to see who emerges from Alcesimus' house. All three are consumed with curiosity to know what is happening to Chalinus-Casina and her

³⁴ . It was an evil omen for the bride to stumble.

would-be husbands. "You stay here, Pardalisca," suggests Cleostrata, "and then you can make a fool of the one who comes out." "lubens fecero
et solens" (868-869),

acknowledges Pardalisca. "And you can say what you like," adds Cleostrata vindictively.

The door creaks and Olympio bursts onto the stage, without his wreath, and with his white clothing dirty and torn. Breathless and panting, he begins to pour out the story of his horrible experience with Chalinus-Casina to the audience. Pardalisca interrupts by asking innocently where his new bride is (892), and Olympio realises instantly that the episode has actually been planned by the women, and that they know all.

Pardalisca continues to harry him and to insist on details, until by merciless questioning the wretched Olympio has reached the depths of shame and embarrassment. Chalinus-Casina has resisted all his attempts at making love, has kicked him in the chest, knocked him off the bed, and jumped on him as he lay on the floor. "quid nunc," says Pardalisca with great satisfaction. "satin lepide adita est vobis manu" (935).

Lysidamus now enters in the same tousled condition as Olympio, but this time it is the turn of Cleostrata, and Pardalisca takes no further part in the actual dialogue. The play ends with Chalinus' aggrieved comment "duobus nupsi, neuter fecit quod novae nuptae solet" (1011).

Pardalisca's lively sense of fun is an asset to any girl,

and she and Cleostrata make a well-paired team in their successful intrigue.

Leaena, who is a slave of the 'leno' in Curculio,³⁵ cannot really be placed among the intriguing maids as she is merely a sottish old woman, but she does help Planesium to meet her lover and to deceive the 'leno.'

The characters in Curculio are alive and well-drawn, and the setting of the play is unusual as it takes place in Epidaurus. Phaedromus is in love with Planesium, a young girl owned by the 'leno,' Cappadox. He has sent Curculio, the parasite, to raise money from a friend so that he may buy Planesium. However, Curculio obtains by a trick the signet ring of Therapontigonus, a soldier, who has already deposited the money for Planesium with a banker. Through the ring Phaedromus obtains the money from the banker and buys Planesium. The soldier arrives, and then, by means of the ring, and one Planesium wears, recognises her as his sister. As she is free-born the 'leno' has to refund the money. Phaedromus marries Planesium and all is well.

Leaena's sole interest in life is wine,³⁶ and this is the first comment made on her by Phaedromus, Planesium's lover. "multibiba atque merobiba" (77), he calls her; and again

35 . The original is unknown.

36 . This seems to be a failing of elderly 'ancillae.' Cf. Hec. 769; Andria 232. Note also the old procuress in Cistellaria.

"vinosissima est" (79). She is the doorkeeper in the house of Cappadox, the 'leno' who owns Planesium, and Phaedromus has learned that if he sprinkles the door with wine, Leaena scents it at once and opens the door.

As Phaedromus approaches the 'leno's' house, carrying a bowl of wine, Palinurus, Phaedromus' slave, declares in an injured tone that he thought the wine was for them. "You shall have what's over," Phaedromus assures him, but Palinurus, knowing the ways of bibulous old women, asks ironically:- "quisnam istic fluviust quem non recipiat mare?" (86).

They sprinkle the door with wine; the door opens slowly, and Leaena appears, sniffing at the air. Her address to the wine which she scents is delightful - "nam omnium unguentum odor prae tuo nautea est" (99), she begins. Following the scent and looking for the bowl itself, she moves towards the others. Palinurus, overhearing her monologue, expresses the anxious hope that she is not too thirsty. "capit quadrantal" (110), answers Phaedromus carelessly. Palinurus is appalled at this reckoning. "vindemia haec huic anu non satis est soli" (110a), he exclaims.

Leaena hears their voices, and moves slowly on her old legs towards them, peering this way and that. Phaedromus calls to her, and holds up the torch so that she may see where he is. He hands her the bowl with:- "em tibi, anus lepida" (120), and Leaena, very unwillingly, pours a tiny drop of the wine on the altar in front of the next-door temple as a libation. Then

she gulps down the wine in huge draughts.

When Phaedromus thinks Leaena is sufficiently mellowed by the wine, he announces that he is the most miserable of men (133). Leaena, already floating in a rosy haze, asks what the matter is, and Phaedromus in a broken voice, says he cannot reach the girl he loves.

With maudlin sentimentality Leaena comforts him and totters into the house to fetch Planesium. Phaedromus has no sooner finished his little serenade to the bolts (147-155) when the door opens and Leaena appears with Planesium. Leaena has a wholesome respect for her master, for she whispers to Planesium to move quietly, and suggests pouring a little water on the hinges to stop them creaking.

Palinurus croaks with laughter at this. "eapse merum condidicit bibere, foribus dat aquam quam bibant" (161), he says in a final comment on Leaena's habits. From the first word concerning Leaena to the last, we have a picture of a drink-sodden, bleary-eyed old woman whose sole aim in life is to obtain more of the stuff that makes her forget her miseries. Michaut says of her:- "la vieille courtisane ... est d'ailleurs esquissée avec une certaine verve bacchique."³⁷

Pythias, the maid of Thais, the courtesan in Eunuchus, although not engaged in a major intrigue, plans a small deception of her own against Parmeno, Chaerea's slave, whom

37 . G.Michaut, Plaute, Vol. I, p.241.

she holds responsible for all her misfortunes. She approximates most closely to Milphidippa in Miles Gloriosus, although she has not as engaging a personality as Milphidippa. She is older and more responsible, but there is the same liveliness and energy.

Her reliability is shown in the fact that Thais, departing to a dinner-party at the soldier's (Thraso) house, gives Pythias the important task of meeting Chremes if she is still away when he arrives. Farther, it is Pythias who is left in charge of Pamphila and the rest of the household (505-506).

When Chremes appears, meditating as to the reason for his summons by Thais, he knocks at Thais' door, and Pythias bounces out. "o capitulum lepidissimum!" (531) she shouts in delight, slapping Chremes on the shoulder. Chremes resents this forward address from a maid and says brusquely that he is going out of town. Then, too, her joy at seeing him makes him suspect that a trap is being set for him. On seeing his displeasure Pythias moderates her boisterousness, and coaxes him to stay. At last Chremes agrees to go to the soldier's house where Thais is, and Pythias, relieved at having accomplished this, orders Dorias to show him the way, while she herself returns indoors (538).

But it is a very changed Pythias that the audience sees next. All her high spirits have vanished, and she is in a state of panic, trembling from head to foot. Pamphila, the girl who was put into her charge, has been raped by the eunuch

sent by Phaedria. (The spectators already know that this is Chaerea in disguise.) "Ubi ego illum scelerosum misera atque impium inveniam?" (643) she wails, burning for vengeance, for it is on her head that Thais' wrath will fall.

"qui nunc si detur mihi,
ut ego unguibus facile illi in oculos involem venefico!"
(647-648)

she screams, beside herself with fury.

Phaedria, who has been listening, is appalled at this paroxysm. He approaches and asks apprehensively what the matter is. Pythias' animosity is now directed at Phaedria - for it is he who has given the eunuch to Thais.

"in' hinc quo dignu's cum donis tuis
tam lepidis?" (651-652)

she shrieks. And then she tells him what has happened.

"You're drunk," Phaedria says with conviction. "utinam sic sint qui mihi male volunt!" (655) answers Pythias, her quick tongue in evidence even through her agitation.

Dorias, another maid belonging to Thais, now exclaims in horror at the fate that has befallen Pamphila, and Pythias succeeds in convincing Phaedria that the girl has been violated. Phaedria, shocked, goes off to his father's house to find the eunuch, and Pythias continues to bewail her troubles to Dorias.

Phaedria reappears, dragging Dorus (the eunuch) with him, but is dumbfounded when Pythias and Dorias impatiently deny ever having seen the man before (677-678). "It's only because he's wearing different clothes that you don't recognise him,"

he tries to persuade the girls. But Pythias takes charge of the whole situation. "tace obsecro" (685), she orders Phaedria. She questions Dorus adroitly until the eunuch confesses that Chaerea took his clothes, put them on, and went into Thais' house. "iam sati' credi' sobriam esse me et nil mentitam tibi?" (703) says Pythias triumphantly. She ignores the rude epithet "belua" (704) which Phaedria throws at her, and remains sceptical when Phaedria tries to make Dorus retract his statement.

Phaedria takes the eunuch inside, and Pythias immediately turns to Dorias and asserts that this is some trick of Parmeno's. "inveniam pol hodie parem ubi referam gratiam" (719), she says vindictively.

And then the realisation of her own plight recurs to her - is she to tell Thais that the girl has been raped or not (721)? On Dorias' advice she decides to maintain a discreet silence. (Note that, under stress, Pythias asks advice from Dorias, whom, in normal circumstances, she would not dream of consulting.) But it is with some alarm that she hears that Thais will soon be home. She and the soldier had begun to quarrel, relates Dorias.

Seeing Chremes approaching, Pythias sends Dorias indoors, and goes up to him. Chremes weaves across the stage a little unsteadily. "vicit vinum quod bibi" (727), he remarks unnecessarily. And then, catching sight of Pythias:-

vah quanto nunc formosior
videre mihi quam dudum" (730-731).

"certe tuquidem pol multo hilarior" (731), rejoins Pythias pertly. Chremes is surprised that Thais has not yet arrived, but she suddenly appears, consumed with rage at the soldier's behaviour at the dinner. She welcomes Chremes and then tells him that she has his sister at her house; that she wishes to restore the girl to him, and that she has been brought up chastely and modestly (748). One can imagine Pythias' fear and dismay at this pronouncement, because certainly all Thais' years of careful devotion to the girl have been undone in the last few hours. She shrinks further away from Chremes and Thais, and is content to remain out of the conversation.

But Thais calls her to go and fetch the box with the tokens belonging to Pamphila. Pythias hesitates a moment - perhaps she even contemplates confessing the whole story to Thais - but is snapped at by Thais:- "odiosa cessas" (754). Pythias disappears and returns with the tokens in a few minutes. Chremes looks at them, and then all enter Thais' house to await the arrival of the soldier.

Of course Thais discovers shortly, as she was bound to do, that Pamphila has been ravished, and Pythias runs on to the stage, driven out of doors by the infuriated Thais. Pythias is weeping, and, judging by the way she is holding her face, has received a number of severe slaps. "Wretched creature," screams Thais, following her, "you're lying to me ... 'I know' ... 'I don't know' ... Tell me at once what has happened" (817-820).

(817-820).

Pythias can scarcely speak through her sobs, but at last manages to tell Thais that it was Chaerea who had been left in the house with Pamphila, not the eunuch. "venefica" (825), hisses Thais, "sacrilega" (829); "ita ut tu iusti, soli creditast" (831), weeps the distracted Pythias. Then she sees Chaerea coming down the street, and suggests to Thais with much excitement that he should be seized at once (836). "What shall we do with him then, idiot?" asks Thais, but Pythias is too astonished at Chaerea's audacity in re-appearing to reply directly.

"vide amabo, si non, quom aspicias, os impudens videtur" (838-839),

she cries angrily.

Actually Chaerea is not as self-confident as he appears. The prospect of meeting Thais does not appeal to him, but he decides to face it out. Thais addresses him as 'Dorus' and goes straight to the point - how dare he assault a girl that is an Athenian citizen? "I thought she was my fellow-slave" (858), mumbles Chaerea.³⁸ Pythias' fury at this is uncontained.

"conservam! vix me contineo quin involem in capillum, monstrum: etiam ultro derisum advenit" (859-860),

she shrieks at him. Thais silences her impatiently, a little weary of these unpleasant scenes. She intimates to Chaerea

38 . The slave was regarded merely as a piece of property. Cf. Homer, Ody. X, 35-37. Odysseus, complaining of the harm done by the suitors, thinks the damage done to the house is more serious than the rape of the maids.

that she is prepared to forgive him. Pythias is horrified at this. "nil tibi quicquam credo" (884), she raps out, only to be checked again by Thais, who tolerates no impudence from her maids - though we have noticed Pythias' forwardness to Chremes.

Thais now suggests that Chaerea should come into the house and wait for Chremes there. Pythias is again aghast at this suggestion. "dabit hic pugnam aliquam denuo" (899), she warns, and, quite overstrung by the thought of having this monster in the house, ignores Thais' orders to be quiet. "parum perspexisse ei(u)s videre audaciam" (900), she agonises. She places no reliance on Chaerea's promises to behave, and even his jest that she herself will have to 'guard' him meets with short shrift:-

"neque pol servandum tibi
quicquam dare ausim neque te servare: apage te" (903-904).

Thais and Chaerea go inside, and Pythias is left to meet Chremes. She spends these few minutes cogitating as to how she can be revenged on Parmeno who was originally responsible for Chaerea's behaviour (910-912). Chremes and Sophrona appear and are shown into the house by Pythias. Although Parmeno has roused her anger she is a good-hearted girl, for she expresses pleasure at the nurse's recognition of the tokens. "nam illi faveo virgini" (916), she says of Pamphila.

Pythias' innate mischievousness is gradually returning now that the crisis is over, and as she sees Parmeno strolling

unconcernedly along the street, she chuckles:- "spero me habere qui hunc meo excruciem modo" (920). She hurries indoors to be present at the recognition, claiming that she has devised a plan that "will frighten that scoundrel into his grave" (922).

Parmeno saunters up and soliloquises on the loathsomeness of courtesans (923-940). Pythias, re-entering, overhears this, and is even more determined to have her revenge. She commences to talk loudly to herself ... how she pities the poor young man whom Parmeno brought ... Parmeno, seriously alarmed, enquires whom she means. "rogitas, audacissime?" (948) demands Pythias. In a series of deliberate lies she informs him that Pamphila's brother has seized Chaerea, tied him up, and is about to mutilate him as a punishment for raping Pamphila. Parmeno is thunderstruck by this, but his protests³⁹ are of no avail, and when he suggests going into the house himself, Pythias warns

him "nam hoc putant
quidquid factumst ex te esse ortum" (965-966).

Having terrified Parmeno half out of his wits, Pythias trips gaily indoors, smiling to herself at the success of her stratagem. Laches, Chaerea's father approaches, and the unlucky Parmeno pours out the whole story to him. Laches rushes indoors to save his son, and shortly after Pythias returns, anxious to find Parmeno and point out to him what punishment he is about to receive. She is chuckling with glee as she comes

39 . Demos. LIX, 67 - "the law which does not permit one to be taken as an adulterer who has to do with women who sit professionally in a brothel or who openly offer themselves for hire."

on stage - Laches' sudden appearance in the house, his obvious fear and anger have caused a good deal of confusion. "mihi solae ridiculo fuit quae quid timeret scibam" (1004), she gurgles to herself.

Parmeno overhears this and moves towards her, but Pythias is laughing immoderately. Finally she gasps out "nunquam pol hominem stultiores vidi nec videbo" (1009). Parmeno has not only been deceived into thinking his young master in danger; now he has betrayed Chaerea to his father who has seen him in the eunuch's dress. "iam scis te perisse" (1016), she finishes triumphantly. Parmeno abuses her with "pessuma" and "scelus," but Pythias is indifferent and continues to laugh immoderately. "I'll get my own back," (1019) threatens Parmeno.

"credo:
sed in diem istuc, Parmeno, est fortasse quod minare"
(1019-1020),

says Pythias airily, and she makes it clear to Parmeno that now he will be punished by Laches for leading his son into bad ways, and by Chaerea for telling his father of his escapade. "hic," says Pythias as a final stab, "pro illo munere tibi honos est habitus" (1023). With this she darts back into the house.

Pythias has certainly been vindictive, but it must be remembered that she has suffered severely through Chaerea's bad behaviour instigated by Parmeno. She has been frightened, slapped, and has 'lost face' in Thais' household. Now, with the success of her trick, she has regained some of her lost prestige.

prestige.

Erotium, the courtesan in Menaechmi, also has a maid - unnamed.⁴⁰ This girl, as with Astaphium, has learned from her mistress to be mercenary and demanding. She has only one scene on stage, when she emerges from Erotium's house, and hands a bracelet to Menaechmus II. She announces that her mistress wishes him to have it re-made and more gold added (525-527).

Menaechmus II agrees, taking the bracelet, but as he shows no sign of recognising it, the maid asks curiously "scin quid hoc sit spinter?" (530). Menaechmus II shakes his head. "This is the one you said you filched from your wife's jewel-case," she informs him. Not unnaturally, Menaechmus II, forgetting his part, denies this, and the maid becomes aggressive at once. "reddite igitur spinter, si non meministi" (534), she says angrily.

Menaechmus II hurriedly corrects himself. The maid is a stupid girl for her suspicions to be so easily allayed - especially in view of his following question about the armlets when none had been given to Erotium (536-537). But her mind is really engaged in wondering how her conversation with Menaechmus II can best be turned to her own advantage. She asks him coaxingly to give her a pair of earrings ... "ut te lubenter videam, quom ad nos veneris" (543), she promises.

⁴⁰ . G.Duckworth in "The Unnamed Characters in the Plays of Plautus," C.P. 33 (1938), pp.267-282, notes that minor 'ancillae' who assist only slightly in the development of the plot are sometimes unnamed.

Menaechmus II must infer from this that he will meet with prompt admittance on his visits to Erotium.

"Certainly," says Menaechmus II, "if you'll give me the gold (544). "da sodes aps te: poste reddidero tibi" (545), replies the maid craftily. But Menaechmus II is not to be caught like this, and the maid goes away disconsolately into the house. She is simply a greedy, foolish girl.

Phrygia in Heauton Timorumenos is also a maid belonging to a courtesan. She makes only a brief appearance in one scene. Bacchis is threatening to leave Clitipho and go to the house where the soldier is staying unless Syrus pays her the minae. Phrygia is ordered by Bacchis to take a message to the soldier, but remains when Syrus promises the money. Nothing can be learned from a character who speaks but two words (732), and she is there merely as an accessory to Bacchis.

Another elderly 'ancilla,' Scapha of Mostellaria, is maid to Philematium, a young 'meretrix,' and she deliberately tries to inveigle Philematium into accepting other lovers as well as Philolaches. Although not specifically mentioned it seems clear that Scapha has been a courtesan in her day and is up to all the tricks of the trade.

When Philematium comes on stage, Scapha follows carrying a small table and Philematium's toilet articles. Scapha is accustomed to the girlish prattle of her young mistress, for she pays little attention to it as she opens boxes and bowls. Philematium at last stands in front of Scapha, holding out the

folds of her dress, and asking how it fits. Scapha is softened by her prettiness and cannot refrain from remarking:- "quin tu te exornas moribus lepidis, quom lepidam tute es?" (168). And she adds "virtute formam (id) evenit te ut deceat quidquid habeas" (173). After all, it is she who looks after the girl and attends to her dress and toilet, and Philematium's looks are certainly a credit to her.

Philematium remarks that she does not like flattery, but Scapha in a comment which reveals the real core of her character answers:-

"equidem pol vel falso tamen laudari multo malo
quam vero culpari aut meam speciem alios inridere" (178-180).

She continues to comb Philematium's hair, and with great cunning says

"equidem pol miror tam catam, tam doctam te et bene eductam
nunc stultam stulte facere" (186-187).

"How am I making a mistake?" enquires Philematium in great agitation. Then the whole of Scapha's advice is given to her in a nutshell:- "matronae, non meretricium est unum inservire amantem" (190).

Philematium remonstrates at this, but Scapha is a bitter, disillusioned old woman. "moneo ego te: te ille deseret aetate et satietate" (196), she warns. She, too, was once young and beautiful,⁴¹ and remained faithful to one man she loved. When she aged, he deserted her. "tibi idem futurum

⁴¹ . I have accepted Seyffert's supplementation.

credo" (202-, she adds with real anxiety for Philematium's future. Philematium answers that as Philolaches has freed her she belongs to him. "inscita ecastor tu quidem es" (208), says Scapha contemptuously. As Philolaches has already paid the money and she is free, it does not really matter whether he loves her or not. Philematium is outraged at this mercenary and ungrateful attitude, and rebukes Scapha sharply. At this Scapha shrugs her shoulders.

"atque illum amatorem tibi proprium futurum in vita soli gerundum censeo morem et capiundas⁴ crinis" (225-226), she says. Now "capiundas crinis" is the unkindest cut of all, for she knows that Philematium, being a freedwoman, cannot marry Philolaches.

In the meantime the dialogue has been constantly interrupted by the asides of Philolaches who has been eaves-dropping on the two women. He praises Scapha when she flatters his darling, but grinds his teeth with rage and threatens fearful retribution when she tries to persuade Philematium to welcome other lovers.

"Anyway," says Scapha disagreeably, "his money will soon come to an end - day and night he is feasting and drinking" (235). Philematium is really vexed at this, and when Scapha realises that a whipping is imminent if she continues to abuse Philolaches, she grumbles:- "tibi potius adsentabor" (246).

But, in spite of her annoyance, she cannot help being proud of Philematium's appearance as her toilet continues.

However, she objects strenuously when Philematium asks for
d.h.a. At marriage a Roman girl had her hair parted with an iron spear into six plaits, called 'crines.'

face-powder. "At your age you don't need all that stuff on your face" (263), she asserts. Finally Philematium completes her dressing. "Do I look all right" she asks, "my dress and jewellery?" (282). Scapha, who is still irritated with Philematium, replies brusquely:- "non me istuc curare oportet" (283). She knows this is not true, but she is still irritated with Philematium. But she adopts the attitude that Philolaches bought the jewellery and clothes, so it is his affair. "si mulier pulchra est nimis ornata est" (292), she adds indifferently.

Philolaches is tired of Scapha's observations, although he has enjoyed watching his young mistress doing her hair and putting on her jewellery. He walks towards them, kisses Philematium, and with an irascible gesture, orders Scapha to go inside and take all the toilet articles with her.

Scapha vanishes without any protests. Possibly she suspects that Philolaches has overheard part of the conversation, and she feels discretion is the better part of valour. She is loyal to her young mistress, and her advice is given with the best intentions, but she has been too long in the courtesan's trade herself to have any finer feelings. Financial security for her charge - and incidentally herself - is her first consideration.

Sophoclidisca, in Persa, is another maid belonging to a 'meretrix,' but she is young and saucy. She has been Lemniselenis' maid for over five years as she tells us the

moment she comes on stage. She calls back to Lemniselenis who is still standing in the doorway, and it is obvious that she is extremely irritated by Lemniselenis' re-iterated instructions. "nimi' tandem me quidem pro barda et pro rustica reor habitam esse apud te" (169), she says petulantly. It is, of course, aggravating to have one's intelligence underestimated. She is hurt, too, that her mistress should think her not capable of carrying out her orders:- "quamquam ego vinum bibo, at mandata non consuevi simul bibere una" (170).

"potin ut taceas?" (175) she snaps, as only an old-established servant would dare to do. She has the situation well in hand, and there is no need for Lemniselenis to disturb herself. "ego istuc placidum tibi ut sit faciam" (178), she says, calmly efficient. And she moves towards the house of Toxilus to give him her mistress' message.

Meanwhile Toxilus has sent Paegnium, a young slave, with a message to Lemniselenis. Sophoclidisca and Paegnium meet on stage, and the racy scene which follows is one of the best in the play. Paegnium sees Sophoclidisca and she catches sight of him at the same time. Sophoclidisca is not best pleased at this meeting, and with good reason. "nullus esse hodie hoc puero peior perhibetur," she murmurs (202). Paegnium deliberately walks straight into Sophoclidisca, but she is determined not to quarrel with him if she can help it. "Paegnium, deliciae pueri, salve" (204), she says sweetly. But Paegnium who is a spoilt, rude brat, immediately taunts her with

the remark that, if the gods treat her as she deserves, they will bring troubles to her. Even then Sophoclidisca only asks him to stop insulting her (207), but Paegnium is irrepressible, and when Sophoclidisca foolishly asks him what he is doing, he replies pertly:- "feminam scelestam te astans contra contuor" (208).

This is too much for Sophoclidisca. She is determined to give as good as she gets, and the dialogue develops into a 'slanging match' with epithets such as "scelus," "mala," "pessume," "pessuma," bandied across the stage. Sophoclidisca is quite unable to find out where Paegnium is going, and she refuses to tell him her destination.

Eventually, after a considerable amount of swift repartee, Paegnium owns that he is taking a letter to Lemniselenis, and Sophoclidisca announces her errand to Toxilus. Both confess they have no knowledge of the contents of their letters - "nisi fortasse blanda verba" (250), says Paegnium scornfully. They enter the houses of Dordalus and Toxilus respectively, and the scene is over.

This scene is unnecessary to the structural development of the play, and is brought in purely for comic effect. Sophoclidisca herself is really an inorganic character,⁴² but her quick wits and tongue add to the humour of the play. She is a far more positive personality than her mistress and certainly dominates the household.

⁴² . See Chapter VI, pages 460-461.

household.

3. 'Ancillae domesticae.'

The 'ancillae domesticae' or 'ordinary' conventional maids do not normally take a large part in the action. Certainly in Amphitruo Bromia helps in the denouement, and in Andria Mysis takes part (unwittingly) in the deception, but these are exceptions.

Dorias, a maid in Eunuchus, is simply an under-servant in Thais' household. She is sent by Pythias to escort Chremes to the soldier's house where Thais is dining. As a result of this Dorias sees the quarrel at the dinner-party and is able to relate it to the audience (615-628). The episode is told in lively fashion. Dorias has been frightened by the whole affair, and especially by the attitude of the soldier:-

"quantum ego illum vidi, non nil timeo misera
nequam ille hodie insanu' turbam faciat aut vim Thaidi"
(615-616).

Thraso objected to Chremes' arrival, but gave way under pressure from Thais. When the latter devoted all her attention to Chremes, Thraso ordered Pamphila to be brought in. Thais disapproved, the soldier insisted. A dispute arose, and Dorias was sent home with Thais' jewellery.

Phaedia appears, and then Pythias rushes on stage, almost demented over the violation of Pamphila. She relates this to Phaedia, and Dorias listens with horror, knowing that a certain amount of the blame will fall on her as well. She

stands by listening while Pythias drags the whole story out of Dorus, the real eunuch. As an under-servant it is not her place to interrupt a conversation between the head-servant and another individual.

Only when Phaedria has led Dorus away does she agree with Pythias that this is some trick of Parmeno's. Pythias, in her shaken state, even asks Dorias for advice - shall she tell Thais the girl has been raped, or say nothing?⁴³

"tu pol, si sapis,
quod scis nescis neque de eunucho neque de vitio virginis"
(722-723),

Dorias says bluntly. It will save everyone a good deal of trouble, she adds. This is not a very intelligent conclusion as Pamphila's appearance (we know she is bruised and scratched) will certainly advise Thais that something has happened.

However, this is what Pythias wishes to hear, and she concurs. Dorias is sent inside, and we are left with the impression of a good servant, but nothing more. She is a responsible maid, for she is entrusted with Thais' jewellery. But beside Pythias' forceful personality, she is a very negative individual.

Stephanium, maid in the household of Pamphilippus (Stichus), is a lively, happy-go-lucky girl whose attractions have won her two admirers, Stichus and Sangarinus. The audience learns this from Stichus (431-434) who mentions at the same

⁴³ . See page 243.

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time that the slaves are about to have a dinner-party.⁴⁴

Doubtless this caused some surprise among the Roman audience, but Stichus goes on to explain that it is perfectly legal for slaves to do this in Athens (446-448, 670). Sangarinus, on his arrival from the harbour, remarks that he has sent orders ahead for Stephanium to prepare the dinner (651-654).

Stephanium is a good-tempered girl, for when she appears on stage, she is quite unruffled, although she has had to tidy up the house for the master's arrival (678), and cook the dinner for Stichus and Sangarinus. Vanity is one of her failings for Sangarinus speaks of "dumque se exornat" (701), and Stichus, becoming impatient at her unpunctuality, calls to her:-

"ad amores tuos
foras egredere, sati' mihi pulchra es" (736-737).

On her second appearance she is dressed in her best, and arrives breathless and full of apologies, for Sangarinus and Stichus have been waiting for her some time.

"nimioque sibi mulier meretrix repperit odium ocius
sua inmunditia quam in perpetuom ut placeat munditia sua"
(746-747),

she says sensibly. Sangarinus and Stichus are both overcome by this vision of loveliness. "Veneris^{ma} est oratio" (748), says Sangarinus adoringly, staggering towards her. Sangarinus is in little better condition - the wine-jug has been emptied more than once.

⁴⁴ . W.Sedgwick in "Composition of the Stichus," C.R. 39 (1925), pp.59-60, says that Plautus gave the banquet scene to the slaves as Roman 'gravitas' would be offended if it took place among free citizens.

more than once.

"utrubi accumbo?" (750) inquires Stephanium in honeyed tones, anxious to retain the interest of both. But Stichus and Sangarinus are too befuddled to comprehend what she is saying, and eventually she has to ask them to make room for her (752). "cupio cum utroque" (753), she repeats fervently. Now Stichus is seized with an impulse to dance. He lurches to his feet, dragging Stephanium with him. Sangarinus resents this and tries to join in. "siquidem mihi saltandum est, tum vos date bibat tibicini" (757), says Stephanium resignedly, as she is buffeted backwards and forwards between the two.

The piper is handed a long drink, and Sangarinus takes the opportunity to give Stephanium a smacking kiss. "meus oculus, da mihi saviu, dum illic bibit" (764), he hiccups, clinging to her. Stichus is intensely annoyed by this and pushes Sangarinus away from Stephanium. But Sangarinus is much too inebriated to stand firm on his legs. He falls backwards onto the couch, and Stephanium collapses with him in a flurry of silken garments. Stichus sorts them out, drags Sangarinus to his feet again, and a wild frenetic dance ensues, with Stichus and Sangarinus endeavouring to outdo each other in a series of drunken leaps and turns. The wine-jug is knocked over, Stephanium is soaked, but the fun goes on. The play ends on this note, Stephanium applauding both dancers impartially, so that she shall not be accused of favouritism.

Michaut⁴⁵ says of the contrast between the scene of the

⁴⁵ . G.Michaut, Plaute II, p.107.

faithful wives and the behaviour of the slaves:- "Mais cette contradiction même est significative. Ici ... nous constatons pleinement que Plaute est indifférent à la morale; il ne se propose ne de châtier les mœurs ni de les corrompre; il se propose de faire rire."

Duckworth,⁴⁶ too, comments on these final scenes which, as he correctly states, "have no structural value but conclude the play with a farcical orgy unparalleled in Roman comedy." The banquet-scene would be dull without feminine interest and Stephanium, adaptable and good-tempered, is a satisfactory companion.

Crocotium, maid of Panegyris, is another slave in Stichus. That she is lazy we know immediately from the order Panegyris gives her:- "propera atque actutum redi" (154). These instructions to fetch Gelasimus quickly have little effect on Crocotium, for she wastes considerable time listening to Gelasimus' monologue on his hunger before she approaches him. For some minutes she stands giggling as Gelasimus endeavours to auction his humorous stories in exchange for a meal. At last she speaks to him and gives him Panegyris' message (247-249). Gelasimus is disappointed that this does not mean food, but Crocotium is quite unmoved by his grumbles. "ituru's an non?" (263) she says impatiently and, on his assenting, strolls off leisurely to tell her mistress.

Crocotium's part is short but we get a distinct impression

46 . G.Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, p.126

of a young woman who is not over-concerned about her duties, and will do what is easiest for herself.

Callicles' maid in Truculentus is not placed with such an easy-going family. In fact, when she is led on stage, she is bound and has just been subjected to a flogging. This has been done to extort from her the truth about the child that Callicles' daughter has given birth to.⁴⁷ Callicles states that he now wants the confession repeated because "vos colubrino ingenio ambae estis" (780). "vos" refers to the maid and to Sura, the hairdresser. He threatens them with further punishment unless they co-operate. "vis subigit verum fateri, ita lora laedunt brachia" (783), sobs the wretched 'ancilla.'

Callicles separates the two women so that they cannot communicate with each other, and commences the questioning. The whole story is re-told - the child has been given to Phronesium. At this moment the maid catches sight of Diniarchus, who has been eavesdropping at the side, and says resentfully:- "Magi' pol haec malitia pertinet ad viros quam ad mulieres" (810). Callicles retaliates by accusing her of not guarding the girl sufficiently well. "vir erat, plus valebat: vicit, quod petebat apstulit" (813), argues the girl, still eyeing Diniarchus who stands petrified lest his share in the affair may be discovered.

But the maid loses her temper - after all it is owing

⁴⁷ . Isaeus VIII, 10.

to Diniarchus that she has suffered torture and agony, and she resents his hiding himself in such a cowardly way. "video ego te, propter male facta qui es patronus parieti" (822), she calls meaningly to Diniarchus. He does not answer, but stands with his face pressed against the wall. This infuriates the maid even more, and in reply to Callicles' demand as to who violated his daughter, she cries out "Diniarchus, quoi illam priu' desponderas" (825). Diniarchus comes forward and throws himself on his knees in front of Callicles, offering the customary excuse for young men - he had committed the crime when he had drunk too much wine.⁴⁸ Callicles is not inclined to accept this, but Diniarchus continues to plead for forgiveness.

The maid, who has a keen sense of justice, expostulates at this:-

"Callicles, vide quaeso magnam ne facias iniuriam:
reu' solutus caussam dicit, testis vinctos attines"
(836-837).

Callicles, having learned the truth, is now in a calmer frame of mind. He orders his slaves to free the maid, and sends her home, where, one hopes, she will have her bruises attended to.

In spite of the torture inflicted on her, the maid is a high-spirited, courageous girl, for she does not hesitate to speak out during the questioning. Her part, although small, is important, for it is she who reveals that Diniarchus is the father of the child.

⁴⁸ . See page 75, note 106.

the child.

In Poenulus the 'ancilla' who is addressed in line 315 by Anterastilis must have entered with the two sisters at line 209. She speaks one sentence in answer to Agorastocles' off hand greetings, and is obviously on stage merely to add colour and movement.

Bromia, Alcmene's maid in Amphitruo, although she appears only at the very end of the play, has an important part in the revelation, for it is she who, together with Jupiter, acts as the 'dea ex machina,' and explains Alcmene's innocence to her husband.

Amphitruo, in his rage at his wife's seduction by the unknown 'wizard' - 'veneficum' (1043) - is determined to rush into the house and kill the first person he sees. A tremendous clap of thunder is heard, and Amphitruo falls unconscious to the ground. Then the distracted Bromia bursts in from the house, wringing her hands and wailing. The most terrifying things have been happening indoors. "spes atque opes vitae meae iacent sepultae in pectore" (1053), she cries. She feels faint and sick, and does not know what to do. She commences the story of the turmoil indoors.⁴⁹ No sooner had Alcmene begun her labour than there were flashes of lightning and such portentous peals of thunder that everyone fell to the ground. Then came a voice telling Alcmene not to be afraid,

⁴⁹ . Note the use of iambic octonarii - the metre of great excitement.

and bidding Bromia rise from the ground. Alcmena called to her and she ran straightaway. "erilis praevortit metus" (1069), she says earnestly. Only her loyalty and her affection for her mistress have overcome her own terror. At her mistress' side she finds twin sons ... but at this point Bromia sees Amphitruo lying on the ground near her. Terrified by this new misfortune, she calls loudly to him, and then helps the dazed man to his feet.

At first Bromia is inclined to seek comfort from Amphitruo and lean on someone of the stronger sex - "ita mihi animus etiam nunc abest" (1081), but she soon perceives that Amphitruo is in no state to assist anyone, and that he needs reassurance more than she does. She has to insist twice to Amphitruo that he really is Amphitruo. "This girl alone of my household shows any sanity" (1083), mutters Amphitruo, who has not yet recovered from the confusion concerning his identity caused by Jupiter's trick. "My wife has made me mad by her disgraceful acts" (1084-1085), mumbles Amphitruo again. But Bromia is up in arms instantly at this accusation against her mistress.

"at ego faciam tu idem ut aliter praedices,
Amphitruo, piam et pudicam esse tuam uxorem ut scias"
(1085-1086),

she says eagerly.

Thereupon she tells him that Alcmena has borne two sons, and relates the episode of the thunder and lightning while Alcmena was giving birth to the boys. Amphitruo then hears of the extraordinary strength of the one baby, and how he strangled two

snakes that tried to enter the cot. Amphitruo is horror-struck by this story, but Bromia continues and, in an awed voice, describes how Jupiter himself called to the women, acknowledging that he had secretly been Alcmena's consort; the son who killed the snakes was his, and the other child was Amphitruo's.

Amphitruo's relief is overwhelming, and he declares that he is glad to share his pleasure with Jupiter. Bromia is sent inside to prepare the sacrificial vessels and does not re-appear.

She is a sensible creature whose loyalty to her master and mistress is remarkable. Her mistress' welfare is her first concern, and her second is to ensure that Amphitruo learns the truth and becomes reconciled to his wife.

Mysis, Glycerium's maid, in Andria,⁵⁰ is another loyal and devoted servant. Andria is the earliest of Terence's plays, and technically not one of his best. It has roused varying opinions. Wight-Duff⁵¹ claims there is "an absence of the romantic," while Thornton Wilder, author of 'The Woman of Andros,' states that he chose Terence's play as basis for his story because Terence, more than any other ancient writer, combined pathos and romance, and that "Andria exhibited these qualities supremely."

In the plot of Andria Pamphilus is in love with Glycerium

50 . The original is Menander's Andria; Terence has added material from Menander's Perinthia.

51 . J.Wight-Duff, A Literary History of Rome, p.152.

who has been brought up by Chrysis, a courtesan. His father wishes him to marry Philumena, the daughter of a neighbour, Chremes. This girl is in turn loved by Pamphilus' friend, Charinus. Chremes, on hearing of Pamphilus' amour, refuses to allow his daughter to marry him. However, Simo, Pamphilus' father, to test his son pretends that the marriage is about to take place, and the ensuing complications (added to the birth of Glycerium's child) lead to some ingenious tactics by the slave, Davus, to rescue his young master. Eventually of course it is discovered that Glycerium is Chremes' lost daughter, and it is in order for Pamphilus to marry her. Charinus marries his Philumena, and the play ends happily.

Since Chrysis' death, Mysis has been solely responsible for Glycerium, and when she first appears on stage she is in a state of great anxiety. She has been sent by Archilis (the head-servant) to fetch Lesbia, the midwife, as Glycerium is about to bear Pamphilus' child. Her apprehensions are justified, as she says of Lesbia:-

"sane pol illa temulentast mulier et temeraria
nec sati' digna quoi committas primo partu mulierem"
(229-230).

And she adds bitterly of Archilis:-

"inopportunitatem spectate aniculae⁵²
quia compotrix eius est" (231-232).

But there is nobody else available to help with the birth, and all she can do is hope that there will be no complications.

52 . ~~Note~~ The use of trochaic septenarii (228-233) ^{often} to express ~~Mysis'~~ alarm and anxiety.

complications.

As she looks down the street she sees Pamphilus approaching, and wonders at his miserable appearance. This is accounted for in a long monologue by Pamphilus from which Mysis gathers that his father is compelling him to marry another woman when he is in love with Glycerium. Mysis' alarm is expressed in a series of asides (240, 251, 264). When she realises Pamphilus' pitiable uncertainty, she determines to speak at once and do what she can to aid Glycerium. She is a woman of sound commonsense, and she remarks rightly:- "dum in dubiost animu', paullo momento huc vel illuc impellitur" (266).⁵³

Pamphilus catches sight of her and enquires feverishly how Glycerium is. To this Mysis says reproachfully that her mistress is in labour at the moment, and that her distress has been aggravated by the fear that Pamphilus will desert her. Pamphilus is haunted by this vision, and after a tremendous struggle within himself between filial piety and his love for Glycerium, exclaims that he will not leave her (271-276). But Mysis continued to urge him, for, knowing human nature, she suspects that he will not be strong enough to hold out against external pressure (276-277). Pamphilus' assurances become more heated, and finally Mysis, convinced of his sincerity, departs to fetch the midwife.

53 . Donatus remarks of Mysis on line 265 - "calliditati femineae et astutiae sententia haec congruit."
Ed. P.Wessner, Vol. I, p.108.

midwife.

When she returns with Lesbia they are discussing the infidelities of men. "fidelem haud ferme mulieri invenias virum" (460), says Mysis with acerbity; but she repeats that Pamphilus has sworn to be faithful and has ordered his child to be reared. This announcement by Mysis is important to the development of the plot, for Simo, listening down-stage, overhears it, and so does Davus. She and Lesbia then enter the house to assist in the birth of Glycerium's child.

But Mysis, though affectionate and devoted to her mistress - "anime mi" (685), she calls her - is not very intelligent; before she is aware of it, she is involved in one of Davus' schemes. Davus orders her to wait outside the house for him, and docilely she does so. She occupies the time by complaining to herself about Pamphilus:-

"verum ex eo nunc misera quem capit
laborem! facile hic plus malist quam illic boni" (719-720).⁵⁴

Davus enters, carrying Glycerium's son, and she catches at his arm in great alarm, asking where he is taking the child. Sensing her hostility, Davus immediately flatters her:-

"Mysis, nunc opus est tua
mihi ad hanc rem exprompta memoria atque astutia" (722-723).

He hands the baby to Mysis and tells her to lay it in front of the house-door. "obsecro, humine?" begs Mysis with womanly solicitude (725-726). Davus answers that he does not wish to put the child there himself, as he must be able to deny this

⁵⁴ . Cf. Alcmena in Amphitruo (633-634).

with a clear conscience if asked by his master. That Mysis knows Davus well is clear from her acid remark "*nova nunc religio in te istaec incessit*" (730).

Suddenly Davus, looking down the street, sees Chremes approaching, and hurriedly tells Mysis that she will have to help him with his plan. Mysis is bewildered by this. "*ego quid agas nil intellego*" (737), she complains. However, she resignedly obeys his orders, and stands there while Davus departs and Chremes enters. The old man is shocked to see the baby lying on the doorstep and demands of Mysis whether she put it there. Mysis looks round frantically for Davus, and then he bustles in, ostensibly from the forum. To her astonishment he gazes at the baby and asks where the child comes from. "*satin sanu's qui me id rogites?*" (749) queries Mysis, now completely befogged.

Davus drags her aside and threatens that she is not to answer a single word beyond what he asks her, for she has nearly betrayed his plan with "*non tute ipse*" (752). Mysis, now convinced that Davus is mad, answers his questions meekly, but is again confused when he orders her aloud to take the child away, and directly after whispers in an aside that she is not to move from where she is standing. "*di te eradicent! ita me miseram territas*" (761), she bursts out.

By further questioning Davus draws from her that the child belongs to Pamphilus. (Remember that Chremes is listening to all this.) He then suggests that the child was carried into

Glycerium's house yesterday, and is not her child at all. Mysis, infuriated by this aspersion on her mistress' character, says that there were several free-born women present at the birth who could vouch for the true facts.⁵⁵ And on Davus threatening to throw the baby into the road if she does not pick it up, she exclaims contemptuously "tu pol homo non es sobrius" (778). A quicker-witted girl than Mysis would have grasped the situation by this time, but Mysis is not skilled in intrigue, and even when Chremes' name is mentioned she merely excuses herself to him (788). She has now confirmed that Glycerium is an Athenian citizen, and this is vital information for Chremes. But once the 'senex' has departed, she turns on Davus like a tigress:- "ne me atti(n)gas, sceleste" (789-790).

"What an idiot you are," groans Davus, exhausted by having had to carry the whole burden of the deception. "This man is the bride's father" (792). "praediceres" (793), says Mysis vexedly; she has spent a very unpleasant few minutes and feels she might have been spared this.

But Davus has little faith in Mysis' acting abilities and simply remarks that spontaneous behaviour is more natural than that planned beforehand. Any further recriminations by Mysis are cut short by the arrival of Crito, Chrysis' cousin, from Andros. Mysis recognises him immediately (801) and, after a

55 . According to Roman law five free-born women had to be present to establish the legitimate birth of a child. See Andria, ed. W.Wagner, Cambridge, 1882.

short conversation, leads him indoors to Glycerium. The meeting is important for, having found Glycerium, Crito is able to vouch for the fact that she is an Athenian citizen, and the daughter of Chremes.

Mysis is thus, indirectly, through her recognition of Crito, responsible for the discovery that Glycerium is Chremes' daughter. A good-hearted woman, one can easily imagine her becoming the tool of anyone as unscrupulous as Davus.

B. Characterisation by technical devices.

a. Description in prologues.

There is no description of the 'ancillae' in the prologues.

b. Self-description in solos.

The 'ancillae' and the 'nutrices,' like the other groups, characterise themselves in solos. In Plautus we have:-

Amphitruo 1053-1054 (Bromia's lack of courage), 1069 (Bromia's affection for Alcmena); Aulularia 279 (Staphyla's fear); Casina 621-622 (Pardalisca's feigned terror); Cistellaria 672 (Halisca's carelessness), 688-688a (Halisca's fear); Curculio 96a-97 (Leaena's love of wine); Miles Gloriosus 991-992 (Milphidippa's deceitfulness); Truculentus 95-III, 237-245 (Astaphium's rapacity).

In Terence we have:- Eunuchus 643 (Pythias' fear for herself), 1002-1003 (Pythias' pleasure in her deceitfulness); Phormio 728-729 (Sophrona's misery).

(Sophrona's misery).

c. Self-description in dialogue.

In dialogue there is a fair amount of self-description by Plautus' 'ancillae,' but not very much by Terence's.

In Plautus we find:- Amphitruo:- Bromia: 1084 - common-sense; Aulularia:- Staphyla: 42 - misery; Casina:- Pardalisca: 685 - deceitfulness, 869 - love of jesting; Cistellaria:- Halisca: 713 - timidity, 736 - gratitude; Curculio:- Leaena: 119 - love of wine; Miles Gloriosus:- Milphidippa: 1263 - state of affections (false); Mercator:- Syra: 673-674 - age and weariness; Mostellaria:- Scapha: 178-179 - insincerity, 200 - former devotion to her lover; Persa:- Sophoclidisca: 170 - obedience and love of wine; 213 - knowledge of her own nature; Stichus:- Stephanium: 744-745 - daintiness; Truculentus:- Astaphium: 161 - rapacity, 295 - wickedness (ironical repetition of 'pessumae'), 711 - shrewdness, 743-744 - selfishness.

In Terence we find:- Andria:- Mysis: 251, 743, 761 - fear, 288 - truthfulness; Eunuchus:- Pythias: 1008 - vindictiveness; Phormio:- Sophrona: 729 - timidity, 751 - loneliness and unhappiness.

It will be noted that the intriguing maids, Astaphium, Pardalisca, and Pythias have no sense of shame, and do not hesitate to call attention to their imperfections.

d. Face-to-face description by others.

There are numerous comments on the 'ancillae' by other

characters, and the majority of these are spoken actually to the individual concerned.

In Plautus we have:- Aulularia:- Euclio to Staphyla: 41 - spying habits, 43 - misery, 45 - receiver of beatings, 49 - slowness, 52-53 - wickedness, 268-269 - gossiping tendencies; Casina:- Lysidamus to Pardalisca: 644 - serpent (abuse), 707 - persuasiveness, 793 - depravity; Curculio:- Phaedromus to Leaena: 115 - thirst, 120 - agreeable nature; Miles Gloriosus:- Palaestrio to Milphidippa: 1140-1141 - cleverness, Acroteleutium to Milphidippa: 1223 - knavery; Mostellaria:- Philematium to Scapha: 176 - flattery; Persa:- Paegium to Sophoclidisca: 208, 220, 221 - wickedness, 227 - trollop (abuse), 234 - pest (abuse), 238 - worthlessness; Stichus:- Stichus to Stephanium: 736 - charm, 755 - sweetness, 764 - treasure (endearment); Sangarinus to Stephanium: 739-740 - sweetness; Truculentus:- Diniarchus to Astaphium: 126 - wickedness, 131-132 - depravity, 134 - deceitfulness, 154 - impertinence, 157 - wickedness and conceit, 168-619 - rapacity, 178-180 - hypocrisy, 184 - evil charm; Truculentus to Astaphium: 263 - impertinence, 271-272 - vanity and immodesty, 287-289, 289-290 - personal appearance, 293-295 - immodesty, 297-298 - seductress, 311-312 - avarice; Phronesium to Astaphium: 501 - cunning; Cyamus to Astaphium: 587 - dissoluteness.

In Terence we find:- Andria:- Davus to Mysis: 723 - cunning and skill (flattery), 791 - stupidity; Chremes to

Mysis: 786 - wickedness; Eunuchus:- Phaedria to Pythias: 655 - drunkenness (false), 704 - wretch (abuse); Chremes to Pythias: 730-731 - prettiness; Thais to Pythias: 754 - nuisance (abuse), 817 - wickedness, 825 - serpent (abuse), 829 - blasphemer (abuse), 832 - wickedness, 837 - stupidity, 861 - madness; Parmeno to Pythias: 1007 - stupidity, 1017-1018 - wickedness.

Most of the comments addressed directly to the 'ancillae' - noticeably the 'intriguers' - are derogatory in nature. They are generally accusations or terms of abuse.

e. Description by others during absence.

Characterisation of this type takes place in Plautus:-
Casina:- Olympio on Pardalisca: 753-754 - worthlessness;
Curculio:- Phaedromus on Leaena: 77, 79 - love of wine;
Miles Gloriosus:- Periplectomenus on Milphidippa: 794 - cunning, 804 - charm; Poenulus:- Milphio on Giddenis: 1112-1113 - physical characteristics; Stichus:- Sangarinus on Stephanium: 701 - vanity.

In Terence we have:- Eunuchus:- Phaedria on Pythias: 642 - fear; Adelphi:- Aeschinus on Canthara: 624 - garrulity.

f. Description of character when she hears.

The descriptions offered by other characters in the presence of the individual concerned are again disparaging. Little attention was paid to the feelings of the maligned character. Presumably 'ancillae' did not hold a sufficiently important position to warrant this.

Mysis: 786 - wickedness; Eunuchus:- Phaedria to Pythias: 655 - drunkenness (false), 704 - wretch (abuse); Chremes to Pythias: 730-731 - prettiness; Thais to Pythias: 754 - nuisance (abuse), 817 - wickedness, 825 - serpent (abuse), 829 - blasphemer (abuse), 832 - wickedness, 837 - stupidity, 861 - madness; Parmeno to Pythias: 1007 - stupidity, 1017-1018 - wickedness.

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In Plautus we have:- Amphitruo:- Amphitruo on Bromia:
1083 - sanity; Casina:- Lysidamus on Pardalisca: 630 - fear,
Olympio on Pardalisca: 826 - wickedness; Cistellaria:-
Lampadio on Halisca: 727, 728 - wickedness and deceitfulness;
Curculio:- Palinurus on Leaena: 126-127 - greed; Miles
Gloriosus:- Pleusicles on Milphidippa: 1156-1157 - cunning;
Poenulus:- Milphio on Giddenis: 1125 - cunning; Stichus:-
Stichus and Sangarinus on Stephanium: 748 - clever talk.

There are none in Terence.

g. Description of character when she does not hear.

Description in asides that the character concerned does
not hear is found in Plautus:- Aulularia:- Euclio on Staphyla:
60 - wickedness, 64 - spying habits; Casina:- Lysidamus on
Pardalisca: 639-640 - intoxication (false); Curculio:-
Phaedromus on Leaena: 110 - thirst; Palinurus on Leaena:
110a-110b - insatiable thirst and keen sense of smell, 126-
127 - greed, 160 - feebleness; Miles Gloriosus:-
Pyrgopolynices on Milphidippa: 988-989 - prettiness, 1001 -
manner of speech; Palaestrio on Milphidippa: 989 - lack of
looks compared with mistress, 1023 - jade, 1071 - cleverness;
Mostellaria:- Philolaches on Scapha: 170 - charm and worldly
knowledge, 183 - wretch, 191 - hag, 203 - busybody, 213 -
evil powers of persuasion, 218-219 - witch and evil-doer,
257 - insincerity, 270-271, 279 - cunning.

In Terence we have:- Phormio:- Chremes on Sophrona: 732 -

distress.

2. Contrast.

In the 'ancillae' and 'nutrices' contrast is used chiefly to accentuate tendencies in the main characters. In Aulularia Euclio's treatment of Staphyla and her misery serve to intensify his obsession with money and his brutality. In Mercator, old Syra's weariness and dejection emphasise the energy and determination of Dorippa. Scapha's age and greed in Mostellaria are contrasted with Philematium's youth and devotion to her lover. Similarly in Curculio the wine-bibbing Leaena is a good foil for Planesium, still fresh and unspoilt. The lively Pardalisca in Casina is a strong contrast to the two older 'matronae.' In Stichus the fastidiousness of Sophoclidisca throws into relief the rough behaviour of Stichus and Sangarinus.

Terence, in the Adelphi, uses Canthara, a woman of stolid worth, to show up the emotionalism of her mistress, Sostrata. In Eunuchus Pythias is a much more ruthless personality than Thais (notice her deception of Parmeno), and this highlights Thais' generous nature.

False characterisation again depicts character by contrast. In Persa (167) Sophoclidisca describes herself as stupid and forgetful, when she is neither. Lampadio, in Cistellaria, tells Phanostrata that Halisca is wicked and cunning (727) but she is merely a careless and rather unintelligent servant.

servant.

In Andria Davus, needing Mysis' help, tells her she is quick-witted and skilful (723), but she is not intelligent.

3. Repetition.

Repetition again serves to emphasise traits of character. In Truculentus Astaphium's avarice is shown by repeated scenes with Truculentus, and with Diniarchus. In Aulularia Euclio's repeated ill-treatment of Staphyla emphasises her helplessness and misery. Pythias' second scene with Parmeno (Eunuchus) accentuates her implacability.

Scapha's constant admiration for Philematium (Mostellaria: 168, 173, 182, 186, 255, 259) manifests her affection for her young mistress. In Stichus Stephanium's interest in her personal appearance is referred to repeatedly (701, 737, 744). Leaena's drinking habits are repeatedly insisted on. (Curculio: 77, 79, 96-96a, 110a, 116, 131, 161). The repetition of 'perii' by Pardalisca (Casina 631-633) purposely exaggerates her assumed terror.

In Andria Mysis' repeated comments emphasise her fear (240, 251, 264, 276).

4. Significant Names.

Most of the elderly women slaves seem to have been addicted to tippling, and this is recognised in their names, e.g.

Staphyla (Aulularia) meaning 'a bunch of grapes';⁵⁶ Canthara

⁵⁶ . Note references to the name in 279, 354, (Aulularia)

(Adelphi) from 'xάvθapoc' - ^{tankard} ~~cup~~; Leaena (Curculio) may come from the 'voracity' with which she gulps down her wine.⁵⁷

Scapha (Mostellaria) may mean 'scant of speech' - an ironical use;⁵⁸ or E.M. Fay⁵⁹ suggests that the Greek 'λέμβoc' (paralleled by the Latin scapha) meant a flatterer or parasite. Syra (Mercator) is an ethnic slave name.

Two nurses in Terence (Phormio and Eunuchus) are named Sophrona from 'σώφρων' meaning 'prudent,' steady-going. This is suitable for Sophrona in Phormio as she has done her best for Phanium since her mother's death. Sophrona in Eunuchus appears only for a few brief moments so that all we have as an indication of her character is her name.

Astaphium, maid of the 'meretrix' in Truculentus derives her name from 'άσταφίς' - 'dried grapes.' Could this be a reference to the 'squeezing' the courtesans adopt to get all the 'juice' out of their lovers, for Astaphium, though a maid, displays more of the habits and outlook of the 'meretrices'?

Pythias (Eunuchus) is related to 'πύθιος' (epithet of Apollo at Delphi) and is a name given to courtesans and maids of courtesans.⁶⁰ Pythonice was an Athenian courtesan connected

57 . Leaena was the name of a well-known courtesan, mistress of Harmodius, the tyrannicide. Athen. XIII, 596 F.

58 . See C.J.Mendelsohn, Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus, p.68.

59 . E.M.Fay, "Further Notes on the Mostellaria of Plautus," A.J.P. 24 (1903), pp. 245-277.

60 . J.C.Austin, The Significant Name in Terence, p.116. He suggests that the general notion of athletic contests in connection with festivals of 'πύθιος' (Apollo) may suggest liveliness of Pythias, but I feel this is rather far-fetched.

with Harpalus, and the name may have arisen here. Pandalisca, the lively maid in Casina, could be so named because of the manner in which she tortures Olympio ... 'παρδαλῖς' - leopard.⁶¹ Stephanium (Stichus) gets her name from 'στέφανος' - 'crown' or 'wreath;' as she takes part in the banquet scene this is appropriate.

Sophoclidisca, the impudent maid in Persa, derives her name from 'σοφεί' - 'clever.' This would link up with the girl's first words when she assures her mistress that she is not stupid.

Bromia (Amphitruo) derives this name from 'βρόμος' - 'noise,' from her noisy entry on to the stage with cries of alarm.⁶² Dorias (Eunuchus) is derived from 'Δωρίς,' and, like Phrygia (Heauton Timorumenos), is an ethnic slave name; and so is Mysis (Andria), meaning the woman from 'Μυσία.' These ethnic names were common among slaves.

The maid of Erotium (Menaechmi) is unnamed and so is the 'ancilla' in Poenulus who makes her presence known at line 332. Callicles' maid in Truculentus is also nameless.

Metre

The table of metres in Appendix II will show that lyric

61 . C.Mendelsohn, Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus, p.67.

62 . C.Mendelsohn, Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus, p.67.

metres (211 lines) were used most frequently by Plautus for his 'ancillae' followed by trochaic septenarii (171) and iambic senarii (163). Terence favours the iambic senarius (102 lines) for his 'ancillae,' with trochaic septenarii (54) and iambic octonarii (42) as second and third.

If we look first at the 'nutrices' it is noticeable that the elderly nurses of Plautus are more clearly depicted than those of Terence. With the latter characterisation is very slight. Plautus' Syra (Mercator), although she is only on stage in two short scenes, appears quite plainly as a wretched, worn-out old woman under the domination of a mistress indifferent to her welfare. Bent almost double with age and rheumatism, she hobbles on and off the stage, arousing the pity of the spectators. Giddenis (Poenulus) and Staphyla (Aulularia) present two more well-defined portraits although they have very limited parts. The only approach to this in Terence is Sophrona (Phormio) where we do see distinctly a sensible, rational woman. Plautus has used a 'nutrix' only once for recognition; Terence has used his 'nutrices' in three out of four plays for recognition. In this minor group Terence interests himself more in the 'nutrices' as agents for the purpose of the recognition than as actual characters to be drawn in detail.

With regard to the 'ancillae' there are no 'intriguing' maids in Terence, while with Plautus the most memorable of his

maids are all intriguers - Astaphium, Milphidippa, Pardalisca. Pythias, in Eunuchus (Terence), does engage in a minor deception of her own but cannot be included among the intriguers. It is she who resembles most closely the 'ancillae' of Plautus, and understandably so, for Eunuchus is the most Plautine of Terence's plays.

In short, Plautus realised more fully than Terence the use that could be made of the 'nutrices' and 'ancillae' to highlight major characters, and to lend variety and liveliness to the scene.

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CHAPTER IV.

Virgines.

A number of the plays revolve around the love of the young man for the 'virgo.' This meant that the 'virgo' was an important factor in the plot, but when it came to presenting her on stage difficulties at once arose. The conventional scenic background of the plays is, in the majority of cases, a street in Athens, yet the Athenian girl of good family did not appear on the street.¹ She was confined to her apartments, and went out only to religious festivals or to sacred processions.

Terence followed this pattern closely. Out of the seven 'virgines' in his plays only one appears and speaks on stage - Antiphila in Heauton Timorumenos. This girl has not been brought up in normal circumstances, but has been in the charge of an old woman of dubious morality (233-234). Glycerium (Andria) and Philumena (Hecyra) do not appear but are heard off stage crying out as they give birth to their children.² Pamphila (Eunuchus) appears on stage but does not speak. Philumena (Andria) and Phanium (Phormio) are neither heard nor

- 1 . R. Flacelière, La Vie Quotidienne en Grèce (Hachette, 1959) p.75. Hypereides (fr. 205) would allow women to appear in public when they were so old that a passer-by would ask 'whose mother' and not 'whose wife.' See, too, Men. Perik. 121 f; Heliodorus VI: 11, 3; Aristaeus II, 2.
- 2 . Donatus (Adel. 487: 1, And. Praef I, 9) remarks that free-born girls do not speak in comedy except in prayer to Juno during childbirth behind the scenes.

seen.

Plautus has nine 'virgines' in his plays. Two of these do not appear at all - Casina (Casina) and Phaedria (Aulularia). Phaedria is heard off-stage, calling out in childbirth. Of the other 'virgines' the daughter of Saturio (Persa) has a long and important part to play. She, however, has not the same standing as the rest of the girls, as she comes from a debased home where the niceties of society would not be so strictly observed. The other 'virgines' who appear on stage, Planesium (Curculio), Telestis (Epidicus), Adelphasium and Anterastilis (Poenulus), Palaestra and Ampelisca (Rudens), are all girls who have not been brought up at home. They have been stolen or lost in childhood and sold into slavery, so that again they are not living under normal circumstances.

For the Athenian girl brought up in the seclusion of her home there was no prospect of contact with young men. Marriages were arranged by the father or 'κύριος,' and the girl's wishes were not consulted.³ The choice was based on financial prosperity, social standing, neighbourly ties.⁴ Flacelière remarks:- "Il semble bien en effet que la plupart des Athéniens se mariaient par convenance religieuse et sociale, non par goût."⁵ There was no question of love in this Athenian marriage.

Although we have little left pertaining to the family law

3 . L.Beauchet, Histoire du droit privé de la république Athénienne (Paris, 1897) Vol. II, pp.335-337. Plato, Laws 924D, assumes that the father will consider his daughter's interest.

4 . See Trinummus 1185.

5 . R.Flacelière, op. cit. p.78.

of the Greeks we know that the formal act of betrothal - 'ἐγγύη' - was an essential preliminary to marriage.⁶ Without this the marriage was not recognised; the children were not legitimate and could not inherit the father's property.⁷

The dowry, although not vital to the union, was important as the giving of the 'προίξ' made it evident that the union was intended as a full marriage.⁸

In Rome there is considerable evidence that the 'pater familias' had complete control over the betrothal and marriage of his daughter, but at the same time he would probably reconsider if the daughter objected to his choice.⁹ The betrothal was not absolutely necessary at Rome, but normally amounted to a business transaction between the future husband¹⁰ or his 'pater familias' and the father of the 'virgo'.¹¹ Early Roman marriages always involved 'manus' over the wife,¹² and in fact the girl was simply transferred from the 'manus' of her 'pater familias' to that of her husband. The three methods of entering the 'manus' marriage were 'confarratio' (religious marriage), 'coemptio' (bride acquired like piece of property), 'usus' (if the wife remained with the husband for a year).

6 . Plato, Laws VI, 714B.

7 . Plato, Laws VIII, 841C.

8 . In Trinummus (585) note that Lesbonicus insists on giving his sister a dowry so that she may be given in 'matrimonium' and not 'in concubinatum.' Wives without dowries were inferior in status and had no security. See Isaeus III: 17, 36.

9 . Justinian, Digesta XXIII: 1, 2; XXIII: 2, 34.

10. See Adelphi 670.

11. Aul. Gell. IV, 4. See Phormio 733.

12. Gaius, Inst. I, 111-113.

Considerations in arranging a marriage were, as with the Greeks, family, social standing, and wealth.¹³

The subject of the dowry has been dealt with in the chapter on 'matronae,' but it might be noted here that the 'dos' for the 'virgines,' as presented in Plautus and Terence, varied considerably. E.g. in Heauton Timorumenos it is mentioned as two talents; in Andria (951) and Mercator (703) ten talents are mentioned, and twenty talents in Cistellaria (561).

There are numerous references in the plays to Roman/Greek customs pertaining to betrothal and marriage. It is difficult to differentiate between these as Greek customs are sometimes presented in Roman guise.¹⁴ But it seems clear that Terence, wishing to preserve the Greek atmosphere of his plays, refused to Romanise them. He was also unwilling to break the dramatic illusion in this respect as in others (e.g. dislike of address to the audience). Plautus, on the other hand, mingled Roman and Greek allusions throughout the plays, and did not hesitate to break the dramatic illusion if by so doing he could please the audience.¹⁵

Marriageable age is mentioned in Phormio 570, 1017. That the father's consent was necessary for betrothal and marriage appears in Phormio 733-734, Poenulus 1157. The guardian of

13 . See G.W. Leffingwell, Social and Private Life at Rome in the Times of Plautus and Terence (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Columbia Univ. 1918) Vol. 81, No. 1.

14 . See M. Radin, "Greek Law in Roman Comedy," C.P. 5 (1910), pp. 365-367, and W.M. Green, "Greek and Roman Law in the Trinummus of Plautus," C.P. 24 (1929), pp. 183-192, who have diverse views on this problem.

15 . See Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, pp. 136, 272.

the girl might give her in marriage during the father's absence. Trinummus 157-159, Phormio 125-126, 415-417 and Adelphi 650-652 refer to the law by which orphans could be compelled to marry their nearest relative. Casina has many references to the marriage ceremonies: 764, 780, 787 - the wedding-feast; 446, 766, 796 - attire of bridegroom; 798 - musicians; 799-800, 806, 808 - wedding-hymn; 815-816 - bride stepping over threshold, 855-856 - wedding games. The flute-players at the wedding and the wedding-hymn are mentioned in Adelphi 905 and the wedding-procession at 907. We hear of the wedding feast again in Andria 451-452, Aulularia 280-282, Curculio 661. Musicians for the wedding are spoken of in Aulularia 281, 352. Divorce is mentioned several times though never carried out: Casina 210-2, Amphitruo 928, Trinummus 266 (formula for divorce).

A. Characterisation by speech and action.

Antiphila, the 'virgo' in Terence's Heauton Timorumenos combines within herself all the virtues commonly attributed to the 'virgines.'¹⁶ These are mentioned early in the play by Clitipho, Clinia's friend. He says, rather enviously, that Clinia "habet bene et pudice eductam, ignaram artis meretriciae" (226) ... a reference of course to Antiphila who is Clinia's mistress.¹⁷

16 . P.L.Dunkin, Post-Aristophanic Comedy, p.121, refers to her in fact as "that paragon of virtue."

17. Young girls without friends or money had to depend on the assistance of men for protection. See p.328.

mistress.

But almost immediately the audience is thrown into suspense by the words of Clinia himself. He has just returned from overseas after a three-months absence. "*vereor ne mulier me absente hic corrupta sit*" (231), he murmurs, for Antiphila has been living under unfortunate circumstances. She has an unsuitable home, she is young and inexperienced, and she is in the charge of a 'mother' whose only thought is of money.

When Clinia overhears Dromo and Syrus commenting on the train of maid-servants accompanying Bacchis and Antiphila, he is even more alarmed. Antiphila, when he left her, had one small maid; where has she obtained all these riches? He can draw only one conclusion. "*conlocupletasti te, Antiphila, et me in his deseruisti malis*" (258), he says bitterly.

Syrus suggests Clinia should listen to his story first. "*nam et vitast eadem et animu' te erga idem ac fuit*" (265), he assures Clinia earnestly. When he and Dromo went to visit Antiphila unexpectedly they found her weaving, hard at work. She was poorly dressed in mourning with no jewellery - "*tum ornata ita uti quae ornantur sibi*" (288). Her hair was loose, even untidy. Above all, there was only one slave there, a very dirty-looking girl. This is certainly proof, Clitipho interjects, of Antiphila's innocence, for lovers always bribe the maid first, and the girl would have been better clothed (300-301). As soon as Clinia's name was mentioned, continues Syrus, she stopped weaving and burst into tears of joy. From this we

judge that her love for Clinia is sincere, and that she has been faithful to him during his absence.

The result is that when Antiphila appears on stage the spectators already know that she is of exemplary character. She and Bacchis enter followed by slaves carrying the latter's multifarious pieces of baggage.

Bacchis' first words give the audience another clear picture of Antiphila.

"edepol te, mea Antiphila, laudo et fortunatam iudico,
id quom studuisti isti formae ut mores consimiles forent"
(381-382).

Good looks and a good character - what more could a woman want?¹⁸

"Nam expedit bonas esse vobis," (388) sighs Bacchis, pondering on her own unsatisfactory life. She acknowledges that Antiphila's way of life would attract to her a man of like character and that they would pass their lives in mutual affection. Antiphila's quiet and unselfish answer is

"nequidem semper scio fecisse sedulo
ut ex illiu' commodo meum compararem commodum" (396-397).

Clinia, listening, is overjoyed at this. His excitement calls Bacchis' attention to him, and she asks who he is. Antiphila, on seeing her lover, becomes faint and clings to Bacchis. But she recovers sufficiently to throw herself into Clinia's arms, exclaiming joyfully at his safe return. The sudden shock of his appearance has quite broken down her usual

18 . Cf. Menander 142K.

reserve and modest behaviour.¹⁹

This is the only scene in which Antiphila is on stage, yet she is plainly characterised as a modest, affectionate, and serious-minded girl who will doubtless make Clinia the best of wives.

Telestis, in Plautus' Epidicus, resembles Antiphila closely. This girl has been captured by the enemy (the Athenians), and Stratippocles, fascinated by her beauty, has bought her from the war-booty. Thesprio describes her as "forma lepida et liberali captivam adolescentulam" (43). 'Liberalis' or 'perliberalis' was a word of high praise when used with reference to women; it really implied "well-bred." Chaeribulus, too, mentions that she is "genere prognatam bono" (107), so that it appears quite natural to the audience when Stratippocles insists on her chastity (110). Well-bred girls were always chaste in those days.

It is equally natural that Periphanes should insist on the music-girl being kept separate from his daughter in case she should contaminate her innocence. "divortunt mores virgini longe ac lupae," (403) he says gravely. Apocides concurs with this.

"nunquam nimi' potest
pudicitiam quisquam suae servare filiae" (404-405), he nods.

Stratippocles and Epidicus are already on stage when Telestis is brought in by the moneylender. The audience already

19 . The iambic octonarii in lines 398-404 express the emotion and excitement of the meeting.

has a vivid impression of her good looks and character, but Stratippocles feels compelled to point out her charms to Epidicus again:-

"usque ab unguiculo ad capillum summum est festivissima.
estne consimilis quasi quom signum pictum pulchre aspexeris?"
(623-624).

But Epidicus is far more concerned with the fact that he has seen Telestis before - is she not the daughter of Periphanes and Philippa? Telestis is surprised at the slave mentioning these names, but only when Epidicus recalls incidents of her childhood (639-640) does excitement rise in her, and she hopes to be restored to her parents. "memini, mi homo" (640), she cries eagerly. "quid pater meu'?" (642). And with true piety she ascribes her rescue to the gods:- "di me ex perdita servatam cupiunt" (644).

She joyfully embraces her newly-discovered half-brother, Stratippocles, although he, being in love with her, is not best pleased by the discovery of the relationship. Keyes²⁰ states that, on analysis, Stratippocles' half-sister was of non-Athenian nationality, and therefore her marriage to him would have been illegal.²¹ In Rome, of course, the blood-relationship would have made marriage impossible.²²

Disgruntled, Stratippocles recovers sufficiently to lead Telestis inside to recover from the journey. He will be able

20 . C.Keyes, "Half-Sister Marriage in New Comedy and the Epidicus," T.A.P.A. 71 (1950), pp.217-219.

21 . Demos. LIX, 17, " ... law which forbids the union of an alien woman with an Athenian."

22 . For full discussion of this question of the marriage see G.Duckworth's edition of Epidicus (Princeton, 1940), pp.385-387.

to console himself with the music-girl, and Periphanes will have no difficulty in finding a suitable husband for the virtuous and attractive Telestis.

Palaestra (Rudens)²³ closely resembles Antiphila and Telestis in character. This play is one of Plautus' best; the characters are well-depicted, and the humour is well-contrasted with the pathos of the girls' situation.

The setting of the play is unusual for the action takes place on the seashore in Africa. Here live Daemones and his wife who lost their only daughter some years before. At the opening of the play a tremendous storm has just taken place, and Plesidippus appears on the beach. He is in love with Palaestra who is owned by the 'leno,' Labrax. This man has promised to meet Plesidippus at the temple of Venus near Daemones' house, and hand over Palaestra to him. Labrax, however, has cheated Plesidippus and sailed for Sicily with the girls. The ship is wrecked during the action of the play, and the passengers are thrown up on to the beach. Palaestra and her friend, Ampelisca, take refuge in the temple. Labrax tries to regain possession of the girls, but Daemones protects them. Meanwhile a box containing Palaestra's tokens is found by a fisherman. Daemones recognises the tokens as those belonging to his lost daughter. He claims her²⁴ and all ends well, as Palaestra now marries

23 . The original was possibly Pera by Diphilus.

24 . Restoration of the girl to the parent if claimed was essential. See Pauly-Wissowa, R.E. I, 467-468.

Plesidippus.

Palaestra, in spite of her unhappy upbringing with the 'leno' has managed to retain her morals and ideals. We know, too, from "is illius laudare in fit formam virginis" (51) that she is beautiful. She appears after the ship-wreck, stumbling up the beach, dripping wet and shivering. Deeply religious, she cries to heaven in bitter reproach at the misfortunes that have befallen her:- "hancine ego partem capio ob pietatem praecipuam?" (189-190). She has always fulfilled her duty to her parents and to the gods, and she laments

"hoc mi indecore, inique, inmodeste
dati' di" (194-195).

Her keen sense of justice deplores that punishment should be meted out by the gods to the innocent.

Then, too, her companion, Ampelisca, is gone. She has no food, no shelter. "quae mihi spes qua me vivere velim?" (209) she wails. Terrified by her situation she calls on her long-lost parents, and sobbing throws herself on the ground. The irony of all this is apparent to the audience, who know that in reality her parents' home is close at hand.

Palaestra's long-continued complaints may have become a little tedious to the spectators, but she is in a state of extreme nervous tension, and her emotion has found relief in words. She might indeed show a little more courage and stoicism under her troubles, but it must be remembered that girls, even those of a 'leno's household, would be comparatively sheltered.

Shortly afterwards another tired, soaking-wet female figure

appears. This is Ampelisca, Palaestra's friend, and at first she does not see Palaestra lying near the rocks. She is in the same state of despair and exhaustion. "Quid mihi meliust, quid magis in remst, quam a corpore vitam ut secludam?" (220) she cries. But, more unselfish than Palaestra (whose sole concern is for herself²⁵ - see 202-203), her anxiety is for her friend. She has searched the surrounding countryside, and called incessantly, but there is no sign of her. Her courage does not falter though:- "neque, si vivit, eam viva unquam quin inveniam desistam" (228).

Palaestra hears her voice and painfully gets to her feet.

"spes bona, opsecro,
subventa mihi," (231-231a)

she begs. Then she recognises Ampelisca's voice and calls her name. Ampelisca answers, asking where Palaestra is. Typically, Palaestra's answer is "pol ego sum nunc in malis plurimis" (238). Again her own plight is her only consideration. This is a serious defect in Palaestra's character, and her lack of self-sufficiency is irritating.

The two girls meet and embrace each other affectionately.²⁶ In the reaction Ampelisca's self-possession deserts her for a moment. "ut me omnium iam laborum levas," (247) she sighs with

25 . W.Beare, "Plautus and his Public," C.R. 42 (1928), pp.106-111. Beare is surprised that Palaestra in her monody makes no reference to Plesidippus, her lover. This is not as surprising as Beare thinks, for Palaestra is an egotist who does not even remember her companion in distress.

26 . Note the clever use of cretic metre in the duet between the two girls to express their fear and grief.

relief. And now that they are together Palaestra's confidence seems to return, and she takes the lead. It is she who suggests that they should move away and follow the shore-line. Ampelisca eagerly acquiesces. "sequor quo lubet," (249) she promises. Then, looking at her water-logged garments:-
 "sicine hic cum uvida veste grassabimur?" (251).

"hoc quod est, id necessarium est perpeti," (252) says Palaestra resignedly. It is astonishing how much difference one human contact has made to the formerly fearful Palaestra. But at this moment she sees behind her to the right a shrine, and realises that someone must live near by. Both girls kneel in front of the altar and Palaestra prays to whatever god abides there:-

"quisquis est deus, veneror ut nos ex hac aerumna eximat,
 miseras, inopes, aerumnosas ut aliquo auxilio adiuuet"
 (257-258).

Ptolemocratia, the priestess of the temple, appears, and Palaestra greets her. The priestess assumes they have come to make sacrifice and reproves them gently for their lack of white garments and offerings. Palaestra clings beseechingly to the priestess. "quaene electae e mari sumus ambae, opsecro, unde nos hostias agere voluisti huc?" (272-273) she says hopelessly, and implores the priestess to take them in and shelter them. This the priestess does, but Palaestra's misadventures are not over.

Ampelisca in her conversation with Trachollio informs him that Palaestra is crying in the temple because the 'leno' has

taken from her her tokens of identity and she fears they have been lost in the shipwreck (387 ff).

Then Labrax, the 'leno,' arrives, drags the girls away from the statue of the goddess inside the temple where they have taken refuge, and insults the priestess. All this is told to the audience by the distracted Palaestra who rushes out of the temple with Ampelisca.²⁷ She is again utterly despairing:-

"neque est melius morte in malis
rebus miseris" (675-676).

Trachalio, overhearing, tries to console them, but Palaestra is beyond comforting.

"si modo id liceat, vis ne opprimat,
quae vis vim mi adferam ipsa adigit," (680a-681) she threatens.

Ampelisca adds loyally "certumst moriri quam hunc pati (saevire) lenonem in me" (684). And then her commonsense comes to the fore ... doing away with oneself is neither easy nor pleasant, and she says thoughtfully:- "miseræ (quom venit) in mentem mihi mortis, metu' membra occupat" (685-686).

Trachalio soothes them and suggests they sit down at the altar, although Ampelisca says frankly that this will be of no avail since Labrax dragged them from the statue inside the temple.

Palaestra, worn out by her tribulations, kneels in front of the altar and begs Venus for aid:-

"illos scelestos qui tuom fecerunt fanum parvi
fac ut ulciscare nosque ut hanc tua pace aram opsidere
patiari" (697-699).

In her passion for justice, Palaestra is intent not only that

27 . Palaestra's complaints (664-676) are written mostly in cretic metre which W. Lindsay in Early Latin Verse, p.291, considers suitable for 'women's wailings.'

she and Ampelisca shall be saved, but that their evil pursuers shall be punished. Ampelisca makes no prayer to Venus. Possibly she prefers to trust in Trachalio's strong arm.

During the following scene between Daemones, Labrax and Trachalio, the girls remain silent, clinging to the altar.²⁸ Labrax is kept away from the girls by threats, and when Plesidippus enters, the 'leno' realises that the game is up.²⁹ The girls go into Daemones' house and only reappear when Daemones, with much reluctance, induces them to take refuge at the altar again as his wife will resent their stay.

Thus when Gripus appears with the casket containing the trinkets, the girls are already on stage. Since Gripus questions her right to the casket, Palaestra offers to describe the contents accurately. Although her whole future depends on this, Palaestra remains calm, merely praying:-

"o mei parentes, hic vos conclusos gero,
huc opesque spesque vestrum cognoscendum condidi" (1144-1145).

28 . Slaves could seek sanctuary at the altar. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* II, 1881-1885.

Cf. Tranio in *Mostellaria*.

29 . See M.F.Smith, *The Technique of Solution in Roman Comedy* (Univ. Chicago, Illinois, 1940). Miss Smith thinks that the lack of greetings between Palaestra and Plesidippus may be caused by the two girls (Palaestra and Ampelisca) being performed by mutes. H.W.Prescott, "Silent Roles in Roman Comedy," *C.P.* 32 (1937), pp.193-209, opposes this. W.Beare in "Recent Work on the Roman Theatre," (*C.R.* 57 (1937), pp.105-112, thinks that Plesidippus and Palaestra were taken by the same actor, and that Palaestra is played by a supernumerary during the period of her long silence on the stage. This, he says, explains the lack of greetings. Although Palaestra and Ampelisca are silent from 701 until they go off stage at 885, they are still drawn into the action by the constant references to them in the dialogue, and there would be ample opportunity for by-play as they shrink from the anger of Labrax.

She enumerates the tokens one by one in detail. As this is done, and as Daemones looks at them, he realises that Palaestra is his lost daughter. There is a joyful re-union and Daemones takes his daughter inside to meet her mother. Palaestra, rather surprisingly, remembers her companion, and sensing that Ampelisca may feel neglected, says:-

"intro eamus omnes, quando operam promiscam damus."
sequere me, Ampelisca" (1182-1183).

Palaestra does not reappear. We know only from Daemones' remarks (1203-1204) that she is welcomed with overwhelming affection by her mother. Later she marries Plesidippus as she has been proved to be an Athenian citizen. Palaestra leaves one with a vague feeling of dissatisfaction. She is modest and virtuous, but she lacks courage in adversity, and resembles Mother Gumidge in her frequent complaints.

Ampelisca, who has disappeared into the temple with Palaestra after the shipwreck, reappears carrying a large jug. She is looking for water for the priestess, and is just about to knock at the door of Daemones' cottage when Trachalio (already on stage) recognises her. He is surprised to hear that Plesidippus is not with them, and the whole story of Labrax' deceit and the shipwreck is told in the conversation that follows (348 ff).

Ampelisca has a livelier brain than Palaestra and a quicker tongue. In response to Trachalio's question as to where Labrax is now she says dryly:-

dryly:-

"periit potando, opinor:
Neptunus magnis poculis hac nocte eum invitavit" (361-362).

Trachalio admires the sharp wit of Ampelisca and says with spontaneous admiration "ut mulsa dicta dicis!" (364).

But Trachalio enjoys using his own tongue, and after Ampelisca's dramatic account of their escape in a small boat he throws out:-

"novi, Neptunus ita solet, quamvis fastidiosus
aedilis est: si quae improbae sunt merces, iactat omnis"
(372-373).

Ampelisca is annoyed at this joke which she regards as impertinence. "vae capiti atque aetati tuae!" (374) she says indignantly. And why, she enquires, did his master (Plesidippus) not take better care of Palaestra, and prevent Labrax removing her?

To give him his due Trachalio is distressed when he hears that Palaestra is sitting in the temple, crying for the loss of her trinkets. Ampelisca of course realises the seriousness of this - for how will Palaestra now find her parents?

Trachalio, an optimist, (and of course they are not his trinkets that are lost) offers to go in and console her. "nam multa praeter spem scio multis bona evenisse," (400) he says cheerfully. Ampelisca, more practical, and with a large experience of the unpleasant things that can happen in life, returns:- "at ego etiam, qui speraverint spem decepisse multos" (401).

Trachalio goes into the temple, and Ampelisca's thoughts

return to fetching the water. In a monologue of nine lines she expresses her gratitude to the priestess for her kindness, before she knocks at the door of the cottage. On this Scepharnio, the irrepressible slave of Daemones', comes out. Scepharnio is treated with far too much leniency by his master (note the scene with Plesidippus 89 ff), and is a bumptious impudent individual.

Fortunately, the buoyant Ampelisca is more than a match for him. She ignores his opening 'hem' - the equivalent of today's wolf-whistle - and says sedately "salve, adulescens" (416). But the last words of his sentence - "eu edepol specie lepida mulierem!" (415) have predisposed her in his favour, and she is looking forward to some enjoyable verbal sparring.³⁰

"Ha!" leers Scepharnio, "it would be better if you came in the evening," and he slips an arm round her waist. "Aha! nimium familiariter me attrectas," (419-420) pouts Ampelisca. But Scepharnio is unsnubbable. "Laughing eyes!" he admires. "What a complexion! What a figure! And a mouth made for kissing!" He tries to prove this to his own satisfaction, but Ampelisca feels this is going too far, and neatly slips out of his embrace. "non ego sum pollucta pago," (424) she warns him. After all, Scepharnio is a rough outdoor slave and really

30 . Note that Ampelisca's dialogue with Trachalio is in iambic septenarii - a good rollicking metre, but with Scepharnio the conversation is in the even livelier trochaic septenarii.

beneath her dignity.

But there must be some attraction about him, for Ampelisca relents and adds:- "otium ubi erit, tum tibi operam ludo et deliciae dabo," (426) - an indication that his attentions will not be unwelcome later on.

She asks for the water, but Sceparnio is unwilling to give it without "multis blanditiis" (433). Ampelisca is irritated by this for she has already been an unconscionable time fetching the water. "cur tu aquam gravare, amabo, quam hostis hosti commodat?" (434) she enquires crossly. "cur tu operam gravare mihi quam civis civi commodat?" (435) retaliates Sceparnio. Ampelisca capitulates. Leaning forward she places a quick kiss on his cheek:- "immo etiam tibi, mea voluptas, quae voles faciam omnia" (436). Sceparnio, dazzled by the kiss and the endearment, seizes the pitcher and bounds into the house. "Wait here, my poppet," he calls elatedly. "I'll be back in a moment."

Ampelisca, left to herself, looks towards the sea and shudders at the remembrance of the past night. And then, to her horror, she sees Labrax walking along the beach. All thought of her pleasant interlude with Sceparnio vanishes. "iam illud mali plus nobis vivit quam ratae," (453) she wails. She and Palaestra will have to take refuge at the altar before the 'leno' arrives. With these last despairing words she rushes away into the temple.

This is another side of Ampelisca we have seen - the lively coquette. But her affection for Palaestra is as strong as ever.

This is shown quite clearly when Palaestra is recognised as Daemones' daughter. There is genuine and heart-felt pleasure in Ampelisca's words:- "quom te di amant voluptati est mihi" (1183).³¹

However, her own happiness is assured for she marries Trachalio (whose freedom has been promised him).

It is questionable as to whether Ampelisca should be included among the 'virgines' because of the conflicting evidence with regard to her status as a free citizen.³² In lines 649, 714, 736, Trachalio insists that both Palaestra and Ampelisca should be free women. But later (1408-1409) we find Daemones paying half a talent for the freedom of Ampelisca. This may be simply because there is no proof forthcoming of her free birth, and Daemones feels that he wishes his daughter's companion to be removed from Labrax immediately. As regards character, there is no evidence against Ampelisca and I have therefore included her in this group.

Planesium (Curculio) has been stolen when a child and sold to Cappadox, the 'leno'. This man intends forcing her to

31 . C.Coulter in "The Composition of the Rudens of Plautus," C.P. 8 (1913), pp.57-64, notes that Ampelisca, who is of equal importance with Palaestra in the first part of the play, is almost ignored in the last two acts. He attributes this to 'contamination' and says the play is divided into two parts, Acts I-III and IV-V. It seems to me quite natural, however, that Palaestra, who is the 'heroine' of the piece, should hold the centre of the stage during the recognition scene.

32 . See Foreshadowing and recognition, p.422.

become a prostitute. Phaedromus, her lover, is determined to prevent this for Planesium is inherently a girl of good character. "Tam a me pudica est quasi soror mea sit," (51) Phaedromus informs Palinurus, his slave. "at illa est pudica neque dum cubitat cum viris," (57) he insists. Palinurus ridicules this. "credam, pudor si quoiquam lenoni siet," (58) he says sarcastically; but Phaedromus asserts that he is speaking the truth.

He reaches the house of Cappadox where Planesium lives, and bribes old Leaena with wine to let Planesium out. Planesium is overjoyed to see her lover. "anime mi," (165) she says tenderly. "tene me, amplexare ergo" (172).

Phaedromus complains bitterly that the 'leno' keeps her from him, but Planesium, who is as much in love with Phaedromus as he is with her, exclaims:-

"prohibet? nec prohibere quit
nec prohibebit, nisi mors meum animum aps te abalienaverit"
(173-174).

The lovers embrace each other passionately, and Palinurus is quite disgusted by this display of affection. He attempts to move Planesium away, but her only reply is "irascere, si te edentem hic a cibo abigat" (186). Palinurus shrugs his shoulders. "Hopeless!" he murmurs. "They're both quite crazy." And, in a sudden gust of anger at his young master's infatuation, he shouts "etiam dispertimini?" (189).

Planesium is extremely irritated by these constant interruptions; she reluctantly disentangles herself from

Phaedromus' arms and looks straight at Palinurus. "iam huic voluptati hoc adiunctumst odium," (190) she says pointedly. Palinurus dislikes the word 'odium' and retaliates with 'propudium' (190) and 'ebriola persolla' (192). This in turn infuriates Phaedromus who cuffs him heavily across the head. "noli, amabo, verberare lapidem, ne perdas manum," (197) days Planesium sweetly to Phaedromus. Palinurus, who is convinced that his master is wasting his time, defends himself hotly. "bene monstrantem pugnis caedis, hanc amas, nugas meras" (199).

Planesium now hears the bolts of the temple door being drawn back and knows she must go.

"quo usque, quaeso, ad hunc modum
inter nos amore utemur semper surrupticio," (204-205)

she enquires plaintively. Phaedromus re-assures her the parasite should be back with the money shortly. Planesium is a little vexed by this rather indefinite promise. The parasite may return, but will he have the money to free her. "nimium consultas diu," (207) she grumbles. Phaedromus promises to have her out of the 'leno's house in three days,³³ and Planesium kisses him goodbye. At Phaedromus' eager inquiry as to when he may see her again, she answers a little coldly:-

"em istoc verbo vindictam para:
si amas, eme, ne rogites, facito ut pretio pervincas tuo"
(212-213).

And she disappears indoors.

Curculio, the parasite who is aiding Phaedromus, is

33 . The highest ambition of girls kept by a 'leno' was to be bought outright from the 'leno'.
Dem. Against Neaera 29; Athen. XIII, 590D.

successful in his trick and obtains the money from the banker to buy Planesium from Cappadox. The girl next appears with Cappadox and Curculio as the latter is leading her away - ostensibly to the soldier. She is weeping bitterly for she thinks she has lost Phaedromus for ever. Even the hardened Cappadox is affected by this and calls gruffly to Curculio:-

"quaeso ut hanc cures bene siet isti.
bene ego istam eduxi meae domi et pudice" (517-518). He tries to console her as she disappears with Curculio:- "ne time, bene hercle vendidi ego te," (520) he says encouragingly.

But despair can inject courage into the weakest of creatures, and Curculio arrives on stage outraged by Planesium's behaviour.

"verum mulierem peiorem quam haec amica est Phaedromi
non vidi neque audivi, neque pol dici nec fingi potest
peior," (593-595)

he says with great indignation. When he refused to tell Planesium where he had obtained the soldier's ring she promptly bit him through the hand, and Curculio was forced to escape out of doors.

Planesium now follows him, calling excitedly to Phaedromus to hurry. "magna res est," (600) she implores. Phaedromus seizes Curculio by the arm, and Planesium, in a state of fearful suspense, begs Phaedromus to compel Curculio to tell her where he obtained the ring. "pater istum neu' gestitavit," (602) she cries frantically. Curculio laughs this to scorn, and Planesium tearfully begs "opsecro, parentes ne meos mihi prohibeas" (605). She assures him "libera ego sum nata" (607).

Curculio regards this with supreme indifference. "So were a good many other people who are now slaves," he remarks dryly.

This angers Phaedromus, but at this point Therapontigonus, the soldier, arrives, and a violent argument commences between Curculio, Therapontigonus, and Phaedromus as to Planesium's status.³⁴ Blows are exchanged and Planesium, desperate, kneels in front of the soldier begging to know whence he had the ring. Therapontigonus is unwilling at first, but eventually begins to explain. As soon as he mentions his father's name, Periplanes, Planesium exclaims loudly "frater mi, salve," (641) and tries to put her arms around the soldier. Taken aback, he holds her off. "How can I believe this?" he demands. But after Planesium has recalled their mother's name, and related the full story of her kidnapping at the festival of Dionysus, Therapontigonus is almost convinced. The sight of a ring which Planesium has with her and which he recognises as one he himself gave to her, is the final proof. Planesium's persistence has won the day.

Brother and sister embrace. Therapontigonus promises to give Planesium to Phaedromus in marriage "if she wishes." Planesium eagerly asserts that she does wish it; it seems obvious that her love for Phaedromus is sincere and not simply due to the hope that he may buy her freedom.

There is one more glimpse of Planesium in the final scene.

³⁴ . If proof of free birth was brought, the girl regained her original status. See W.L.Westermann, Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity (Amer. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia, 1955) Ch. II.

Cappadox enters, only to be roughly handled by Phaedromus and Therapontigonus. But Planesium's sense of justice is roused by this and she pleads

"frater, opsecro te, noli hunc condemnatum perdere.
bene et pudice me domi habuit" (696-697).

Planesium's one unmaidenly action is the biting of Curculio - really shocking behaviour for a 'virgo,' even one who has been brought up by a 'leno.' One can imagine the horrified delight with which the audience heard the story from Curculio. However, it does exhibit a certain amount of spirit which the rather mawkish Palaestra would never have manifested.

Adelphasium and Anterastilis (Poenulus) are two free-born sisters who have been kidnapped in childhood and brought up by a 'leno.' They must be grouped with the 'virgines' because they have not yet adopted the profession of courtesans. Their father arrives just in time to save them from this unpleasant fate (1138-1140). The chastity of the two girls is not definitely affirmed, but there are pointers to this in 281, 292, 343-4, 1095-6. Harsh,³⁵ too, maintains that the inference is that Agorastocles is and has been Adelphasium's only lover.

The two sisters appear together throughout the play and, like two other sisters, Panegyris and Pamphila (Stichus), are well contrasted in detail.

Adelphasium and Anterastilis enter from the house of Lycus,

35 . P.Harsh, Studies in Dramatic Preparation in Roman Comedy
(Univ. Chicago, 1935) p.50.

the 'lono.' They are on their way to the temple of Venus to make offerings to the goddess.³⁶ A maid accompanies them, carrying the offerings. They do not see Agorastocles and Milphio who are already on stage and who enliven the following scene with a number of amusing asides. Adelphasium, the elder, immediately begins to grumble about the immense labour entailed in preparing themselves for the day:-

"nam nos usque ab aurora ad hoc quod diei est,
[postquam aurora inluxit, nunquam concessa(vi)mus]
ex industria ambae nunquam concessamus
lavari aut fricari aut tergeri aut ornari,
poliri, expoliri, pingi, fingi" (217-221).

She combines with this a good deal of sententious moralising:-

"Negoti sibi qui volet vim parare,
navem et mulierem, haec duo comparato.
nam nullae magis res duae plus negoti
habent, forte si occeperis exornare" (210-213),

and ends her complaints with a hint that they are not as well-dressed as they might be:- "nam quae lauta est nisi perculta est, meo quidem animo quasi inluta est" (232). The inference is that she considers all the time and trouble taken in preparing her toilet has been wasted as she has not an attractive dress to wear.

Anterastilis, the younger of the two, expresses great surprise at this. She smoothes down her own frock, a little doubt creeping into her mind. However, she staunchly rebukes her sister for this heresy:-

"Miro(r) equidem, soror, te istaec sic fabulari
quae tam callida et docta sis et faceta" (233-234).

36 . The 'hetairai' made processions to the temple of Aphrodite to pray to the goddess (See Ath. XIII, 573C. (N.B. This refers to Corinth).

For, she thinks, they cannot afford to give up their prinking. In spite of all they do to make themselves attractive, they have difficulty in finding lovers. In view of Adelphasium's general air of discontent this does not seem surprising.

Adelphasium continues to express her opinion that more moderation is needed in everything, including their toilet. "nimia omnia nimium exhibent negoti hominibus ex se," (239) she says severely. Anterastilis, inspired by her sister's moralising, attempts to add something of her own, and compares women without elegance to salt fish lacking taste (241-247).

Adelphasium, who is always conscious of her importance as elder sister, resents Anterastilis' emulation and says abruptly that it is for others to criticise; it is better that they should not discuss their own faults. Anterastilis meekly agrees, and in reply to Adelphasium's question, replies that she has prepared everything for the sacrifice to Venus. It appears from this that, as is usual even in modern families, the less interesting duties are invariably thrust upon the younger members.

Anterastilis now wishes to hurry off to the temple, knowing that the 'leno' will be waiting for them there. Adelphasium is aghast at this suggestion. She has no desire to mix with the crowd that is at the altar:-

"an te ibi vis inter istas vorsarier
prosedas, pistorum amicas, reginas alicarias,
miseras schoeno delibutas servilicolas sordidas ..."
(265-267)

she apostrophises Anterastilis in a fine piece of rhetoric.

This fastidiousness is certainly a handicap to Adelphasium in her aspirations to the life of a courtesan, for clients were very often met at festivals.³⁷

Her scathing opinions about their costumes have affected Anterastilis who now remarks that she does not care for their appearance at all (283-284). Adelphasium who is a most contrary and argumentative creature, immediately retorts:-

"immo vero sane commode;
nam pro erili et nostro quaestu sati' bene ornatae sumus"
(284-285).

She indulges in another spate of moralising on incomes and expenses. If Anterastilis has been exposed to this all her life, it is surprising that she remains as sweet-tempered as she is. She remarks innocently enough that she is afraid Adelphasium will feel envious when she sees the dresses of the other courtesans. To which the insufferable Adelphasium smugly replies:- "invidia in me nunquam innatast neque malitia," (300). She would rather, she continues, possess a pleasant disposition than wealth, and she ends with the weighty pronouncement:-

"pulchrum ornatum turpes mores peius caeno conlinunt,
lepidi mores turpem ornatum facile factis comprobant"
(306-307).

For some time Anterastilis says nothing. Perhaps she is pondering over Adelphasium's words and wondering whether they really apply to their own circumstances. With her next speech Adelphasium's unsympathetic nature is even more clearly outlined. Anterastilis has remarked that it was lazy of them not

to go before dawn to the temple of Venus. Adelphasium replies uncharitably that it is only ugly girls who make sacrifices while it is still night:- "nam vigilante Venere si veniant eae, ita sunt turpes, credo ecaster Venerem ipsam e fano fugent" (322-323).

It is plain that Agorastocles (who has been on stage all this time) is completely besotted by Adelphasium. "ut mulsa loquitur!" (325) he exclaims at the conclusion of Adelphasium's ill-natured comments.

The two girls now move down stage to go to the temple, but are accosted by Agorastocles and Milphio. Agorastocles, in his attempts to delay Adelphasium for a little conversation, makes the mistake of catching her by the arm. Adelphasium irritably shakes herself free, and in spite of Agorastocles' flattery - "qui lubet spectare turpis, pulchram spectandam dare?" (338) - remains cold and indifferent to him. She must attend the courtesan market, she informs him, for she wants to display herself there. Adelphasium is hoping for some reaction from her lover here, but Agorastocles merely suggests this is not necessary:- "proba mers facile emptorem reperit, tam etsi in apstruso sitast" (342). He follows it up with an invitation to his house to do a little love-making.

Adelphasium, disappointed at no firm offer being made to her, says furiously between her teeth "quo die Orcus Accherunte mortuos amiserit" (344). "I have a good many gold coins at home that are very restless," mentions Agorastocles. A spark lights up Adelphasium's eye at this. "deferto ad me, faxo

actutum constiterit lymphaticum," (346) she offers eagerly. Her views on the respective value of character and gold seem to be reversed at this point.

"What a treasure!" remarks Milphio ironically on hearing this request. He has never been impressed by his master's choice, and cannot resist pouncing on any opportunity of belittling her. "The more I see of her, the more rubbishy a piece of goods she seems to me," (348) he adds vindictively.

Agorastocles again attempts to caress Adelphasium, but she will have nothing to do with him, hinting:- "si sapias, curam hanc facere compendi potest" (351). He is an obtuse individual, and enquires in bewildered tones why she is angry with him. Infuriated by his stupidity - intentional or otherwise - Adelphasium bursts into recriminations:-

"bene promittis multa ex multis: omnia incassum cadunt.
liberare iuravisti me hau semel sed centiens" (360-361).

"Apscede tu a me," (364) she shrieks in vituperative accents. There does seem to be some justice behind her complaints, for as far as we can see, Agorastocles has the money to free her. There is the mention of six hundred gold pieces in the house (166), but Agorastocles is apparently a business man and unwilling to let the 'leno' out-manoeuvre him in demanding an exorbitant price for the girl.

Agorastocles now begs Milphio to placate Adelphasium, but the slave is no more successful than his master. "sycophanto par ero," (376) gibes Adelphasium. "Please don't be angry with him," begs Milphio, who knows quite well that he will bear the

brunt of his master's wrath.

"amabo, men prohibere postulas
ne te verberet magi' quam ne mendax me advorsum siet?"
(399-400)

says Adelphasium sharply.

But Anterastilis is weary of this unfruitful conversation. "For heaven's sake speak pleasantly to him," she exclaims, "so that he won't be such a nuisance. He's keeping us from our business" (401-402). Adelphasium realises this and indifferently tells Agorastocles that she is no longer angry with him, promising him a kiss when she returns from the sacrifice. Agorastocles' spirits are fully restored by this, and he bids the girls a cheerful farewell as they depart for the temple.

When the two return from the temple Hanno and Agorastocles are on stage, though the girls do not see them. Adelphasium seems in a more pleasant frame of mind. She has enjoyed looking at the decorations in the temple and revelled in the fascinating scents. But she cannot resist any opportunity of carping at her younger sister, and when Anterastilis comments that they at least were not held up to ridicule by the youths there, as the other women were, she reproves her with "malim istuc aliis videatur quam uti tu te, soror, conlaudes" (1184). Anterastilis humbly acknowledges this, and Adelphasium warns that the knowledge of their birth should restrain them from faults.

But Anterastilis is still excited by the expedition to the

temple and is bubbling over with exuberance. "nos hodie inter alias praestitimus pulchritudine," (1193) she says delightedly. This earns her the sharpest upbraiding she has yet won from Adelphasium:- "stulta, soror, magis es quam volo" (1194). Again she refers to their family line, and again comes the interminable moralising on women:- "sibi nimi' placent minu'que addunt operam uti placeant viris" (1204).

Fortunately for her own happiness, Anterastilis is resilient and, passing over this, reminds Adelphasium that the soothsayer has prophesied that they will be free in a few days. She admits though that she does not know how this will come about, unless the gods or their parents come to their aid.

Hanno now approaches the two girls and speaks to them. Agorastocles intervenes and explains that Hanno wishes to do them a favour. A good deal of playful sparring with an under-current of seriousness now takes place between Adelphasium and Agorastocles as to Hanno's intentions.

Agorastocles is still infatuated with Adelphasium and again exclaims rapturously over her behaviour:-

"ut pudice verba fecit, cogitate et commode
ut modeste orationem praebuit" (1221-1222).

Hanno's complaisant comment is:- "certo haec meast" (1222).

The scene that now takes place is, one cannot but feel, a grave psychological mistake on the part of Plautus. Hanno, abetted by Agorastocles, decides to torment his daughters by pretending to summon them to court on a charge of theft. Now it does not seem feasible that any father, who has spent years

looking for his lost daughters, should behave in this callous and inhuman way. It is not in character, and it is surprising that Plautus, who knew human nature well, should have sacrificed verisimilitude for the sake of a scene of debatable humour.

Adelphasium and Anterastilis are dumbfounded at this demand that they should go to court. "quid in ius vocas nos? quid tibi debemus?" (1233) demands Adelphasium. And on Agorastocles' jocular "He'll tell you that there," she reviles him bitterly:- "etiam me meae latrant canes?" (1234)

Hanno then accuses the girls of concealing his daughters from him - a charge which bewilders the girls even more. Agorastocles bursts out laughing and demands a kiss from Adelphasium. But she pushes him away, too upset by his traitorous behaviour to have him near her (1243). Eventually the joke is dropped, and one cannot think that Hanno has derived any amusement from the distress of his two daughters.

Adelphasium, her dictatorial manner dispelled by this misfortune, says helplessly:- "misera timeo
quid hoc sit negoti, mea soror; ita stupida sine animo asto"
(1249-1250).

When Hanno informs the girls that they are his daughters, she finds it difficult to believe him:- "num hi falso oblectant gaudio nos?" (1258) she begs of Anterastilis.

Agorastocles assures them that it is the truth. Both girls embrace their father without bearing any resentment for his extraordinary behaviour. Agorastocles succeeds in obtaining a promise from Hanno that he shall marry Adelphasium and get the

dowry that goes with her. Here is further evidence that money is of great importance to Agorastocles.

Adelphasium reverts to her former moralising:- "mi pater, tua pietas plane nobeis auxilio fuit" (1277), but fortunately Antamoenides enters and distracts her attention. Both girls are afraid of the soldier. Adelphasium clings to Agorastocles and Anterastilis to her father. Explanations ensue and Antamoenides enthusiastically aids the others in compelling Lycus to return the money. The two girls are now safe with their father and with Agorastocles.

Of the two girls Anterastilis is by far the more attractive character, and if it were not for the repressive tendencies of her elder sister, would display greater initiative.

The 'virgo' in Persa, the daughter of Saturio, the parasite, is one of the most interesting of this group and Duckworth³⁸ refers to 'the abnormal features of her role.' Here we have a free-born girl, a 'virgo', actually taking an active part (albeit unwillingly) in the main plot - the deception of the 'leno.' As we have noted before the strict seclusion of the young Athenian girl together with the orthodox scene-setting (a public street) tended to exclude the 'virgo' from any major activity in the play.

Certainly the parasite would belong to the lowest level of free society at Athens and, as such, his daughter would not

38 . G.Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, p.254.

be fully subject to the rigid conventions of the upper classes. This girl resembles one of those rare children sometimes born to slum parents - good-looking, intelligent, and with an appearance of breeding. These qualities are essential for the success of the deception, and Toxilus, the slave who is engineering the intrigue, says "*forma lepida et liberali est*" (130).

Toxilus orders Saturio, the father, to instruct his daughter in the story she is to tell - that she was kidnapped and sold. Moreover she is to weep when she tells her sorry tale. Saturio immediately answers:- "*ter tanto peior ipsa est quam illam tu esse vis*" (153). This is a libel on his daughter's character as we shall see later, but he is anxious to assure Toxilus that the girl is capable of putting over the deception.

All is arranged and Saturio's daughter, dressed as a Persian captive, appears on stage with her father. The girl is extremely distressed at the role that has been thrust upon her. "amabo, mi pater, quamquam lubenter escis alienis studes, tuin ventris caussa filiam vendas tuam?" (336-338) she begs. On Saturio replying rudely that he owns her, his daughter with a good deal of spirit demands:- "*utrum pro ancilla me habes an pro filia?*" (341). Saturio repeats inexorably that he has every power over her.

His daughter admits this, but says sensibly that it is better to live quietly and modestly, for

"ad paupertatem si admigrant infamiae,
gravior paupertas fit, fides sublestior" (347-348).

Saturio resents this aspersion on his mode of living. "You're being a thorough nuisance," he warns. But his daughter, positive that she has right on her side, asserts that it is well within her province to give her father good advice. Her good character is precious to her, and she cannot bear the thought of disgrace.

Saturio laughs this to scorn. "Are you afraid I'm really going to sell you?" he asks. His daughter suggests that pretence is just as bad - "verum insimulari nolo" (358), and Saturio loses his patience. It shall be as he wishes, he declares, and adds resentfully that "over clever girls do not please their parents" (365-366). To this the daughter, still struggling against what she knows to be wrong, retorts

"virgo atque mulier nulla erit quin sit mala,
quae reticet si quid fieri pervorse videt" (367-368).

Quite out of temper now after all the badgering from his daughter, Saturio shouts angrily at her. The girl instantly changes her tactics and assures him earnestly "nam ego tibi cautum volo" (370). It is his welfare she is thinking of, not her own, she gives him to understand. Even this does not mollify Saturio. "malu'ne ego sum?" (371) he growls. Filial piety forbids the girl to say what she really thinks. She makes one final effort to persuade him to relinquish his plans (376-377), but to no avail. Saturio insists that she carries out his instructions, and she agrees, warning him

"verum videto, me ubi voles nuptum dare,
ne haec fama faciat repudiosas nuptias" (383-384).

Saturio jeers at this attitude; with present-day customs, he says, only a dowry is necessary, not a good name. At his daughter's protest that she has no dowry, he assures her he has a chest full of books! The daughter, at this, gives up the unequal struggle. "vel tu me vende vel face - quid tibi lubet," (398) she says resignedly, and follows her disagreeable father into the house of Toxilus.

It seems obvious from the outset that the deception of Dordalus, the 'leno', will be successful. The daughter's appearance contributes towards this. "forma expetenda liberalem virginem," (521) is the report in the letter of introduction. And again, as soon as Saturio's daughter appears in front of Toxilus and Dordalus, the remark is "specie quidem edepol liberalist" (546). "liberalis" or "well-bred" is the predominating feature of this girl's appearance, and it is this that Toxilus is relying on to bring about the success of his trick.

Sagaristio, who is playing the part of the foreigner, leads ^Saturio's daughter on to the stage where Toxilus and Dordalus are discussing the contents of the letter. In accordance with the plan to represent her as a serious, modest girl, and to emphasise that she is a stranger to Athens, Sagaristio and the girl commence a conversation about the city. "Does this seem to you a happy and wealthy city?" enquires Sagaristio. The daughter replies sensibly that she has seen only the outer

appearance of the city, and she cannot judge the citizens' characters from that. In reply to another question about the fortification of the town, the girl seizes her chance and embarks on a philosophical dissertation. "si incolae bene sunt morati, id pulchre moenitum arbitror" (554) she begins, hoping to impress Dordalus with her sagacity. One wonders, too, whether this recital of vice (555-557) is not directed to some extent at Dordalus. Toxilus thinks this, but Dordalus is not at all embarrassed and simply remarks "verba quidem haud indocte fecit" (563).

After some discussion Dordalus agrees to buy the girl and Toxilus, acting as adviser, urges him to ask the girl some questions first to assure himself that all is in order.

Saturio's daughter is as good an actress as Milphidippa (Miles Gloriosus), and in spite of her previous protests, is almost prepared to enjoy the part she is playing. Dordalus calls the girl to come to him, and she steps forward to the encounter with a gleeful aside to Toxilus:-

"liquidumst auspiciu, tace.
curabo ut praedati pulchre ad castra convortamini"
(607-608).

"Be careful what you're doing," whispers Toxilus. "For goodness' sake be quiet," returns the girl. "I'll do what you want." She stands demurely in front of Dordalus, and assures him:-

"quamquam ego serva sum,
scio ego officium meum, ut quae rogiter vera, ut accepi,
eloquar" (615-616).

A question about her parents leads to a flood of tears so

natural that Toxilus exclaims aside:- "ita catast et callida" (622). Her name is asked, and Toxilus is greatly alarmed lest she shall make a slip here. (Obviously coaching in this direction has been overlooked.) But Saturio's daughter cleverly replies that her name in her own country was Lucris,³⁹ and the danger is past.

The ensuing questions - what her native country is, what her father's name was - she evades even more skilfully (646-647). Her answers are ambiguous for in nearly every case she speaks the literal truth. Dordalus is still hesitating as to her purchase, but the girl, realising this, clinches the matter by telling him that her father will certainly ransom her with the aid of his friends when he hears where she is. Finally the deal is closed - sixty minae for the girl after Dordalus has beaten Sagaristio down from a hundred minae.

Dordalus goes inside to fetch the money, and Toxilus rejoices:-

"edepol dedisti, virgo, operam adlaudabilem,
probam et sapientem et sobriam" (673-674).

Saturio's daughter reverts to her former serious-minded attitude.

"si quid bonis
boni fit, esse id et grave et gratum solet" (674-675),
she says with satisfaction.

Dordalus returns with the money and Sagaristio departs with it. Dordalus re-enters his house to give orders to the slaves, and the girl, restless and nervous as the deception nears its

39 . See significant names, page 347.

climax, complains that her father is late (72⁴). As Dordalus returns Saturio rushes out of his hiding-place and claims his daughter. The girl welcomes him eagerly and Dordalus, haled off to court, realises that he has been tricked out of his sixty minae.

Prescott⁴⁰ mentions that the daughter's serious-mindedness is due to the secluded life of women in that society. I would question this. I have not noticed that girls brought up in a select boarding-school are any more serious-minded than those exposed to the rough-and-tumble of a co-educational day-school, and would suggest that serious-mindedness is more an inherent quality of character than the product of environment.

Webster⁴¹ mentions that Saturio's daughter is unreal and 'impossibly virtuous', but her objection to the deception is natural in a young girl; and her moralising while she is the 'Persian captive' is merely a good piece of play-acting.

Wilner,⁴² too, states that "the girl's real character is represented by her quick wit in inventing platitudes rather than by the moral principles so pompously propounded." Of course we cannot judge the girl's character by her performance during the deception. She must be appraised on the conversation alone with her father (329-399) where there is no need for her

⁴⁰ . H.W.Prescott, "The Interpretation of Roman Comedy," C.P. II (1916), pp.125-147.

⁴¹ . T.B.L.Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy (Manchester, 1953) p.81.

⁴² . O.L.Wilner, "The Technical Device of Direct Description of Character in Roman Comedy," C. Phil. 33 (1938), pp.20-36.

to assume any moral pose. This statement of her feelings is, we may be sure, an index to her true character. Surely one may be virtuous as well as witty!

The other two 'virgines' in Plautus' plays, *Casina* (Casina) and *Phaedria* (Aulularia) do not appear on stage at all.

Phaedria, Euclio's daughter in Aulularia, is mentioned in the prologue to the play. This, in fact, is the only indication we have as to her character. Piety is one of her attributes for she is reported as daily offering wine, incense and wreaths at the shrine of the household gods (23-25).

This unfortunate has been violated by a young man of good family - with the customary excuse that he had been drinking wine when it happened (28-30). Now she is pregnant, but does not know who her assailant was (74-75). Her poverty (174) is not taken exception to by Megadorus who, wishing to marry her, possibly feels that a girl brought up in these circumstances will not demand as much as a woman with a large dowry⁴³ (478-484). That dowries were an integral part of marriage though is clear from Euclio's remark that he cannot wed his daughter without a dowry⁴⁴ (191-192).

As we have noted Phaedria does not appear on stage, but during the scene between Lyconides and his mother, his explanations of his behaviour are rudely interrupted by the cries of Phaedria in child-birth:-

⁴³ . Men. Frag. 583K.

⁴⁴ . Dem. lxx. 50.

"perii, mea nutrix. opsecro te, uterum dolet.
Iuno Lucina, tuam fidem!" (691-692).

It is not possible to depict the birth on stage, and this is a more dramatic method of presenting it than by simple narration.

Eunomia promises to persuade Megadorus to relinquish Phaedria to Lyconides, and although the rest of the play is lost, Lyconides apparently marries Phaedria and all ends well.

Casina, the 'virgo' in Casina, has been exposed as a baby and found by a slave. She has been brought up with every care by Cleostrata. "era fecit, educavit magna industria," (45) the prologue tells us. That she is good-looking we know from Olympio's "bellam et tenellam Casinam," (108); and Lysidamus describes her as "mollicula" (492). Now she is desired in marriage by Olympio, the overseer, and by Chalinus, the armour-bearer of the absent son.

Olympio, arguing with Chalinus over Casina, describes at length how he will torture Chalinus at his (Olympio's) wedding. He will shut him up where he can hear all Casina's endearments to her husband on the wedding night (132-140). That Olympio's love-life has so far been chiefly concerned with 'meretrices' is clear. One can imagine an experienced woman overflowing with the fulsome

"mi animule, mi Olympio,
mea vita, mea mellilla, mea festivitas ... " (134-135),

but a maiden married to a man chosen for her, whom presumably she does not care for, is not likely to be overwhelmingly

affectionate. Doubtless the audience appreciated the contrast between the extravagance of the suggested endearments and Casina's natural reticence. (See lines 45-46.)

Pardalisca's story of Casina's sudden madness is amusing because it is in direct contrast to what we already know of the girl's character. Her behaviour is "quod haud Atticam condecet disciplinam," (652) accuses Pardalisca, and, becoming more venturesome, asserts breathlessly:-

"imitatur malarum malam disciplinam,
viro quae suo interminatur" (657-658).

It is laughable to imagine the modestly-brought up Casina chasing the household with a sword, however great her anger, and only Lysidamus with his guilty conscience would have credited it.

Olympio is not so gullible, and when Lysidamus relates this farrago of nonsense to him, he merely remarks laconically "I know these rubbishy jades" (754-754a).

Again comes the amusing contrast of Pardalisca's request to Olympio as she is handing over Casina-Chalinus:-

"amabo, integrae atque imperitae huic
impercito" (832-833) - very

appropriate if it had been the real Casina, but wholly incongruous applied to Chalinus.

Casina, as revealed in the epilogue, is discovered finally to be the daughter of the next-door neighbour, and so is spared marriage with either Olympio or Chalinus. Instead she marries the son of Lysidamus and Cleostrata as is suitable to her free

birth.

Neither of these two last characters of Plautus is delineated in detail, but it cannot be expected when the character in question does not appear on stage, and is depicted solely through comment and narration by the other characters.

Pamphila, in Terence's Eunuchus, appears briefly on stage, but does not speak. This girl has experienced a number of vicissitudes. She was kidnapped by pirates and sold to a slave-dealer. This man gave the girl to Thais' mother as a present. When the mother died, her brother sold the girl on the slave-market. Here she was bought by the soldier as a present for Thais. Now Thais wishes to find the girl's own people and restore her to them as she is sure Pamphila comes originally from a well-born family (204).

Pamphila, like Casina, has been carefully brought up. Thais tells Phaedria

"mater ubi accepit, coepit studiose omnia
docere, educere, ita ut(i) si esset filia" (116-117).

She is good-looking (132, 230-231, 273, 290, 361, 366, 565-567), and has been taught to play the lute (132-133).

Gnatho, the soldier's parasite, leads Pamphila on stage as they are on their way to Thais' house. Parmeno, Phaedria's slave, is already standing at the door of Thais' house with his master's present to Thais - "cum meo decr&#2pito hoc eunucho" (231). His gloom when he sees the beautiful Pamphila is understandable for she is the gift to Thais of his master's

rival.

"sed quid videtur
hoc tibi mancupium?" (273-274) enquires Gnatho airily.

"non malum hercle" (274), Parmeno is compelled to reply.

Thais continues to see that the girl is carefully looked after, as is clear from her attitude at the soldier's dinner party. She refuses point-blank to have Pamphila brought to the banquet. "minime gentium:
in convivium illam?" (625-626) she exclaims. And, when

telling Chremes that the girl is his sister, she re-iterates:-

"educta ita uti teque illaque dignumst" (748).

Chaerea sees Pamphila by chance in the street as she is being taken to Thais' house, and instantly falls in love with her. He is attracted to her not only by her beauty - "o faciem pulchram" (296), but by her natural unspoilt appearance. He complains that mothers are apt to force their daughters into tight corsets to make them small-waisted, and even diet them to keep them slim (313-316). This girl is not like that. Also she has "nova figura oris" (317) with "color veru'" (318). He tells Parmeno that he envies the eunuch who will be able to look on these delights.

This leads to Chaerea changing places with the eunuch, and he, left alone with Pamphila, so far forgets himself as to violate the wretched girl. This episode is related by Pythias who rushes on stage screaming that the eunuch (really Chaerea) has raped Pamphila (645-646). The girl, not surprisingly, is crying and refuses to discuss the matter.

A tremendous uproar ensues and the problem is only solved

by the discovery that Pamphila is Chremes' sister. This is proved by the nurse's recognition of Pamphila's tokens. As she is a free citizen of Athens Chaerea is now legally entitled to marry her, and the betrothal takes place (1036).

The only other hint on Pamphila's character is given to us by Pythias, who expresses her approbation when Pamphila's relationship to Chremes is proved. "probe edepol narras;" she says, "nam illi faveo virgini" (916). We infer from this that Pamphila has a pleasing disposition. This, coupled with her good looks and careful upbringing should make her an excellent wife - far too good really for the spoilt, undisciplined Chaerea.

Glycerium in Terence's Andria is in a very similar position to Pamphila of Eunuchus. She and her uncle were shipwrecked on the coast of Andros when she was a small child, and when her uncle died she was brought up as the sister of Chrysis who later became a courtesan.

Pamphilus, while visiting Chrysis with his friends, has fallen in love with Glycerium, and she is now pregnant by him. Glycerium herself, though, has never led the life of a courtesan. This is made quite clear when Chrysis on her death-bed says to Pamphilus "haec te solum semper fecit maximi" (293). Pamphilus is and has been her only lover.

Glycerium is, like the other 'virgines,' beautiful, and even Simo, Pamphilus' father, acknowledges that she has an

appearance of breeding in spite of her connection with the

courtesan:-

"et voltu, Sosia,
adeo modesto, adeo venusto ut nil supra" (119-120). And

again he says:-

"erat forma praeter ceteras
honestas ac liberali" (122-123).

She is affectionate and grateful for she mourns deeply when Chrysis dies (121). Besides this she must have a certain strength of character for she has made up her mind to rear Pamphilus' child when it is born instead of disposing of it (217-219). She is genuinely in love with Pamphilus and trusts to him not to desert her. "mihi suum animum atque omnem vitam credidit," (272) says Pamphilus of Glycerium. Chrysis has begged of Pamphilus that he will never leave Glycerium, knowing that the girl's beauty and youth will be a handicap and not an asset in helping her to lead an upright life. Post⁴⁵ remarks that young girls with no source of livelihood were often compelled to turn to young men to support them (cf. 812-813).

Pamphilus has regarded Glycerium as his wife⁴⁶ (273) and has promised that he will never let her suffer:-

"bene et pudice ei(u)s doctum atque eductum sinam
coactum egestate ingenium inmutarier?" (274-275).

But we know from Mysis, her maid, that she is now in a great state of anxiety caused by the pressure on Pamphilus to marry Philumena, a neighbour's daughter (268-269).

The actual birth of her child adds to Glycerium's pain and

45 . L.A.Post, "Woman's Place in Menander's Athens," T.A.P.A.
71 (1940) pp.420-459.

46 . G.Norwood, The Art of Terence, p.150, remarks that unions based on mutual affection are morally equivalent to marriage.

distress. As with Phaedria in Aulularia, her cries are heard off-stage:- "Iuno Lucina, fer opem, serva me, obsecro" (473). As soon as this occurs, Simo who is standing on stage, asserts that Glycerium is only pretending to be in child-birth so that Chremes shall be deterred from giving Philumena to Pamphilus. This accusation serves by contrast to indicate the real character of Glycerium - a girl who is quite incapable of deception, and who hopes only to hold Pamphilus to her by her affection for him. An older woman might have used such a trick,⁴⁷ but Glycerium is too young and inexperienced for this.

As Pamphilus finds himself in renewed difficulties over his marriage, Glycerium's fears deepen. Mysis is enraged at the agony of mind her young mistress is enduring:-

"verum ex eo nunc misera quem capit
laborem! facile hic plus malist quam illic boni," (719-720)

she exclaims. Glycerium's sweet disposition has won her many friends, and Mysis is genuinely attached to her (684-685); even the midwife, Lesbia, refers to her as "optumae adolescenti" (488).

Eventually Crito from Andros arrives, and through his story it is discovered that Glycerium is the lost daughter of Chremes. She is now entitled to marry Pamphilus, which she could not have done had she not been free-born (879-880), and Chremes produces a dowry of ten talents.

Pamphilus is fortunate to have gained a bride of Glycerium's

⁴⁷ . Compare Phronesium's deceit of Stratophanes in Truculentus.

temperament, and it is equally fortunate that he realises this.

"conveniunt mores" (696) he observes, and again

"nam mi immortalitas
partast, si nulla aegritudo huic gaudio intercesserit"
(960-961).

Philumena, the other virgo in Andria, is loved by Charinus, the friend of Pamphilus. Here is an unusual, in fact an unprecedented case in Roman comedy of a young man not only falling in love with a girl of his own social standing, but prepared, as Beare⁴⁸ says, to treat her with "honourable affection." Beare claims that Terence is here "approaching a modern attitude to love and sex." Norwood⁴⁹ remarks that this is the first European literature to depict honourable and mutual affection between two unmarried people. In other cases in comedy the young men fall in love with courtesans, girls owned by slave-dealers, or poor girls living with widowed mothers or courtesans. This was natural because, as noted before, there was no opportunity to meet the strictly secluded young girl of good family.

How and where had Charinus met Philumena? The audience never learns the answer to this, and Philumena remains a rather unsatisfactory wraith floating about in the background.

We are told she is beautiful - "virginem forma bona," (428) - refuting Pamphilus' fears:-

"nisi si id est quod suspicor:
aliquid monstri alunt" (249-250).

⁴⁸ . W.Beare, "The Secret of Terence," Hermathena 56 (1940) pp.21-39.

⁴⁹ . G.Norwood, The Art of Terence, pp.23-24.

We know that she is chaste because Charinus takes strong exception to Pamphilus' suggestion that he and Philumena are already lovers.

"ah(a), Pamphile,
nil," (325-326)

he exclaims angrily. From her father's fears that Pamphilus will not care for her properly (563-564) and his interest in her happiness (822) it is plain that she has been carefully and affectionately brought up.

Once Pamphilus' and Glycerium's future has been arranged, Philumena is betrothed to Charinus with the promise of six talents as dowry. This is announced in the second ending to the play which Norwood⁵⁰ suggests was written to provide more satisfactorily for the future of Charinus and Philumena.

Philumena of the Hecyra has a normal home background, but has met with misfortune, for she has been raped by an unknown man one night in the street - possibly when returning home from some festival.⁵¹ This episode has been kept a secret by Philumena and her mother, and Philumena's father has married her to Pamphilus.

This young man, compelled against his will by Laches, his father, to marry Philumena, in his anger refuses to consummate the marriage (136-137), hoping that his wife will return home of her own accord:-

50 . G.Norwood, Plautus and Terence, p.146.

51 . See page 349, note 59.

"sed illam spero, ubi hoc cognoverit
non posse se mecum esse, abituram denique" (155-156).

But eventually as the days pass, Pamphilus finds

"haec, ita uti liberali esse ingenio decet,
pudens modesta incommoda atque iniurias
viri omnis ferre et tegere contumelias" (164-166).

He cannot help contrasting his wife's modest dutiful behaviour with the habits of Bacchis. He finds Philumena not unlike himself in character - "par ingenium" (170).

Pamphilus is sent away on business, and Philumena, we learn, "miris modis odisse coepit Sostratam" (179). Since Philumena is a well-bred girl, and Sostrata, Pamphilus' mother, is also of good family, there is no arguing or quarrelling between them but Philumena disappears whenever Sostrata wishes to talk to her (181).

To the audience who do not know the story of Philumena's violation this is puzzling, but Philumena's actions are due to the fact that she has discovered she is pregnant and knows it cannot possibly be Pamphilus' child. Eventually she can no longer face Sostrata and runs home to her own mother.

Fortunately for Philumena she has a tolerant and easy-going father who does not insist that she returns instantly to her husband's roof.

"Etsi scio ego, Philumena, meum ius esse ut te cogam
quae ego imperem facere, ego tamen patrio animo victu' faciam
ut tibi concedam neque tuae lubidini advorsabor" (243-245),

says Phidippus leniently. And that Philumena has prevaricated over her reasons for not returning to her husband's house is clear, for she vows that she cannot live in Laches' dwelling

while Pamphilus is away (268-269).

Pamphilus returns from his trip, wishing to atone for his former neglect of his wife, only to discover that she has gone to her own home. He has developed a great admiration for

Philumena:- "ita olim suo me ingenio pertulit,
tot meas iniurias quae nunquam in ullo patefecit loco"
(302-303).

She is a patient and exemplary wife and Pamphilus has learned to value this.

While Pamphilus and Parmeno are conversing on stage shortly after the former's return, Philumena's voice is heard off stage raised in a scream, and then comes Myrrhina's voice begging her daughter to be quiet (318). Pamphilus goes into the house to see what is wrong and comes out again inexpressibly shocked by Philumena's deceitfulness towards him. He thinks that she has known that she is pregnant and has concealed it from him but Philumena has not known this.⁵²

Pamphilus is determined not to take her back - "etsi amor me graviter consuetudoque ei(u)s tenet" (404), but will keep his promise to Myrrhina not to betray Philumena.

The persuasions of his father and of Phidippus have no effect. He uses as an excuse the fact that Philumena and Sostrata do not care for each other, blaming Philumena for this (477-478). He acknowledges however that she has behaved dutifully to him:-

"quae nunquam quicquam erga me commeritast, pater,
quod nollem, et saepe quod vellem meritam scio" (486-487),

52 . See T.Carney's Chronology (ed. Hecyra, Appendix 4).
Philumena cannot have known that she was pregnant as there was only a month between her violation and her marriage.

and owns that he still loves and longs for her.

But of course the birth of the child is discovered by Phidippus who, for once, is very angry with his daughter:- "nam hercle factumst abs te turpiter," (624) he exclaims, believing that the child is Pamphilus' son and that Philumena is simply being difficult. Pamphilus, now that his mother has decided to live in the country, is hard put to it to find another excuse for not taking his wife back; he says bluntly that if Philumena had wished to bear children by him, she would not have borne the child so secretively (655-657). (It must be remembered that the audience is still in the dark as to who Philumena's assailant was.)

Fortunately the whole problem is solved through Bacchis, the courtesan. Laches and Phidippus assume that Pamphilus is still in love with her - hence his reluctance to take his wife home. Bacchis asserts that she has not seen Pamphilus since his marriage, and is sent to explain the position to Myrrhina and Philumena. Bacchis' protest:- "perii, pudet Philumenaë," (793) expresses not only her shame at being forced into the company of respectable matrons, but also the knowledge that Philumena, a well-bred, modest girl, will shrink from any contact with her, a woman of easy virtue.

Of course during the meeting of Bacchis and the matrons Myrrhina recognises on Bacchis' hand her daughter's ring. Pamphilus had given it to the courtesan after he had pulled it from Philumena's finger on the night he had violated her.

Since it is now clear that the child Philumena has borne is Pamphilus' son, Philumena returns willingly to her husband's house.

Bacchis pays Philumena a final, well-deserved compliment:-
 "perliberali' visast," (864 she says to Pamphilus who is about to enjoy a happy re-union with his wife.

Phanium in Phormio is a girl who has been brought up by a poor but respectable old woman. She does not appear on stage at all. Like the other 'virgines' she is good-looking:-
 "virgo ipsa facie egregia" (100). Even with her hair dishevelled, feet bare, and untidy dress she seems beautiful:-

"ut, ni vis boni
 in ipsa inesset forma, haec formam exstinguerent"
 (107-108).

Antipho falls in love with her when he sees her mourning her dead mother, but the old nurse who looks after her is determined to continue Phanium's careful upbringing. Antipho may have no contact with Phanium unless he marries her (115-116). In his father's absence Antipho is egged on by Phormio to pretend that he is the girl's nearest living relative, and as such is entitled to marry her⁵³ (cf. 125-126, 415-417).

This is done, and Phanium is handed over to Antipho.

However, Antipho appears to have had his wits about him in

53 . After a father's death his daughter could be claimed in marriage by her nearest agnate. The girl had no say in the matter as the purpose was to keep the property in the family. Dem. xlv. 22; Isaeus, Fragments 26. Diod. Sic. XII: 18. 2, 3.

the choice of a wife for Phaedria remarks:- "ingenuam, liberalem nactus es," (168) and again that Phanium is "uxorem sine mala fama palam" (169). As always the emphasis is on good-breeding.

Demipho, Antipho's father, arrives and is infuriated by his son's marriage to an unknown penniless girl. He arranges for Phanium to be sent from the house and married to Phormio with a dowry which he will give.

In spite of all the activity concerning Phanium's future we hear very little of the girl herself. She has had no say in the marriage to Antipho; Sophrona, her nurse, has arranged it all, although she knows that the marriage is not legal.⁵⁴ Now she is afraid that Demipho's anger will be turned on Phanium although it is not the girl's fault (730).

Eventually Sophrona comes across Chremes and recognises him as Phanium's father. He had married Phanium's mother on Lemnos and then, since he changed his name, they were unable to find him again. As Phanium is a free-born citizen her marriage to Antipho is now recognised.

We have only one further comment on Phanium - from Nausistrata:- "nam perliberali' visast, quom vidi, mihi" (815). This from a carping critic like Nausistrata is high praise.

Pamphila in the Adelphi is the daughter of a poverty-

⁵⁴ . Consent of the young man's father was necessary.
See F.Schultz, Principles of Roman Law, p.200.

stricken widow. She lives, we learn, with her mother, her nurse, and a devoted slave. This girl does not appear on stage at all, and is only heard crying out in child-birth.

Pamphila is first introduced through the conversation of Sostrata, her mother, and Canthara, the nurse. We learn little of her except that she has been raped by a young Athenian, Aeschinus, and is now in labour (288-298).

Geta, the slave, arrives infuriated by Aeschinus' apparent desertion of Pamphila for the music-girl. He gives a clear picture of the circumstances under which the family have been living:-

"tot res repente circumvallant se unde emergi non potest:
vis egestas iniustitia solitudo infamia" (302-303).

Sostrata and Canthara are appalled at the news of Aeschinus' defection. Canthara is for hushing the whole matter up, but Sostrata sees further ahead.

"primum indotast; tum praeterea, quae secunda ei dos erat,
periit: pro Virgini dari nuptum non potest," (345-346)

she says. She determines to take legal action with the help of Hegio, her late husband's friend.

Hegio complains to Demea, Aeschinus' father, and the whole story is confirmed by Pamphila's cries off stage:-

"miseram me, differor doloribus!
Iuno Lucina, fer opem! serva me obsecro" (486-487).

The tale comes to Micio's ears and Aeschinus is eventually forgiven by Micio who, in spite of his reproof:- "virginem vitiasti quam te non ius fuerat tangere" (686), says indulgently:-

"iam id peccatum primum sane magnum, at humanum tamen:
fecere alii saepe item boni" (687-688).

Aeschinus is permitted to bring his bride home in the face of Demea's remonstrances about a wife without a dowry.

As will have been noted, Pamphila's character and looks are not described, and there is merely a general impression of a young girl very similar to Phanium in Phormio.

B. Characterisation by technical devices.

1. Direct description.

(a) Description in prologues. In the prologues of three of Plautus' plays traits of the 'virgines' are listed. In Aulularia we learn that Euclio's daughter displays piety to the household gods (23-25). Casina's prologue mentions that Casina has been carefully brought up (45-46), that she is attractive (47-48), and that she is chaste (81). Selenium in Cistellaria is referred to as having been reared modestly and carefully (172-173).

(b) Self description in solos. Among the 'virgines' there are two examples of self-characterisation in solos. Both occur in the same play, Rudens (Plautus). Palaestra, cast up on the shore after being shipwrecked, cries aloud her terror, her innocence, her virtuous life, her respect for her parents and the gods (189-194). She also bewails her lost freedom and expresses remorse that she has never been of any use to her parents (217-219). Ampelisca, arriving on the shore from

"iam id peccatum primum sane magnum, at humanum tamen:
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another direction, gives vent to her anxiety over Palaestra's fate, showing her real affection for her friend (220-228).

(c) Self description in dialogue. With the exception of two plays, Poenulus and Rudens, there is very little self description by the 'virgines' in dialogue. In any case this is an impossibility with Terence whose 'virgines' do not appear on stage, save for Antiphila in Heauton Timorumenos. This girl briefly characterises herself when she points out that she has always subordinated her own wishes to those of her lover (396-397). Unselfishness is one of her good qualities.

In Plautus Saturio's daughter (Persa) characterises herself:- 346 - sagacity; 350 - commonsense; 371 - filial respect; 616 - truthfulness. In Poenulus we have:- Adelphasium: 217-221 - daintiness; 300 - lack of envy; 1185-1186, 1201-1202 - good breeding; 1248-1250 - terror. Anterastilis: 235 - neatness; 241-247 - love of adornment; 1183 - dignity; 1193 - beauty. Rudens gives us:- Palaestra: 258, 274-278, 664-665, 681 - despair and lack of courage; Ampelisca: 424 - dignity; 685-686 - terror.

(d) Description by others during absence of character. For the 'virgines' who do not appear on stage there is a great deal of description by other characters as this is the only means of conveying information about them to the audience. Even the 'virgines' who do take part are frequently characterised by lovers and others.

In Plautus, comments while the individual is absent are:-

Casina:- Olympio on Casina: 108 - beauty and youth; Lysidamus on Casina: 492 - delicacy; Pardalisca on Casina: 651-652 - bad behaviour (false), 832-833 - innocence and inexperience;

Curculio:- Phaedromus on Planesium II - sweetness, 51, 57 - chastity; Curculio on Planesium: 593-594 - vicious behaviour;

Epidicus:- Thesprio on Telestis: 43-44 - charm and good-breeding; Chaeribulus on Telestis: 107-108 - good-breeding; Stratippocles on Telestis: 110 - innocence, 623-624 - beauty;

Persa:- Toxilus on Saturio's daughter: 130 - charm and good-breeding, 546 - good-breeding; Saturio on his daughter: 128 - chastity, 153 - wickedness (false); Dordalus on Saturio's daughter: 521 - good-breeding and beauty (in letter), 547 - beauty;

Poenulus:- Agorastocles on Adelphasium and Anterastilis: 962 - free birth; Syncerastus on Adelphasium and Anterastilis: 894, 900 - free birth; Hanno on Adelphasium and Anterastilis: 1167 - maturity; Agorastocles on Adelphasium: 1197a - charm and daintiness, 1221-1222 - modest and becoming speech;

Rudens:- Trachalio on Ampelisca and Palaestra: 320 - prettiness, 641-642 - innocence and helplessness; Sceparnio on Palaestra and Ampelisca: 565 - good appearance; Daemones on Palaestra and Ampelisca: 894 - youth and charm.

In Terence we have:- Andria:- Simo on Glycerium: 119-123 - beauty and modesty; Mysis on Glycerium: 269-270 - anxiety and fear, 693 - grief; Pamphilus on Glycerium: 274 - modesty and chastity, 696 - similar habits to his own; Chrysis on Glycerium (quoted): 286-288 - prettiness and youth, 293-

294 - loyalty and affection to one man; Davus on Glycerium:
 381 - lack of relatives, 755-756 - boldness (false); Lesbia
 on Glycerium: 488 - good character; Pamphilus on Philumena:
 250 - monster (false); Byrria on Philumena: 428 - beauty;
Hecyra:- Parmeno on Philumena: 164-165 - modesty,^{and} good-
 breeding ~~and modesty~~, 170 - similar nature to her husband's;
 Pamphilus on Philumena: 302-303 - sweet nature and loyalty,
 477-478 - intolerance (false), 486-489 - kindness and loyalty,
 589 - stupidity (false); Laches on Philumena: 661 - youth;
 Bacchis on Philumena: 864 - good-breeding; Heauton
Timorumenos:- Clitipho on Antiphila: 226 - modesty and chaste
 upbringing; Clinia on Antiphila: 231 - weakness of will,
 257-258 - avarice and disloyalty, 260 - bad habits (last three
 are false); Syrus on Antiphila: 265 - unchanged habits and
 affection, 285 - hard worker, 286-291 - disinterest in
 appearance, 305-307 - affection; Eunuchus:- Thais on Pamphila:
 116-117 - sound upbringing, 132 - beauty, 748 - good training;
 Parmeno on Pamphila: 230-231 - beauty, 274 - good looks;
 Chaerea on Pamphila: 296 - beauty, 313 - good figure, 317-318 -
 natural beauty and youth, 361, 366, 565, 567 - beauty; Pythias
 on Pamphila: 659 - grief; Chremes on Pamphila: 805 - free
 birth; Phormio:- Geta on Phanium: 100 - good looks, 104 -
 beauty, 106-107 - lack of neatness, 107-108 - beauty, 114-115 -
 free birth and good-breeding; Phaedria on Phanium: 168-170 -
 good character, good-breeding and free birth; Phormio on
 Phanium: 357-358 - poverty and neglect; 438 - free birth;

Antipho on Phanium: 469-470 - trust and confidence in himself;
 Sophrona on Phanium: 730 - undeserved misfortune; Nausistrata
 on Phanium: 815 - good-breeding; Adelphi:- Micio on Pamphila:
 686 - chastity, 692 - misery; Demea on Pamphila: 725 -
 citizen of Athens.

It should be noted that there are more comments on the
 'virgines' in their absence, and by more characters, in the
 plays of Terence than in the plays of Plautus. These comments
 are of course essential for off-stage roles. E.g. in Phormio
 and Andria six different people in each play offer descriptions
 of the 'virgines.' In Plautus there are never more than four
 and often only two or three.

(e) Face-to-face description by others. Face-to-face
 description cannot of course take place in Terence's plays
 except in Heauton Timorumenos where Bacchis commends Antiphila
 on her morals (382-388, 392-395). There is one other example
 in Terence. In Hecyra Phidippus calls through the doorway to
 Philumena, rebuking her for her bad behaviour (624).

In Plautus there are a number of these examples:- Casina:-
 Olympio to Casina-Chalinus: 843 - softness of body, 848 -
 beautiful breast; Lysidamus to Casina-Chalinus: 837 - sweetness,
 847 - beautiful breast; Curculio:- Palinurus to Planesium:
 190-192 - worthlessness and drunkenness; Cappadox to Planesium:
 520-521 - foolishness and prettiness; Therapontigonus to
 Planesium: 699 - chastity; Poenulus:- Agorastocles to Adel-
 phasium: 338 - beauty; Milphio to Adelphasium: 365-367 -
 descriptive endearments (darling, apple of my eye, etc.), all

ironical; Anterastilis to Adelphasium: 234 - cleverness and wittiness; Adelphasium to Anterastilis: 1194 - stupidity; Hanno to Adelphasium and Anterastilis: 1237 - thieves (false); Rudens:- Trachalio to Ampelisca: 364 - witty speech; Scepharnoⁱ to Ampelisca: 415 - prettiness, 419 - charm, 420-423 - twinkling eyes, good figure, kissable mouth; Scepharnoⁱ to Ampelisca, thinking she is present: 463, 465-466 - descriptive endearments (pretty one, etc.)

(f) Description of character when she hears. There are occasional descriptive remarks in the individual's hearing. These occur in Plautus only:- Curculio:- Phaedromus on Planesium: 167 - charm, 192 - beauty, 615 - free birth; Palinurus on Planesium: 199 - worthlessness; Cappadox on Planesium: 518 - chastity; Persa:- Toxilus on Saturio's daughter: 639 - wisdom, 645 - good-breeding (false), and truthfulness, 651 - good-breeding (false); Rudens:- Trachalio on Ampelisca: 751 - superior worth; Trachalio on Palaestra: 1176 - piety.

(g) Description of character when she does not hear. In two plays by Plautus there are descriptive asides which the 'virgo' does not hear. In Persa:- Toxilus on Saturio's daughter: 551 - wisdom, 579 - worth, 622-623, 635 - cunning; Dordalus on Saturio's daughter: 560 - common-sense; Poenulus:- Milphio on Adelphasium: 272 - jade (abuse), 346-347 - sweetness (ironical) and worthlessness, 392-394 - descriptive abuse; Agorastocles on Adelphasium: 275 - beauty, 290 - power of

rousing love, 292 - chastity, 325 - attractive speech.

Contrary to the descriptive remarks on the 'ancillae' the comments on the 'virgines' are almost always favourable. They are chaste, modest, well-bred. This is necessary if they are to prove suitable wives for Athenian citizens.

2. Contrast.

The use of contrast to highlight character appears frequently among the 'virgines.' Like Panegyris and Pamphila (the 'matronae' in Stichus) Adelphasium and Anterastilis (Poenulus) are similar in outline, but possess very different personalities when they are examined in detail. Adelphasium is domineering and inclined to be sanctimonious; Anterastilis is light-hearted and sweet-tempered. In Rudens Ampelisca's liveliness makes an effective foil for Palaestra's quiet despair. The impertinent music-girl in Epidicus is the anti-thesis of the well-bred Telestis. Planesium's young freshness (Curculio) is well contrasted with the sodden bleariness of Leaena. The piety of Phaëdria (Aulularia) is set against her father's lack of reverence to the household gods. Terence's modest Antiphila (Heauton Timorumenos) stands out in pleasing contrast to the mercenary Bacchis.

In Casina we have Olympio's ridiculous description of the endearments Casina will use to him on her wedding-night - "mi animule ... " etc. (134-138). These contrast severely with the reality of the situation. No young girl married to an elderly man not of her own choosing, would express herself in such

affectionate terms.⁵⁵ Further in Casina is the delightful contrast at line 832 when Pardalisca implores Olympio

"amabo, integrae atque imperitae huic
impercito" (832-833),

for the audience knows full well that under the dainty bridal drapery is the hairy and muscular form of Chalinus.

The true character of the 'virgines' is sometimes indicated by the contrast of false descriptions. Casina (Casina) is falsely described by Pardalisca as behaving in a manner not suited to Greek women and threatening her husband (651-652, 657-658, 667). Palinurus' invective against Planesium (Curculio) is far from the truth (190, 199), and Curculio's remark that he has never met a worse woman than Planesium (593-594) is not accurate. In Poenulus Milphio's and Agorastocles' opposing views on Adelphasium form an amusing contrast. Milphio refers to her as "propudium" (272) and the love-struck Agorastocles cries "quid est apud vos pulchrius?" (275) - both absurd exaggerations for a very ordinary girl. Note also the cleverly contrasting asides of Milphio:- "odium meum ... fel meum" etc. (392-393). Anterastilis (234) remarks that Adelphasium is clever and shrewd, but neither of these adjectives is applicable to Adelphasium who is not an intelligent girl. In Rudens Gripus suggests that Palaestra may be a witch (1139), accentuating the innocence of the young girl.

Terence uses the same device. In Andria Dorus accuses Glycerium of deception (513), and Simo refers to her as evil (558); neither of these accusations is correct. Clinia in 55 . See page 323.

Heauton Timorumenos fears that Antiphila may have gone to the bad during his absence (231) and again accuses her of having enriched herself and deserted him (257-258) when we know she has been leading an exemplary life. There is the mention of the word 'meretrix' in connection with Phanium (Phormio) contrasting with her real goodness (413). In Hecyra Philumena is said by Laches to have taken a dislike to Sostrata (219), and later on is accused by Pamphilus of not behaving respectfully to his mother (477-478).

3. Repetition.

Repetition too plays its part in presenting the characters of the 'virgines.' There is constant emphasis on chastity, modesty, and good-breeding:- Casina: 45, 81; Curculio: 51, 57, 518, 698-699; Epidicus: 43, 107, 110; Persa: 130, 521, 546; Poenulus: 1185-1186, 1201-1202, 1221; Andria: 120, 123, 274, 288; Hecyra: 165, 864; Heauton Timorumenos: 226; Eunuchus: 116-117, 748; Phormio: 115, 168-170, 815.

The virgo's care for her reputation in Persa is emphasised at 347, 355, 384. In Poenulus Adelphasium's repeated and intolerable moralising accentuates her priggishness (238-239, 287-288, 301-307, 1203-1204). Constant complaints and wailings from Palaestra (Rudens) display her lack of courage (185-219, 238, 258, 278-279, 664-676, 682, 687).

4. Significant names.

The 'virgines' in Terence are named generally for their beauty or for their affectionate natures. We have already

noted that the 'virgines' who do not appear are characterised by the descriptions of others, and the significant name aids this characterisation. Phanium (Phormio) is named from 'φανίον' - a little torch, referring to her prettiness. Pamphila, a name used by Terence in Adelphi and Eunuchus is derived from 'πᾶν' and 'φίλη' - all-loving, and points to the affection offered by the young girls to their lovers. Philumena (Andria and Hecyra) derives from 'φιλέω' I love. Glycerium's name (Andria) is suitable to her loving nature - 'γλυκύς'⁵⁶ (sweet). Antiphila (Heauton Timorumenos) is again associated with love - 'αὐτί' (in return) and 'φίλη' (loving).

In Plautus Adelphasium and Anterastilis (Poenulus) are sisters and the former's name, from 'ἀδελφή', means little sister. Mendelsohn⁵⁷ suggests that here 'ἀδελφή' is used in the sense of 'meretrix,' and is appropriate as the girls are about to become courtesans. Anterastilis means 'rival in love' ('ἀντεραστής'), and is also appropriate. 'Lucris' (Persa) is the name that Saturio's daughter gives herself. It means 'gain' (lucrum) and is appropriate as her father hopes to 'gain' a good deal from the deception. Telestis (Epidicus) means 'perfection' from 'τέλος' - to make perfect, and is suitable for a 'virgo.' Palaestra (Rudens) could derive her name from 'παλαίστρα' used in the sense of 'brothel' - perhaps a reference to the 'leno's' intentions to sell her as a courtesan.

56 . 'Γλυκέρρα' is a character in Menander's Perikeiromene.

57 . C.Mendelsohn, Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus, p.65.

Metre.

See table of metres in Appendix II. Plautus favours lyric metres for his 'virgines' (162 lines) followed closely by trochaic septenarii (151 lines). Only eight lines are spoken by Terence's 'virgines,' and five of these are iambic senarii.

All the 'virgines' in Plautus and Terence are beautiful,⁵⁸ virtuous, and young. All appeal to the pity and sympathy of the audience for they are all enduring sorrows and difficulties that are not of their own making. Adelphasium and Anterastilis (Poenulus) are to be forced into a life of prostitution. Planesium (Curculio) also belongs to a 'leno.' Palaestra and Ampelisca are being carried off to another country by the 'leno' who owns them (Rudens). The unfortunate Telestis (Epidicus) is part of the booty in a local war. Phaedria (Aulularia) has no mother and lives with a psychopath and a decrepit old woman, and in addition to this is pregnant with Lyconides' child. Casina (Casina) exposed as a child, has been brought up by strangers only to be given in marriage to one of the slaves. Glycerium (Andria) stolen as a child, has been brought up by a courtesan, and now, pregnant by Pamphilus, is alone in a household of slaves. Antiphila (Heauton Timorumenos) lives with an old woman of doubtful morals. Pamphila (Adelphi), living with her widowed mother in extreme poverty, fears her

58 . Cf. the daughter of Knemon in Menander's Dyskolos.

lover has deserted her. Phanium (Phormio), too, lives in dire poverty with an old woman and a dirty serving-maid. Pamphila (Eunuchus) has been stolen by pirates, sold twice as a slave, and for good measure raped by Chaerea.

Like the 'matronae' who are never accused of infidelity to their husbands, the 'virgines' are never charged with lack of chastity. Their lapses from virtue are due to violence, not to yielding to their lovers. Glycerium (Andria) is an exception in this group, but we are told (273) that Pamphilus has regarded her as his wife, and this might be sufficient to persuade a young inexperienced girl. In most cases the lovers who violate the 'virgines' excuse themselves on the grounds of having imbibed too much wine, e.g. Lyconides' rape of Phaedria in Aulularia; Diniarchus' violation of Callicles' daughter (Truculentus); Pamphilus' rape of Philumena (Hecyra); Aeschinus' rape of Pamphila (Adelphi).⁵⁹ Chaerea's rape of Pamphila (Eunuchus) is in a different category, as this was a premeditated act and as such there are no extenuating circumstances.

The 'virgines' come across their lovers in various ways. Normally these meetings would never have taken place had the girls been living at home under the usual conditions, but these are all girls who are with a 'leno,' or in courtesans' houses,

59 . L.A.Post, "The 'Vis' of Menander," T.A.P.A. 62 (1931) pp.203-234, remarks that 'hetairai' were accustomed to attend some of the festivals, and that young girls, unchaperoned in the dark, would be liable to the same treatment.

or living without a male protector. Telestis (Epidicus) is acquired by Stratippocles as a war-captive. Agorastocles meets Adelphasium (Poenulus) at the 'leno's house, and this is where Phaedromus comes across Planesium (Curculio). Plesidippus meets Palaestra as she is returning from her music school (Rudens), and Phaedria meets Phanium as she goes to music school (Phormio). Pamphilus meets Glycerium (Andria) at the courtesan's house.

In each case marriage takes place after proof of Athenian citizenship has been established.⁶⁰ In Phormio and Hecyra marriage has already taken place when the play opens. Antiphila (Heauton Timorumenos), Glycerium and Philumena (Andria), Pamphila (Adelphi), Phanium (Phormio), Adelphasium (Poenulus), Planesium (Curculio), Phaedria (Aulularia), Pamphila (Eunuchus)-all marry the men who love them. We are not told how Pamphila (Adelphi), Pamphila (Eunuchus) and Phaedria (Aulularia) feel about marrying the men concerned after being forcibly violated, but apparently their feelings were not consulted; or marriage under any circumstances was considered preferable to the struggle to rear a child alone. We could contrast this with today's attitude where girls, better equipped for earning a living, resist a 'shotgun' marriage, and decide to rear their illegitimate children alone rather than risk a totally unsatisfactory marriage.

All the 'virgines' display filial piety.⁶¹ Phaedria

60 .See Foreshadowing and recognition, p.422.

61 .In Rome the 'patria potestas' was all-powerful. See Cicero, Pro Plancio XII, 29.

(Aulularia) never dreams of questioning her father's arrangements for her marriage with Megadorus. Palaestra (Rudens) expresses her sorrow at not being of more use to her parents (219). Even Saturio's daughter (Persa) affirms obedience to her father (360, 371, 398) although his orders are contrary to her principles of behaviour. Philumena (Andria) makes no remonstrance to her father's wishes that she should marry Pamphilus, although her preference is presumably for Charinus. Antiphila (Heauton Timorumenos) mourns for the old woman she thought was her mother (287).

Philumena (Hecyra) alone is exceptional in that she induces her father to carry out her wishes, not his (243-245). She has her mother's support in not wishing to return to Pamphilus' house, and Laches remarks resignedly to Phidippus:- "nunc video in illarum potestate esse te" (250).

Terence clung rigidly to the convention that girls of good family did not appear on the street. (Exc. Antiphila in Heauton Timorumenos who has only a few lines.) This seems surprising in view of the fact that he broke away from other conventions, e.g. Sostrata (Hecyra) is very far from the accepted picture of the mother-in-law in comedy; Bacchis (Hecyra) is the antithesis of the mercenary courtesan commonly depicted.

In spite of their non-appearance on stage, several of Terence's 'virgines' are clearly characterised. Philumena (Hecyra) and Glycerium (Andria) in particular, are distinct personalities.

personalities.

But Terence lost sight of the fact that girls living under abnormal circumstances could comfortably be presented on stage without losing their reputation for modesty and good-breeding. Plautus, on the contrary, has utilised this to full advantage with the result that his 'virgines' make a happy addition to the characters already taking part.

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CHAPTER V.

Incidental Roles.

The incidental characters in Plautus and in Terence do not fall into any set pattern. They are simply there, as convenient, to round off scenes, to assist in the plot, or, by contrast, to emphasise the tendencies of major characters.

Plautus has three procuresses in this group. Two of them are found in one play (Cistellaria). The unnamed 'lena' is merely a protatic character, but Melaenis, the woman who has reared Selenium, is involved in the plot. Cleareta, in Asinaria, goes off stage after two scenes and does not reappear. Terence's Syra (Hecyra), although not labelled procuress, is certainly in this class. She is a protatic character who is removed as soon as she has played her very minor part in the exposition.

Music girls are found in both Plautus and Terence. The two music girls in Plautus occur in the same play (Epidicus), and Acropolistis is an integral part of the plot. Terence has two music girls but the girl in Adelphi does not speak and Pamphila, the harp-player in Phormio, does not appear at all. Terence's dual plots demand two love affairs, and the music girls are the mistresses of two of the young men.

Besides these Plautus has introduced Ptolemocratia, the priestess in Rudens, and Sura, the hairdresser in Truculentus.

The only other character Terence has presented in this group is Lesbia, the midwife in Andria.

The most unusual of the incidental roles is the priestess, Ptolemocratia, in Rudens. The temple of Venus in the background of the stage is brought to the attention of the audience in the prologue (61). That someone lives in the temple is evident from Daemones' complaint that his utensils and coal and water are always being used for the sacrifices (133-135). When Palaestra and Ampelisca appear after being shipwrecked they see the temple and kneel in front of the altar asking for help (257-258).

Ptolemocratia, the priestess, hears their prayer and comes out to meet them. At first she does not see the girls and enquires who is asking for the help of Venus.

"bonam atque opsequentem deam atque hau gravatam¹
patronam exsequontur benignamque multum," (261-262)

she assures her unseen hearers.

Then she catches sight of the girls with their stained and dripping clothes and lank hair. She is astounded at the sight, but welcomes them politely and enquires whence they come. Now by any standards this is not an intelligent question. If someone appears soaking wet on the doorstep it should be clear that some calamity has occurred, and, as the sea is nearby,

1 . Note the bacchiac metre, well suited to the dignified position of the priestess.

there is an obvious answer.² However, Palaestra does not make matters any easier, for she does not mention the shipwreck. She merely says that they come from nearby but that their original point of departure is far off. "Ah!" says Ptolemaecratia, "you came by boat?" (268-269).

But the notion that the girls could have met with an accident still does not seem to have occurred to her for she says fastidiously:-

"ergo aequius vos erat
candidatas venire hostiatusque: ad hoc
fanum ad istunc modum non veniri solet" (269-271).

At this Palaestra realises that further explanations are required for she clasps the priestess round the knees and cries piteously that they have been cast up by the sea; they are without hope and without help in a strange land. She begs Ptolemaecratia to take them in and shelter them.

Ptolemaecratia, who is not an unkind woman, merely a stupid one, immediately responds to this appeal. She lifts the girls to their feet and assures them:- "misericordior nulla me est feminarum" (281). However, she warns them that she is poor and barely manages to exist. Hospitably she adds:-

"verum quidquid est comiter fiet a me,
quo nunc copia valebit," (286-287)

and with the girls' hands in hers begins to move off stage.

"You are very good to us, mother," says Palaestra gratefully.

And to this the priestess returns the extraordinary reply:-

2 . In spite of Ptolemaecratia's dignity, Plautus cannot resist a touch of humour in the scene.

"oportet" (289).³

Surely it is not through a sense of duty one would take in two shipwrecked strangers; humanity alone and a feeling of compassion for one's fellow-creatures should ensure this welcome.

Ampelisca, however, does not seem sensitive to atmosphere, for she goes into ecstasies over the kindly treatment they have received from the priestess:-

"ut lepide, ut liberaliter, ut honeste atque hau gravate
timidas, egentis, uvidas, electas, exanimatas
accepit ad sese, hau secus quam si ex se simus natae!"
(408-410)

Unfortunately Ptolemocratia's kindness to the girls is ill-rewarded for the audience learns that she has been severely manhandled by Labrax (the 'leno' who owns the girls) in his efforts to drag them from the temple.

Ptolemocratia has only the one short scene, but she appears as a kindly but dull woman. Michaut⁴ says:- "C'est une bonne vieille charitable, maternelle, touchante, que la prêtresse du Rudens."

The procuresses in the plays are old, worn-out courtesans who have to rely on the earnings of younger successful members of the profession⁵ (sometimes their daughters) to make a living for them. Michaut⁶ remarks bluntly:- "Ce sont des animaux

3 . Cf. Nausicaa's welcome to Odysseus. Odyssey VI, 192-193.

4 . G.Michaut, Plaute II, p.88

5 . Dem. LIX, 18 " ... skilled in recognising the budding beauty of young girls, and knew how to bring up and train them artfully; for she made this her profession and got her livelihood from the girls."

6 . G.Michaut, Plaute I, p.285.

de proie que ces vieilles courtisanes." He adds:- "un audacieux et tranquille cynisme leur était naturel." Deserted by their various lovers as they grow older, these women have nothing but contempt and hatred for the male sex. They do their utmost to induce their young wage-earners to strip their lovers of all their property and possessions.⁷

The outstanding example of these harpies is Cleareta in Asinaria. Argyrippus, the lover of Philaenium, Cleareta's daughter, arrives on stage raging because he has been turned out of doors by Cleareta. The reason - he no longer has any funds.⁸ "perlecebrae, permities, adulescentum exitium," (133) he explodes. He claims that before he became interested in Philaenium, she and Cleareta were as poor as church mice. Now that he has spent all his money on them he is no longer welcome. Argyrippus realises that the girl is an unwilling partner in this spoliation. "tuo facit iussu, tuo imperio paret: mater tu, eadem era es," (147) he fulminates.

At this stage Cleareta comes out of her house. As she sees Argyrippus still standing in front of her house door, she laughs aggravatingly. She knows quite well that Argyrippus is in the grip of his infatuation for Philaenium, and she taunts him with this, comparing him to a ship and his love to a storm. "quam magi' te in altum capessis, tam aestus te in portum refert," (158) she says gloatingly.

Argyrippus denies this. "I'm not going to pay you any more

7 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans IX, 4.

8 . Lucian, op. cit. VII, 1.

dues, you customs-officer," he declares. This attempt at rebellion is treated with heavy sarcasm by Cleareta. "magis istuc percipimus lingua dici quam factis fore," (162) she sneers.

On Argyrippus' intimation that, as he has saved them from loneliness and poverty, he should marry Philaenium, Cleareta answers simply:- "semper tibi promissum habeto hac lege, dum superes datis" (166). Argyrippus in his retort sums up the whole measure of the life of the procuress:- "nam nunquam tu quidem expleri potes" (167).

But Cleareta is quite indifferent. If he has money, he may see Philaenium. Her hard, down-to-earth policy is that customers get nothing in advance (172).

"quasi piscis itidemst amator lenae: nequam est nisi recens: is habet sucum, is suavitatem," (178-179)

she continues briskly. She has found from experience that most money can be obtained from admirers when they first appear.

Then, in pretended pity, she says that he may spend the night with Philaenium in return for two talents. This is a ridiculously large sum and Cleareta knows Argyrippus cannot obtain it. "Where's the money I've already given you?" enquires Argyrippus desperately.

Cleareta heaves an exaggerated sigh at the young man's stupidity. "Abusa," (196) she tells him. She points out that one has to pay cash for bread and wine, and she runs her business on the same lines.

But Argyrippus is still obsessed by his grievances, and reiterates that when he had money he was welcomed with open arms.

Now he is ignored. Cleareta answers with another simile, this time comparing the lover to a bird caught in a trap.⁹ "hic noster quaestus aucupi simillimust," (215) she says of herself and her household, and adds in detail:-

"aedes nobis area est, auceps sum ego,
esca est meretrix, lectus inlex est, amatores aves" 10
(220-221).

Finally she loses patience with Argyrippus as he stands glumly in front of her. "nunc abi," (228) she orders, waving him off. But Argyrippus, in despair, asks what she will take to give him Philaenium for a whole year. At this Cleareta comes down to business:-

"tene? viginti minas;
atque ea lege: si alius ad me prius attulerit, tu vale"
(230-231).

With this Argyrippus has to be content. He has still some funds left, he explains, and he will bring the money. Cleareta thaws slightly at this, but again warns him:-

"Modo tecum una argentum adfero, facile patiar cetera.
port(it)orum simillumae sunt ianuae lenoniae" (240-241).

And with these final words she disappears inside her house. Neither compassion nor compunction find any place in Cleareta's heart.

Cleareta appears even more venomous in the scene with her daughter. She is angry with Philaenium who has not sent Argyrippus away as she was ordered. "nequeon ego ted interdictis facere mansuetem meis?" (504) she exclaims in fury, shaking

9 . For young men falling into traps see Ovid, Ars Am. I, 89;
Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans XI, 2.

10 . Cleareta describes her habits and principles mostly by means of similes. See p. 451.

Philaenium roughly. Philaenium meekly replies that it would not be right to act as her mother demands. Infuriated by this challenge to her authority Cleareta raps out:- "an decorum est advorsari meis te praeceptis?" (508).

Philaenium plunges on into disaster. "I don't blame mothers who do right, but I don't love those who do wrong," she maintains. "sati' dicacula es amatrix," (511) shrieks Cleareta with a final shake. "ego te volui castigare, tu mihi accusatrix ades," (513) she jerks out, breathless from the exertion of pushing Philaenium.

The girl endeavours to explain that she is not questioning her mother's rights, but only regretting the loss of her lover. But Cleareta bursts forth with:- "ecqua pars orationis de die dabitur mihi?" (516). "All right," says Philaenium resignedly, "you can have your say." And she mutters words to the effect that if she stopped work all the household would be compelled to stop too.

Cleareta is left gasping at this fresh impertinence. "Quid ais tu, quam ego unam vidi mulierem audacissimam?" (521) she rails. Philaenium is not to have anything more to do with Argyrippus who now has only pleasant words to give in place of material benefits. "illos qui dant eos derides," (527) she accuses the girl, who is interested only in Argyrippus.

Argyrippus has promised them wealth when his mother dies, but "dum eius expectamus mortem, ne nos moriamur fame" (531). She concludes with the threat that Argyrippus shall never enter

the door again unless he brings the twenty minae. Even Philaenium's plea that she will put herself on short rations if it is a question of expense has no effect.

It seems strange that any mother, however hardened, should ignore Philaenium's piteous:- "quid si hic animus occupatust, mater, quid faciam? mone" (537). All the girl gets in answer is a shrug and:- "meum caput contemples, si quidem ex re consultas tua" (538).

A last impassioned plea from Philaenium is met with a push. "intro abi, nam te quidem edepol nihil est inpudentius," (543) Cleareta ejaculates in exasperation.

Cleareta follows her daughter inside, and we do not see her again - fortunately. It would be difficult to find a more predatory and malignant woman. But she is alive, and Enk¹¹ remarks on this:- "Ook die hebsuchtige gevoelloze Cleareta, die haar dogter gewetenloos exploiteert, staat in lewendem lijve voor ons."

Syra¹² from Terence's Hecyra approximates most clearly to Cleareta in nature and outlook. Her very first words are couched in Cleareta's language. When Philotis, a 'meretrix,' expresses astonishment at Pamphilus' marriage after he had

11 . P.J.Enk, Handboek der Latijnse Letterkunde, Part 2, p.165.

12 . G.K.G.Henry, The Characters of Terence. Henry writes that "Syra is not only the most unattractive but the most useless character in Terence." Syra has been introduced that there may be a dialogue between her and Philotis, instead of a monologue by Philotis before Parmeno enters, so she is not entirely useless from a technical viewpoint.

unsteadily, encapsuled in a rosy haze. There is only the faintest suspicion of a hiccough as she tells her hostess, Selenium:- "ecastor ad ted, ita hodie hic acceptae sumus suavibus modis" (15). And then, outspoken because of the wine, she says petulantly that only the servant displeased her.

Selenium, agitated, enquires the reason for this. The 'lena' suppresses another hiccough and says bluntly:- "raro nimium dabat quod biberem, id merum infuscabat" (18).¹³ This produces a reproof from her scandalised daughter, Gymnasium, at her mother's lack of manners. "It's perfectly all right," asserts the procuress indignantly. "We're all friends here." Selenium, endeavouring to prevent an argument, hurriedly changes the conversation. "I am so fond of you both," she sighs, "because you do so much for me" (21-22).

This sentiment rouses the procuress, still warmed by the glow of the wine, to a tremendous loquacity. She expounds at length on the necessity for the 'meretrices' to maintain a close relationship as the 'matronae' of the upper class do.¹⁴ Her fear and distrust of these women is evident:- "suarum opum nos volunt esse indigentis," (28) she declares, and unwittingly discloses the fact that the 'matronae' also fear the 'meretrices': "viris cum suis praedicant nos solere" (36).

She pleads in extenuation of her profession that she and

¹³ . Cf. with Men. Synaristosae 451K.

¹⁴ . Isaeus VI, 50. The 'matronae' guarded their privileges jealously. Courtesans were excluded from certain festivals, e.g. of Demeter and Persephone.

Selenium's mother, as freed slaves, were forced to become courtesans.¹⁵ Now, to keep them both from starving, her daughter must follow in her footsteps. Selenium expostulates that it would be better for Gymnasium to marry someone, but this is regarded as mere playfulness by the 'lena' who returns jovially:-

"haec quidem ecaster cottidie viro nubit, nupsitque hodie,
nubet mox noctu: nunquam ego hanc viduam cubare sivi.
nam si haec non nubat, lugubri fame familia pereat" (43-45).

"I must do as you wish," replies the unfortunate Gymnasium.

The 'lena' throws her arm round her daughter's shoulders. "Do as I say," she urges, "and you'll never grow old and ugly" (48-49). And she adds what is to her the most important point:- "multisque damno et mihi lucro sine meo saepe eri' sumptu" (50).

"The gods grant it," murmurs Gymnasium. "sing opera tua di horunc nil facere possunt?" (51) snorts her mother with some acerbity and a good deal of truth. She relapses into silence, swaying to and fro and humming a little tune as Gymnasium and Selenium discuss the latter's love affair. Only when Selenium is so unutterably foolish as to say that she loves one man alone, does the 'lena' judge it time to interfere. She explains painstakingly that it is quite all right for a married woman to love one man, but

"verum enim meretrix fortunati est oppidi simillima:
non potest suam rem optinere sola sine multis viris"
(80-81).

15 . For freed women this was often the only way of making a living. Isaeus VI, 19; Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans VI, 1. See G.Glotz, Ancient Greece at Work, p.217.

viris" (80-81).

"My mother allowed me to live with one man only," says Selenium, a little defiantly perhaps. "stulte ecastor fecit," (86) is the 'lena's' candid remark. And she seems quite incredulous when Selenium assures her that Alcesimarchus is the only man she has ever been intimate with. She shakes her head over the whole preposterous business. "adsimulare amare oportet," (96) she tells Selenium severely. For as she points out, if you love someone you are apt to put that individual's concerns before your own - and this is contrary to a courtesan's interests.

However, the 'lena' kindly agrees that Gymnasium may look after Selenium's house for three days while she returns to see her mother. Of course she cannot resist mentioning that this is going to cost her money - "damnum dabis" (106) - but she must obviously carry out her former precepts that courtesans should help one another.

Eventually Selenium departs unwillingly, weeping, and Gymnasium observes:- "ecastor mihi / visa amare" (117-118). But by now the pleasant effects of the wine are beginning to wear off.

"istos ergo auris graviter optundo tuas,
ne quem ames. abi intro," (118-119)

snaps the 'lena.'

Gymnasium disappears indoors, and the 'lena' in a final garrulous burst, proceeds to take the audience into her confidence.

confidence.

"idem mihi istud quod magnae parti vitium mulierum
quae hunc quaestum facimus: quae ubi saburratae sumus,
largiloquae extemplo sumus', plus loquimur quam sat est!"
(120-122)

she confesses. Notwithstanding this she proceeds to the story of Selenium - how she had picked her up as a baby and had given her to a courtesan who brought her up as her own child.

She concludes with the remark that she wishes the spectators to remember the story if it should be necessary. Then she weaves her way across the stage, tripping over her robe as she goes, and saving herself with a hand against the wall of the house. An undignified exit - but certainly the audience loved it.

A further reference to her bibulous ways is made by Lampadio who says that he has finally succeeded in obtaining information from her "quia ei promisi dolium vini dare" (542). On a second meeting with Lampadio she denies all she has told him about finding the child. This infuriates Lampadio, and *in reply to 'Quid mentiar super hoc?'* he abuses her violently:- "scelestiorem in terra nullam esse alteram" (660). But this denial probably rises more from an instinct of self-protection than from any wish to protect Melaenis. The audience now, instead of laughing at her, feels a certain pity for the old woman who drinks, in all likelihood, to forget the miseries of her existence.

Melaenis, the courtesan who has brought up Selenium, is a younger woman and less hardened than the rest of the procuresses.

We know from the prologue that she has reared Selenium "bene ac pudice" (173).

Unfortunately the text in part of the play is fragmentary, and when Melaenis appears it is in a somewhat disjointed conversation with Alcesimarchus, Selenium's lover. The latter has been ordered by his father to marry a neighbour's daughter, and Melaenis is so incensed by this that she will not listen to Alcesimarchus' attempts at explanation or his pleas to have Selenium back. "Have your new wife," she spits at him. "We may not be as rich or powerful as you, but at least we keep our word" (492-495). The unhappy Alcesimarchus tries to dam this torrent. "The gods curse me ... " he cries - "quodcumque optes, tibi velim contingere," (497) interposes Melaenis smartly - "if I ever marry that girl my father has betrothed me to." But Melaenis is inexorable. He has broken his promise, and he has made a laughing stock of her daughter:- "hic apud nos iam, Alcesimarche, confregisti tesseram" (503).¹⁶

Alcesimarchus begs for another chance but Melaenis simply shrugs and repeats:- "quod dedi datum non vellem, quod relicuomst non dabo" (506). In his desperation Alcesimarchus asks and asks again for Selenium, humbling himself to this relentless woman, until at last Melaenis loses patience. "non edepol ego istaec tua dicta nunc in auris recipio,"¹⁷ (510)

16 . 'Tessera' - sometimes a token which was divided between two friends in order that, by means of it, they or their dependants might always recognise each other. Hence "You have broken our friendship."

17 . Lines 510-512 are, however, omitted in the Bembine MS and bracketed in the Oxford text.

she scowls. Alcesimarchus loses his temper in turn, and begins to call down curses on Melaenis, but her constant gibing interruptions unnerve him. He stammers and stutters in confusion. Finally he threatens wildly that he will kill both Selenium and her mother unless she is given back to him, and then rushes into his house.

Melaenis, left alone on stage, relapses into despondence. "quid ego nunc agam?" (528) she asks hopelessly. She complains that even if she does give Selenium back to Alcesimarchus, he will some day weary of her and marry the neighbour's daughter. Then she decides to follow him in case he does anything desperate in his rage.

"quando aequa lege pauperi cum divite
non licet, perdam operam potius quam carebo filia,"
(532-533)

she says bitterly.

Suddenly she sees Lampadio hurrying up the street, and, although she does not know him, she instinctively feels that trouble is afoot and concerns her. She is right, for Lampadio meets his mistress, Phanostrata, on stage. He immediately tells her that he has found the old woman who picked up Phanostrata's daughter when she was abandoned as a baby at the hippodrome.

This statement, coming like a bolt from the blue, is a great shock to Melaenis. "Iam horret corpus, cor salit," (551) she whispers to herself, for it was from the hippodrome that Selenium had been brought to her as a baby. She listens with

dread to the ensuing conversation. Lampadio tells Phanostrata that the old woman gave the child to a courtesan named Melaenis (575). "neum elocutust nomen, interi(oppido)" (576) groans Melaenis. Phanostrata complains that Lampadio should not have let the old woman go, but he assures her that the old woman will return and point out Melaenis to them.

Melaenis is even more dejected at this. Selenium will certainly learn the whole story of her birth and upbringing, and then she will lose the girl.

Phanostrata returns indoors to await events and Melaenis plucks up sufficient courage to speak to Lampadio for she is determined to find out Selenium's true position. Lampadio, to display his superiority, tells her they are looking for "non ex uxore natam, uxoris filiam" (604). This, as he hopes, confuses Melaenis, but finally she understands that Selenium is the daughter born of Demipho's violation of Phanostrata in early days. This was the reason for Phanostrata's abandonment of Selenium. Years later Demipho married Phanostrata and now the two are occupied in seeking their lost daughter. After this explanation Lampadio departs, sighing ostentatiously at Melaenis' stupidity.

Melaenis, left alone again, remarks shrewdly to herself:-

"nunc mihi bonae necessust esse ingratiis,
quamquam esse nolo" (626-627).

The whole matter will shortly be exposed and, with the cunning instilled by her profession, she says:-

"nunc egomet potius hanc inibo gratiam
ab illis quam illaec me indicet" (628-629).

indicet" (628-629).

She leaves the stage hurriedly to fetch Selenium, and reappears with Selenium and Halisca, the maid. Making a virtue of necessity she has made sure that Selenium learned the story from her and now says:-

"sequeren, mea Selenium
ut eorum quodiam esse oportet te sis potius quam mea?"
(631-632).

She is determined that Selenium shall realise the full extent of her self-sacrifice, for Selenium does not know that her parents would shortly have discovered her. She insists that, unwilling as she is to lose Selenium, she intends to do what is best for Selenium and forget her own needs. Undoubtedly she hopes that if she hands the girl over instead of waiting till she is taken from her, some financial benefit will accrue to her from the parents.

At this point Alcesimarchus rushes on stage with a sword in his hand, threatening to kill himself. Selenium of course is panic-stricken, but Melaenis, who has probably had previous experience of young men's tantrums, merely enquires of Selenium:- "quid tibi est?" (642). Selenium, distracted, runs to Alcesimarchus and catches hold of his arm. With surprising alacrity Alcesimarchus relinquishes the idea of suicide, and Melaenis tells him sardonically:- "hau voluisti istuc severum facere" (646).

On this Alcesimarchus flares up again. He orders Melaenis away, snatches up Selenium, and carries her off indoors.

Melaenis is taken aback, but decides to follow him inside

and explain the story of Selenium's birth and upbringing
 "sei possum tranquillum facere ex irato mihi," (652) she says.

Melaenis does not appear on stage again, but we have a further glimpse of her when the tearful Halisca (her maid), having lost the precious casket with Selenium's tokens, exclaims:-

"quae in tergum meum ne veniant male formido,
 si era mea sciat tam socordem esse quam sum"
 (673-674).

This seems more than likely; nevertheless Halisca feels some loyalty to her mistress for she later assures Phanostrata that it was Melaenis' intention to hand back her daughter (762-764).

Although Melaenis is not depicted as such a predatory monster as the other procuresses, money is her main consideration, and her actions are dictated by the motive of acquisition.

Music-girls were usually courtesans¹⁸ who hired themselves out as flute or harp players at festivals and dinners.¹⁹ Athenaeus²⁰ notes too that flute girls used to solicit the sailors off freighters, while Licht²¹ remarks that vase-paintings leave no doubt as to the sexual functions of female dancers or flute players. Lemnia of Athens, one of the most famous of the 'hetairai,' was by profession a flute player.

Acropolistis is the music-girl in Epidicus with whom Stratippocles fell in love before he went to the wars. Now he

18 . Ath. XIII, 577.

19 . Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans, XV, I.

20 . Ath. XIII, 571.

21 . H.Licht, Sexual Life in Ancient Greece, p.173.

has brought back a beautiful captive, Telestis, and has no further interest in Acropolistis. However Epidicus, the slave, instructed by his young master before his departure, has already obtained Acropolistis for him. This he has done by persuading Periphanes, Stratippocles' father, that Acropolistis is his lost daughter and that he should buy her. Acropolistis is thus installed in Periphanes' house.

Philippa, looking for the same girl (the daughter she had by Periphanes), is told by Periphanes that her daughter is safe indoors. When the girl is summoned outside to meet her mother, it is Acropolistis of course who appears, and acting her part from the first moment, addresses Periphanes as "pater" (370). But as soon as Periphanes says "Here is your mother - kiss her," she realises that the game is up. "quam meam matrem?" (572) she asks insolently.

A scene of great confusion now ensues, Periphanes insisting that this is the lost daughter, and Philippa indignantly denying it. Finally Periphanes acknowledges that he has been tricked, and shouts angrily at Acropolistis "Why do you stand there like a dummy - you, who kiss me and call me father. Why don't you say something?" "quid loquar vis?" (584) shrugs Acropolistis, and on Periphanes' accusation that Philippa denies being her mother she says indifferently "ne fuat / si non volt" (584-585). And she adds with a sneer "equidem hac invita tamen ero matris filia" (585). This is said simply in order to annoy Periphanes, and she proceeds to argue impertinently as to the pros and cons

of calling him father. She ends with:

"postremo haec mea culpa non est: quae didici dixi omnia;
Epidicus mihi fuit magister" (591-592).

Now that the whole deception has collapsed, Acropolistis is quite determined that she is not going to take the blame in place of Epidicus.

Periphanes lets out an oath as he realises the horrible truth, and threatens to kill Acropolistis if she ever uses the word 'father' to him again. Acropolistis is unperturbed by this. "ubi voles pater esse ibi esto; ubi noles ne fueris pater," (595) she says sweetly, ignoring Periphanes' angry hoarseness and clenched hands.

He orders the girl indoors, telling Philippa to go with her and "adserua Circam Solis filiam" (604).

Acropolistis' deceitfulness and insolence have been clearly shown in this scene. That she has other characteristics of a courtesan we learn from Epidicus' description of her early in the play. She is mercenary for Stratippocles has handed over his property to her (220); she is also extravagant - "sed vestita, aurata, ornata ut lepide, ut concinne, ut nove!" (222) - and Stratippocles is well rid of her.

The other music-girl in Epidicus has been hired²² to take the place of Acropolistis at the sacrifice Apocides is making. She is just as pert, artful, deceitful, and mercenary as Acropolistis.

"iam ego parabo

22 . Girls were hired as entertainers for special occasions.
I.G. 2^a, 1557.

aliquam dolosam fideinam, nummo conducta quae sit,
 quae se emptam simulet, quae senes duo docte ludificetur,"
 (371-373)

says Epidicus gleefully.

Music-girls did not enjoy a good reputation, and when this one is brought to the house, Periphanes tells the slave "Just be careful that she doesn't come anywhere near my daughter" (400-401). And he adds in explanation to Apoecides "divortunt mores virgini longe ac lupae" (403). This is irony at its best, for Periphanes does not know that his 'daughter' indoors is in reality Acropolistis, the other music-girl.

The soldier who is in love with Acropolistis arrives and arranges to buy her from Periphanes. It is of course the hired music-girl who appears and the soldier, after taking one look at her, accuses Periphanes of deceiving him (480-481). A violent argument takes place and the soldier at last convinces Periphanes that he has been tricked, and that this girl is not Acropolistis. Disgruntled, the soldier departs to look for the real Acropolistis.

The bewildered Periphanes turns to the music-girl and demands whether Apoecides bought her from the slave dealer that very day (495). The music-girl laughs scornfully.

"neque me quidem emere quisquam ulla pecunia
 potuit: plus iam sum libera quinquennium," (497-498)

she informs Periphanes. She adds airily that she was simply hired to play her lute during the sacrifice.

Periphanes gives it all up and asks if she knows Acropolistis and where she lives. The music-girl takes great

pleasure in informing him that she does not know, as Acropolistis is now free. Stratippocles, the son of Periphanes, freed her, she mentions, looking sideways at Periphanes. "numquid me vis ceterum?" (512) she asks in a deliberate attempt to annoy him. "malo cruciatu ut pereas atque abeas cito," (513) shouts Periphanes.

The music-girl shrugs her shoulder expressively. "fides non reddis?" (514) she demands. Periphanes refuses pointblank, whereupon the music-girl departs with the threat "flagitio cum maiore post reddes tamen" (516).

Like Acropolistis she is an unpleasant little minx and interested only in what she can acquire for herself.

Pamphila, the music-girl in Phormio, is a harp-player who belongs to a 'leno.' She does not appear on stage at all, but is discussed in the conversation of the other characters. Phaedria is very much in love with her, but it is apparent from Antipho's remark - that he (Phaedria) may keep her or let her go as he wishes (174-175) - that such women were completely at the mercy of their lovers.

However, her attractions must be considerable, for when the 'leno' threatens to sell Pamphila to a rival, Phaedria swears that he will follow her to the ends of the earth or die in the attempt (551-552).

Thirty minae are wanted for this young woman. "Whew!" whistles Geta, the slave. "She's jolly expensive, Phaedria"

(558). As he has to find the money he is probably justified, but Phaedria, besotted by the charms of his mistress, returns indignantly "istaec vero vilis est" (558).

The money is found and the harp-girl bought for Phaedria. Normally this would be soundly condemned by Nausistrata, Phaedria's mother, when she learns the facts. But she is so incensed by her discovery that Chremes, her husband, has possessed a second wife hidden away on Lemnos, that her son appears almost a paragon of virtue beside this monster.

"adeo hoc indignum tibi videtur, filius
homo adulescens si habet unam amicam, tu uxores duas?"
(1040-1041)

she cries to her husband. The result of her leniency to her son is that Pamphila's welfare is assured - for the near future anyway.

The music-girl (another mute) in the Adelphi is loved by the weak-kneed Ctesipho - so spineless an individual that Aeschinus, his brother, feels compelled to help him, and obtains the music-girl by force from the 'leno.'

The music-girl appears on stage for a few brief minutes and is then taken into Micio's house where Ctesipho indulges himself with her. The inevitable happens and Demea, Ctesipho's father, goes into the house and discovers Ctesipho (whom he thinks a model of virtue) with the music-girl. Furious, he tells Micio that he intends taking his son back to the country - and the music-girl:-

music-girl:- "atque ibi favillae plena, fumi ac pollinis
coquendo sit faxo et molendo; praeter haec
meridie ipso faciam ut stipulam conligat:
tam excoctam reddam atque atram quam carbost"
(846-849).

Obviously no young man is going to be enamoured of a dirty, sunburnt serving maid.

In the end Micio's warnings concerning the upbringing of his son have some effect and Demea finally allows Ctesipho to keep his mistress:- "habeat: in istac finem faciat," (997) he warns.

It is not possible to judge anything of the girl's character from the little we hear of her. We can presume she is attractive and accomplished but nothing more can be learned.

There are two other minor characters among the incidental roles - Sura, the hairdresser in Plautus' Truculentus, and Lesbia, the midwife in Terence's Andria.

Sura, the hairdresser, is hand in glove with Phronesium, the 'meretrix.' It is she who obtains the baby boy and brings it to Phronesium to pass off as her own. "o mercis malae!" (409) says Diniarchus in unwilling admiration of her craftiness.

But Sura pays heavily for this intrigue, for Callicles, determined to find out what has happened to his grandson, discovers that Sura has taken the child. He arrives on stage with Sura and his own maid, both guarded by slaves. He is resolved to extract the truth from them. "vos colubrino ingenio ambae estis," (780) he says distastefully, and warns them that if they lie to him they will be led off to torture.

torture.

Sura, in contrast to the maid, is quite cowed by the treatment she has already received, and answers Callicles' questions promptly and briefly. The only flicker of resentment is seen when Callicles accuses her:- "plus quam dudum loquere," (803). To this she replies curtly "plus tu rogitas" (803). Callicles, having found out that Phronesium has the child, is no longer interested in Sura. He simply orders the slaves to set Sura free, and he tells the hairdresser that Phronesium is to hand over the child at once when someone comes for it.

Sura has suffered a great deal for her part in the affair, and it is poor consolation that Phronesium, the cause of all her discomfort, should say:- "nam mihi dividiaest, (in) tonstricem meam * sicut multam * male" (856).²³

Lesbia, the midwife in Andria, has, like Sarah Gamp, an addiction to gin - or its equivalent in those days. This is a serious fault in a midwife, and Mysis' first words on Lesbia indicate that she realises this:-

"sane pol illa temulentast mulier et temeraria
nec sati' digna quoi committas primo partu mulierem"
(229-230).

Lesbia and Archylis (Glycerium's head-servant) are apparently in the habit of drinking together and so Lesbia, regardless of her abilities, has been called in to deal with the

23 . This line is corrupt, but I take it to mean:- "I am really upset that my hairdresser has met with such unpleasantness."

birth of Glycerium's child.

Mysis goes to fetch Lesbia and returns shortly with the midwife. The conversation off-stage has apparently centred round the general infidelity of men, and Lesbia, who in her profession has seen a good deal of this, has expressed her opinion:- "fidelem haud ferme mulieri invenias virum" (460). She is politely astonished when Mysis tells her that Pamphilus intends to rear his child, and refers to him as a 'noble youth' (466). She and Mysis cross the stage and enter the house to attend to Glycerium.

Fortunately all goes well with the birth and Lesbia comes out of doors, calling over her shoulder to Archylis to wash Glycerium and give her something to drink. She is a good-hearted woman, and is sympathetic with Pamphilus and Glycerium:-

"quandoquidem ipsest ingenio bono,
quomque huic est veritus optumae adulescenti facere iniuriam"
(487-488).

Although Mysis has accused her of drunkenness, Lesbia appears perfectly sober when she is on stage. Terence's treatment of the bibulous old woman may be contrasted here with that of Plautus. Leaena, in Curculio, actually drinks heavily on stage. In Cistellaria the procuress is already tipsy when she arrives on stage. Terence's Lesbia, although taxed with intemperance, is depicted in a more restrained manner, and appears, as we have noted, completely sober on stage. It could, however, be noted that the metre used for Lesbia's speech is the bacchiac metre often used by intoxicated 'personae.'^{23a}

23a. See W. Lindsay, EARLY LATIN VERSE, p. 289. "Plautus strikes a great variety of notes out of this favourite metre of his".

B. Characterisation by technical devices.

1. Direct description.

(a) In prologues. In only one play, Cistellaria, is there any characterisation of minor roles in the prologue. The procuress is described as over-talkative and over-fond of the wine-bowl (149). The other 'lena' in the play, Melaenis, is mentioned as having reared Selenium carefully and properly (172-173).

(b) Self-description in solos. Again the Cistellaria is the only play in which 'minor' characters describe themselves in solos. The unnamed 'lena' refers to her weakness for wine and her verbosity (120-122) and repeats this (126-129). Both these allusions occur in a long exit monologue.

Melaenis, in a link monologue, makes known her fear and terror at the situation she finds herself in (535). Later she announces quite frankly in an exit monologue that she will have to behave altruistically though she would rather not do so (626-627).

(c) Self-description in dialogue. Self-description occurs in dialogue in Plautus:- Asinaria:- Cleareta: 175 - parental duty, 202a - greed, 215-219 - rapacity, 508 - maternal authority, 539 - age and weariness; Cistellaria:- Procuress: 18 - love of drink, 38-39 - unwillingness to adopt profession of courtesan; Melaenis:- 493-495 - honour, 633-634 - affection for Selenium; Epidicus:- Acropolistis: 591-592 - persuasibility; Rudens:- Ptolemocratia: 281 - kindliness.

kindliness.

In Terence we have:- Hecyra:- Syra: 74-75 - age and lack of comeliness.

(d) Description by others during absence of character.

Description of these incidental characters by others is not frequent as the roles are relatively unimportant ones, but it does occur.

Characterisation during absence is found in Plautus:-
Asinaria:- Argyrippus on Cleareta: 129 - wickedness, 133 - seductress, destroyer of young men, 134 - rapacity, 145 - ferocity, 147 - tyranny, 149 - wretch, 151 - decoy; parasite on Cleareta: 800-802 - love of wine; Cistellaria:- Lampadio on Procuress: 541-542 - love of wine, 653-654, 660 - untruthfulness; Halisca on Melaenis: 718 - self-denial.

In Terence we have:- Andria:- Mysis on Lesbia: 229-230 - drunkenness and carelessness.

(e) Face-to-face description by others.

This occurs in Plautus in Asinaria:- Argyrippus to Cleareta: 163 - loneliness and poverty, 167-168 - rapacity, 173 - malevolence, 205-214 - deceitfulness; Philaenium to Cleareta: 544 - able educator; Cistellaria:- Gymnasium to Procuress: 19 - discourtesy; Lampadio to Melaenis: 609-610 - garrulity.

(f) Description of character when she hears.

This again is found in Plautus only: Cistellaria:- Selenium on the Procuress: 2-7, 21-22 - affection and devotion;

Epidicus:- Periphanes on the music-girl: 403 - lack of morals.

(g) Description of character when she does not hear.

This does not occur in the incidental roles in either Plautus or Terence.

2. Contrast.

These minor characters are useful for purposes of contrast. In Asinaria (Plautus) the predatory and savage Cleareta contrasts markedly with her young tender-hearted daughter, Philaenium. This is paralleled by Terence's short scene between two diametrically opposed characters in Hecyra - Syra, the old hardened bawd, and the youthful Philotis. Cistellaria (Plautus) presents to the audience in the first scene the extraordinary picture of what can only be called the three stages of prostitution. There is, first of all, Selenium, the young still-unspoilt girl. The next grade produces Gymnasium, already beginning to show the signs of greed and avarice. Finally comes the procuress - the old deserted courtesan, experienced, venal, and debauched. In Andria Lesbia's alleged carelessness and intemperance contrast with Mysis' care and solicitude for her mistress, Glycerium.

3. Repetition.

Repetition is not marked in this group of characters but is present. In Epidicus the double deception of Periphanes, first by the unnamed music-girl and then by Acropolistis, emphasises the craftiness of the two girls. Cleareta's constant references to money (Asinaria 153-242) draw attention to her cupidity. In Cistellaria the 'lena's' drunken ways are

commented on twice by herself (120-122, 126-129), and once in the prologue (149).

4. Significant Names.

In Terence the women of the lower classes often have ethnic names. E.g. Lesbia, the midwife in Andria, derives from Lesbos noted for its good wine, and Lesbia has a strong predilection for drink. Syra, the old bawd in Hecyra, is formed from 'Σύρα,' and is a name typical of a slave. This applies, too, to Sura, the hairdresser in Truculentus.

Melaenis again (Cist.) is a name associated with the courtesans of Athens.²⁴

Ptolemocratia (the priestess in Rudens) is derived from 'Πτόλιμας' (war) and 'κρατίω' (to rule over), implying perhaps that a priestess condemns war and typifies peace.

The name of Acropolistis, the music-girl in Epidicus, is, connected with the word 'ακρόπολις'. At the yearly Panathenaia the sacred 'peplos' was carried to the citadel and placed on the statue of Athena. The procession which was comprised of people of every age and class would certainly have included music-girls.

24 . Ath. XIII, 588C.

25 . See C.Mendelsohn, Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus, p.63.

music-girls.

Metre.

The incidental characters in Plautus use trochaic septenarii principally (126 lines). Iambic senarii, which follow, are only 69 in number. Terence's incidental characters speak only nineteen lines of which 12 are in iambic senarii, and 5, strangely enough, in lyric metre - the only lyric passage by a woman character in Terence. Lyric metres in Plautus amount to 34 lines.

It seems clear that Terence regarded his incidental characters as useful technically, but not sufficiently important to warrant detailed characterisation. Only Syra (Hecyra) stands out clearly, but has a very short role.

In contrast to this treatment, the women of Plautus - Cleareta, Melaenis, Acropolistis, and Ptolemocratia are characters in their own right and have been handled as such by Plautus.

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CHAPTER VI.

1. Entrance, link, and exit monologues.

The monologue played such an important part in ancient drama that it is essential that some consideration be given to this convention. I would repeat that soliloquy was a 'racial characteristic'¹ of the Greeks and Romans, and this device caused no surprise among the audience. Prescott² remarks that the monologue is justified whenever the psychological conditions are such that the speaker may talk to himself or to an imaginary audience, or communicate his thoughts to an actual audience as he is alone on stage, or in the presence of others whose eavesdropping he does not notice. Legrand³ insists that people who are greatly moved do give audible vent to their feelings, e.g. Rudens 185 ff. (Palaestra's monody) and 220 ff. (Ampelisca's lament).

The monologue can be used for a number of purposes. Bickford⁴ has listed these in detail. Briefly they are used for (a) explanation of the plot, (b) narration of off-stage action, (c) comment on action already known to the audience, (d) characterisation, (e) moralising, (f) deliberation as to future action, (g) comic effect, (h) expression of various

1 . G.Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, p.105.

2 . H.W.Prescott, "Link Monologues in Roman Comedy," C.P. 34 (1939), pp.1-23, 116-126.

3 . E.Legrand, The New Greek Comedy, p.329.

4 . J.Bickford, Soliloquy in Ancient Comedy, Princeton (1922), p.65.

emotions. Many of the soliloquies are mixed in type.

Monologues fall into three groups:- entrance monologues, link monologues, and exit monologues. In the entrance monologue the character comes on to an empty stage. For the link monologue one character is held over while the others depart, and he speaks until the arrival of another character. The exit monologue is delivered by a character left alone on the stage who leaves as soon as he has finished speaking.

In both Plautus and Terence the women's entrance monologues outnumber the link and exit monologues.⁵ Plautus in his twenty plays has twenty entrance monologues by women; Terence in his six plays has ten. Plautus has seven link monologues and seven exit monologues. Terence has four and five respectively. Both playwrights have one entrance-exit monologue apiece.

A. Entrance monologues.

If we look at the entrance monologues of Terence's women we shall see that they are used in most cases for narration of off-stage action:-⁶ Andria, Mysis: 229-235; Hecyra, Sostrata: 336-337; Myrrhina: 516-521; Heauton Timorumenos, Bacchis: 723-728; Eunuchus, Dorias: 615-628.

They are used too for comment on action already known to the audience:- Eunuchus, Thais: 81-83; Pythias: 643-644, 645-646; Thais: 739-742; Pythias: 1002-1004; Phormio, Sophrona:

5 . It must be understood that the figures given in this chapter refer to women's monologues, asides, etc.

6 . With a fixed scenic background certain action would have been most difficult to stage, and the monologue was a useful dramatic device for narrating important happenings, e.g. Bromia's monologue (Amphitruo 1053-1075).

728-731.

In a couple of cases intention as to future action is expressed:- Heauton Timorumenos, Bacchis: 723-728; Eunuchus, Thais: 739-742.

Anxiety is expressed in Andria, Mysis: 229-235; Eunuchus, Pythias: 643-644; Phormio, Sophrona: 728-731; anger appears in Eunuchus, Pythias: 647-648.

There is practically no characterisation in Terence's entrance monologues.

When we come to Plautus we find that he uses his women's entrance monologues for a wider variety of purpose - not only for narration and comment, but for characterisation, comic effect, moralising, etc. Also one monologue may contain a number of these ingredients, e.g. Palaestra's monody (185-219) in Rudens contains expressions of fear and misery, a good deal of moralising on the innocent and their lack of reward, and explanation of off-stage action.

There is, as in Terence, narration of off-stage action:- Amphitruo, Bromia: 1053-1075; Casina, Pardalisca: 759-779; Epidicus, Philippa: 526-534; Mercator, Dorippa: 667-671; Syra: 803-804; Rudens, Palaestra: 185-219; Ampelisca: 220-228.

Comment on action already known to the audience is found in:- Amphitruo, Alcmena: 623-653, 882-890; Casina, Cleostrata: 531-535; Cistellaria, Phanostrata: 543-544; Menaechmi, Erotium: 353. In Miles Gloriosus 411-414 Philocomasium's monologue is conventional for a traveller and merely expresses thanks for a safe voyage.

voyage.

Statements on future action appear in:- Casina,
Cleostrata: 531-538; Mercator, Syra: 803-804; Truculentus,
Phronesium: 448-462.

The monologue can be used to great advantage for comic effect:- Casina, Cleostrata: 531-538; Pardalisca: 621-626; 759-779; Curculio, Leaena: 96-109; Mercator, Dorippa: 667-671; Persa, Sophoclidisca: 181-182.⁷

A certain amount of moralising is found in these entrance monologues. Halisca comments on the pleasure some people take in the misfortunes of others (Cistellaria 671-694); Erotium on attractions for lovers (Menaechmi 353-360); Palaestra on the injustice of the gods (Rudens 185-219); Alcmena on the proportion of pleasure and pain in life (Amphitruo 633-653); Phronesium on the deceitfulness of women (Truculentus 448-462).

Characterisation takes place in:- Amphitruo, Alcmena: 623-653; Rudens, Palaestra: 185-219; Ampelisca: 220-228; Truculentus, Astaphium: 98-101; Phronesium: 448-462.

Various emotions are expressed in the monologues:- indignation by Dorippa: ~~in~~ (Mercator 667-671); anger by Alcmena (Amphitruo 882-890); anxiety by Halisca (Cistellaria 671-694); apprehension and misery by Philippa (Epidicus 526-532); fear and misery by Palaestra (Rudens 185-219).

Terence's entrance monologues by women are shorter than those of Plautus. They range from two to six lines, with the

7 . The early part of the speech is directed back towards Lemniselenis in the house, and thus cannot be counted among the 'monologue' lines.

exception of Dorias' monody (Eunuchus) when she relates the story of Thraso's dinner-party. This runs into fourteen lines (615-628). Out of his twenty entrance monologues by women Plautus has seven with six lines and under. The rest range up to thirty-five lines.

The shorter monologue is certainly more spontaneous, but on the other hand the outpourings of Palaestra (Rudens) in her thirty-five line monody (185-219), and the excited narrative of Bromia (Amphitruo 1053-1075 ... twenty-three lines), both of whom are under strong emotional stress, do not seem unnatural. Of Alcmena's monody (Amphitruo 633-653) Prescott⁸ comments that it is really an 'emotional aria'⁹ and that she does not notice the presence of the other two characters on stage.

Of Terence's ten entrance monologues by women, six are given to the 'ancillae,' two to the 'matronae' and two to the 'meretrices.' In Plautus eight of the twenty go to 'ancillae,' eight to 'matronae,' two to 'meretrices,' and two to 'virgines.' It will be noted that in both playwrights the 'ancillae' are favoured as vehicles for monologue.

The Adelphi (Terence) has no entrance monologues by women, and in Plautus Aulularia, Asinaria, Bacchides, Miles Gloriosus, Mostellaria, and Poenulus are without women's entrance monologues.

B. Link Monologues.

Technically the link monologue (spoken by the 'held-over'

8 . H.W.Prescott, "The 'Amphitruo' of Plautus," C.P. 8 (1913), pp.14-22.

9 . See page 399 for discussion on metre in monologues.

character) is an important device. By this means the 'flow of dramatic speech and action is sustained.' In short, there is continuous action and no necessity for a vacant stage. Above all the playwright is spared having to motivate the exit and re-entrance of the character. Prescott¹⁰ remarks that the link monologue can seem natural when "brief, relevant, and followed immediately by dialogue between speaker and new character."

Like the entrance monologue, the link monologue is used for a variety of purposes. Duckworth¹¹ notes that the speaker of the link monologue usually announces the oncoming character. (N.B. There were no programmes in those days.)

Out of Terence's four link monologues, two consist of three lines each, one of six, and the fourth is twenty-seven lines in length (Hecyra 816-840).¹² This monologue is an important one as it serves a number of objects. In it we have Bacchis narrating the story of Pamphilus' violation of Philumena, and the recognition of the ring. The character of Bacchis, kindly, good-hearted, is well displayed in this monologue. Lastly we have Bacchis moralising on courtesans and their habits. In this monologue there is no announcement of Parmeno's and Pamphilus' arrival.

In Andria 716-721 (Mysis) we find comment on action we

10 . H.W.Prescott, "Link Monologues in Roman Comedy," C.P. 34 (1939), pp.1-23, 116-126.

11 . G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.107.

12 . T.Carney (ed. Hecyra, 1962, p.185) remarks that this monologue is Terence's own invention. He has re-sutured the play, adding the monologue.

already know, and the announcement that Davus is coming. Again in 737-739 Mysis comments on the past conversation, and intimates to the audience her future action. In Eunuchus 910-912 Pythias merely deliberates on her future actions. In neither of the last monologues is there any reference to oncoming characters.

It must therefore be noted that Duckworth's statement concerning link monologues and the announcement of oncoming characters does not apply in the case of Terence's women, for of the four link monologues only one announces an oncoming actor.

The link monologues of Plautus' women tend to be longer than those of Terence's. Only one is under six lines; the others consist of seven, eight (twice), twelve, sixteen, and forty-six lines respectively.

The last one of forty-six lines is the startling monody¹³ by Astaphium in Truculentus (209-254). This consists of comment on the past scene, a good deal of moralising on Fate, much talk about courtesans' rights, unwitting characterisation of herself, narrative of off-stage action (Strabax and his secret visit to Phronesium), and a description of Truculentus. This sketch of the clownish clodhopper is useful for comic effect; then, too, Truculentus can easily be recognised when he opens the door following Astaphium's knock.

Astaphium has another shorter monologue at 315-321 - again a comment on the past scene, and a statement of intended

13 . See page 399 for discussion on metres in monologues.

action, followed by the announcement of Diniarchus' arrival.

Cleostrata's sixteen-line monologue in Casina (149-164) is used mostly for comic effect. There is comment on the past conversation with Pardalisca, and a statement of intended action, all heavily interlarded with expressions of anger at Lysidamus' behaviour. Finally we have the announcement of Myrrhina's arrival. In 558-562 Cleostrata comments on the past scene, rejoicing in her deception of Alcesimus. She states that she intends to stir up trouble between Alcesimus and Lysidamus, and finally mentions that Lysidamus is in sight.

Staphyla, in Aulularia (67-78), comments on past happenings, gives information as to the development of the plot, and conveys her misery to the audience.

In Cistellaria (528-535) Melaenis, the 'lena', comments on the past scene, deliberates on what to do, expresses anxiety, and remarks on the arrival of an unknown someone.

Ampelisca of the Rudens (405-412) narrates off-stage action, namely the kindly treatment of the two girls by the priestess, and comments on action already known to the audience.

It should be noted that, in contrast to Terence, in five of Plautus' seven link monologues by women an announcement is made of the oncoming character, bearing out Duckworth's statement in Plautus' case.¹⁴

In both Plautus and Terence the majority of the link

¹⁴ . We could note here that Plautus manages his exits and entrances more naturally than Terence who, at times, does not visualise stage movements clearly.

monologues are again spoken by the 'ancillae'; Plautus has three and Terence has three. The other link monologue in Terence goes to a 'meretrix.' Plautus has two spoken by 'matronae', one by a procuress, and one by a 'virgo.'

The link monologue often proves valuable to eavesdroppers, and Prescott¹⁵ states that the mere presence of the eavesdropper on stage 'enhanced the general atmosphere of trickery.'¹⁶

C. Exit monologues.

Exit monologues are generally concerned with the speaker's reaction to the previous scene, and they often contain references to future action. Characterisation is infrequent, and there is no attempt at producing comic effect. Very often they open up the way for fresh action.¹⁷

Terence has four exit monologues by women, ranging in length from five to eleven lines. Plautus has seven exit monologues by women. Four of these are six lines or under in length. The longest is twenty-nine lines; the other two consist of thirteen and eighteen lines respectively.

In Hecyra Sostrata's exit monologue (274-280) is unusual because here we have, as well as reaction to the previous scene, moralising and characterisation. Sostrata complains bitterly, after her husband's severe reprimands, that all wives are blamed alike because of the faults of a few. She declares that she

15 . H.W.Prescott, "Link Monologues in Roman Comedy."

16 . See following section on Eavesdropping for discussion on this.

17 . H.W.Prescott, "Exit Monologues in Roman Comedy," C.P. 37 (1942), pp.1-21.

herself is quite innocent, and has always treated her daughter-in-law fairly.¹⁸ There is no statement as to intended action here.

In Myrrhina's exit monologue (Hecyra 566-576)¹⁹ we not only have her reaction to the scolding by her husband, but a narrative of past action - the violation of her daughter and the loss of her ring. She also expresses her own misery and apprehension. The narration of past off-stage action is unusual in an exit monologue.

Thais in Eunuchus (197-206) refers to the previous scene, commenting on Phaedria's lack of trust in her. She gives us an insight into her character by declaring her truthfulness and her affection for Pamphila. We have, too, an important development of the plot, for she states that she thinks she has found Pamphila's brother. Finally there is a statement of future action.

Pythias' short exit monologue (Eunuchus 918-922) merely comments on the arrival of Parmeno and announces her intention of frightening him severely.

Plautus' most unusual exit monologue is given to Syra, the old slave in Mercator (817-829). Here we have thirteen lines of pure moralising on the unjust distinction made between men and women in the laws that control their married life. As we have remarked, moralising occurs frequently in entrance

18 . Undoubtedly mentioned to intensify the mystery of the plot.

19 . This and the previous exit monologue (Sostrata 274-280) are paired in an intended contrast and repetition technique.

monologues but not in exit monologues. Also, this diatribe would have been more suited to a 'matrona' than an 'ancilla'.²⁰

The longest exit monologue by a woman is spoken by the Procūress in Cistellaria (120-148). The old woman commences by confiding to the audience the habits of courtesans, and continues with a long account of the events ante-dating the present dramatic action - again unusual for an exit monologue. In fact the monologue resembles closely, in its expository qualities, the style of the prologue (149-202).

Melaenis, Cistellaria (626-630), in a short exit monologue refers to the past scene, and gives a statement of intended action. She has a similar monologue in 650-652.

Old Staphyla, in Aulularia (274-279), comments on the previous scene, and mentions future action.

Ampelisca (Rudens 440-457) has a monologue of ten lines.²¹ This is principally concerned with the action taking place down on the sea-shore - visible to her, but invisible to the audience. She completes this monologue with a statement of future action.

Finally we have a very short exit monologue by Alcmena (Amphitruo 858-860). This is merely a bewildered comment on the present situation - her husband's suspicions of her.

In the exit monologues the 'ancillae' do not predominate. Of his five exit monologues by women Terence gives two to

20 . See page 212.

21 . Some difficulty has arisen over numbering the lines here, so that though numbered 440-457, Ampelisca in reality speaks only 10 lines.

'matronae,' one to a 'meretrix,' one to an 'ancilla,' and one to a midwife. Plautus gives three to 'lenae,' two to 'ancillae,' one to a 'matrona,' and one to a 'virgo.'

D. Entrance-Exit monologues.

In the only two entrance-exit monologues spoken by women - Lesbia in Terence's Andria (486-488) and Plautus' Stephanium (Stichus 673-682) - we have narrative of off-stage action, and in Stephanium's case, an announcement of future action. However, the monologue of Stephanium is merely a 'time-filler' (see below), while Lesbia's few lines assist in the development of the plot by informing the audience that Glycerium has given birth to a child.

The monologue is also useful as a 'time filler.' There was no change of scene in Roman comedy, and the monologue was employed to bridge time between the exit and return of the same character, e.g. Syra's monologue (Mercator 817-829) helps (with the addition of Charinus' entrance monologue) to fill up the interval between Eutychus' disappearance into his house and re-entry after he has learned where Pasicompsa is. Prescott²² remarks that, in comparison with Plautus, Terence uses the link-monologue relatively frequently as a 'time-filler.' This, however, does not apply to the women characters as the only

22 . H.W.Prescott, "Link Monologues in Roman Comedy," states that in the six plays of Terence there are as many time-filling monologues as in all the plays of Plautus, bar M.G. and Aul.

time-filling link monologue in Terence is that of Mysis (Andria 716-721) who holds the stage while Davus fetches the child.²³

There is also the fact that, with a limited cast as seems likely in Roman comedy, the monologue was a serviceable device for occupying the stage while one of the characters slipped off stage, changed his costume and appeared in another role.²⁴

Kurrelmeyer²⁵ goes so far as to state that Plautus actually wrote the plays with a view to making several roles dovetail so that they could be carried by a single actor. She thinks, for example, that in Curculio the same actor played Leaena, who exits at 158, and Cappadox, who enters at 218; and that in Mostellaria Scapha (exit 292) and Callidamates (enter 313) were taken by the same man. This is, of course, possible, but I cannot accept the theory that an artist of Plautus' calibre devised his plays to revolve round a certain number of actors. Undoubtedly he did recognise the fact that the plays would be staged by small troupes, and as a 'man of the theatre' he was alive to such practical issues.

23 . Prescott, op. cit. claims that Bacchis' monologue (816-840) is a time-filling monologue, but as these lines relate the whole story of Pamphilus and Philumena, and Bacchis' part in the affair, they amount to more than this.

24 . See H.W.Prescott, "The Doubling of Roles in Ancient Comedy," C.P. 18 (1923), pp.23-34. T.Carney (ed. Hecyra, Appendix III) thinks that Sostrata, Myrrhina and Bacchis were all played by one actor, a specialist in female roles.

25 . C.M.Kurrelmeyer, The Economy of Actors in Plautus (Graz, 1932), pp.17 ff., also states that eight lines were sufficient to change roles. Costumes indeed were simple, but as Miss Kurrelmeyer does not believe that actors in Plautus' and Terence's day wore masks, it is difficult to see how a fresh make-up could be applied in that short time.

issues.

In these women's monologues Terence has no examples of addresses to the audience. Plautus has one in his link monologues - the old procuress in Cistellaria (129-148) relates to the audience the story leading up to the plot; and he has three examples in entrance monologues:- Astaphium (Truculentus 105 ff.) explains the ways of courtesans to the spectators; Phronesium (Truculentus 463-475) delivers an exposition on women and explains her dress to the audience; Halisca (Cistellaria 678-679) implores the spectators' help.

Terence certainly thinks the direct address to the audience violates the dramatic illusion and is careful to avoid it.²⁶ Plautus, on the contrary, is willing to risk this for the sake of what he can gain in humour, e.g. the garrulous old woman in Cistellaria who has imbibed far too freely at Selenium's luncheon-party. The audience must have enjoyed her tipsy confidences hugely.

It is worthwhile to note Taladoire's statement:- "On peut noter, à la louange de Plaute, que presque tous ses monologues se terminent sur un ou plusieurs vers d'intérêt dramatique, qui les relient opportunément à l'action." This is borne out in the monologues of the women characters, e.g. Epidicus 532 (Philippa), and one might remark on the same trait in Terence, e.g. Eunuchus 921-922 (Pythias).

26 . See G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, pp.132-136.

It should be noted that Plautus in many cases tends to use the women's monologues as a vehicle for philosophising or moralising on social questions. Syra (Mercator 817-829) complains that moral standards for men are lower than for women; Halisca (Cistellaria 671-694) remarks that people enjoy seeing others suffer misfortune; Palaestra (Rudens 185-219) mourns that those who lead exemplary lives are not rewarded adequately by the gods; Astaphium (Truculentus 209-254) discusses lovers and their rights. There are numerous other examples in Plautus. In Terence we find little philosophising in the women's soliloquies. Sostrata (Hecyra 274-280) grieves because all mothers-in-law are judged by a few unpleasant ones; but this is really the only satisfactory example in Terence.

Metre is an important factor in monologue. Again it is Plautus who shows the most originality and ingenuity here. Out of his twenty entrance monologues by women, eleven are monodies, i.e. written in lyric metres. Halisca's piteous outcry on having lost the casket (Cistellaria 671-694) is a mixture of cretics, anapaests, and bacchiacs. Lindsay²⁷ remarks that the bacchiac metre is well suited to Roman 'gravitas,' and observes that cretics are used for women's wailings. Thus both these metres are suitable in the case of the unhappy Halisca who has failed to do her duty. Palaestra's monody (Rudens 185-219) in which she bewails her miserable state, is an even more varied combination of metres. Alcmena's monody (Amphitruo 623-653)

27 . W.Lindsay, Early Latin Verse, p.289. See Note 23a on p. 379 of this thesis.

begins in Trochaic Septenarii and changes to Bacchiacs. A particularly effective example of cretics is found in Pardalisca's monody (Casina 621-626). The rest of the entrance monologues are in iambic senarii, with one in trochaic septenarii.²⁸

Terence's ten entrance monologues by women have no lyric metres as we understand them in Plautus.²⁹ One of the monologues is in iambic senarii:- Eunuchus 81-83. Two others are in trochaic octonarii, a recitative metre:- Eunuchus 643-644, 739-742. Three are in iambic septenarii:- Hecyra 336-337; Eunuchus 1002-1004, H.T. 723-728. The rest consist of long trochaic and iambic lines varied occasionally by shorter lines - Terence's substitute for the lyric metres of Plautus.

In the link monologues Plautus has two monodies - the striking one by Astaphium (Truculentus 209-254) and one by Cleostrata (Casina 149-164). Apart from these Plautus has one link monologue in iambic senarii, one in iambic septenarii, and three in trochaic septenarii. Terence has three link monologues in iambic senarii, and one in iambic septenarii.

In the exit monologues by women there are no lyric songs in Plautus, and, as mentioned before, none in Terence. Four of Plautus' exit monologues are in iambic senarii, and three in

28 . Cleostrata (Casina 521-538). This metre is the vehicle for excited talk, and Cleostrata is very disturbed to find that Alcesimus is abetting her husband.

29 . We could note here that there are only three instances in Terence where he uses lyric metre:- Andria 481-484; 625-638; Adelphi 610-617. The first is a short speech by Lesbia, the second a solo by Charinus, and the last a soliloquy by Aeschinus.

trochaic septenarii. Of Terence's five exit monologues two are in iambic senarii, two in iambic octonarii, and one in trochaic septenarii.

Of the two entrance-exit monologues, Terence's Lesbia (Andria 486-488) speaks in iambic senarius and iambic octonarii; Plautus' Stephanium (Stichus 673-682) uses the recitative iambic septenarii - a rollicking metre suitable as a forerunner to the banquet-scene.

It seems clear, then, that Plautus preferred lyric metres for the women's monologues, then the metre of ordinary speech (iambic senarii), and used less recitative metre (septenarii and octonarii). Terence, on the other hand, uses principally recitative metre in his women's monologues, considerably less of the metre of ordinary speech, and lastly, a few 'mixed' monologues (octonarii and septenarii varied with shorter lines).

If we look at the number of lines in women's monologues in proportion to the total of the women's lines it will be found that in Plautus the monologue lines amount to 14.8% and in Terence to 17.4% - a fairly close parallel. But although the amount of women's soliloquy may tally in the two playwrights, the use of the device is very different.

Terence rarely uses his women's monologues for comic effect or for moralising, but regards the monologue as a functional device for developing the story by narration of off-stage action and statement of intended action. Plautus, with a wider view of the possibilities inherent in the monologue, uses it not only

for exposition and progression of plot, but also for comic effect, characterisation, and expression of emotion. He regards the monologue not only as a technical device to forward the story, but as a means of producing the most varied dramatic effects.

2. Eavesdropping and Asides.

Eavesdropping occurs frequently in the plays of both Plautus and Terence. There are approximately a hundred and eighty-four eavesdropping scenes in the twenty plays of Plautus, and eighty-eight in Terence's six plays.³⁰ When we look more closely into the eavesdropping scenes, it will be noted that comparatively few women are eavesdroppers. There are sixteen examples in Plautus. (Casina contains six; Cistellaria has three, Menaechmi two; Asinaria, Mostellaria, Poenulus, Stichus and Truculentus contain one each.) In Terence there are six cases of women eavesdroppers. (Eunuchus contains three examples; Andria, Hecyra, and Adelphi have one each.) With Plautus this is roughly a proportion of one woman out of every twelve eavesdroppers, and with Terence one out of every fifteen.

It has been remarked by Hiatt³¹ and Prescott³² that eavesdropping scenes occur generally in connection with entering characters. The character already on stage overhears the entering character or characters. This, Hiatt maintains, is

30 and 31 . V.E.Hiatt, Eavesdropping in Roman Comedy (Chicago, 1946), pp. 4 ff.

32 . H.W.Prescott, "Link Monologues in Roman Comedy," C.P. 34 (1939), pp.1-23, 116-126.

done to relieve the awkward position of the non-participating actor. If he is eavesdropping he has an excuse for a certain amount of by-play until the newly-arrived character has been introduced. Usually after eavesdropping, the eavesdropper is discovered or comes forward. Dialogue then takes place between the characters.

Types of Eavesdropping Scene.

A. In two of Plautus' sixteen eavesdropping scenes, character A enters, delivers a monologue, and then overhears character B who enters and delivers a monologue. In Casina Cleostrata enters, delivers a monologue (531), overhears Alcesimus' entrance monologue on the lack of an invitation to his wife (539), and then converses with him.

However, after this conversation a most unusual episode occurs. Cleostrata bids Alcesimus farewell, but instead of going off-stage, retires to her doorway and there overhears Alcesimus' exit monologue (549) - the only example in Plautus and Terence of a pure exit monologue being overheard.³³

Again in Casina Pardalisca has an entrance monologue at 759, and then listens to Lysidamus' entrance monologue (780). He will forego his dinner and escort the newly-married couple to the farm. The normal dialogue follows.

Terence has two eavesdropping scenes of this type. In

33 . This example of eavesdropping does not fall under any of the three types, but I have commented on it here, as it links up with the foregoing eavesdropping of Cleostrata.

Andria Mysis delivers an entrance monologue (228), and then overhears Pamphilus in his entrance monologue complaining about his father's insistence on his marriage (236). Dialogue between them follows. In Eunuchus Dorias' entrance monologue takes place at 615, and she then overhears Phaedria's entrance monologue on his separation from Thais (629). Further she overhears Pythias' remarks (643), and finally the conversation between Pythias and Phaedria, before she herself joins in the conversation (656).

B. Other opportunities of eavesdropping are provided by the link monologue. This involves a character held on stage from the last scene to provide continuity of action and avoid the motivation of another exit and re-entry.³⁴ Plautus has two of these examples and Terence has one.

In Casina Cleostrata at 558 holds the stage with a link monologue,³⁵ and then overhears Lysidamus' entrance monologue on the time he has wasted at the forum (563). There is then the normal dialogue between the two characters. In Cistellaria Melaenis delivers a link monologue (528) and then listens to Lampadio's entrance monologue (536), followed by the dialogue between Phanostrata and Lampadio. This in turn is followed by dialogue among the three. Terence's Eunuchus gives us a link monologue by Pythias at 910, who then overhears a brief conversation between Chremes and Sophrona (912). Dialogue

³⁴ . See pages 389-390.

³⁵ . Note that Cleostrata has not been off stage, but only in her doorway.

follows.

C. By far the greatest number of scenes with women eavesdroppers occur where two or more characters are already on stage conversing, and then overhear an entering character. There are eleven of these in Plautus and three in Terence.

In Casina Myrrhina, Cleostrata, and Pardalisca enter, converse, and then listen to Olympio's entrance monologue on his unpleasant experience with his 'bride' (875). The normal dialogue follows. The three are still on stage conversing when they overhear Lysidamus' entrance monologue on the humiliation he has endured at the hands of Casina-Chalinus (937). The usual dialogue follows.

In Cistellaria Melaenis is giving instructions to Halisca and Selenium when Alcesimarchus bursts on to the stage and they overhear his exclamations (639). Dialogue then takes place. Again in Cistellaria Phanostrata and Lampadio, after a conversation, overhear Halisca at 671 bewailing the loss of the casket. Dialogue then takes place.

In Menaechmi the Wife and Bruch (the parasite) are on stage talking when Menaechmus enters, and they listen to his entrance monody (571) on the time he has spent in the law-courts. All three then converse together. The same play shows us the Wife and Menaechmus II quarrelling, to be interrupted by the entrance monologue of the Wife's father which they overhear (753). Dialogue follows.

In Poenulus Adelphasium and Anterastilis, on stage with

Hanno, overhear Antamoenides' angry entrance monologue on how he has been deceived (1280). Then dialogue takes place.

Phronesium in Truculentus, talking with Stratophanes, overhears Cyamus' entrance monologue (551).³⁶ Dialogue follows.

In Mostellaria Philematium and Philolaches, conversing on stage, listen, not to an entrance monologue, but to a dialogue between Delphium and the inebriated Callidamates as they enter (313). Another variation occurs in Asinaria when Brush and Artemona enter, converse, and then eavesdrop on the dialogue of characters already on stage in the banqueting scene (882).

In Stichus Crocotium enters, is addressed by Panegyris, and then remains on stage to overhear Gelasimus' lengthy entrance monologue on his hunger (198). Dialogue follows.

Terence, in Hecyra, gives us a conversation by Philotis and Syra, who then overhear Parmeno's entrance remarks (76). Dialogue follows, as in Plautus. In Eunuchus Pythias and Dorias engage in conversation, and then the former overhears Chremes' entrance monologue on the amount of wine he has drunk (727). Dialogue takes place between Pythias and Chremes. The Adelphi produces a dialogue on stage between Sostrata and Canthara who then overhear Geta's entrance monologue (299). Dialogue then takes place between the three.

36 . V.E.Hiatt, op. cit., does not think that Phronesium heard this, but Cyamus states categorically 'credo audisse haec me loqui' (575).

Purposes of Eavesdropping Scenes.

A. In a number of cases eavesdropping is used to produce dramatic effect by the expression of emotions of fear, suspense, anger, etc. These are shown by the reaction of the eavesdropper to what he hears. If he does not reveal his feelings by asides he possibly expresses them by gestures or posture.³⁷ We find fear and suspense manifested in Cistellaria 639-640, Poenulus 1292-1293, Andria 237, 240, 251, Adelphi 305, 308-309. Horror is expressed by the eavesdropper Dorias (Eunuchus 656). Anger is roused in the eavesdropping wife (Menaechmi 602).

In Poenulus (1280) Adelphasium doubtless clings to Agorastocles with every evidence of terror, and one can see in Adelphi (299) Sostrata leaning heavily on Canthara as she realises that Geta is bringing bad news.

B. The reactions of the eavesdroppers are also used to produce comic effect. In Asinaria (882) Artemona, eavesdropping on

37 . Owing to the use of masks by the actors (see W.Beare, "Masks on the Roman Stage," C.Q. 33 (1939), pp.139-146; A.F.S.Gow, "On the Use of Masks in Roman Comedy," J.R.S. 2 (1912), pp.65-77; G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, pp.92-94), facial expression to portray emotion was naturally not possible. The actors relied on gesture and posture to a great extent. J.Kirkup (These Horned Islands, Collins, 1962) remarks, however, that anyone who has seen the 'noe' plays, the traditional comedies of Japan, will realise that a tremendous amount can be achieved with a mask of indeterminate expression. By the careful tilting of the head and by turns and other movements of the head and body, a good actor can make the mask weep, smile, laugh, or be thoughtful. See, too, B.A.Taladoire, "Commentaires sur la Mimique et L'Expression Corporelle du Comédien Romain (Montpellier, 1951).

Demaenetus at the banquet, already knows of his interest in Philaenium. But Demaenetus' idiotic pleasantries to the girl and Artemona's wrathful asides add a good deal of humour to the banqueting scene.

Other scenes of this nature are found in Menaechmi (753 ff), Stichus (198 ff), Truculentus (551 ff). With reference to the last example, we have already noted that Hiatt states there is no indication that Phronesium overhears Cyamus, in spite of line 575.³⁸ *But that she has heard seems quite clear.* And surely the force of Cyamus' monologue is greatly increased if the ironical situation of Phronesium listening to his diatribe against courtesans is presented to the audience.

The eavesdropping scenes in Casina (539 ff, 563 ff, 780 ff, 875 ff, 937 ff) are used almost wholly for comic effect. The monologues of Olympio and Lysidamus (875 and 937) would lose half their savour if the spectators could not see Cleostrata, Myrrhina, and Pardalisca giggling and peering from the doorway.

In Mostellaria Philolaches and Philematium overhear Delphium and Callidamates as they enter for the banquet scene (313). Here, too, the eavesdropping is employed for comic effect.

It should be noted that at line 1090 in Miles Gloriosus Milphidippa informs Palaestrio that Philocomasium and Acroteleutium have been listening (presumably from the doorway) to the conversation between Palaestrio, the soldier and herself.

38 . See page 406, note 36.

The spectators, of course, would have seen them from the beginning of the scene and enjoyed the additional fun, but the reader only realises their presence at the end of the scene.

C. On looking carefully at the eavesdropping scenes by women, it will be apparent that eavesdropping seldom makes any appreciable contribution to the development of the action. Only rarely is anything of importance overheard.

However, in the Cistellaria we have two eavesdropping scenes which materially help in the resolution of the plot. Melaenis hears Lampadio's monologue (536 ff) and then the important conversation between Lampadio and Phanostrata in which it becomes clear that the child whom Melaenis has brought up as her own is the daughter of Phanostrata. Melaenis then resolves to hand Selenium back to her own parents. Later Phanostrata and Lampadio find the casket which Halisca has dropped. This casket contains the trinkets of Phanostrata's lost daughter, and she immediately recognises them. Thus when Halisca re-appears on stage, looking for the casket, they learn that this is the woman who had possession of the trinkets. This opens the way to the questioning of Halisca by Phanostrata, and the whereabouts of Selenium is discovered. Information of definite importance is gained in both these scenes.

D. There are eavesdropping scenes which do not seem to make any contribution to the development of the action, or to the dramatic or comic effect. These occur in Terence.

Terence.

Parmeno (Hecyra 76 ff), in his few lines, makes it clear that he is used to deceiving his master, but Philotis already knows he is a rascal, and learns nothing fresh. Nothing is gained from Pythias' eavesdropping on Chremes and the nurse (Eunuchus 912 f), or from Pythias' overhearing Chremes' complaint that he has drunk too much (727 ff).

Out of Plautus' sixteen cases of women eavesdroppers, two instances in the same play advance the action. There are none in Terence. Plautus has three scenes registering emotions by the eavesdropper, and Terence has three out of his six instances of women eavesdroppers. As would be expected, Plautus has eleven eavesdropping scenes producing comic effect. Terence has none. Finally, Terence's other three eavesdropping scenes seem to serve no specific purpose.

As has been remarked, the women characters were not widely used by Plautus or by Terence for eavesdropping, but where this does occur Plautus employs them for comic effect, while Terence uses them to express emotion, or is not sufficiently interested to extract any dramatic value from their eavesdropping.

Asides.

Asides can be divided into three groups:- 1. those spoken by eavesdroppers; 2. those spoken in the course of dialogue with another character or characters; 3. those spoken to another character so that a third may not hear. Asides in the first category can be grouped into two minor divisions:-

la. asides by those eavesdropping on a soliloquy, and lb. asides by those eavesdropping on dialogue by other characters.

The technique of the aside has been severely condemned by some critics, especially the aside by a character engaged in dialogue with another, e.g. in Casina (685 ff) Pardalisca breaks off her conversation with Lysidamus to tell the audience that she is deceiving him with a false story. Norwood³⁹ comments on this:- "Pardalisca's aside would provoke comment in a mad-house." But the explanation is necessary for the spectators who might perhaps believe Pardalisca's lurid tale of Casina threatening the household with a sword. In any case Lysidamus is so disturbed by this story that he is concerned only for his own safety, and is in no fit state to hear a muttered aside.

Mrs. Cole⁴⁰ remarks that the aside still survives today in music-hall comedy and vaudeville 'skits,' most of which cater for the same audience as Plautus did.

Plautus in his twenty plays has forty-six asides by women; Terence in his six plays has eleven. However, of Terence's eleven asides, six occur in his first play (Andria), and two of the plays (Heauton Timorumenos and Phormio) have no asides by women, symptomatic again of his dislike of unreal conventions. Plautus has five plays (Aulularia, Curculio, Mercator, Mostellaria, and Poenulus) without any asides by women.

39 . G.Norwood, Plautus and Terence, p.79.

40 . S.W.Cole, "Plautus Up to Date," C.J. 16 (1920-1921), pp.399-409.

1a and 1b.

Twenty-two of Plautus' asides by women come from eavesdroppers - sixteen from eavesdroppers on dialogue, and six from eavesdroppers on soliloquy. (N.B. We should expect this as we have already noted that the women characters eavesdropping on dialogue occur more frequently than women eavesdropping on soliloquy.)

These asides are used for a variety of purposes:- humorous effect (Asinaria:- Artemona: 892, 896-898, 899, 902-903; Casina:- Cleostrata: 576; Cistellaria:- Melaenis: 555, 573; Stichus:- Crocotium: 217, 234; Truculentus:- Astaphium: 950.) Information is given:- (Amphitruo:- Alcmena: 660). Intended action is mentioned:- (Amphitruo:- Alcmena 675; Asinaria:- Artemona 907; Stichus:- Crocotium 234). Emotions are displayed:- wonder (Amphitruo:- Alcmena 660, 663); anger (Asinaria:- Artemona 888-889, 892); fear (Cistellaria:- Melaenis 551, 576, 579, 588); apprehension (Truculentus:- Astaphium 672). Description of character occurs:- (Stichus:- Crocotium 196 - on Gelasimus). In the last example we find too the one example of a woman character who announces that she intends to eavesdrop.

Terence has five asides from women eavesdroppers. Mysis displays her fear and apprehension when she overhears Pamphilus' monologue:- (Andria:- 237, 240, 251, 264, 266.) In Eunuchus (941) Pythias gives way to her anger with Parmeno.

2. Thirteen of Plautus' asides by women take place in dialogue

with other characters. These asides are often used for humorous effect:- Bacchides: Bacchis 86; Casina: Pardalisca 683; Cistellaria: Gymnasium 366; Truculentus: Astaphium 177. Emotions are expressed, but not frequently:- anger in Amphitruo: Alcmena 897; anxiety in Epidicus: Philippa 543; surprise in Rudens: Ampelisca 333. Description is made of the character with whom the conversation is taking place:- Casina: Cleostrata 241; Persa: Sophoclidisca 203; Truculentus: Astaphium 265, 689. In some cases information is supplied to the audience:- Amphitruo: Alcmena 954; Casina: Pardalisca 685; Epidicus: Philippa 541; Miles Gloriosus: Milphidippa 991. Intended action is mentioned:- Casina: Cleostrata 589.

Terence has four asides by women in dialogue with other characters, and all four express fear and anxiety:- Andria: Mysis 742, 743; Hecyra: Myrrhina 527, 540.

3. Nine of Plautus' asides are spoken directly to another character with the intent that the other characters on stage shall not hear. Again these are used for humorous effect:- Miles Gloriosus: 1066, 1073, 1078, 1084 - by Milphidippa to Palaestrio; Persa: 607 - Saturio's daughter to Toxilus.

They express the feelings of the speaker:- Miles Gloriosus: 354 - the irritation of Philocomasium with Palaestrio; Persa: 610 - the annoyance of Saturio's daughter with Toxilus. In a couple of cases the aside is a mere comment:- Miles Gloriosus: 1216 - Milphidippa to Acroteleutium; or an order:- Miles

Gloriosus: 1220 - Acroteleutium to Milphidippa. Persa and Miles Gloriosus are the only two plays of Plautus in which asides to the other characters occur. Both of these are plays of intrigue.

Terence has only two asides by women to another character, and both of these occur in the Adelphi. When Sostrata and Canthara overhear Geta's monologue, Sostrata expresses her fear and anxiety to Canthara in two asides (Adelphi: 305, 308).

It seems clear from the foregoing that Terence tended to use the women's asides almost wholly to express emotion. In every single case either fear or anxiety is manifested.

Plautus, on the other hand, used his women's asides for a number of purposes, but principally to produce humorous effect.

3. Foreshadowing and Recognition.

Recognition plays an important part in a number of the plays because frequently the plot is centred about the love of the young man for the 'virgo' and the dénouement depends on the fact that the heroine is discovered to be a free-born citizen.

This situation occurs in four of Terence's six plays - Andria, Heauton Timorumenos, Eunuchus, and Phormio.⁴¹ Plautus has six recognition plays out of his twenty if we include Casina where the actual 'anagnorisis' is only promised in the epilogue. The other five are Cistellaria, Curculio, Epidicus, Poenulus,

⁴¹ . Note there is another form of recognition in the Hecyra in that Philumena is 'recognised' as the girl whom Pamphilus has violated.

Rudens.

For a long time the general view of critics was that Plautus, by revealing information in his prologues, lost the effects of surprise and suspense⁴² but gained considerable advantages in dramatic irony which thus became possible; Terence, on the other hand, abandoning the expository prologue,⁴³ introduced the elements of surprise and uncertainty, but lost the valuable feature of irony.

Duckworth feels, and rightly, that suspense and irony are not incompatible. He states that although Plautus' prologues give the audience a clue to the recognition, they seldom reveal the development of the action. The details of the plot are not given in the opening of the play.⁴⁴ There is, says Duckworth, never such perplexity as Terence creates in Hecyra, but the information is given out gradually. "The result is a successful balance between anticipation and uncertainty."⁴⁵ He also makes it clear that there is no lack in Terence's plays of dramatic irony which arises from the development of the action.⁴⁶

Platnauer⁴⁷ agrees with this, remarking that "the traditional view that Plautus by his technique gave away tension

⁴² . T.Frank, "Terence's Contribution to Plot Construction," A.J.P. 49 (1928), pp.309-322.

⁴³ . "prologus argumentativus" - Donatus (Excerpta de comedia VII, 2: p.27 - Wessner.)

⁴⁴ . G.Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, pp.231-235.

⁴⁵ . G.Duckworth, "Dramatic Suspense in Plautus," C.W. 35 (1942), p.196.

⁴⁶ . G.Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, pp.233-234.

⁴⁷ . M.Platnauer, Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship (Blackwell, 1954), p.245.

and surprise, Terence the possibility of comic irony, has been shown from analysis to be untenable and to need considerable modification."⁴⁸

To a certain extent preliminary information was necessary. The situation at the beginning of the play had to be made clear to the audience for there were no programmes. For this purpose Plautus often used the easier method of the expository prologue. The spectators were a very heterogeneous collection, apt to be noisy and inattentive,⁴⁹ and by repetition (e.g. the almost identical accounts by the 'lena' and Auxilium in Cistellaria) Plautus hoped that the essential prefatory facts would be implanted in the spectators' minds.

Four of Plautus' recognition plays have expository prologues - Casina, Cistellaria, Poenulus, and Rudens. The other two, Epidicus and Curculio, develop the exposition by means of dialogue, as Terence does in all his plays. Harsh,⁵⁰ in fact, raises the question as to whether Terence, suppressing the expository prologue, realised the dramatic advance he was making.

Foretelling in the prologue is not as satisfactory a device as foreshadowing, but it occurs in two of the plays, Casina and

⁴⁸ . When Terence reconstructed a Greek original (e.g. Hecyra) so as to eliminate the expository prologue, he retained, at the same time, passages intended in that original to convey dramatic irony. The result is that non-dramatic passages are produced.

⁴⁹ . Note the frequent pleas for silence:- Amph. 25, Cist. 152, Poen. 3, 32-34, Trin. 5, 7, 22, And. 24, H.T. 36-40, Eun. 44, Phorm. 30-32, Hec. 35-36, 41, 55.

⁵⁰ . P.W.Harsh, Studies in Dramatic Preparation in Roman Comedy (Univ. Chicago, 1935).

Poenulus.

In the prologue to the Casina the events prior to the play are related. A baby girl has been exposed, rescued by a slave and given to his mistress, Cleostrata, to rear. Cleostrata has brought up the girl as her own daughter (39-46). Finally the prologue, after outlining the rivalry for Casina (the girl) among the men characters, foretells that the girl will be found to be free-born and chaste, and that, after the play, she will marry.

The prologue to Poenulus, like that of the Casina, foretells the recognition of the girls - in this case the daughters of Hanno. The audience is told how the girls were kidnapped together with their nurse and sold to a 'leno' (83-90). Their father has sought them for years in many countries, and will now, during the play, find his daughters (124-125).

Foreshadowing lies in the hints offered here and there on the free birth of the girls concerned, their chastity and breeding, and in occasional remarks on the disappearance of daughters in early childhood.

The prologue to Cistellaria is unusual in that it occurs not at the beginning of the play,⁵¹ but after a hundred and nineteen lines of dialogue, and a monologue of twenty-nine lines.⁵² It is spoken by the god Auxilium and is an expanded version of the monologue the audience has just heard from the

51 . Menander, too, used the deferred prologue, e.g. Perikeiromene.

52 . The Bembine MS omits four lines generally considered spurious.

'lena.' The story is told of a girl who gives birth to a child after she was violated by a merchant at the festival of Bacchus. Foreshadowing occurs in the reference to the abandonment of the child (166), and its upbringing by a courtesan (171-173).

In the Rudens the prologue is spoken by Arcturus, who, after a warning to mortals on their evil deeds, relates the story of Daemones who lost his daughter in early childhood (39-41). Now Palaestra (the daughter), her companion, and the 'leno' who owns them, are shipwrecked on the shore near Daemones' cottage. The play begins at this point. Irony is possible because the audience knows that Palaestra is Daemones' daughter, but no definite statement is made that the girl will be recognised as such. The audience might assume this from the foreshadowing in 39-41.

Curculio and Epidicus have no prologues, and as remarked before, Terence did not use the expository prologue.

The 'virgines' lost in early childhood have generally been the victims of exposure or kidnapping. Exposure, as we have noted, was not illegal in Greece.⁵³ Expense in rearing the child was the main reason for married couples exposing their infants (e.g. H.T. 666). In the case of an unmarried girl, desire to conceal her disgrace as well as the question of expense led to abandonment (Cist. 164-166).

53 . See page 202. Exposure of infants is confirmed by Plato. He uses the words "dispose of." See Rep. V: 460C, 461C. In Rome the father's right to expose his child was only set aside in 374 A.D. by Valerius I.

(Cist. 164-166).

Plautus has two examples of children being exposed - Casina in Casina, and Selenium in Cistellaria. In Terence, Antiphila of Heauton Timorumenos is the only case of exposure. D.R. Lee⁵⁴ states that in Plautus, exposed children were carried mostly into the homes of courtesans, but as there is only one example of this in Plautus (Cistellaria) it is an unwarranted assumption.

Kidnapping, as has been noted, was rife in those days. Girl children could be reared by the 'leno' or 'lena' to earn a living for him/her as prostitutes.⁵⁵ Planesium (Curculio), Adelphasium and Anterastilis (Poenulus), and Palaestra (Rudens) are all girls who have been kidnapped as children and have fallen into the hands of slave-dealers. Pamphila (Eunuchus) has been kidnapped, but brought up by Thais' mother.

Girls were sometimes carried off in war as booty, and Telestis (Epidicus) is an example of this.

Of the remaining two 'virgines' in Terence's plays, Glycerium (Andria) is adopted after the death of her father; Phanium (Phormio), after the death of her mother has been living with an old woman and her nurse.

It will be noted that none of Terence's 'virgines' are brought up by the 'leno,' although this happens in three plays

⁵⁴ . D.R.Lee, Child-Life, Adolescence and Marriage in Greek New Comedy and in the Comedies of Plautus (Madison, Wisconsin, 1919).

⁵⁵ . Ath. XIII, 568, comments on experienced 'meretrices' taking young girls into their homes and teaching them their profession. See pp.356-357.

of Plautus.

Foreshadowing as to the real identity of these exposed and kidnapped children takes place throughout the body of the plays in both Plautus and Terence in the form of hints and allusions.

If the girl is to be recognised as a citizen and take her place in society there are certain qualities she must possess. In the first place it is essential that the heroine should be chaste and modest, and there are numerous references to these virtues:- Casina 81, 83; Curculio 51, 57; Epidicus 110; Poenulus 99-100, 292, 305, 1096; Heauton Timorumenos 382; Phormio 169-170. In Rudens although there is no specific reference to Palaestra's chastity, the girl's own remark "Hancine ego partem capio ob pietatem praecipuam?" (189-190) is sufficient evidence of her virtue. Note also the comment on her modesty at 620. Although each has a lover, Selenium (Cistellaria) and Glycerium (Andria) are morally fit to be the wives of citizens. Each is devoted to one man alone who has promised to regard her as his wife, and both have the same qualities of modesty and innocence as the other 'virgines.' These merits are remarked on in Cistellaria 42, 78, 88, 98; and in Andria 120, 288, 293.

There are comments on their appearance of breeding:- Epidicus 43, 107; Poenulus 236, 265 ff; Andria 123; Phormio 115, 815.

815.

References to careful upbringing are also found:- Casina 45-46; Cistellaria 172-173; Curculio 518; Andria 274; Heauton Timorumenos 226 ff. In Casina Cleostrata has brought up Casina as her own daughter. Melaenis (Cistellaria) has done the same with Selenium. Thais (Eunuchus), on hearing Chremes' exclamation of doubt as to his sister's moral welfare, asserts indignantly that the girl has been brought up as becomes her family.

Inattention to dress and ornament, as opposed to the extravagant toilet of the 'meretrix,' is mentioned in both Plautus and Terence:- Cistellaria 114; Phormio 107. Selenium (Cistellaria), having been ordered by her mother to leave Alcesimarchus, is quite disinterested in her appearance, proving her lack of desire for other lovers. Phanium (Phormio), on the death of the old woman with whom she has been living, neglects her dress entirely, careless of what callers she may have.

Comments on the loss of daughters through exposure or kidnapping occur frequently, thus preparing the way for the recognition of the heroine:- Casina 41; Cistellaria 124, 147, 166; Epidicus 532, 562, 602; Curculio 528; Poenulus 87, 896, 950-952, 962, 1104-1105; Rudens 39-41, 106, 742 ff; Andria 223-224; Eunuchus 108 ff, 155-157, 524 ff; Heauton Timorumenos 629. In this last example the audience should certainly connect the fact that Antiphila is living with an old woman from

Corinth (96, 600 ff) with the statement by Sostrata that she gave her baby to an old women of Corinth (629). Cistellaria 147 contains a very definite hint. The 'lena' after telling the audience the story of the exposed baby, remarks that she wishes them to remember this if it should be necessary. In Eunuchus Pamphila's identity is foreshadowed by the reminder that her age is the same as that of Chremes' lost sister (318, 526), and by the fact that she was kidnapped at Sunium where Chremes has a farm (115, 519).

That the heroine should be enabled to marry the young man it must be proved that she is free-born; consequently there are many implications throughout the plays that this is so:- Casina 81-82; Curculio 490, 607; Poenulus 894 ff, 905-906, 962; Rudens 217, 394, 649 (both girls), 714 (both girls), 736 ff, 1104; Andria 220-221, 779-781, 806, 833, 859, 875, 908; Heauton Timorumenos 269-270; Eunuchus 110, 144 ff, 203-204, 805, 857-858, 890; Phormio 114-115, 438.

In Rudens there seems to be some confusion about the free birth of Ampelisca. Twice she is declared to be free born (649, 714), yet the recognition scene is concerned with Palaestra alone, and finally Daemones buys Ampelisca's freedom from Labrax.

In Andria (220-221) we have, as Duckworth⁵⁶ says, "an unusually clever bit of foreshadowing." Davus, the slave,

⁵⁶ . G.Duckworth, Nature of Roman Comedy, p.220.

remarks that he has heard some story about Glycerium being a citizen, but he rejects it as unlikely. At 269-270 in Heauton Timorumenos, although the word '^{ingenua}~~free-born~~' is not actually used, we have an indication that the girl's birth is satisfactory, for Syrus, the slave, tells Clinia that the old woman who used to be called Antiphila's mother, was not really her mother at all. In Phormio the foreshadowing that Antipho's wife will turn out to be Chremes' daughter only occurs in 567-568, when it is mentioned that Chremes has a daughter by a second wife.

The actual recognition of the heroine takes place in various ways. Plautus' favourite method is by means of a ring or trinkets ('trepundia,' 'signa,' 'monumenta').⁵⁷ Four out of the six recognition plays employ this means. In three of Terence's plays (if we include Hecyra) recognition takes place in this manner.

In Cistellaria Selenium's mother, Phanostrata, recognises the trinkets in the box which Halisca has dropped. Halisca is the maid of the courtesan, Melaenis, who has reared Selenium, and the trinkets are the ones that were exposed with Selenium. Palaestra in Rudens is recognised through her description of the trinkets in her lost casket. Gripus, the fisherman, has found this in his net after the shipwreck. In this case recognition by the trinkets is aided by the early memories of the girl. Planesium in Curculio recognises the ring which the soldier,

⁵⁷ . See note 70 on page 49.

Therapontigonus, is wearing as one which belonged to her father, Periplanes. Therapontigonus states that he is the son of Periplanes; thus he must be the brother of Planesium. As in Rudens, Planesium's early recollection of her mother's name and the details of her kidnapping aid in the recognition.

Jachman⁵⁸ thinks that in Casina Casina herself is probably recognised by means of the ring which Lysidamus mentions in 708.

In Heauton Timorumenos Antiphila's mother recognises her by the ring she is wearing. It is the one with which Antiphila was exposed when a baby. Pamphila's old nurse in Eunuchus verifies that the tokens which Pamphila has are the ones belonging to Chremes' kidnapped sister.⁵⁹ When Bacchis (Hecyra) meets the 'matronae' Myrrhina recognises the ring she is wearing as one belonging to her daughter Philumena. It had been dragged from her finger by the man who raped her - Pamphilus. Through this it is learned that Pamphilus has actually married the girl he violated, and that Philumena's son is his own.

When the recognition is made by an individual it is generally by a member of the family. In Poenulus the old nurse of Adelphasium and Anterastilis recognises the father, Hanno, and the father and daughters are re-united. Telestis in

58 . G.Jachmann, Plautinisches und Attisches (Berlin, 1931), p. 120.

59 . W.Kuiper in Grieksche Origineelen en Latijnsche Navolgingen (Amsterdam 1936) remarks that the recognition scene in Eunuchus is faulty because the 'signa' are brought on stage in a closed casket and are not inspected.

Epidicus is recognised by the family slave, Epidicus.⁶⁰ In this last case the recognition is assisted by Telestis' own memory of events. In Phormio, as in Poenulus, the old nurse recognises the father, Chremes, and he learns his daughter's whereabouts. Glycerium in Andria is vouched for by a friend, Crito of Andros, and she is recognised as a free-born citizen and the daughter of Chremes.

The actual recognition of the girl may take place on stage or off stage. With Plautus in four out of five plays the recognition takes place on stage. Adelphasium and Anterastilis (Poenulus) are joyfully welcomed by their father, Hanno (1251-1277). Palaestra (Rudens) is again re-united with her father, Daemones (1129-1181). Telestis (Epidicus) is overjoyed to find that the soldier, Stratippocles, is her half-brother (636-657), and this meeting is on stage. In Curculio the soldier, Therapontigonus, turns out to be Planesium's full brother, and they gladly embrace (629-659).

In Cistellaria Selenium is not re-united with her parents on stage. Demipho mentions that he has heard a rumour that his daughter has been found. Lampadio, entering, confirms this and says that Selenium is inside with her mother. Both then disappear inside that Demipho may welcome his daughter. In

60 . There is no prologue in Epidicus and the recognition of Telestis as the soldier's half-sister is both surprising and unexpected. There are however two references to Periphanes' past indiscretions (392, 431-432).

See G. Duckworth's edition of 'EPIDICUS' (Princeton, 1946) pp. 97-98.

Casina, of course, recognition takes place outside the play as we have already noted.

In contrast to Plautus, Terence has no actual reunions on stage. This is natural as his 'virgines' take so little part in the action of the play.

Glycerium (Andria) never appears at all, and Chremes, after learning from Crito that Glycerium is his daughter (904-951), hurries indoors to see her. In Heauton Timorumenos Sostrata relates to Chremes in fear and trepidation that she did not expose their daughter, but gave her to an old Corinthian woman. She has now been recognised by the ring exposed with her. Chremes and Sostrata finally go into the house to tell Antiphila that she is indeed their daughter (614-667).

In Eunuchus the audience is simply told that the nurse, Sophrona, has recognised the tokens belonging to Pamphila (910 ff). The girl is only seen for a short time in an early scene and does not enter on stage again. Her re-union with her brother is not depicted. Phanium in Phormio does not appear in the play at all. Chremes simply learns in a scene with the nurse that Antipho's wife is his lost daughter (728-765).

Miss Smith⁶¹ remarks that Terence effects most of his discoveries off stage, and that his discoveries on stage are, as a rule, brief.⁶² She attributes this to the fact that as

61 . M.F.Smith, The Technique of Solution in Roman Comedy (Univ. Chicago, 1940).

62 . E.g. Sophrona recognising Stilpo/Chremes in Phormio.

Terence frequently has two plots, he has relatively less space to devote to discovery. There is also the fact that Terence, disliking exaggeration and extravagance, might tend to keep these emotional scenes to the minimum.

In summing up briefly the following points may be noted. Plautus uses the prologue both for foretelling and for foreshadowing. In Casina and Poenulus the recognition of the girl is foretold. In Cistellaria and Rudens foreshadowing as to the discovery of the heroine's identity occurs.

Terence has no expository prologues, i.e. no indications as to plot or identity of characters. Essential information is given in dialogue in early scenes.

Both Plautus and Terence prepare for recognition scenes by frequent foreshadowing during the action of the play. The interest of the spectators is maintained by these allusions which produce anticipation and suspense.

Plautus' 'virgines' have, on the whole, been exposed to a more seamy side of society than Terence's girls. Four of Plautus' 'virgines' have been brought up by 'lenones,' and one by a courtesan. Among Terence's 'virgines,' however, two have homes with courtesans, and a third (Antiphila) lives with an old woman whom Henry⁶³ entitles only 'semi-respectable.'

Plautus prefers recognition by ring or trinket (four out

63 . G.K.G.Henry, "The Characters of Terence," S. Ph. N. C. 12 (1913), pp.55-98.

of six cases, including Casina). Terence uses this method in two out of four plays, excluding Hecyra.

All Plautus' recognition scenes take place on stage with the exception of one (Cistellaria). Terence's recognition scenes invariably occur off-stage.

4. Scenes in which women are central characters.

In connection with this section the word 'scene' has been used for convenience in discussion although it should be remembered that in Roman comedy there were no act or scene divisions as we understand them today. There was no curtain and action was practically continuous. The scene-divisions are found in the MSS dating from the fourth century A.D. and appear in the editions of Plautus (Lindsay) and Terence (Lindsay and Kauer) which have been used for this thesis.

The scenes in which women are central characters are of considerable variety. There are comedy scenes, love scenes, scenes of dispute, scenes of characterisation and of moralising, scenes in which the development of the plot holds priority, expository scenes, recognition scenes, scenes of dénouement.⁶⁴

The 'matronae,' as might be expected, are found to a large extent in scenes with their husbands. In Plautus these are mainly scenes of dispute used for comic effect, e.g. Mercator

⁶⁴ . The monologues of the women have not been included in this section as they have been dealt with in pages 385-402.

700-740; Casina 229-278, 577-590 (which includes the deception of the husband); Menaechmi 602-644. Here, although the parasite is present, the main action takes place between wife and husband; 701-752 (with the pseudo^d-husband); 809-852 (again with the pseudo-husband although the father is present). Even in the group scenes the antagonism between husband and wife is the focal point, e.g. Asinaria 900-941; Casina 353-423, 969-1009. The last of these ends with the reconciliation between Cleostrata and Lysidamus.

Only in Amphitruo (633-857) do we find a scene of dispute too serious for any effect of comedy, for this scene is composed almost entirely of Alcmena's distressed denials of Amphitruo's accusations.

There is one scene of affection between husband and wife - in this case a pseudo-husband, Jupiter-Amphitruo (Amphitruo 499-550). After the quarrel (with the real husband) reconciliation takes place, again with the pseudo-husband (897-955).

But in Terence the scenes of dispute between 'matronae' and husbands have normally no element of humour. The discord is grave and the sympathy of the spectators is demanded for the 'matronae,' e.g. Hecyra 198, 242, 516-565; Heauton Timorumenos 621-627 (this scene also aids the development of the plot); 1003-1023, 1024-1044 (where the son is also present); 1045-1066 - here the family is eventually re-united through the efforts of Sostrata. Phormio: Nausistrata is at first enraged with her husband, but eventually reconciled to him (990-1054).

This scene is an exception as a good deal of comedy is introduced.

Scenes between the 'matronae' and their sons, though few, invariably portray maternal affection, e.g. in Plautus:- Aulularia 682-700 (also includes development of plot); in Terence:- Hecyra 352-358, 577, 606; Heauton Timorumenos 1024-1044. Here Sostrata is concerned almost solely with her son's welfare.

Affection is also displayed between sisters and brothers, e.g. Eunomia and Megadorus in Aulularia 120-177, (this scene includes plot development and characterisation); between 'matronae' who are sisters:- Stichus 1-57 (characterisation here too); and between 'matronae' and their father:- Stichus 58-145 (filial piety as well and a good deal of moralising). Filial respect is shown in Menaechmi 755-808 where, although comedy is paramount in this scene, the 'matrona' is still obedient to her father.

In Phormio 784-795 (Terence) Nausistrata's short scene with her brother-in-law is one of characterisation.

Scenes between 'matronae' and maids or slaves are generally concerned with the development of the action. This applies to both Plautus and Terence. E.g. Mercator 667-691; Cistellaria 543-596, 655-670. Hecyra 339-351; Heauton Timorumenos 614-618; Adelphi 288-298. In Cistellaria 671-773 Phanostrata's conversation with the maid and the slave leads to the discovery of her lost daughter. In Adelphi 299-354 Sostrata, conversing

with the nurse and the slave, develops the action by her decision to send for the family friend.

With the parasites the 'matronae' are again concerned with the development of the story:- Asinaria 851-908. Here the parasite reveals her husband's deceitfulness to Artemona; Menaechmi 559-570.

The scene in Stichus 326-401 between the 'matrona' (Panegyris), Pinacium, and the parasite, Gelasimus, is one of comedy with Panegyris acting as 'feed' to Pinacium and Gelasimus.

In Casina Cleostrata's scene with Myrrhina, her neighbour, is simply one of exposition (165-216), and the episode with Myrrhina's husband entails deception (531-548). The final scene where the two 'matronae' and Pardalisca, the maid, bait Olympio and ^L Sysidamus (855-874) is one of hilarious comedy.

Philippa in Epidicus has an unusual scene with Periphanes, the man who violated her as a girl (526-569). This is concerned with plot development as is the following scene between Philippa, Periphanes, and Acropolistis (570-604).

It has been remarked that it is strange that the 'matrona' in Menaechmi does not appear in the final scene, but Plautus' ending - the suggestion to auction the wife - is dramatically far more effective. A scene in which the wife actually appeared could not compete with this as a dénouement.

The 'meretrices,' strangely enough, have few scenes alone with their lovers. There is almost always a third person

present, even if this individual is not actively engaged in the conversation. Terence has none of these scenes and there are only two in Plautus - a short love scene in Mostellaria (292-312) between Philematium and Philolaches, and a scene in Truculentus (352-433) between Phronesium and her lover Diniarchus - a scene of pretended affection and reconciliation on Phronesium's part.

Other scenes between 'meretrices' and lovers take place in the presence of slaves or maids; a number of these are scenes of dispute:- Truculentus 515-542, 859-883, 893-914. Astaphium, Phronesium's maid, is on stage through all these scenes. At 915-963 Phronesium has a scene with two lovers in which she reconciles them both to her. In Menaechmi Erotium's scene with Menaechmus (182-218) is one of affection and humour. The parasite is present during this conversation. At 351-431 there is a confused dispute between Erotium and Menaechmus II at which Messenio, the slave, is present.

In Terence's Eunuchus Thais has a lengthy scene of explanation with Phaedria, which is interrupted by Parmeno's impertinent interjections (81-196). The final attractive scene in Hecyra (841-880) between Bacchis and her ex-lover, Pamphilus, has Parmeno as a third in the conversation.

There is only one scene where the 'meretrix' is on stage with her mother - Asinaria 504-544; but even in this profession filial respect is expected, and obtained.

Scenes between the 'meretrices' and their maids are not

frequent. There is in Mostellaria (Plautus) the long toilet scene between Philematium and Scapha, her maid, which is written simply to characterise Philematium (157-192). Terence has in Eunuchus a scene between Thais and her maid, Pythias, (817-839) in which the latter is violently scolded for her neglect of Pamphila. There are other episodes with servants, e.g. Erotium with the cook (Menaechmi 219-225 - humour); Bacchis with Parmeno (Hecyra 807-815 - development of action); Bacchis with Syrus (Heauton Timorumenos 723-743 - development of plot).

Scenes of deception are frequent with Plautus' meretrices:-
Cistellaria 305-374 (Gymnasium deceives the senex); Miles Gloriosus 354-456 (Philocomasium intrigues with the slave Palaestrio); 874-946 (Acroteleutium plots with the senex and Palaestrio); 1158-1197 (Acroteleutium plots with Pleusicles and Palaestrio); 1216-1283 (Acroteleutium deceives the soldier); 1311-1352 (Philocomasium's deception of the soldier);
Truculentus 499-550 (Phronesium deceives Stratophanes);
Bacchides 35-108 (the two sisters lure Pistoclerus inside); 1120-1216 (the sisters deceive the two 'senes').

Terence has no scenes of deception with his 'meretrices.' In contrast to the two Bacchises (Bacchides) deceiving the two old men, Terence's Bacchis (Hecyra) shows dignity and courage in her explanations to Laches and Phidippus (767-793), and in her scene alone with Laches (727-767).

Pasicompsa's scene with the senex in Mercator (499-543) is pure comedy.

comedy.

The unusual opening scene in Cistellaria (1-119) between the three 'meretrices' is worthy of note.⁶⁵ Here we find a good deal of characterisation and also exposition of the situation.

Terence has an unorthodox scene between the 'meretrix' (Bacchis) and the 'virgo' (Antiphila) in Heauton Timorumenos (381-409). 'Meretrix' and 'Virgo' do not meet on stage in Plautus, and we know from Epidicus 400-401 that the 'virgines' were strictly segregated from women of doubtful character. The scene in H.T. serves, as we have noted, to contrast the characters of the two women.

Thais in Eunuchus has a scene with Chremes which advances the plot (739-770), and a scene of reconciliation with Chaerea who has raped Pamphila (840-908). Her scene with the mixed group consisting of Thraso, Parmeno, Gnatho is good comedy (454-506).

A number of scenes in which the 'ancillae' and 'nutrices' take part are scenes in which they are there merely as 'feeds' to the principal characters, and these scenes have not been included in this section. E.g. Staphyla has three short scenes with her master (Aulularia 40-66, 79-103, 268-274) in which she is used simply to call attention to the miserliness of Euclio.

Terence's 'ancillae' and 'nutrices' play an important part
65 . See page 382.

in the recognition scenes:- Andria 796-819 (Mysis recognises Crito); Heauton Timorumenos 614-618 (nurse recognises the ring); Eunuchus 910-915 (nurse recognises the tokens); Phormio 728-765 (Sophrona recognises Chremes as Stilpo).

There is only one case of recognition by the nurse in Plautus. In Poenulus Giddenis recognises Hanno, the father of the two girls (1120-1142).

The maids of the intriguing courtesans take part in the deceptions, e.g. Casina 621-719 (Pardalisca tricking Lysidamus). Again (855-874) she prepares with the 'matronae' to ridicule Lysidamus and Olympio. There is an incomparable scene of deception when Pardalisca urges Olympio to be kind to the inexperienced Casina-Chalinus (815-834). Finally Pardalisca makes a laughing-stock of Olympio (892-936). These three scenes are hilarious comedy with Pardalisca as the central character.

In Miles Gloriosus Milphidippa, Acroteleutium's maid, assists in the deception of the soldier (991-1013) and again at 1216-1280. Comic effect is apparent in both these scenes. Astaphium in Truculentus is, of course, implicated in the conspiracy to deceive Phronesium's lovers; her scenes with the three lovers of her mistress are scenes of deception, enticement, or dispute:- 95-108 (deception), 322-334 (deception), 664-668 (enticement), 503-511 (deception), 711-757 (dispute).

In Terence Mysis (Andria) is compelled willy-nilly to join in the plot by Davus against Chremes (721-739), and this is continued in the actual scene with the 'senex' (740-795). But

this is an involuntary deception and cannot be ranked with the deceptions by the courtesans' 'ancillae.' However, Pythias (Eunuchus) does indulge in a minor deception of her own to revenge herself on Parmeno, the slave (948-970). Another comedy scene takes place when Pythias gleefully informs Parmeno of the deception (1002-1024). Pythias is used again for comic effect (674-694) in the scene between herself and Phaedria over the eunuch, Dorus.

The 'ancillae' have various scenes with the lovers of their mistresses - five in Truculentus with Astaphium have already been mentioned. The maid in Menaechmi reflects her mistress' avarice when she asks Menaechmus for ear-rings (524-548).

The sole scene in Terence when the maid converses with her mistress' lover is one of narration (Eunuchus) when Pythias relates the story of Pamphila's rape to Phaedria.

Several scenes between 'ancillae' and mistresses are used for characterisation in both Plautus and Terence, e.g.

Mostellaria 157-292 (Scapha and Philematium); Eunuchus 817-839 (Pythias and Thais).

Other scenes with their mistresses contribute to the development of the plot:- Mercator 667-691 (Syra informing Dorippa of the woman in her house); Heauton Timorumenos 614-618 (the nurse tells Sostrata she recognises the ring); Adelphi 288-298 (information given to audience in scene between Canthara and Sostrata).

Development of action is found in scenes with Pythias in

Eunuchus:- 531-538, 721-738, 910-917.

Pure comedy is embodied in the lengthy scene between Sophoclidisca and the impertinent Paegnium (Persa 197-250), and the scenes between Astaphium and the country bumpkin, Truculentus, are simply for amusement (Truculentus 256-314, 669-698).

Bromia (Amphitruo) is employed in an unusual role. At the end of the play she bursts on to the stage and narrates to her master the whole story of the wonderful birth of Alcmena's twin sons (1053-1130), acting almost as the 'deus (dea) ex machina,' although Jupiter completes this role after Bromia has had her say.

In Terence scenes with the 'virgines' do not, of course, exist. There is only the one short conversation in Heauton Timorumenos between Antiphila and Bacchis, the 'meretrix' (381-409). This is used for characterisation of both women. Antiphila meets her lover, Clinia, at the end of the scene, but only a couple of words are spoken between them.

In Plautus the 'virgo' meets her lover in Curculio (162-213). This is a love-scene with Planesium and Phaedromus clasped in each other's arms and only saved from maudlin sentimentality by the caustic comments of the slave Palinurus, who is on stage with his master. A somewhat similar scene takes place in Poenulus where Agorastocles' ridiculous flattery of Adelphasium is nullified by the derogatory remarks of Milphio, his slave (330-409).

(330-409).

In Poenulus and Rudens there are scenes between the two 'virgines' in each play. The two long conversations in Poenulus between Adelphasium and Anterastilis (210-329, 1174-1210) are simply scenes of characterisation linked with a good deal of wearisome moralising. These scenes are saved from utter tedium by the asides of the other characters on stage. In Rudens the meeting between Palaestra and Ampelisca on the sea-shore (228-258) furthers the development of the story.

Ampelisca, Palaestra's companion in Rudens, has two comedy scenes with the slaves Trachalio (331-413) and Scepharn^{ic}~~us~~ (414-439). Another scene between the slave Trachalio and Palaestra is concerned with plot development (676-705). There is, too, the delightful comedy scene in Poenulus (330-409) between Adelphasium, Anterastilis, Agorastocles, and Milphio.

Scenes with 'virgines' and parents are negligible except for recognition scenes. An exception occurs in Persa where Saturio's daughter is involved in a long argument with her father concerning his morals (329-399).

Also in Persa is the surprising scene of deception in which the 'virgo' takes a prominent part (549-672). This, as has been remarked before, can only be explained by the fact that Saturio and his daughter come from the very lowest class of Athenian society.

The scene between the 'virgines,' Palaestra and Ampelisca, and the priestess (Rudens) is one mainly of characterisation,

but aids, too, in the development of the story (259-289).

In recognition scenes the 'virgines' are naturally the centre of attention. In Epidicus (634-657) recognition of Telestis takes place through the slave, Epidicus, and the relationship to Stratippocles is discovered. Planesium in Curculio is found to be the sister of Therapontigonus (599-676). Hanno (Poenulus) embraces his lost daughters in a lengthy recognition scene (1211-1279). Palaestra (Rudens) through the recognition of the trinkets, is restored to her father, Daemones (1129-1183).

Apart from the recognition scenes it will be noticed that the majority of the scenes with the 'virgines' include comedy, the humour being brought about either by asides or by repartee. There is perhaps a question here: Did Plautus feel that the rather dull virtuousness of the 'virgines' needed enlivening by touches of humour?

Among the incidental roles the procuresses play the lead in several scenes. Cleareta, the procuress in Asinaria, engages in two acrimonious disputes - with her daughter's lover (153-242) and with the daughter herself (504-544). These two scenes characterise the speakers and assist in the development of the plot.

In the first scene in Cistellaria (1-119) the old 'lena' holds the centre of the stage while she moralises and instructs the other two courtesans in the ways of their profession.

Melaenis, the other procuress in Cistellaria, holds a conversation with Lampadio, the slave, (597-625) which assists in the development of the action.

In Terence's Hecyra the short scene between old Syra and Philotis (58-75) is one of characterisation.

Other incidental characters in Plautus take part in scenes which are concerned with the development of the plot:- Epidicus 495-516 - the music-girl reveals the trick played on Periphanes; 570-595 - Acropolistis admits the deception she has practised. Sura, the hairdresser in Truculentus, reveals the deception concerning the baby commandeered by Phronesium (791-805).

The scene that introduces Ptolemocratia to the girls in Rudens is chiefly one of characterisation (259-289).

5. Language of women.

It is commonly acknowledged⁶⁶ that the language of Plautus is exuberant, racy, copious and colourful, while that of Terence, though polished and elegant, is more restrained and has not the same vigour. How far this applies to the women characters in the plays will be considered in this section.

It must be noted first that Plautus' language in his women's speeches is not nearly as rich and varied as in the speech of his male characters, and nowhere is this more pronounced than in the terms of abuse used in the plays.

^R
66 . See L.^R.Palmer, The Latin Language, p.89; G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.331; W.J.Sellar, Roman Poets of the Republic, p.200, 217.

Terence's women are even more reserved and their invective is pallid and unoriginal beside that of Plautus. For who else but Plautus could have given us the delightful 'cana culex' (Casina 239) - Cleostrata's stricture on her elderly and erring husband.

In Terence's six plays there are no examples of abuse by the 'matronae.' Possibly he thought it beneath the dignity of a respectable woman to descend to vituperation. Plautus has twenty-four examples - mostly, as would be expected, directed against transgressing husbands by the 'uxores dotatae,' e.g. 'flagitium hominis' (Menaechmi 709).

Then, unexpectedly, there are few terms of abuse used by Plautus' 'meretrices' - only six in all. Terence has eight - seven of them by one individual, Thais (Eunuchus), whose upbraiding is directed against Pythias, the maid, e.g. 'odiosa' (Eunuchus 754).

In both authors the majority of the terms of abuse come from the 'ancillae' - the class of person that would most commonly indulge in abuse. There are twenty-four examples in Plautus and ten in Terence. Most of these are directed against fellow-slaves.

There is, of course, no invective by Terence's 'virgines' (only one appears on stage), and in only one play of Plautus do the 'virgines' indulge in mild forms of abuse - three times in Poenulus, e.g. Poenulus 376 - 'sycophanta' by Adelphasium.

Among the incidental roles the procuress in Plautus' Asinaria abuses her daughter three times:- 'amatrix' (511),

'accusatrix' (513), 'mulierem audacissimam' (521).

Thus in Plautus' 2755 lines spoken by women characters there are 60 examples of abuse, and 18 in Terence's 709 women's lines - a proportion roughly of one to every 46 lines in Plautus and one to every 39 lines in Terence.

'Scelestus' with its variations is a term common to both authors. In Plautus:- Miles Gloriosus 386; Persa 217, 220; in Terence:- Andria 790; Eunuchus 645, 817, 832, 941, 944.

'Stultus' is often found. In Plautus:- Amphitruo 907; Casina 204; Mostellaria 176, 194; Truculentus 720, 742, 950; Poenulus 1194. In Terence:- Eunuchus 837, 1009.

'Odiosus' is again used by both authors. In Plautus:- Persa 236; Truculentus 121, 210, 320, 912. In Terence:- Eunuchus 754, 919.

'Otiosus' is used once by Plautus (Truculentus 153) and once by Terence (Eunuchus 919).

Miniconi⁶⁷ remarks that the use of 'ignavus' covers a number of feelings, but this word is used only twice by one woman in Plautus (Casina 240, 534), and not at all by women in Terence.

'Molestus' again is used four times by 'meretrices' in Plautus (Cistellaria 449, 565; Truculentus 897, 919) and once by an 'ancilla' (Truculentus 721); it is not used by Terence's women.

67 . P.J.Miniconi, "Les termes d'injure dans le théâtre comique," R.E.L. 36 (1958), pp.159-175.

women.

Several of Plautus' racier terms of abuse are based on the animal kingdom:- 'cana culex' (Casina 239), 'cuculum' (Asinaria 934), 'vetulis vervecibus' (Casina 535).

Sometimes the abuse takes the form of names of objects:- 'accheruntis pabulum' (Casina 159), 'stabulum nequitiae' (Casina 161) - both in Plautus. Occasionally abstract nouns are used:- 'flagitium illud hominis' (Casina 155), 'capuli decus' (Asinaria 892), 'flagitium hominis' (Menaechmi 709) - again from Plautus.

The superlative is sometimes used for emphasis. In Plautus:- 'nequissimus omnium' (Asinaria 922), 'Stultior stultissimo' (Amphitruo 907), 'pessum' (Persa 222), 'mulierem audacissimam' (Asinaria 521). In Terence:- 'audacissime' (Eunuchus 948).

Plautus uses, too, phrases based on nullity:- 'improbe nihilique homo' (Truculentus 333), 'tu nihili' (Casina 239), 'illum nihili' (Casina 559).

Miniconi⁶⁸ contrasts Plautus with Terence and remarks that a passage such as Casina 149-161 is verbal fantasy, but that when Terence uses a passage of insults placed side by side, this is not 'fantasie verbale, mais expression véhémente de l'émotion,' e.g. Eunuchus 937-938. Undoubtedly Cleostrata's (Casina) tirade is exaggerated, but how effective these phrases are in the mouth of the angry 'uxor dotata.'

An interesting point concerning these terms of abuse is

68 . P.J.Miniconi, op. cit.

that one would expect the 'meretrices' to use strong vilification, but this is not so. The strongest term is Terence's 'venefica' (Eunuchus 825); the others consist of 'sceleste,' 'molestus,' 'odiosus,' 'stulta,' 'insana,' and 'sacrilega.'

The 'ancillae,' too, though profuse in their abuse, are limited in their range of epithets. The most varied selection comes from Plautus' 'matronae' who are engaged in berating their husbands.

Maledictions are uttered by both Plautus' and Terence's women characters - five in Plautus and two in Terence. Plautus' women incline towards 'vae tibi' (Casina 634 - Pardalisca), (Miles Gloriosus 1078 - Milphidippa), '~~vae tibi~~' (~~Miles Gloriosus 1078 - Milphidippa~~), 'vae capiti tuo' (Amphitruo 741 - Alcmena), 'vae capiti atque aetati tuae' (Rudens 374-375 - Ampelisca). Terence's women adopt a different formula:- e.g. 'di te eradicent' (Andria 791 - Mysis), 'te di deaeque ^{perduint} ~~erunt~~ cum istoc odio' (Hecyra 134 - Philotis).

Terms of endearment are more plentiful with Plautus than with Terence, who has only four altogether:- two of these are 'anime mi' used by Thais, the 'meretrix,' (Eunuchus 95) and by Mysis, the maid (Andria 685); the remaining two are 'mea tu' used by Sostrata, the 'matrona' (Adelphi 289) and by Dorias, the maid (Eunuchus 664). Terence, with his more moderate approach to his characters, did not believe in extravagance of speech any more than he believed in depicting extremes of

temperament.

It may be noted that Plautus, with grim realism, has not placed one single term of endearment in the mouths of his 'matronae.' Terence has one by a 'matrona' (Adelphi 289) - and this is addressed to the nurse!

The majority of Plautus' terms of endearment are offered, as is understandable, by the 'meretrices' - thirty-three examples. The 'ancillae' produce seven further instances, and the 'virgines' three.

Plautus uses 'anime mi' or 'mi anime' eight times:- Asin. 664, 941; M.G. 1330; Men. 182, 361; Curc. 97, 165; Bacch. 81.

Abstracts are found:- 'm~~e~~avoluptas' (Asin. 664; Poen. 1292; Truc. 353, 421, 860, 687; Rudens 436; Most. 249, 297); 'spes mea' (Rudens 247); 'mea benignitas' (Truc. 182); 'mea Pietas' (Bacch. 1176).

'Oculus' or 'ocellus' is another favourite:- 'meus ocellus' (Asin. 664; Gist. 53; Most. 167); 'ocellus aureus' (Asin. 691); 'mi ocule' (M.G. 1330; Curc. 203); 'oculissume homo' (Curc. 120a).

'Mea delicia' occurs several times:- Persa 204; Stichus 742; Truc. 921. 'Lepidus' is also used:- Bacch. 93, 1178; Truc. 949.

'Mea rosa' (Asin. 664) is uncommon from a woman to a man - but used in deliberate exaggeration by Philaenium to the slave, Leonida. In Bacchides we find 'mel meum' (1197) - also more commonly used by men.

men.

There are two diminutives - 'mi animule' (Men. 361) and 'alumnule' (Merc. 809); one superlative - 'oculissime homo' (Curc. 120a). 'Donum decusque amoris' is another phrase used by the pleading Philaenium to Libanus (Asin. 691).

'Mi vir' is common in both Plautus and Terence, but I have not considered this as a term of affection. In most cases it is spoken purely out of habit, and cannot be interpreted as conveying any tenderness.⁶⁹

The exclamations used by the women in the plays are many and varied. Plautus' women use twenty-one different exclamations; Terence's women use twelve varieties.

By far the most favoured exclamation in Plautus is 'ecastor'⁷⁰ - it occurs ninety-seven times. The 'matronae' use it thirty-six times; the 'meretrices' twenty-nine times; the 'ancillae' twenty-one times; the 'virgines' five times and the 'lenae' six. 'Mecastor,' a variation, is not so common; it occurs sixteen times.

Terence's use of 'ecastor' by his women characters is very restricted compared with Plautus. The word is used five times only - once by a 'matrona,' three times by the 'meretrices,'

69 . Donatus on H.T. 622 writes on Sostrata's 'ehem mi vir':- "hinc exordium sumptum quod (ab) obsequio coepit, ut benivolentiam comparare possit." (Ed. Wessner, Vol. 3, p.188).

70 . Although Aulus Gellius (XI, 6) writes:- "In our early writings neither the women swear by Hercules nor the men by Castor ...", 'hercle' is found at Cist. 52 used by Gymnasium, and possibly at Casina 983. In the latter the text is so corrupt that any decision is difficult.

and once by a midwife. It is not used at all by the 'ancillae' or 'virgines.' 'Mecastor' occurs twice.

The favourite exclamation with Terence's women characters is 'pol' which occurs forty-three times. The 'matronae' use it twelve times, the 'meretrices' fourteen, and the 'ancillae' seventeen. 'Edepol,' its variation, is not so common,⁷¹ and is found ten times.

In Plautus this word occurs seventy-seven times and, as in Terence, is most used by the 'ancillae' - thirty-two times. The 'matronae' use it eighteen times, and the 'meretrices' twenty. The 'virgines' use it six times, and the 'lena' once. 'Edepol' occurs twenty-three times.

The other exclamations occur perhaps once to three times in the plays, e.g. 'ehem' - pleased surprise; 'eheu' - grief; 'attat' - astonishment; 'au' - pain, annoyance; 'eu' - bravo; 'eho', 'heus' - attention desired; 'st' - silence demanded, etc. etc.

It might be noted that Artemona (Asin. 860 ff) in her final scene uses, in her anger, 'ecastor' seven times, 'mecastor' once, 'pol' three times and 'edepol' once in a comparatively short space. Halisca (Cist. 736 ff) uses 'pol' three times in three consecutive sentences. Panegyris and Pamphila (Stichus 35 ff) use 'pol' three times in a short space. There are again three uses of 'pol' by Cleostrata (Casina 368 ff) in quick

71 . W.Nicholson, "The Use of Hercle, Edepol and Ecastor by Plautus and Terence," H.S.C.P. 4 (1893), pp.99-105, remarks on this.

succession. This repetition of exclamatory oaths clearly expresses strong emotion - anger in Artemona and Cleostrata, and strong anxiety in Halisca over the lost casket and in the two married sisters over their future.

The accusative of exclamation 'me miseram' or 'miseram me' occurs twelve times in the speech of Terence's women, but I have ~~not~~ been able to find it ^{only once} in Plautus. ^{- Amphitruo 1056 :- Bromia.} In any case Plautus' women (save for the querulous Palaestra) seem less inclined towards self-pity. This particular exclamation is used in:- Andria 788 - Mysis; Hecyra 74 - Syra; 205, 271 - Sostrata; H.T. 1029 - Sostrata; Eunuchus 81, 197 - Thais; Phormio 749 - Sophrona; Adelphi 291, 305, 330 - Sostrata; 485 - Pamphila (off stage). This exclamation is not limited to any one group of women characters; all use it as occasion requires, for it was a popular colloquialism.

Expressions intimating that the gods have control over human affairs are common:- 'ita me di ament,' 'ita di deaeque faxint,' 'di obsecro vos,' 'di bene vortant,' etc. These prayers are found more often in Terence than in Plautus.⁷² Terence's women invoke the gods fifteen times, and Plautus' women seven. No particular group of women has a monopoly in these phrases.

Specific gods are also called on. Juno Lucina, the

72 . See H.M.Tolliver, "Roman Comedy and the State Cult," T.A.P.A. 80 (1949), p.432. She remarks that disrespect for the gods is prominent in all Plautus' comedies except Captivi. In contrast, Terence is proper in his treatment of the gods and his references to them consist of stereotyped phrases.

goddess of childbirth, is implored for help by the girls in childbirth:- Glycerium (Andria 473), Pamphila (Adelphi 487), Phaedria (Aulularia 692). Alcmena (Amphitruo 830) swears by Juno and Phronesium (Truculentus 476) states that she wishes to worship Juno Lucina.

Venus is called on by Palaestra (Rudens 694), and by Acroteleutium (M.G. 1228). Leaena pours a libation of wine to Venus (Curc. 123).

Giddenis (Poen. 1122) swears by Jupiter; Dorippa (Merc. 678) appeals in prayer to Apollo; Philocomasium (M.G. 411) gives thanks to Diana of Ephesus for her safe voyage; Sostrata (Hecyra 338) begs Aesculapius for help.

Deified abstracts are also asked for aid:- Palaestra calls to 'Spes Bona' (Rudens 231); Sostrata calls on Salus (Hecyra 338); Planesium (Curc. 639) appeals to Pietas. Palaestra again prays to whatever gods may be present (Rudens 257).

The 'numquid vis' formula does not occur very often in the speech of the women. This phrase is, in some cases, merely a polite way of expressing a wish to end the conversation and to withdraw. It would probably be accompanied by a gesture of farewell, and receives either no answer or merely a conventional reply. There is only one example of this formalistic use by women in Plautus:- Cist. 119.

In other cases this question has value because it calls forth definite instructions. In Cist. 117 Gymnasium asks her

mother 'numquid me vis, mater?' and is given the sharp answer that she is not to fall in love with anyone. The same phrase calls forth instruction in Menaechmi 548. Menaechmus II asks the maid to tell Erotium that he will attend to matters. In Amphitruo (970) Alcmena enquires 'numquid vis?' and is told by Jupiter-Amphitruo to go indoors and prepare everything.

The phrase can be deliberately used by the playwright so that a witty answer may be returned. Hough⁷³ remarks that "Plautus has developed an otherwise colourless device so that it contributes positively to the humour of the play." This is not apparent in the women's speech for there is only one example of it. In Epidicus (572) the music-girl having infuriated Periphanes to the point of madness, enquires sweetly "numquid vis?", bringing forth the retort that he wishes she would have an early death.

'Numquid vis' is used only once by women in Terence. Thais (Eunuchus 191) asks Phaedria this, and he replies with the impassioned plea that she will think only of him night and day. The phrase leads, in fact, to the further unmasking of Phaedria's jealousy. There is no example of the purely formalistic use by Terence's women.

Similes and metaphors used by women are plentiful in Plautus, but practically non-existent in the speech of Terence's women characters.

73 . J.Hough, "The 'Numquid vis' formula in Roman Comedy," A.J.P. 66 (1945), pp.282-302.

characters.

A great number of these similes in Plautus are used by the 'meretrices' in connection with their profession. In Asin. 216-219 Cleareta compares lovers to birds caught in the fowler's nets. Argyrippus, the lover of Philaenium, is compared to a storm-tossed ship which must return to port, i.e. his mistress (157-158). Lovers are likened to fish - no use unless they are fresh and full of juice, i.e. money (178 ff). In Bacchides (102) the sister refers to the 'catch' Bacchis has made in winning over Pistoclerus. Phronesium (Truc. 964) gleefully remarks that she has had happy hunting. Note that most of the foregoing similes are connected with hunting, snaring and fishing.

The 'lena' in Cistellaria (80-81) compares the 'meretrix' to a besieged town - she must be taken by many men. Astaphium (Truc. 170), on the other hand, compares the lover to the city of an enemy - he should be taken by storm and looted.

In Bacchides (1121) the old men whom the 'meretrices' hope to seduce, are referred to as 'sheep' and this comparison is kept up for some time; Philaenium in Asinaria (540-541) alludes to Argyrippus as her 'ewe-lamb.' She compares her work to the sailing of a ship - if she put down her oar the whole household would stop (519-520). Astaphium (Truc.) suggests that lovers are like sausage-makers, stuffing themselves with what they can get (104); she produces an involved simile likening love to land and farming (141-151). Courtesans, she says,

must be like briar bushes and cause pain (227). She complains that Truculentus is a bumpkin and chases them away as if he were 'frightening geese from the corn' (252). Strabax is referred to as a 'treasure' (725). Phronesium, the rapacious 'meretrix,' compares herself to a little mouse - a wise creature that always has more than one bolt-hole (867-870)!

Acroteleutium (M.G. 880) refers to her profession as a work-shop, and likens the deception she is planning to the building of a ship (915-921). Cleareta, the procuress, speaks of 'oculatae manus'⁷⁴ (Asin. 202).

There are not many similes and metaphors used by the 'matronae' in Plautus. Cleostrata (Casina 159-161) has some harsh descriptions of her husband. Philippa (Epidicus) uses the picturesque metaphor of 'a drop of water on a burning breast' (555), and then accuses Periphanes of having 'sowed' misery in her (557). Panegyris (Stichus 139), referring to her unwillingness to seek another husband, informs her father that it is stupid to lead unwilling dogs to the hunt. The most notable metaphor among the 'matronae' is produced perhaps by Alcmena (Amphitruo 839-842), who states that her dowry is composed of modesty, virtue, affection for her parents, and respect for the gods.

The 'ancillae' take their share in the use of metaphors. Milphidippa (M.G. 991) describes the area on stage as the circus

⁷⁴ . K. Westaway, The Original Element in Plautus, (C.U.P. 1917) says of this:- "Thoughts of the wildest opposites could be welded together in glorious confusion."

where the games (her deception) must be performed. The soldier who is to be deceived is likened to a 'Troy' (1025), and is referred to later as a boar (1058). Palaestrio, the instigator of the whole trick, is called 'architect' (1139).

Scapha, the old woman in Mostellaria, compares a woman using perfume to a cook mixing soups (277). Bromia, the maid in Amphitruo, uses a simple simile to describe the house surrounded by lightning (1096) - it shone 'as if it were made of gold.' The odour of the wine is compared to myrrh, cinnamon, roses, etc. by Leaena in Curculio 100-101. Staphyla (Aulularia 73) compares Euclio to a lame cobbler as he sits at home all day. Old Syra (Merc. 673-674) complains of the 'burden' of her age and thirst.

The 'virgines' are equally inventive in their speech. In Poenulus Anterastilis compares women to salted fish - both need something added to make them palatable (241-244). Adelphasium thinks that a courtesan should clothe herself in modesty rather than in fine garments (304). Her pleasure in surpassing the other women in good looks is compared by Anterastilis to a man's delight in victory (1192-1193). In her anger at Agorastocles' attacks on her Adelphasium asks if even her own dogs bark at her (1234). Agorastocles is referred to as a 'hawk' and herself as a 'chicken' (1292-1293).

In Rudens Ampelisca asserts that the priestess treated them as if they had been her own daughters (410). Palaestra, in connection with her trinkets, speaks of 'my parents, shut up

in here (the casket)' (1144).

Saturio's daughter (Persa) uses a simile of war and says that she will acquire much booty (608). Earlier in the play she compares her own feelings with those of a slave about to receive a beating (361-363).

As will be seen there is ample variety in the similes and metaphors of Plautus' women.

However, I have been able to find in the speech of Terence's women only one simile and one ^{stinking} metaphor - both in Eunuchus. Pythias (688-689) says the elderly eunuch has a complexion like a weasel; Thais (832) accuses Pythias of having put a wolf to guard the sheep (Chaerea looking after Pamphila). This extreme lack of simile and metaphor bears out Terence's dislike of extravagance in any form for his women whom he wishes the audience to regard as moderate, commonplace human beings.⁷⁵

A number of aphorisms are uttered by Plautus' women characters. Alcmena (Amph. 836) contends that the innocent can afford to be bold; Philematium (Mostellaria 227) remarks that if one has a good reputation one can generally use it to acquire wealth; Scapha reproves Philematium with a statement to the effect that lovers do not love the robes of their mistresses, but what is inside (169); she adds that only a woman afraid for her ageing looks uses a mirror (250), and that

75 . Perhaps Adelphi 331 might be counted, but it is an uninspiring example.

it is no use being attractively dressed if one's habits are bad (290).

Other precepts are enunciated by the women characters:-

Asinaria 186 - Cleareta; Curculio 189, 197 - Planesium; Persa 346 - Virgo; Poenulus 306, 307 - Adelphasium; Stichus 139 - Panegyris; Truculentus 160 - Astaphium; 812 - ancilla; 885 - Phronesium.

Although Terence has a number of maxims in his plays, very few are placed in the mouths of the women characters. Philotis remarks that few lovers are faithful to courtesans (Hecyra 58-59). Nausistrata (Phormio 790) points out that no two men are alike.

Plautus' women occasionally use personification of abstract qualities or of objects for emphasis, e.g. Alcmena (Amphitruo 930) asserts that her Chastity will accompany her in place of her women attendants; the Virgo (Persa 335-336) assures her father that Disgrace will never die; old Leaena (Curc. 98) addresses the wine as a person.

When it comes to the question of word-play by women, there is very little of this in Terence. Even in Plautus the word-play of the women is restricted, and in view of the copious and unrestrained word-play by the men in Plautus it is clear that the playwright did not really consider the women characters suitable vehicles for witticisms.

There are, however, word-plays by the women in Plautus, e.g. Amphitruo 722 - Alcmena ('omen ... ominator'); Asinaria

923 - Artemona (double meaning of 'cubat'); Casina 190-192 - Myrrhina ('ius' in two different senses); 533, 535, 537 - Cleostrata (play on 'liber' meaning 'empty,' and 'liber' meaning 'free of restraint'); 760-761 - Pardalisca ('ludi ludificabiles'); Epidicus 591 - Acropolistis; (Mendelsohn⁷⁶ suggests that 'quae didici dixi' is a play on Epidicus' name); Cistellaria 14-15 - 'Lena' (pun on 'ventum'); 68 - Selenium (amare ... amarum); Miles Gloriosus 366 - Philocomasium (play on Scelestus' name ... 'sceleste');⁷⁷ Persa 204 - Sophoclidisca (addresses Paegnium by his name, and then by meaning of his name - 'pet'); 305 - Sophoclidisca ('calleo ... callum callet'); 624 - Virgo (play on the name 'Lucris,' meaning 'gain'); Poenulus 1177-1178 - Adelphasium ('venustissimus ... Venere ... venustatum'); 1181 - Adelphasium ('venerant Venerem'); 1216 - Adelphasium ('bonu' boneis bene feceris'); Rudens 337 - Ampelisca ('aetatem hau malam male'); 361-362 - Ampelisca ('potando ... poculis', i.e. water instead of wine); Stichus 144 - Panegyris ('probiores ... probis'); Truculentus 264 - Astaphium ('eram' and 'eiram'); 257 - Astaphium (play on 'ego').

In Amphitruo 508 Alcmena's reference to 'uxorem' could be taken by the audience as meaning Juno, although there is no double meaning intended by Alcmena. Bacchis (Bacchides 1121b)

76 . C.Mendelsohn, Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus, p.42.

77 . J.M.G.M.Brinkhoff, Woordspeling bij Plautus (Diss. Nijmegen, 1935) remarks that Milphidippa calls Pyrgopolynices 'urbicafe' - "een vrije vertaling van zijn naam."

refers to the old men as sheep, and later the sister uses the word 'attonsae' (1125) in connection with them. This means 'shorn' and also, in this case, 'fleeced of their money.' Artemona (Asinaria 922) takes 'nullus' in its literal meaning sense, and replies "immo es, ne nega, omnium (hominum) pol nequissimus." In Persa Saturio remarks "malo cavere meliust te" (369), and his daughter understands 'malo' as meaning 'someone evil' instead of 'trouble' and answers "at si non licet / cavere, quid agam?" (369-370). Later she cleverly interprets 'ubi' as meaning 'what particular place,' instead of 'what country,' and answers accordingly (630). 'Patriam' she takes as 'domicile' instead of 'native land' (635). Note, too, in Rudens (238) Palaestra's reply to Ampelisca:- "dic ubi es?" Palaestra: "pol ego nunc in malis plurimis."

Hough⁷⁸ states that Plautus, in his later plays, puts into the mouths of characters of higher social standing the jests and puns which were formerly reserved for the lower social ranks (slaves, parasites, etc.). Instead of the 'senex' acting as 'feed' to the 'servus,' the position was often reversed.

It is difficult to say how far this applies to the women, because of the comparatively restricted word-play, but it may be noted that the 'virgines' in Poenulus, Rudens, and Persa (all probably after 192 B.C.)⁷⁹ indulge in word-play.

78 . J.N.Hough, "The Reverse Comic Foil in Plautus," T.A.P.A. 73 (1943), pp.108-118.

79 . W.B.Sedgwick, "Plautine Chronology," A.J.P. 70 (1948), pp.376-383.

word-play.

But in the majority of comedy scenes between men and women in Plautus the women are simply 'feeds' for the word-play of the men. Mendelsohn⁸⁰ has stated that women's word-plays in Plautus amount to only 5.23%, with the 'meretrices' heading this list.

Terence is very limited in his women's word-play, as has been remarked. In fact, it is difficult to discover any worthwhile examples. In Eunuchus 722 Dorias remarks "quod scis nescis." Pamphilus in Hecyra (601) states he would be happy "absque una hac," referring to the fact that Philumena is bearing another man's child (as he thinks), but Sostrata imagines that 'una hac' refers to Philumena's reported dislike of her (603). Later in Hecyra we have the somewhat feeble "commoda ... incommoda" (840) by Bacchis.

There is little indecency or coarseness in the language of the women characters in Plautus and Terence. Mendelsohn⁸¹ considers that 'testes' in Amphitruo 824 (Alcmena) has a double meaning, but I question this as Plautus does not put doubtful jests into the mouths of his 'matronae.' A somewhat gross description occurs in Mostellaria (274-278), but one might expect this from a woman of Scapha's class. Truculentus 150 (Astaphium) and Cistellaria 379 (Gymnasium) might perhaps be included in this class.

80 . C.Mendelsohn, Studies of Wordplay in Plautus, p.139.

81 . C.Mendelsohn, Studies of Wordplay in Plautus, p.82.

class.

Only one of Plautus' verbal 'creations' is used by a woman character - 'largiloquae,' used by the 'lena' in Cistellaria (122).

We could note the cumulative effect or 'crescendo' used to lend emphasis to what the speaker is saying. This occurs in the speech of both Plautus' and Terence's women.

In Poenulus (219-221) Adelphasium gives vent to her exasperation at the time her toilet has taken her:-

"ex industria ambae nunquam concessamus
lavari aut fricari aut tergeri aut ornari,
poliri, expoliri, pingi, fingi."

Cleostrata (Asin. 198) is irritated by Argyrippus' continual demands to see her daughter when he has no money left, and expresses herself thus:- "diem, aquam, solem, lunam, noctem, haec argento non emo." To persuade Leonida to hand over the money Philaenium (Asin. 664) indulges in a spate of endearment:- "meus ocellus, mea rosa, mi anime, mea voluptas." Leaena (Curc. 100-101) expresses her delight in wine:-

"tu mihi stacta, tu cinnamon, tu rosa,
tu crocinum et casia es ..."

In Stichus 745 Stephanium emphasises a woman's interest in her toilet:- "bene cum lauta est, terta, ornata, ficta est, infecta est tamen."

Terence's Mysis (Andria 717-719) discloses her despair and her anger with Pamphilus:-
"putabam hunc Pamphilum
amicum, amatorem, virum in quovis loco
paratum."

In Eunuchus 818 Thais' fury with Pythias reaches its climax in "scio, nescio, abiit, audivi, ego non adfui." Syra's determination (Hec. 65) in urging Philotis to despoil her lovers is well expressed in

"et moneo et hortor ne te quousquam misereat,
quin spolies mutilas laceres, quemque nacta sis."

It is obvious then that even in the speech of the women characters Plautus shows far greater variety and verve than Terence.⁸² Plautus' language is varied to meet the demands of the different characters. Terence's diction, in spite of its 'crystalline charm'⁸³ has a certain sameness about it - maid and mistress speak alike.

6. Inorganic female roles.

If we accept Prescott's⁸⁴ definition of inorganic roles we shall find that they are characters which are loosely or mechanically attached to the action. "Inorganic roles are likely to be temporary, but characters who appear temporarily are not necessarily inorganic. Occasionally even a fairly permanent role may be inorganic."

82 . B.A.Taladoire, Essai sur le Comique de Plaute (Monaco, 1956), page 221, has an excellent paragraph on Plautus' skill in handling language. E.G.Echols, "The Art of Classical Swearing," C.J. 46 (1950-51), pp.291-298, remarks that "the comic vernacular of the plays was apparently valid." In Cicero, de Oratore III: 12, 45, Crassus says:- "Indeed, whenever I hear my mother-in-law, Laelia, speaking, it seems to me that I am hearing Plautus or Naevius."

83 . G.Norwood, Plautus and Terence, p.121.

84 . H.Prescott, "Inorganic Roles in Roman Comedy," C.P. 15 (1920), pp.245-281.

inorganic."

These inorganic characters are used for a number of purposes, and may appear (1) in the exposition, (2) in the main action, or (3) in the concluding action.

(1) A number of the inorganic women characters in Plautus are used in protatic roles, i.e. they appear in opening scenes to assist in the exposition of the situation or plot. They are then usually removed from the scene and do not appear again.

Terence's Hecyra has two protatic women characters. Philotis, the 'meretrix,' and Syra, the old procuress, are on stage merely so that Parmeno may relate to them the story of Pamphilus' wedding to Philumena and his renunciation of Bacchis. Once this is effected Philotis and Syra disappear completely from the action.⁸⁵

Cleareta, in Plautus' Asinaria, is another protatic character who makes clear the fact that Argyrippus, who is in love with her daughter, must produce ready cash before he sees Philaenium again. This is disclosed in the dialogue between Cleareta and Argyrippus (153-242), and this lack of money is the basis for the action of the play. Cleareta has one other scene with her daughter which serves to emphasise Philaenium's faithfulness to her lover.

Other protatic characters are used to facilitate the

85 . Syra does not speak at all from 84-117 when she and Philotis depart to the forum, but she probably reacts to Parmeno's story of Pamphilus and Philumena by the use of gesture.

portrayal of major characters. In Aulularia Staphyla's dialogue with Euclio, the miser, in the early scenes (40-66, 79-103, 268-274) and her conversation with Strobilus and Congrio (356-362) aid in stressing the avaricious nature of Euclio. This is important as Aulularia is primarily a play of character.

Scapha of Mostellaria is also used to delineate character. Her long conversation with her young mistress during the toilet-scene (157-292) serves to delineate the main tendencies in Philematium's character.

Cistellaria has two protatic characters - the 'lena' and Gymnasium, the 'meretrix.' These two are the recipients of Selenium's confidences concerning her love for Alcesimarchus, his proposed marriage to another girl, and her mother's orders to her to come home (1-116). The present situation is made clear, and Selenium's character is depicted by contrast with the other two. The events that happened prior to the play are then related in a monologue by the 'lena' (120-148). After this scene neither the 'lena' nor Gymnasium appear on stage again although there are several further references to the 'lena.'

Leaena in Curculio is a tippling old woman whose role is simply to provide amusement while the plot gets under way (96-138). She does not initiate the audience into the plot nor provide a listening ear for the other characters. Wilner⁸⁶ maintains that this is a very exaggerated portrait of the 'anus

86 . O.Wilner, "The Character Treatment of Inorganic Roles in Roman Comedy," C.P. 26 (1931), pp.264-283.

lena,' and mentions the fact of Leaena crawling on all fours towards the wine, and watering the hinges of the door. But this is meant as a caricature and as such is successful.

It may be noticed that the protatic characters of Plautus and Terence are slaves, courtesans, or procuresses. These protatic characters are more skilfully handled by Plautus and fit more neatly into the exposition. Syra and Philotis in Terence's Hecyra are awkwardly presented and awkwardly removed.

(2) Inorganic characters are useful, too, in the main action. Prescott⁸⁷ sensibly remarks that with a fixed background of several houses the dramatist is often driven to the use of temporary roles to bring about the natural interaction of the outer life of the city and the intimate life of several families.

Inorganic characters taking part in the body of the play can, like Leaena, be used for comic effect. Sophoclidisca, in Persa, is not a necessary adjunct to the plot and her long delightful scene with Paegnium (201-250) is written simply to amuse the audience. It does not advance the action and her errand is not imperative. Her earlier short speech to Lemniselenis (167-182) is to provide humour as well.

Delphium, the courtesan in Mostellaria, appears in the banqueting scene (313-398) and is employed to add liveliness to the scene and to complete the two pairs of lovers, Philematium and Philolaches, Delphium and Callidamates.

Crocotium, Panegyris' maid in Stichus, is brought in as a

87 . H.Prescott, "Inorganic Roles in Roman Comedy."

foil to Gelasimus, the parasite. His monologue is the more amusing because of her asides (155-266).

In Menaechmi Erotium's maid emphasises her mistress' mercenary nature by her own grasping demands (524-558).

Eunomia of the Aulularia is loosely attached to the main action of the play. Her conversations with her brother, Megadorus, (120-177), and with her son Lyconides, bring to light the main traits in their characters.

In the Mercator Syra is useful as she discovers Philocomasium in Dorippa's house (681). She also serves as a 'time-filler' while Eutyclus enters his father's house to appraise the situation (817-829).

In Terence's Adelphi Canthara is an inorganic character serving simply as a contrast to Sostrata.

Dorias in Eunuchus aids the development of the story by narrating events at the dinner-party (615-628). Lesbia (Andria) is useful to narrate the episode of the birth of Glycerium's child (481-487).

(3) In some plays inorganic characters are presented towards the end of the action.

Bromia, the maid in Amphitruo, appears at the very end to solve mechanically the mystery of Amphitruo-Jupiter (1053-1130).

Prescott⁸⁸ notes that in recognition plays there is often a use of mechanical or temporary roles at the end of a play. In Terence's Eunuchus Sophrona, the nurse, appears for a few brief

88 . H.W.Prescott, "Inorganic Roles in Roman Comedy."

moments (910-915) to facilitate the recognition. The 'nutrix' in Heauton Timorumenos performs the same role (614-618), simply appearing on stage to confirm the fact that the ring shown to her is the ring with which the lost daughter was exposed. Plautus uses the nurse, Giddenis, in a similar function in Poenulus. She recognises her master and he recovers his daughters (1120-1140).

Stephanium, who is on stage during the final scenes of Stichus, is brought in to add a convivial third to the drinking scene of the slaves (673-682, 743-761).

Miss Wilner⁸⁹ remarks that another group of characters is not truly organic. This group, she states, consists of the less prominent members of some of the 'pairs' that occur. She mentions Pamphila of Stichus and Anterastilis in Poenulus. Prescott,⁹⁰ too, remarks that of these pairs of characters 'one is hardly more than a foil for the other.' He claims that Anterastilis is merely a figure to set in relief her stronger and more important sister. He includes the two sisters in Bacchides in this group - one sister is but a background figure.

It is true that in these pairs one character is always stronger than the other (it would be very strange if it were not so, for no two people are alike), but I cannot subscribe to the statement that the weaker partners are inorganic characters. If they were removed the whole symmetry of each play would be

89 . O.Wilner, "The Character Treatment of Inorganic Roles in Roman Comedy," C.P. 26 (1931), pp.264-283.

90 . H.Prescott, "Inorganic Roles in Roman Comedy."

destroyed. These pairs of characters are nicely balanced. The lesser of the two individuals cannot be considered merely as an adjunct; she is an integral part of the play.

Miss Wilner⁹¹ includes yet another group of inorganic characters - the 'virgines' who do not appear but to whom reference is made: e.g. Philumena of Hecyra, Casina of Casina. This does not seem satisfactory if we accept Prescott's definition of inorganic characters as 'loosely appended' to the play. Even though the 'virgines' may not appear, they are, in most 'recognition' plays, the focal point of the plot. These plays invariably deal with the love of the young man for the 'virgo':- therefore, no 'virgo' - no play.

What we today call 'extras' may be included among the inorganic characters. The women in the scenes where 'extras' are required are chiefly music-girls, slaves, and personal maids. These would certainly assist in filling up the enormous space of the Roman stage (possibly as long as sixty yards).⁹² The general dramatic effect would be heightened by the additional colour and movement of the supernumeraries.

Weddings and feasts are the obvious occasions for 'extras' who could add to the glitter and sparkle of the costumes. Music-girls and slaves come on stage in Asinaria (828) and

91 . O.Wilner, op. cit. Miss Wilner does state that if these characters did appear, they would be organic. This does not alter the fact that, even without appearance on stage, they are essential to the plot.

92 . G.Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p.82.

prepare the banquet in front of the house. In Aulularia (451) Strobilus, preparing for the wedding, brings on cooks, attendants, and music-girls (flute-players). In Bacchides slaves and maid-servants enter with Pistoclerus (109). They are carrying food, flowers, perfume, and other items for the feast. Chalinus, as the bride, in Casina is accompanied by Pardalisca and other maids (814). This is clear from Lysidamus' order (832) to the maids to go inside. There are flute-girls at the banquet in Mostellaria as we know from the reference at 934. Slaves (presumably including maid-servants) enter in Persa (758), set up couches and tables, and make preparations for the feast.

The 'matronae' are often accompanied by their maids. That Alcmena has her attendants with her in her final scene in Amphitruo is plain from 929. Thessala, her 'ancilla,' who is sent to fetch the gold cup (770), is also a supernumerary. In Casina Myrrhina bids her attendants follow her next door (165). Prescott⁹³ thinks that during the next scene between Myrrhina and Cleostrata the attendants of both women are on stage.

Courtesans are also attended by their maids. Phronesium (Truculentus) who enters after her bath (352) to talk to Diniarchus, has her maids with her (386). On her next entrance when she is preparing to trick Stratophanes by the pretended birth of the child, the maids place the couch for her, light the

93 . H.W.Prescott, "Silent Roles in Roman Comedy," C.P. 31 (1936), pp.97-119.

fire on the altar, bring incense, take her sandals, carry food and water (476 ff). In the same play Stratophanes appears with two Syrian slave girls whom he has bought as a present for Phronesium (530). Again, more maids appear when Phronesium, wearying of the quarrel with Stratophanes, calls for her sandals (631) and then goes inside.

Terence's courtesans are generally accompanied by 'ancillae.' In Heauton Timorumenos the extravagant Bacchis has a large retinue - 'ancillarum gregem' Dromo protests (245-246). Then Bacchis herself enters with this procession of maids, slaves and luggage-bearers at 381.

Bacchis in Hecyra, called to an interview with Laches, appears with two slave-girls (727). Possibly these add to her dignity and constitute some moral support.

Phidippus (Hecyra) comes on stage with a nurse (767) whom he has hired to feed Pamphilus' child.

In Eunuchus Thais, departing to the dinner-party with Thraso, takes her maids with her (506).

There are other cases of women 'extras' appearing on stage. In Pseudolus Ballio, the 'leno,' comes on stage with his slaves and courtesans (133). Four of the latter are named and addressed on stage.

In Stichus slaves bring brooms on stage to make preparations for the homecoming of Panegyris' husband (351). Later in the play Epignomus arrives followed by the music-girls and slaves he has brought from abroad.

abroad.

It must be remembered that there were comparatively few speaking characters on stage at one time, and that the 'mutes' had ample opportunity for varied by-play which would amuse the spectators.

In the foregoing discussion it will be seen that both Plautus and Terence put their inorganic female characters to good use. Terence is inclined to use his almost wholly in connection with technical requirements - they take part in the exposition and in the solution. Plautus is more varied in the manipulation of his inorganic characters. They not only assist technically, but help in character portrayal and provide a humorous element.

-----oOo-----

CONCLUSION

The criticism has been made that the characters in the plays of Plautus and Terence do not evolve as Shakespearian characters do, but it must be realised that this was hardly possible in the classical drama with its limitations of time and space. Furthermore, the idea of continuous development in the character structure of the adult does not seem to have presented itself to the ancients¹ in general.

In Terence, however, it is possible to see in several of the male characters a certain chemicalisation taking place. Pamphilus (Hecyra) in the final scene, is a very much more mature being than the young man who was presented to us at the beginning of the play. Menedemus (H.T.) has learned during the course of the play, several valuable lessons as to the treatment of an erring son, and is indubitably wiser for the experience. I would remark, though, that neither in Plautus nor in Terence can I find any trace of similar development in the women characters.

But if we consider (in addition to the limitations of the classical drama) the restrictions of plot and scenic arrangements, the character portrayal by both men is quite remarkable

1 . See, for example, K. Von Fritz in "Tacitus, Agricola, Domitian, and the Problem of the Principate," C.P. 52, No. 2 (1957), pp.73-97. A full discussion cannot be entered into here, but, for Tacitus, Tiberius reverts to his true nature towards the end of his reign. The evil qualities had always been there, but concealed under a cloak of hypocrisy.

as we have seen in the preceding chapters. A brief recapitulation of the main findings in the chapters will establish this with regard to the women characters, and will make clear the principal differences in the treatment of these women characters by Plautus and Terence.²

There is a tremendous range of characters in Plautus' 'matronae' ranging from the shrewish Cleostrata (Casina) to the virtuous but irritating Panegyris (Stichus). Terence's range is narrower, but the characters are still individualised.

To Plautus the 'uxor dotata' was the type of wife most commonly encountered in everyday life; and, of course, to the shrewd "man of the theatre," the type of wife most suited to comedy's needs. Four out of his eleven 'matronae' are 'uxores dotatae.' Terence endeavours to take a more kindly view of marital relationships. He has only one 'uxor dotata' out of five 'matronae' - Nausistrata in Phormio, a highly credible character who speaks and behaves like any suburban matron of today.

In both Plautus and Terence the 'uxor dotata' is used as a butt for humour, but Plautus is more keenly aware of the opportunity offered for comical scenes (e.g. the scene in Mercator between Dorippa, her husband, and the cook). Plautus is at times inclined to exaggerate the behaviour of the 'uxor dotata' for comic effect, as with Artemona in Asinaria.

2 . A few important statistics only will be found in the conclusion as detailed figures have already been given in the main chapters.

Asinaria.

The 'matres sollicitae' in both Plautus and Terence are all devoted to their children. This is a practically universal trait in women of any race and is recognised as such by both playwrights. Here, however, we find a situation which is favourable to the depiction of female character, and its use is significant of the playwright's attitude. Terence has four 'anxious mothers' (including Sostrata of the Hecyra) out of his five 'matronae;' Plautus has only two out of eleven 'matronae.' It is clear that Plautus did not care for the image of the 'mater sollicita' - possibly because he could make little use of it from the point of view of drollery. The element of pathos is present in both Plautus and Terence in their presentation of the 'matres sollicitae' and neither poet seems to have considered these women suitable vehicles for humour. Terence's mothers, however, are far more active in defending their children than those of Plautus³ (cf. Myrrhina in Hecyra with Philippa in Epidicus).

Proportionately, the 'matronae morigerae' occur more frequently in Plautus, who has four in this group out of eleven 'matronae,' whereas Terence has only one from five 'matronae.' These women are all examples of Roman 'gravitas,' but Terence's Sostrata (Hecyra) is treated with the utmost seriousness as the ideal of Roman womanhood. In contrast to this Plautus' 'matronae morigerae' appear in humorous situations without

3 . See page 102 in 'Matronae.'

losing any of their respectability. In Stichus Panegyris and Pamphila are cast in an amusing scene with their father. Here their very devotion to their husbands is the basis for the humour. Even the dramatic scenes between Alcmena (Amphitruo) and her husband are not untinged with humour, but Alcmena loses none of her dignity.

Plautus' women, too, are inclined to over-emphasise their virtuousness. Panegyris and Pamphila (Stichus) remain loyal to their husbands, but they are careful to lay stress on their rectitude. Sostrata (Hecyra) makes a tremendous decision when she proposes to leave for the country, but she makes it with little ado.

In effect the wives in Plautus are conceivably more realistic than those of Terence. We know that in those days marriages were arranged without any regard for mutual compatibility, and dissension between husband and wife was probably more the rule than the exception. Then, too, comedy gains more from the presentation of an ill-assorted couple, and Plautus is always alert to dramatic potential.

The contrast between Plautus' 'meretrices' and those of Terence is striking. Plautus painted these women exactly as he saw them, unpleasant though they might be. Phronesium, Erotium, Delphium - undoubtedly Plautus had met them all in his chequered career. The 'meretrices perfidiosae' (e.g. Phronesium in Truculentus) are almost wholly bad - rapacious, extravagant, vain, deceitful. They value money above all else.

Terence has only one avaricious 'meretrix,' Bacchis in Heauton Timorumenos, and even she shows kindness to Antiphila. The 'meretrices fideles' of Plautus (e.g. Philematium in Mostellaria) are not so venal; they retain a certain amount of human feeling, but they are almost all stupid. Significantly, Plautus has no 'meretrices bonae.' (They have, of course, no comic value.) These belong only to Terence, whose intention was to demonstrate quite clearly that all women had some potential for good in them (e.g. Thais in Eunuchus and Bacchis in Hecyra).

Plautus who had seen much of the seamy side of life, had no false notions about the habits and attitudes of the 'meretrices.' Terence, revolting against the conventional picture of the rapacious courtesan, is inclined to over-sentimentalise the lot of these women - to the extent that their virtues are more pronounced than their deficiencies. This may have been so in exceptional cases, but I think it will be generally agreed that the life of a prostitute is not conducive to generating nobility of character.

Several factors are probably responsible for Terence's rejection of the generally accepted view of these women. As we have already seen, Terence has an overwhelming sympathy for the human race; his approach is more intellectual than that of Plautus; and he disliked the picture of Greece presented by these avaricious 'meretrices.' But his impulses have carried him too far. He has lost touch with reality, and Bacchis (Hecyra), whom Terence has depicted as a woman of great dignity

and generosity, has a certain psychological insubstantiality.

But Plautus realised the opportunities offered for characterisation in this group and utilised them accordingly. His 'ancillae' include, among others, a drunken old woman, three deceitful tricksters, impertinent maids, a flattering sycophant. To Terence the 'ancilla' was simply a household servant and nothing more. Therefore the part she could play was restricted and within the bounds of behaviour that pertained to a servant. It has already been noted⁴ that Terence's 'nutrices' are not as clearly depicted as those of Plautus.⁵

To a large extent Plautus' 'ancillae' are used for comic effect - the bibulous old Leaena in Curculio, the amusing scene between Sophoclidisca and Paegnium (Persa), the baiting of Lysidamus by Pardalisca (Casina). Terence, aiming at the moderation of slapstick and buffoonery, presents the more conventional 'ancilla.' Even Pythias (Eunuchus), his liveliest maid, has not the effervescent provocation of Milphidippa (Miles Gloriosus) or Pardalisca (Casina).

In short, Plautus realised the dramatic possibilities of the 'ancillae' as well as their structural uses, and exploited these to the full. Terence, in his revulsion against the conventional characterisation of the 'matronae' and the

⁴ . See page 280 in 'Ancillae.'

⁵ . This does not, however, mean that Terence cannot produce thumb-nail sketches of minor characters. Note lines 1061-1062 in H.T. where a devastating picture of the neighbour's daughter is given in a few words - "rufamne illam virginem / caesiam, sparso ore, adunco naso."

'meretrices,' was fully occupied in placing the main stress on these women; consequently he failed to observe the theatrical value of the 'ancillae.'

The 'virgines' of Plautus and Terence are alike in their youth and beauty and in their adherence to their chastity. They are alike, too, in their respect for their parents. But apart from these fundamental similarities, Terence approaches the 'virgines' and their problems with an entirely different outlook to that of Plautus.

With Plautus the 'virgines' are valued by their lovers solely for their physical attractions (e.g. Adelphasium in Poenulus). There is no deeper feeling on the part of the young man, no admission that anything more than good looks is necessary for future happiness.

But with Terence we find the beginnings of a new concept of love, an acknowledgement that love is not only a matter of external features, but includes spiritual and intellectual qualities as well. Pamphilus (Andria) says that he and Glycerium suit one another - "conveniunt mores" (696). Here is an early recognition of the fact that more than a pretty face is requisite for a successful marriage. We have already noted⁶ the fact that the attitude of Charinus (Andria) to Philumena is almost modern in its approach. Pamphilus (Hecyra) transfers his affections to his wife "postquam par ingenium nactus est"

6 . See page 330.

(170).

In this treatment of the love-interest Terence is the forerunner of Catullus, to whom "mutual understanding of thought, emotion and purpose"⁷ was essential for love. This concept was entirely new to the world in which Terence lived.

The fact that Terence's 'virgines' did not appear on stage (exception Antiphila in Heauton Timorumenos) meant the loss of a considerable amount of dramatic excitement. Scenes of recognition with the accompanying gamut of emotions would have appealed to the audience, and Terence forfeited these in his preservation of convention. It must be remembered, too, that Terence disliked sensationalism in any form and would deliberately avoid over-intense scenes.

Plautus' 'virgines' who appear on stage are all girls who have been reared in unconventional circumstances, but have retained their breeding and modesty. They range from the smugly complacent Adelphasium (Poenulus) to the self-pitying Palaestra (Rudens). By introducing these girls on stage Plautus has considerably widened his range of characters. The lack of this element (the virgo) certainly affects the structure of Terence's plays, and he is compelled to resort to descriptive narrative to replace the 'virgo' (e.g. the description and history of Phanium in Phormio).

Terence, in comparison with Plautus, makes little use of

7 . F.O. Copley, "Emotional Conflict and its Significance in the Lesbia-Poems of Catullus," A.J.P. 70 (1949) pp.22-40.

his incidental roles; but it is clear that the former, owing to his more closely-knit play-structure, did not require as many incidental roles as Plautus did. Those that do appear are there for technical reasons. Syra (Hecyra), for example, is but a minor protatic character acting as a foil for Philotis; and the music-girl in Adelphi does not speak.

Plautus' incidental women are fully characterised. The music-girls (Epidicus) are impudent, mercenary, and deceitful. Cleareta, the procuress (Asinaria) has an astonishingly important part for a protatic character. Of the other two procuresses (Cistellaria) both are characterised in detail, and Melaenis takes a vital part in the play.

It is evident from these incidental roles that Plautus could not represent any character without a profound interest in the delineation of habits and traits.

Terence, as has been remarked previously, concentrated to a large extent on his 'matronae' and 'meretrices,' but Syra (Hecyra) and Lesbia (Andria), though both have short roles, are clearly depicted.

On the technical side there are often dissimilarities between Plautus and Terence.

Both authors make use of contrast to portray their female characters but, although Plautus does contrast his women (e.g. Adelphasium and Anterastilis in Poenulus), this device is not as pronounced as it is in Terence (e.g. Bacchis and Antiphila in Heauton Timorumenos). Again, both men use contrast to

emphasise the real character of the individual. Amphitruo's denouncements of Alcmena (Amphitruo) serve to highlight her real innocence; and Sostrata's (Hecyra) self-sacrificing nature is accented by Laches' condemnations. Plautus uses contrast, too, as a means of producing humour. The scene between the young feather-brained Philematium (Mostellaria) and the hardened mercenary Scapha affords evidence of this.

Most of the women in the plays are endowed with significant names but Terence's nomenclature is more restricted than that of Plautus.

Only two of Plautus' plays contain a double plot, Bacchides and Poenulus, whereas all Terence's plays except the Hecyra reveal two love-affairs which are interwoven. In some plays (e.g. Heauton Timorumenos) the double plots of Terence were undoubtedly too complicated for the audience to follow with ease. Hough⁸ notices that the later plays of Plautus have less explanation of the plot, and he suggests that Terence may have followed up this trend of Plautus' too rapidly for the comprehension of the audience.

In Plautus the prologue is used at times to describe character (e.g. Phronesium in Truculentus); this does not occur in Terence who abandoned the expository prologue. He replaces this with explanation in dialogue in the opening scenes. This conceivably affected the early depiction of the characters.

8 . J.M.Hough, "The Understanding of Intrigue," A.J.P. 60 (1939), pp.422-435.

Characters in action must be more factual than those depicted in absence where a touch of the grotesque is always possible.

Plautus, during his middle and late periods, constantly uses the monologue for the purpose of characterisation (e.g. Astaphium in Truculentus). This use of the monologue is rare in Terence; he employs it as a technical device for narration of off-stage action and statements of intended action.

Numerous digressions occur in the monologues and dialogues of Plautus' women. These are used for comic effect (e.g. the repartee between Sophoclidisca and Paegnium in Persa). Terence, with his more firmly-constructed plots, has no liking for these digressions, however laughter-provoking. Haffter⁹ asks whether this reversion to more strict Menandrian comedy is an attempt to lure Roman comedy away from unreal operatic theatricals to a more realistic spectacle.

Eavesdropping by women characters is infrequent in both Plautus and Terence, but where it does occur Plautus is interested in it for the production of a humorous situation, while Terence uses it to reveal emotion.

With regard to foreshadowing and recognition there is no reference in any of Terence's prologues to the dramatic situation or to later action in the plot. In Plautus' prologues both foreshadowing and foretelling (e.g. Rudens and Poenulus) take place - of later events and of the recognition

9 . H.Haffter, "Terenz und seine künstlerische Eigenart,"
Mus. Helv. 10 (1953) pp. 1ff.

of the girl.

During the action of the play there is foreshadowing of recognition by both Plautus and Terence. These comments arouse interest and sustain suspense in the spectators. Dramatic irony is found in both playwrights, and the lack of an expository prologue (e.g. Epidicus and Terence's plays) does not preclude this.

Plautus prefers recognition by ring or trinket (four out of six cases if we include Casina) while Terence adopts this method in two out of four plays (excluding Hecyra).

Plautus places all his recognitions except one (Cistellaria) on stage, while Terence's actual reunions take place off-stage.

Terence and Plautus use their inorganic women characters for different ends. Terence employs his for structural reasons (e.g. the 'nutrices' are utilised for recognition purposes), while Plautus, realising the extra dramatic possibilities offered, resorts to them for comic effect and for character portrayal as well as for technical reasons.

The language of the women in Plautus and Terence is as different as the proverbial chalk and cheese. That of Plautus is boisterous, bubbling over with vitality; his dialogue has speed and verve. Terence's language is quieter and more subdued as befits 'comoediae statariae.' Nevertheless his conversation flows, and has dignity and urbanity. This distinction, of course, does not belong only to the women characters; it can be applied equally well to the language of the male characters

in Plautus and Terence.

Terms of abuse by women are far more varied in Plautus than in Terence. In both authors the 'ancillae' are the chief exponents, as might be expected from this class of individual. The 'matronae' in Terence use no terms of abuse; those in Plautus (24 in number) are from the 'uxores dotatae.' One of Terence's 'meretrices' is startlingly abusive to the maid; strangely enough, Plautus' 'meretrices' use little abuse in comparison (only six examples altogether). Numerically terms of abuse in both authors approximate fairly closely. Terence has 18 examples in 709 lines, and Plautus has 60 examples in 2,755 lines - a proportion roughly of one to every 39 lines in Terence and one to every 46 lines in Plautus.

Endearments are used more frequently by Plautus' women than by Terence's. The latter has only four altogether, and the former forty-five examples. Most of the endearments in Plautus are used by the 'meretrices' to their lovers. There are none by Plautus' 'matronae' (consistent with his view of the 'uxor dotata' as the normal wife) and only one by a 'matrona' in Terence - addressed to a nurse.¹⁰

This lack of abuse and endearments by Terence's women is again indicative of his dislike of extravagance in any form.

The exclamations used by Plautus' women are more varied than those of Terence's. Plautus' women prefer 'ecastor'

10 . See p. 446 in Chapter VI for discussion of 'mi vir' which is not included in the terms of affection.

(97 examples as compared with 5 in Terence); the favourite exclamation of Terence's women is 'pol' (43 examples as compared with 77 in Plautus). Plautus is apt to use repeated exclamatory oaths in succession to convey strong emotion (e.g. Cleostrata in Casina 368 ff.).

Terence's women use the self-pitying 'me miseram' (12 times) ^{except in one case.} but Plautus avoids this. Again Terence's women invoke the gods more frequently than those of Plautus (15 examples as compared with 7 in Plautus).

Similes and metaphors are used profusely by Plautus' women, but seldom appear in the speech of Terence's female characters.

Word-play is found very seldom in the mouths of Terence's women, and is restricted, too, in Plautus. It seems clear that neither poet considered women a suitable channel for word-play. It could be noted, too, that there is very little indecency or coarseness in the speech of the women characters.

Terence's constant association with men of culture and his close contact with Greek literary taste must have influenced the language of his plays. This explains, to some extent, the fact that Terence's women characters, from 'ancilla' to 'matrona,' all speak alike. Elegance and urbanity were pre-requisite for Terence. With his desire for moderation in all things he avoids extreme examples of abuse, endearment, and exaggerated similes. The language used by Plautus' women is far more flexible, varying from the quiet refined speech of Alcmena (Amphitruo) to the noisy vulgarity of Astaphium (Truculentus).

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In short, Plautus' language is adapted with incredible versatility to the needs of each character.

Terence's metre is eminently suited to the natural and temperate speech of his women characters. He uses iambic senarii, iambic and trochaic septenarii, interspersed with iambic octonarii for the more animated scenes. This comparatively restricted use of metre is consistent with his quieter comedies which contain a fair amount of narration. It could be noted that the 'meretrices' speak 163 lines in iambic senarii (out of 273), and the 'ancillae' 102 (out of 226) - a strong contrast to the 10 lines of iambic senarii (out of 181) spoken by the 'matronae.' The 'matronae' favour iambic octonarii and trochaic septenarii (72 and 75 lines respectively), possibly due to the fact that the scenes in which the 'matronae' are involved are normally excited disagreements with their husbands or laments over lost children.

In contrast to this is Plautus' extensive use of lyric metre. Bacchiacs, cretics, anapaests - they roll over the reader like a tidal wave and give vent to the feelings of his exuberant women characters (cf. Pandalisca's delightful little monody in Casina 621-629). The 'ancillae,' 'matronae,' and 'virgines' are the groups which indulge most often in this lyric metre. The 'ancillae' have 211 lines of lyric metre (out of 735), the 'matronae' 190 (out of 657), and the 'virgines' 162 (out of 457).

The Table in Appendix II shows that 41.1% of the lines

spoken by Terence's women consists of iambic senarii, to be followed by 24.6% in trochaic septenarii. Plautus has 37.4% in trochaic septenarii and 25.9% in lyric metre - a sufficient indication of the total dissimilarity of the two poets in their use of metre. Terence, of course, in place of the lyric metres does employ the 'mutatis modis cantica,' but his women are infrequent users of this. Only 13.5% of the women's lines are in these changing metres.

Finally I would repeat again that the totally different outlook of Plautus and Terence is clearly reflected in their attitude to their women characters. That both Plautus and Terence understood women is evident in all the plays. We have only to listen to Syra's grumbles (Mercator 817-829) and to Sostrata's justified repining (Hecyra 274-278) to assure ourselves of this. But their approach to these women characters differed considerably. Plautus was intensely interested in his fellow-creatures - no one more so - but he did not feel for them the overwhelming compassion that Terence's 'humanitas'¹¹ led him to extend to his characters.

This can, in short, be summed up in the words 'empathy' and 'sympathy.' Empathy may be defined as a direct apprehension of the state of mind of another without feeling as he does. In sympathy the shared attitude is the chief matter. Plautus

11 . S.Prete, "Terence," Cl. World 54, No. 4 (1961), pp.112-121, says that 'humanitas' in Terence assumes a new meaning - "a profound goodness of soul that understands and pardons the mistakes of others."

had an empathic knowledge of his female characters, Terence a sympathetic understanding of his women. The latter's sensibility undoubtedly led to a distinct narrowing of his field of women characters. If all characters are to be presented in a favourable light there must be a loss of dramatic potential. Plautus, uninhibited by any such sentimentality, ranges through the entire galaxy of human nature.

The final result of this fundamental difference in approach is that Plautus assesses his women realistically and impartially, while Terence is inextricably involved in their emotions. Plautus' women are presented as they are, good or bad; Terence's representations are coloured by his own humanity.

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APPENDIX I.

NUMBER OF LINES SPOKEN BY WOMEN CHARACTERS

PLAUTUS (Chronology after Sedgwick)

TERENCE

	ASINARIA	MERCATOR	M. GLORIOSUS	CISTELLARIA	STICHUS	EPIDICUS	MENTECHEMI	CURCULIO	POENULUS	AULULARIA	TRUCULENTUS	BACCHIDES	RUDENS	MOSTELLARIA	AMPHITRUO	PERSA	CASINA	TOTAL		ANDRIA	HECYRA	HEAUTON TIMORUMENOS	EUNUCHUS	PHORMIO	ADELPHI	TOTAL
MATRONAE	41	39		31	117	32	68			39					143		147	657			77	42		35	27	181
%																		23.8								25.5
MERETRICES	38	18	111	87			60				174	89		50		11		638			98	31	146			275
%																		23.1								38.7
ANCILLAE		30	63	66	34		13	28	16	34	201			61	58	40	91	735		60		1	135	21	9	226
%																		26.6								31.8
VIRGINES						4		33	151	1			205			63		457		1		5			2	8
%																		16.5								1.1
INCIDENTAL ROLES	83			140		22					4		19					268		8	11					19
%																		9.7								2.6
TOTAL LINES FOR WOMEN CHARACTERS	162	87	174	324	151	58	141	61	167	74	379	89	224	111	211	114	238	2,755		69	186	79	281	56	38	709
TOTAL NO. OF LINES SPOKEN BY ALL CHARACTERS IN PLAY	926	1026	1437	727	775	731	1086	728	1234	792	946	1171	1341	1181	1146	853	923	17,089		954	823	1015	1049	1021	972	5,834
% OF LINES FOR WOMEN CHARACTERS	17.4	8.5	12.1	44.5	19.4	7.9	12.9	8.3	12.7	9.3	40	7.6	16.7	9.3	17.5	13.2	25.7	16.1		7.2	22.5	7.7	26.7	5.4	3.9	12.1

METRES

PLAUTUS (No. of women's lines = 2,755)

TERENCE (No. of women's lines = 709)

	Iam. sen.	Iam. sept.	Iam. oct.	Troc. sept.	Troc. oct.	Lyric Metres	Iam. sen.	Iam. sept.	Iam. oct.	Troc. sept.	Troc. oct.	Lyric Metres
MATRONAE	167	11	4	278	7	190	10	18	72	75	4	2 (Iam.dim.)
MERETRICES	58	150	1	307	3	119	163	51	10	44	7	0
ANCILLAE	163	139	41	171	6	211	102	13	42	54	12	3 (Troc.dim)
VIRGINES	64	77	2	151	1	162	5	0	1	2	0	0
INCIDENTAL ROLES	69	20	0	126	19	34	12	0	2	0	0	5
TOTAL	525	397	48	1,033	36	716	292	82	127	175	23	5 + 5
% of Women's Lines	19	14.5	1.7	37.4	1.3	25.9	41.1	11.5	17.9	24.6	3.2	1.4

APPENDIX II.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.P.	American Journal of Philology
C.J.	Classical Journal
C.P.	Classical Philology
C.Q.	Classical Quarterly
C.R.	Classical Review
C.W.	Classical Weekly
G. & R. -	Greece and Rome
Ha.	Hermathena
H.S.C.P.	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies
J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies
MNEM.	Mnemosyne
P.A.C.A.	Proceedings of the African Classical Association
Ph. Q.	Philological Quarterly
R.E.	Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft
R.E.A.	Revue des Etudes Anciennes
R.E.G.	Revue des Etudes Grecques
R.E.L.	Revue des Etudes Latines
S.P.N.C.	Studies in Philology, University of North Carolina
T.A.P.A.	Transactions of the American Philological Association

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Note for examiners.

In three of the footnotes in the text references to the required page number have been omitted. This is due to the fact that I was, unfortunately, recalled from London before I had time to re-check my notes.

The bibliography has been arranged, not in sub-sections, but in alphabetical order, as it was felt that this system was easier for reference.

Appendix (in back pocket), which contains the English translation of the Latin quotations, has been bound in a separate booklet so that it may be read side by side with the Latin in the main volume.

A Comparison of the Female Characters
in Plautus and in Terence.

Summary.

For many years it was maintained by critics of Plautus and Terence that the characters in the plays of the two poets were only stock types and were much the same in both authors.

This thesis seeks (A) to establish that the women characters in the plays of both men were vital living creatures with their own individual thoughts and emotions, (B) to consider and evaluate any differences in approach by Plautus and Terence to their women characters.

The introduction surveys briefly the views held by various critics on the character portrayal by Plautus and Terence.

The first five chapters are concerned with the 'matronae', 'meretrices', 'ancillae', and 'nutrices', 'virgines', and 'incidental rôles' respectively. The characters in each group are analysed and compared (A) through speech and action, (B) through technical devices used by the authors:- (I) description (2) contrast (3) repetition (4) significant names.

The 'matronae' fall into three groups - 'Uxores dotatae', 'matronae sollicitae', 'matronae morigerae'. After discussion of these it can be concluded that to Plautus the shrewish 'uxor dotata' is the normal wife, whereas Terence endeavours to take a more kindly view of marital

relationships.* The 'matres sollicitae' in both Plautus and Terence are all devoted to their children. This is a practically universal trait in women of any race and is recognised as such by both playwrights. Here is a situation which is favourable to the depiction of female character, and its frequent use by Terence (four 'anxious mothers' out of five 'matronae') is significant of the playwright's attitude to women. Terence's mothers are far more active in defending their children than the mothers of Plautus. The 'matronae morigerae' of Plautus are all examples of Roman 'gravitas', but Plautus' women are inclined to over-emphasise their virtuousness.

In effect the wives of Plautus are conceivably more realistic than those of Terence. We know that in those days marriages were arranged without any regard for mutual compatibility, and dissension between husband and wife was probably more the rule than the exception.

In the second chapter the 'meretrices' again fall under three headings - 'meretrices perfidiosae', 'meretrices fideles', 'meretrices bonae'. The contrast between Plautus' 'meretrices' and those of Terence is striking. The majority of Plautus' 'meretrices' are rapacious, deceitful, extravagant, vain. Terence has only one avaricious 'meretrix' and even she shows kindness to a fellow-creature. The rest of Plautus' 'meretrices' are not wholly evil. They

* No examples or detailed statistics can be given in this short summary.

show loyalty to one lover and retain a certain amount of human feeling, but they are almost all stupid. Plautus has no 'meretrices bonae'. These belong only to Terence whose intention was to demonstrate clearly that all women have some potential for good in them.

Plautus painted the 'meretrices' exactly as he saw them, and had no false notions about the habits and attitudes of these women. Terence, younger at the time of writing, is inclined to over-sentimentalise their lot - to the extent that their virtues are more pronounced than their deficiencies.

The main divergence in Plautus' and Terence's presentation of the 'ancillae' and 'nutrices' is the use that each has made of these characters. To Terence the 'nutrix' and 'ancilla' were useful technically - for recognition scenes and to highlight major characters. But Plautus realised the opportunities offered for characterisation in this group and utilised them accordingly. His 'ancillae' include, among others, a drunken old woman, three deceitful tricksters, impertinent maids, a flattering sycophant. To Terence the 'ancilla' was simply a household servant and nothing more. Therefore the part she could play was restricted and within the bounds of behaviour that pertained to a servant.

To a large extent Plautus uses the 'ancillae' for comic effect. Terence, aiming at the moderation of slapstick and buffoonery, avoids this.

The 'virgines' of Plautus and Terence are alike in their youth and beauty and in their adherence to their chastity. But apart from these fundamental similarities, Terence approaches the 'virgines' and their problems with an

entirely different outlook to that of Plautus.

With Plautus the 'virgines' are valued by their lovers solely for their physical attractions. But in Terence we find the beginnings of a new concept of love, an acknowledgement that love is not only a matter of external features, but includes spiritual and intellectual qualities as well. In this treatment of the love-interest Terence is the fore-runner of Catullus to whom mutual understanding was essential for love. This concept was entirely new to the world in which Terence lived.

Terence's 'virgines' (with one exception) do not appear on stage, and this regard for convention deprived him of a considerable amount of dramatic excitement. Plautus realised that 'virgines' brought up under abnormal circumstances (e.g. by a 'leno') could be presented on stage without losing their reputation for modesty. By introducing these girls Plautus had considerably widened his range of characters.

Terence, in comparison with Plautus, makes little use of his incidental rôles; but it is clear that the former, owing to his more closely-knit play-structure, did not require as many incidental rôles as Plautus did. Those that do appear are there for technical reasons. Plautus' incidental women, besides being used for structural reasons, are fully characterised. His music-girls are impudent and mercenary, and his procuresses are depicted in detail.

On the technical side it should be noted that both authors make use of contrast to portray their female characters, but this device is not as

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pronounced in Plautus as it is in Terence.

Most of the women in the plays are endowed with significant names, but Terence's nomenclature is more restricted than that of Plautus.

Only two of Plautus' plays contain a double plot, Bacchides and Poenulus, whereas all Terence's plays, except Hecyra, reveal two love-affairs which are interwoven.

In Plautus the prologue is used at times to describe character, and this does not occur in Terence who abandoned the expository prologue.

The sixth chapter is concerned with the handling of the women characters by the two playwrights, and this is discussed under the following headings:-

- (1) monologues (2) eavesdropping (3) foreshadowing and recognition
- (4) scenes in which women are central characters (5) language
- (6) inorganic female characters.

Monologues are considered under entrance, link, and exit monologues. These monologues are shorter in Terence than in Plautus due to the former's wish for natural behaviour on stage. The 'ancillae' in both Plautus and Terence are the principal speakers of entrance and link monologues. Plautus, in link monologues, usually has an announcement of the oncoming character, but this does not apply in Terence. The women's monologues in Plautus are often used for moralising, but there is only one example of this in Terence.

Plautus, during his middle and late periods, constantly uses the monologue for the purpose of characterisation. This use of the monologue is rare in Terence; he employs it as a technical device for narration of off-stage action and statements of intended action.

The metre of the monologue varies considerably in the two poets. Plautus favours lyric metres, followed by iambic senarii, with less recitative metre (septenarii and octonarii). Terence prefers recitative metre, then a certain amount of iambic senarii, and finally 'mixed' metres in octonarii and septenarii interspersed by shorter lines.

Numerous digressions, which are used for comic effect, occur in the monologues and dialogues of Plautus' women. Terence with his more firmly constructed plots, has no liking for these digressions, however laughter-provoking.

Eavesdropping by women characters is infrequent in both Plautus and Terence, but where it does occur Plautus is interested in it for the production of a humorous situation, while Terence uses it to express emotion.

With regard to foreshadowing and ~~action~~ recognition there is no reference in any of Terence's prologues to the dramatic situation or to later action in the plot. In Plautus' prologues both foreshadowing and foretelling take place. During the action of the play there is foreshadowing of recognition by both Plautus and Terence. Dramatic irony is found in both playwrights, and the lack of an expository prologue does not preclude this. Plautus places all his recognitions (except one) on stage, while Terence's actual re-unions take place off-stage.

The language of the women in Plautus and in Terence shows very great differences.

Terms of abuse are far more varied in Plautus than in Terence. In both authors the 'ancillae' are the chief exponents. The 'matronae' in Terence use no terms of abuse; those in Plautus are from the 'uxores dotatae'.

Endearments are used more frequently by Plautus' women than by Terence's. The latter has only four altogether. Most of the endearments in Plautus are used by the 'meretrices' to their lovers. There are none by Plautus' 'matronae' (consistent with his view of the 'uxor dotata' as the normal wife), and only one by a 'matrona' in Terence.

This lack of abuse and endearments by Terence's women is again indicative of his dislike of extravagance in any form.

The exclamations used by Plautus' women are more varied than those of Terence's. Plautus' women prefer 'ecastor'; the favourite exclamation of Terence's women is 'pol'. Plautus is apt to use repeated exclamatory oaths to convey strong emotion.

Terence's women use the self-pitying 'me miseram', but Plautus avoids this. Again, Terence's women invoke the gods more frequently than those of Plautus.

Similes and metaphors are used profusely by Plautus' women but seldom appear in the speech of Terence's female characters.

Word-play is found very seldom in the mouths of Terence's women and is restricted, too, in Plautus. It seems clear that neither poet considered women a suitable channel for word-play. It could be noted that there is very little indecency or coarseness in the speech of the women characters.

Terence's close contact with Greek literary taste explains, to some extent, the fact that his women, from 'ancilla' to 'matrona' are apt to speak alike. Elegance and urbanity were pre-requisite for Terence. The language used by Plautus' women is far more flexible, varying from quiet refined speech to

explosions of noisy vulgarity. In short, Plautus' language is adapted with great versatility to the needs of each character.

Terence and Plautus use their inorganic women characters for different ends. Terence employs his for structural reasons (e.g. the 'nutrices' are utilised for recognition scenes), while Plautus, realising the extra dramatic possibilities offered, resorts to them for comic effect and for character portrayal as well as for technical reasons.

Terence's metre is eminently suited to the natural and temperate speech of his women characters. He uses iambic senarii, iambic and trochaic septenarii, interspersed with iambic octonarii for the more animated scenes. In contrast to this is Plautus' extensive use of lyric metre - bacchiacs, cretics, anapaests, which give vent to the feelings of his more exuberant women characters. (See Appendix II for statistics).

The conclusion recapitulates briefly the main findings in the chapters. It closes with the suggestion that the principal difference ~~approach~~ in the approach of Plautus and Terence to these women characters can be summed up by the words 'empathy' and 'sympathy'. Plautus had an empathic knowledge of his female characters, Terence a sympathetic understanding of his women. The latter's sensibility undoubtedly led to a distinct narrowing of his field of women characters. If all characters are to be presented in a favourable light there must be a loss of dramatic potential. Plautus, uninhibited by any such sentimentality, ranges through the whole galaxy of human nature. The final result of this fundamental difference in approach is that Plautus assesses his

women realistically and impartially, while Terence is inextricably involved in their emotions.

Appendix I contains a table of the number of lines spoken by the groups of women characters as compared with other characters.

Appendix II contains a table of the metres used by the women characters.

Appendix III contains an English translation of the Latin quotations.
