IDENTITY AND CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT IN TERENTIAN COMEDY: CASE STUDIES OF 'STOCK' CHARACTER ADAPTATION

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Samantha Catherine Davis

May 2023

IDENTITY AND CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT IN TERENTIAN COMEDY: CASE STUDIES OF 'STOCK' CHARACTER ADAPTATION

Samantha Catherine Davis, Ph. D.

Cornell University 2023

This project is a reexamination of Terence's comedies as creative literature, rather than generic plays produced via a combination of mechanical translation of Greek sources and a perfunctory use of Plautine features. It is not possible to establish with certainty the full extent to which Terence adapts Greek source material. Nevertheless, I consider the plays in their entirety as Terence's and assign all responsibility for the final form of their construction to the playwright: Terence is not a mere translator. Hutcheon stresses the importance of context in adaptation, she rightfully argues that "context conditions meaning."[1] The process of adaptation presents an opportunity for the insertion of contemporary relevant social and political material into the play and therefore political interpretations naturally occur. My interpretations of Terentian allusions owe to Hinds who argues that the very act of recognizing an allusion confirms its existence.[2] This study is the first to offer in-depth analyses of multiple stock character types in Terence's comedies, discussed both in the broad contexts of the Greek and Roman comic traditions as well as in their specific manifestations throughout the Terentian corpus. In it, I examine comic texts for information about the identities of "stock" character types in Terence alongside the types of social identities they might relate or respond to.

---

[1] 2012.
[2] 1998: 10.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Samantha Davis received a B. A. in Classics (2013) and an M.A. in Comparative Literature (2016) from the University of New Mexico as well as an M.A. in Classics (2019) from Cornell University.

For my father, Dr. Jeffrey Davis,

my mother, Stephanie,

and for Terence.

Postquam poeta sensit scripturam suam

ab iniquis observari, et advorsarios

rapere in peiorem partem quam acturi sumus,

indicio de se ipse erit, vos eritis iudices

laudin an vitio duci factum oporteat.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe thanks to many people for their support, advice, and critiques. I want to start by thanking my colleagues and professors from UNM without whose friendship and support I would not be where I am today: Osman, Monica, Lorenzo, Makaila, and Dannu thank you. I am so grateful Osman chose a difficult text like Terence's *Eunuchus* to teach during an advanced undergraduate Latin course and subsequently agreed to chair my committee for my master's thesis on certain characters in that same play. Nicole Giannella graciously agreed to serve on my dissertation committee as a rather late addition and I am very thankful for her encouragement and invaluable expertise. Mike Fontaine has been a constant support and vital interlocutor as I developed my research questions and modes of argumentation. I am very appreciative of his time and effort as well as his expertise on Roman comedy and literary interpretation. Jeff Rusten has also been an invaluable part of my research and I am so thankful for the dedication and experience he brought to my education at Cornell and especially for his fostering my deep appreciation for the fragments of Greek comedy. In this regard I would like to thank Bernhard Zimmermann and the team working on the Kommentierung der Fragmente der griechischen Komödie (KomFrag) project at the University of Freiburg for sponsoring my DAAD research visit and inviting me to tag along to the conference in Merano. I also want to offer my sincere gratitude to Eric Rebillard for his feedback on early drafts and for his efforts as DGS during much of my time at Cornell.

There are others in the department who deserve thanks for their kindness, encouragement, inspiration, and help along the way: thank you Fred Ahl, Alan Nussbaum, Dan Gallagher, Ben Anderson, Linda Brown, and Tracey Becken.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

F	Fragment
KA	Kassel and Austin (1983), *Poetae comici Graeci*
ORF	Malcovati (1953), *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta Liberae Rei Publicae*

INTRODUCTION

New Comedy offers its audience a glimpse into the private moments of a wide array of characters. The plots generally revolve around aristocratic family dynamics and/or young love. Action often occurs in front of characters' homes rather than the Agora or fanciful and far off locations. This genre is far removed from the highly charged political and personal invective of Old Comedy. New Comedy replaces the fantastical elements of earlier comic genres with a level of realism: a giant dung beetle has no place in this world. At the same time, subtle allusions and generic character types supersede the direct insults and depictions of contemporary individuals found in playwrights like Aristophanes or Eupolis.

New Comedy Stock Characters

Stock characters are stereotypical character types whom audiences could easily identify because of their recurrent manifestations within the genre. The most common stock characters in Roman New Comedy are the *senex iratus* ("angry old man"), the *adulescens amans* ("young lover"), the *servus callidus* ("cunning slave"), the *miles gloriosus* ("arrogant soldier"), the *leno* ("pimp"), the *meretrix* ("sex worker"), the *virgo* ("young woman"), and the *parasitus* ("parasite"). Terence offers a list of commonly used New Comedy stock characters and situations to rebuff accusations of *furtum* ("theft, plagiarism") in the prologue to the *Eunuchus* (161 BCE):

> *qui magis licet currentem seruom scribere,*
> *bonas matronas facere, meretrices malas,*
> *parasitum edacem, gloriosum militem,*
> *puerum supponi, falli per seruom senem,*
> *amare odisse suspicari*?
>
> How is it more pleasing to represent a running slave,
> to portray good wives, bad sex workers,
> a gluttonous parasite, a boastful soldier,
> that a boy is substituted, that an old man is deceived by a slave,
> love, hate, suspicion [than to use material borrowed from other Latin sources]?

Eunuchus 36-40[3]

Here, Terence defends his right to (re)use source material by showing how the genre consists of these kinds of stock characters and scenarios. The prologue suggests that Terence must defend his work from charges of *furtum* and *contaminatio*. *Contaminatio* is the blending of two Greek source plays into one Latin play and *furtum* is the theft of material from a previously produced Roman play. Barsby describes the reference to these two accusations made by Luscius of Lanuvium, Terence's "malevolent critic," and points out that "in defending himself against a charge of *furtum*, Terence was in fact admitting to the practice of 'contamination'."[4] This is true: the play's prologue specifies which two Greek plays he used as source material. However, in this passage Terence highlights the commonality of these stock features and in doing so provides plausible deniability against a charge of literary theft or corruption (*furtum* or *contaminatio*).

Terence's development and adaptation of stock characters is not as simple a matter as it might seem. Terence does more than arbitrarily appropriate characters from other plays: his characters often defy convention and stereotypical characterization. Investigating characters in Terentian comedy reveals a unique mix of familiar, surprising, and even subversive features. Scholars frequently discuss certain qualities that distinguish Plautine and Terentian characters from their comic predecessors. For example, Duckworth frequently classifies Plautine characters as parodies of Greek character types.[5] Goldberg contrasts Plautine "caricatures" developed through stage action with Terentian characters who are more fully developed through dialogue.[6] Similarly, Augoustakis points out in the introduction to his edited volume that Terence's

[3] All Latin cited from Terence's *Eunuchus* comes from Kauer and Lindsay 1965. This and all subsequent translations, unless stated otherwise, are my own.
[4] 1999: 15-7.
[5] 1952: 246; 315.
[6] 1986.

characters have a complexity not present in those of Plautus.[7] Franko also agrees that Terence's characters have more depth to them than other comedies and that they "give the sense of a fully realized individual."[8]

Terentian characters are aware of their stock roles and even discuss them during metatheatrical moments on stage. These characters embrace, reject, and even subvert features of their stock roles. Papaioannou explains that "several of Terence's characters are aware that their acting is in discordance with the general expectations raised by the career of the same character on the Plautine stage, but instead of resorting to familiar acting patterns they make unexpected decisions, thus leading to the construction of peripeteia that is distinctly Terentian."[9] Terence's characters often acknowledge their stock roles, but the development of those characters clarifies that the stock roles do not, by themselves, inform the identity and perspective of the character. They sometimes even step into another stock role. For example, Papaioannou shows how an *adulescens* in the *Eunuchus* "usurps the role of the 'wily' agent and facilitator of plot development from Parmeno when…[Parmeno] half-jokingly, half-seriously, gave the leading role to the *adulescens* Chaerea."[10] Characters in Terence's comedies also frequently misclassify the characters around them, calling the audience's attention to the negative stereotypes associated with the stock character only for that character to prove those accusations false. Goldberg argues that "inverting the comic forms" creates an "inner tension" in Terentian comedy.[11] Papaioannou claims that "the subversion of stock characters [is] the driving force of Terence's comic plot."[12]

---

[7] 2013: 9.
[8] 2013: 41.
[9] 2014: 144.
[10] 2014: 152.
[11] 1986: 219.
[12] 2014: 152.

Terence abolishes the plot-related prologues so common to the plays of Plautus and the Greek playwrights. By doing this, Terence offers his audience no foreknowledge of the upcoming production and thereby dashes their expectations to make them as emotionally vulnerable as his dramatic characters. Dunsch argues that "the Terentian prologue…is metatheatrical; that is, just as Plautus does in his prologues, but in a much more systematic and regular fashion, the Terentian *prologus* makes the prologue itself and Terence's work as a playwright the central theme."[13] Yet, Terence does still make use of traditional audience-empowering metatheater, particularly concerning a character's awareness (and sometimes rejection) of their stock role as well as interaction with the audience, or breaking of the dramatic fourth wall.[14]

Terence subverts dramatic convention and dashes audience expectation to highlight the developments he makes to characters and characterization. This analysis demonstrates the complexity of Terence's characters by tracing the Greek roots of the comic figures, considering Plautine examples, and offering case studies of the following stock characters in Terence: the *parasitus* (Chapter 1), the *adulescens* (Chapter 2), the *ancilla* and *virgo* (Chapter 3), the *miles gloriosus* (Chapter 4), and the *libertus* (Chapter 5). In addition to establishing Terentian developments and adaptations this analysis also probes the questions of why Terence develops these characters and what the effect these developments might have had on his audiences.

The Adaptation of Greek Source Material

The adaptation of Greek source material is a defining feature of New Comedy at Rome. Although Terence's plays are set in Greece and his characters typically bear Greek names and

[13] Dunsch 2014: 508-9.
[14] Vincent 2013: 83 also notes that Terence's characters often display metatheatrical self-awareness of their stock roles.

costumes, in many aspects they evoke the society of the Roman Republic. This is a surprisingly controversial position. In recent years, many scholars have increasingly accepted the idea that Plautine New Comedy alludes to the anxieties relating to the turbulent social scene at Rome in the time immediately following the Second Punic War; however, they tend to deny that Terence's plays (166-160 BCE) reflect aspects of Rome's contemporary social make-up, institutions, and cultural ideas in similar fashion. Konstan argues that Plautus did not ignore anxieties relating to the turbulent social scene at Rome; he discusses Roman political and social issues such as Roman allies, citizenship, familial structure and paternal authority, and the Roman marriage ritual.[15] Hunter likewise shows how Plautus drew material from contemporary Rome for his plays; however, he denies that Terence did the same.[16] Ludwig, like Hunter, denies Terence's plays have significant originality and claims that he simply stuck more closely to the Greek originals than Plautus.[17] Leigh investigates the collective psychology of Roman expansionism in specific contexts such as: social and economic transformations, Hellenization, enslavement and *postliminium*, and the assimilation of the authoritative figures of fathers and commanding officers.[18] His study covers topics and themes found in Terence in addition to those in Plautus. Recently, Goldberg singled out "the elegance of expression, twists of convention, and portrayals of character" as "characteristically Terentian" and "decidedly un-Plautine."[19]

There has been much scholarship on the issues of Terentian originality and adaptation of Greek, particularly Menandrian, sources. Norwood was the first to ascribe significant originality to Terence.[20] Ludwig explores the extent to which Terence may have inserted material from

[15] Konstan 1983: 22. Goldberg 1986: 214 likewise claims that the plays of Plautus contain reflections of and reactions to contemporary Roman culture.
[16] Hunter 1985.
[17] Ludwig 2001.
[18] Leigh 2004.
[19] 2019: 50.
[20] 1923.

Menander's *Kolax* into his *Eunuchus*, an act of *contaminatio*, the blending together of multiple Greek plays into a single Latin play.[21] Pernerstorfer argues that the reception of the *Kolax* in Terence's *Eunuchus* "ist ungleich fruchtbarer für die Rekonstruktion."[22] Büchner was one of the first to focus exclusively on the comedies of Terence and identifies several Terentian characteristics, including novel variation to his plays' endings and a deeper development of characters' universally human qualities.[23] Lowe discusses Terence's *Eunuchus* and its relationship to Menander's plays.[24] Like others before him, Lowe points out the following Terentian modes of adaptation: the introduction of new characters, the insertion of dialogue over a Menandrian monologue, and 'thickening' (or doubling) his plots.[25] Caston suggests that *contaminatio* is the solution to Terence's problems, not its cause, because when two sources are blended into one play, a certain amount of (re)invention is unavoidable.[26] This is in accordance with the way I interpret Terentian poetics and his method of composition. I also agree with Goldberg's nuanced interpretations of Terence's relationship to Menandrian originals. For example, he argues that themes like morality and *humanitas* in Terence's plays are inspired by Menandrian features but argues that their prominence in Terence "suggests a shift not just of comic focus, but of artistic sensibility."[27]

Some scholars, such as McElduff, still find it more useful to discuss Terence as a translator and adaptation in terms of *contaminatio*.[28] *Contaminatio* itself is a much discussed topic of Terentian poetics and plot formation. After Ludwig, Beare claims that because of

---

[21] 1959.
[22] 2009: 25.
[23] 1974.
[24] 1983.
[25] 1983.
[26] 2014: 41.
[27] 2019: 20.
[28] 2004; 2013.

Terence's alterations and additions, explained through the process of combining multiple plays (*contaminatio*), he was able to produce Latin plays that were poetically superior to their Greek originals.[29] Lloyd-Jones discusses Terentian adaptation to Menandrian originals in terms of what he considers to be two examples of unskillful *contaminatio* where we can see the disharmony caused by the blending of two plays into one (the endings of *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*).[30] *Contaminatio* is also frequently discussed in conversations about the exact relationship between Roman comedies and Greek source material, conversations concerning translation and adaptation.

Lefèvre edited a collection of essays which primarily investigate the relationship between Roman comedy and Greek source material.[31] Some of the essays, such as Gaiser's contribution on *Miles Gloriosus*, make bold claims that the Latin plays can be used to reconstruct lost Greek originals.[32] These kinds of claims, which have their foundations in Leo and Fraenkel, are picked up by scholars such as Scafuro who contextualizes Greek and Roman New Comedy in terms of 4th century Athenian legal scenarios.[33] Scafuro offers something novel and exciting in the way her analysis elucidates our understanding about the legal disputing process in Athens with evidence contained within comedies. However, in her insistence on viewing Roman comedy through a Greek filter she assumes that all legal disputes in Plautus and Terence reflect either translation or adaptation of a legal scenario that would have existed in the Greek original with the aims of displaying or (re)constructing an Athenian perspective. She does this in terms of plot, as opposed to specific linguistic markers, as Fraenkel did. Gaertner shows how both Plautus and

[29] 1964.
[30] 1973.
[31] 1973.
[32] 1973.
[33] 1997.

Terence "combine elements from Greek and Roman law" and therefore that comedy "constitutes a problematic source for the reconstruction of Attic or Roman law."

A reexamination of Terence's comedies as creative literature, rather than generic plays produced via mechanical translation and perfunctory use of Plautine features, is necessary. The first problem scholars are faced with when attempting such a reexamination is the fact that there is relatively little scholarship dedicated to Terence's comedies when compared to playwrights like Plautus or Aristophanes. This study is the first to offer in-depth analyses of multiple stock character types in Terence's comedies. These stock characters will be discussed both in the broad contexts of the Greek and Roman comic traditions as well as in their specific manifestations throughout the Terentian corpus.

Cultural Analyses

Some scholars focus on cultural analyses of Terence's additions and alterations. For example, Marshall argues, somewhat controversially, that the Roman scripts left considerable room for improvisation by the actors as well as the *tibicen*.[34] Moore has shown how music in Roman comedy differentiates the genre from its Greek predecessor.[35] He argues that the musical accompaniments were likely rehearsed instead of improvised and that we ought to think about New Comedy at Rome like musical theater where actors might burst into song when transitioning into a *cantica* meter. Fontaine notes the different effects this change from mimetic to musical style might have on an audience.[36]

[34] Marshall 2006 emphasizes the fluid possibilities for dramatic performance in Rome as suggested by evidence from Plautine plays. He also explores the extent to which playwright and actor might overlap and how the Roman audience responds to and interacts with the action, especially with the humor, on stage.
[35] 2012.
[36] 2014: 406.

Wiseman shows how Latin literature is a form of social history; he argues that through the context of performance we see certain elite retaliations against popular entertainment.[37] Harrison and Liapis' edited volume includes a selection of essays (under the section "Rome and Empire") which consider specific Roman performances and the differences in audience expectation between Greek and Roman comedy (Franko), performance and theater in a domestic context at Rome (Beacham), and gesture in relation to orators and Roman drama (Dutsch).[38] The issue of Roman audience size and make-up in the Middle Republic has been much debated in recent years and there is no consensus. Scholars like McCarthy stress the aristocratic element of the audience whereas Richlin goes so far as to claim that the audience was mainly slaves, and that the Roman elite were outsiders to the genre.[39] These views differ drastically, but both books won the Society for Classical Studies' Goodwin Award even though there has been no significant change in the evidence to support either view. It is impossible to determine with any certainty what the social make up of Terence's audience would have been in the 160s BCE. However, Livy writes that rows of seats were saved for Roman magistrates, distinguishing them from the rest of the audience, as early as 194 BCE.[40] Goldberg discusses audience interaction in Plautus, and suggests that *Aulularia* must have had a physical stage built for the performance, noting that the playwright "not only interrupts and retards the flow of the action and appears to discommode a member of the audience, but in doing so he makes the other spectators uncomfortable as well as they fidget with anxiety or sigh with relief."[41]

---

[37] Beacham 1991 lays the groundwork for the kind of study done by Wiseman 2015 that connects the developments in public performance with their social and political contexts in Rome. Beacham 1991 discusses the physical issues regarding staging and producing a play: he shows how temporary stages could be crafted for performance. His evidence for these claims is largely visual: he relies mainly on ancient paintings and performance studies.
[38] Harrison and Liapis 2013.
[39] McCarthy 2000; Richlin 2017. Cf. response and refutation by Brown 2019.
[40] Livy 34.44.5. For scholarship on the issue of when, where, and how many seats were reserved, see Humphrey 1986: 77.
[41] 2018: 141.

Historicizing Terence

Leigh's method for contextualizing New Comedy at Rome is not exclusively reliant on the more traditional mode of determining additions and alterations based on arguments that some references and passages make sense in the context of Rome in the Middle Republic but have features that are incompatible with the older Greek context.[42] Instead, he exposes other references that can be meaningfully contextualized in both Greek and Roman settings and times. This is the same type of argument made by Hutcheon when explaining the contexts of adaptation.[43] Leigh shows how a Roman audience could have understood and seen themselves in the plays of Plautus and Terence. This opens up possibilities for interpreting even those Terentian sections that seem particularly Menandrian or particularly faithful to the original as potentially meaningful moments of adaptation.

Leigh laid the groundwork for the revived approach to historicizing Roman comedy which emphasizes 'dialogues' between comic texts and socio-political issues. Lefèvre and Scafuro contextualized Latin comedy primarily in terms of fourth-century Greece.[44] Konstan contextualizes a selection of comedies by Plautus and Terence by discussing contemporary social anxieties and mapping out Roman ideologies in relation to the social tensions explored within the comedies.[45] Leigh is the most recent and explicit attempt at historicizing Roman comedy while also articulating the issues inherent in doing so.[46] This revived historicizing approach is foundational to my own interpretations. Leigh argues that Terence's *Adelphoe* is both informed by historical context and informs our understanding about that context. Paramount to my

[42] 2004.
[43] 2012.
[44] Lefèvre 1973; Scafuro 1997.
[45] 1983.
[46] 2004.

interpretation is Leigh's claim that "there is no historical context for the play of which the play itself is not a part. If the funeral games of L. Aemilius Paullus feature a comedy in which a figure peculiarly reminiscent of Paullus is worsted, that should make us rethink our assumptions about funeral games and the nature of the honour they bestow."[47] This is particularly illuminating because the argument is not only that poetic texts cannot be considered wholly removed from their historical circumstances but also that historical, scholarly discussions are remiss not to consider literary evidence that contradicts the scholarly narrative. Leigh shows how the *Adelphoe* reflects Roman conceptions about fathers and military commanders and suggests further that the *Adelphoe* can refine our understanding about the complexities of those conceptions.[48]

There is a clear attempt by scholars of literature and history, such as Leigh (among others), to push beyond historical contextualization by highlighting literature's function as both a social construct and a force of (re)constructing societies and social constructs. Leigh's prior contribution to an edited volume, a chapter titled, "Primitivism and Power: the Beginnings of Latin Literature," shows threads which his 2004 monograph picks up on and expands.[49] Taplin is a collection of essays offering a broad overview of Greek and Latin literature from a historical perspective which focuses "on the receivers of the literature, the public, readers, spectators, and audiences."[50] For example, Leigh's chapter asserts that "the audience of Plautus should be sought in the plays of Plautus, not imposed from the outside."[51] In fact, the rest of this volume pushes back on the idea that there must be a strict dichotomy between text and context by claiming in its introduction that "the contextual genesis is bound to be particularly suggestive for our modern

[47] 2004: 189.
[48] 2004: 158-91.
[49] Taplin 2000.
[50] 2000: 1.
[51] 2000: 302.

interpretation. To deny this is like digging up an artefact and having no curiosity about why anyone wanted to have that artefact in the first place."[52] This volume is conceptually helpful to my interpretations because of its stated claim that "the fact that the history we can reconstruct is bound to be, to a greater or lesser extent, partial, speculative, and selective does not make it emptily arbitrary, merely or purely a construct."[53] In other words, historical contexts often (if not always) require interpretation and a logical process of interpretation does not necessarily render those contexts arbitrary or imaginary.

It is my opinion that it is not only worthwhile but necessary to investigate and consider the various possible cultural contexts of Rome in the Middle Republic when the comedies of Terence were produced. It remains worthwhile even though there are gaps in the historical record. For example, Roberta Stewart posits the same exciting thesis that Richlin picks up: that Roman comedy can provide historically viable social context for Roman slavery and that it can provide information about the slave experience itself.[54] Stewart uses Plautine scenes to fill in the gap in our historical knowledge for the specific contexts of enslavement, the sale of slaves, and manumission.[55]

Building on these trends, I maintain that cultural contexts are relevant to Terence's plays and furthermore that Terentian comedy can enrich our understanding about Rome. The period in which he wrote, the Middle Republic, is a formative period both culturally and politically; it is a time when Rome transformed from a mainly Italian entity into a force dominant throughout the Mediterranean. The fact that Greek source material was used by authors of Latin poetry is certain, but more and more scholars are stressing the cultural importance of adaptation and

---

[52] 2000: 5.
[53] 2000: 2.
[54] Stewart 2012; Richlin 2017.
[55] 2012.

pinpointing Romanizations and Latinisms in the literature that make it a uniquely Roman product. Feeney discusses the Latin literature which was adapted from Greek sources as a "fusion arising from dialogue with local traditions."[56] This fusion which mixes local and foreign elements is precisely how we should think about Roman Comedy, rather than as mechanical translating. In fact, there is one fundamental difference between the two genres: Roman Comedy is a musical genre, but the earlier Greek comedies were spoken.[57]

Main Findings: Characterization and Identity

This study probes comic texts for information about the identities of "stock" character types in Terence alongside the types of identities they might relate or respond to. For example, I interpret the *parasitus* in Terence as a vilified educator and professional philosopher/rhetorician (Chapter 1). I expose the aggressive *adulescens* in Terence as a force of domination and subjugation whose belligerence is encouraged and rewarded through subversions to generic plot features (Chapter 2). I suggest that Terence's *ancillae* exist in the peripheries of the poet's dramatic world: they are always enslaved and associated with sex work and some actively push the boundaries of the world of their play by allusions to foreign lands throughout the Mediterranean and Near East (Chapter 3). I also argue that the *peregrinus* status and personal relationships of the *miles gloriosus* in Terence evoke the image of an allied soldier more than a mercenary (Chapter 4), and that the manumitted *servus* in Terence reflects features of a distinctively Roman form of slavery and manumission (Chapter 5).

[56] 2016: 97.
[57] Moore 2012.

CHAPTER 1 – EDUCATED PARASITES: TERENCE'S DEVELOPMENT OF THE *PARASITUS*

In 161 BCE Terence produced two new plays: the *Eunuchus*, performed at the *ludi Megalenses* in April, and *Phormio*, performed at the *ludi Romani* in September. In these plays Terence introduces the parasite, a malleable but well known character throughout Greek and Roman comedy, to his stage: Gnatho and Phormio. Stereotypical parasites found in Greek and Roman comedy are gluttons, freeloaders, fawners, and flatterers. The character is often found feasting or discussing the food they might eat at parties.[58] Klein defines the parasite as "an unapologetic glutton who will happily humiliate himself in order to satisfy his comically insatiable appetite."[59] Wilkins stresses the parasite's connection to poverty "which was present from the beginning."[60] Rudolph explains that this stock character persists even beyond the comic genres and suggests that "although ruled by his hunger and poverty, [the parasite] is also portrayed as a connoisseur who enjoys fine food."[61] Banducci suggests that "the idea of sophisticated eating or culinary planning reflects a general sense of increased sophistication on knowledge culture among the Roman elite [in the second century BCE]."[62]

Terence adopts features of Greek comedy but puts them to use in a novel way. Goldberg suggests that some Menandrian features in Terence are likely inspired by his source material, not directly transferred or translated from it.[63] It is clear that Terence transferred his first parasite, Gnatho, into the plot of one Menandrian play (*the Eunuch*) from a second (*Kolax*). The prologue

---

[58] Wilkins 2000: 84 states that features of the parasite "translate bodily needs for material fuel into social and sympotic discourse."
[59] 2022: 49.
[60] 2000: 83.
[61] 2018: 16. She cites examples from Lucian and includes a footnote referencing *Eunuchus* 255-9.
[62] 2021: 7.
[63] 2019.

to Terence's *Eunuchus* relates this information to us directly.[64] Unfortunately, this Greek source material survives today only in fragments.[65] Terence's use of source material and his reputation as a mechanical translator might tempt some to assume that Terence's parasite is a perfunctory reflection of the Menandrian original, telling us more about the Greek material than Terence's own text. However, it is impossible to determine the precise extent to which Terence adopted and adapted the character. Nevertheless, Gnatho's function in the *Eunuchus* highlights certain features of Terentian poetics and ingenuity. For example, Caston highlights *contaminatio* as a helpful way for Terence to construct his plots, not a problem that he needs to overcome: she interprets *contaminatio* as a reflection of "Terence's interest in intertextuality."[66]

Terence's parasites are unique, but do not exist in a vacuum: they recapture some aspects of the parasites in Greek comedy to play off of the explicit link between rhetoric and the Parasitic philosophy. Even if Terence did mechanically translate sections of Menandrian plays, the way Terence composed his *Eunuchus* out of two Greek originals, the artistic choices he made in juxtaposing scenes and characters, as well as the overall plot structure of the play are clearly Terence's own. Because Terence chose which characters to insert and which scenes to adapt and present to his Roman audience, the extent to which Terence composed (or translated) the play makes no significant difference to my argument overall. I consider the plays in their entirety as Terence's and assign all responsibility for the final form of their construction to the playwright.[67]

Accordingly, Terence's parasites are inspired by the Greek stock character but ultimately extend beyond Greek contexts, squarely placed in contemporary Rome. Core issues at stake in both of Terence's parasite-plays, *Eunuchus* and *Phormio*, are rhetorical manipulation and the

---

[64] *Eunuchus* 20; 30.
[65] Cf. Pernerstorfer 2009.
[66] 2014: 41-2.
[67] Hutcheon 2012. For a more detailed discussion, see Introduction II.2 "Adaptation Theory and Politics".

perceived pernicious effect of rhetorical education. Damon, in the tradition of Fraenkel, suggests that a defining feature of the parasite is his adaptability.[68] McCarthy defines the Plautine parasite as "a useful figure through which naturalistic comedy can poke fun at the weaknesses of farce," which also implicates a connection between playwright and parasite.[69] In my view, Terence introduces parasites into the world of his plays because they are referential to contemporary social and political issues at Rome. In order to demonstrate this contention, the first part of this chapter traces the philosophical and rhetorical connections to the Greek parasite and then discusses Terentian poetics, adaptation, and innovation. The following sections will show how Gnatho represents the philosophical sophist-parasite and how Phormio represents the sycophant-parasite. Both Terentian parasites ultimately reflect and refract social and legal contexts at Rome. In order to understand Terence's use of comic parasites it is necessary to consider the evolution of the Greek *parasitus* stock character.

I - The Parasite in Comedy Before Terence

While there have been numerous surveys of the Greek parasite, none have yet emphasized formal rhetoric or sophistry as a defining feature of the stock character. Tylawsky comes closest to doing this when she discusses philosophical connections to the parasite character.[70] Duncan examines the parasite from Old Comedy alongside the image of the parasite in philosophical works.[71] Wilkins, like Tylawsky after him, primarily investigates references to actual philosophers and remarks that "the exploitation of other genres such as epic, tragedy, and philosophy contributed to comedy's development of its own discourse."[72] Typically, the character

[68] Damon 1997: 98. Fraenkel 1960: 123-27.
[69] 2000: 202-3.
[70] 2002.
[71] 2006.
[72] Tylawsky 2002. Wilkins 2000: XXI. Wilkins also shows how the comic discourse borrowed from philosophy for the aspect of "the problematizing of ritual and pleasure," (2000: 420).

is simply branded a beggar who uses flattering rhetoric.[73] The terminology that signals a parasite develops out of Old Comedy, where the character is called a flatterer (κόλαξ), into later forms of comedy that use the term parasite (παράσιτος). This term has its origins in the Athenian priests who performed sacrifices and would be fed at public expense and is later appropriated by Greek comedy and amalgamated with the already established *kolax* character type.[74] In Middle Comedy, for example, Alexis' *Parasitos* features a priest-parasite with a food obsession.[75] Tylawsky suggests that Alexis restructured the parasite in this play and that he "made use of nicknaming…to transfer the designation *parasitos* from the religious functionary to the social realm of fashionable antics."[76] Nesselrath maintains that the distinction between 'flatterer' (the toady) and 'parasite' (the food-obsessed) types is mostly continuous between genres of Greek comedy but Brown has shown that this is not necessarily the case.[77]

In Roman comedy the idiosyncrasies associated with the two terms appear to be lost. The term *parasitus* is most commonly associated with the character type in Plautine and Terentian plays. Nevertheless, Terence does use both terms (*parasitus kolax*) to describe Gnatho in the prologue for the *Eunuchus*.[78] The terminology changes but the figure itself has some defining features that stay static in Greek thought: the character eats from another's table and employs persuasive or flattering rhetoric in order to do so. By studying this figure in comedy an ancient

[73] Damon 1997: 247 argues that the dependence of one man on another creates an incentive for flattery, but insists that service for a patron, as well as flattery, are central to the character (1997: 13).
[74] Alexis' *Parasitos* (KA 183) features a priest-parasite with a food obsession. Tylawsky 2002: 89-90 suggests that Alexis redesigned the parasite in this play and that he "made use of nicknaming…to transfer the designation *parasitos* from the religious functionary to the social realm of fashionable antics."
[75] Alexis KA 183.
[76] 2002: 89-90.
[77] 1985: 108; Nesselrath 1990: 309-311 further explains that there were two distinct *kolax* character types in Old Comedy, the private (hungry) type and the public (ridiculous) type. These two types he adds to the *parasitos* type that is associated with priests. Pernerstorfer 2009: 102 suggests that the distinction remains relevant in Menander's *Kolax*. Brown 1992: 101 argues that "the two terms tend not to be distinguished in Middle Comedy."
[78] *Eunuchus* 30.

perception becomes evident, one perhaps originating in Greece but appearing in Rome as well, that rhetoric is a way of life which can be highly profitable for the speaker but disadvantageous, pernicious, and even dangerous to the listener. The comic parasite embraces rhetoric, both flattering and persuasive, and shows the audience exactly how rhetoric can manipulate otherwise sensible or strong characters.

I.1 - Formal Rhetoric in Aristophanes: Playing the Parasite

Rhetoric and sophistry are themes readily found in Old Comedy. In 427 BCE Aristophanes produces his first play, *Banqueters*. In this play, the Buggered Boy (seemingly so called because he is receiving a rhetorical education) insults his father who then blames specific rhetoricians and sophists for his son's impudence.[79] He singles out the influence of Lysistratos, the sophists in general, and Alcibiades before addressing his son as Thrasymachus:

> οἴμ', ὦ Θρασύμαχε, τίς τοῦτο τῶν ξυνηγόρων τερατεύεται;
>
> Well, my budding Thrasymachus, which of the lawyers talks that awful talk?
>
> Aristophanes KA 205[80]

Thrasymachus of Chalcedon is the sophist whose basic argument is that justice is relative and that the best argument is the one that's loudest and more masterly. He is known primarily as an interlocutor in Plato's *Republic* who argues this position.[81] Wilkins points out that Aristophanes exposes sophistry to ridicule in an admirable rhetorical fashion.[82] This passage also shows that there is a link between rhetoricians and legal advocates.

Old and Middle comedies occasionally present contemporary philosophers, in addition to rhetoricians, as corruptive parasites as a way to highlight themes of generational divide and the

[79] KA 205.
[80] The English translation comes from Henderson 1998: 211.
[81] 344c.
[82] 2000.

pernicious effects of philosophical, or rhetorical, education.[83] For example, Aristophanes represents Socrates in *Clouds* as a symbol of philosophy in general but also as a warped symbol of rhetorical education.[84] The first *agon* in *Clouds* depicts a debate between the Superior Argument, which represents traditional education and values, and the Inferior Argument, which represents the persuasive rhetoric employed by the character Socrates, the sophists, and parasites alike.[85] Superior Argument show how rhetorical education can be conceived of as a pipeline to luxury, loopholes, and hedonism for students. For example, Superior Argument says that the men of his type of education would never 'take the head of a radish,' take food from the older men, eat fish (ὀψοφαγεῖν), giggle, or cross their legs at dinner.[86] The reference to a radish refers to being sexually penetrated. Stealing food from older men is disrespectful and might suggest that they are unable to provide themselves with sustenance. Giggling or adopting feminine poses marks the men as effeminate. These statements imply that the new generation, educated in rhetoric, exhibits pathic behavior and a corrupted morality.

The label of "ὀψοφάγος" (implied by the verbal form) on the student of rhetoric is particularly illuminating. As Davidson has shown, ὀψοφάγος is not a characterization of class but of the consuming appetite that could be felt by anyone.[87] The lifestyle of the ὀψοφάγος (i.e. ὀψοφαγία) is not particular to the domain of the parasite but the parasite figure does most clearly typify, and even embody, an individual who is consumed by his own consuming passions and

---

[83] Cf. Tylawsky 2002: 29-41 "Fashionable Philosophizing" for a discussion of such individuals.
[84] Sommerstein 2013: 143 notes that Socrates, of course, was not a sophist but is depicted as one in this play. Davidson 1999: 221 recounts how "Socrates famously stood up during [the performance of] *the Clouds*, so that the audience could see for themselves the target of the satire." This detail comes from Aelian *Varia Historia* 2.13. Cf. Plato's *Apology* (19b-c) which alludes directly to *Clouds*.
[85] *Clouds* 1089-1112. Inferior Argument wins the debate on a technicality: Aristophanes writes that advocates, tragedians, orators, and even the audience are already buggered (εὐρύπρωκτος), which implies that they have already been persuaded by the new sophistic education.
[86] *Clouds* 981-3. Cf. Davidson 1997 for an in-depth discussion about the term ὀψοφαγεῖν (to eat fancy fish) as well as the nouns describing people who partake in that activity.
[87] 1999.

desires, like an addict. Davidson points out that both the noun and the verb forms of this word make their first appearance in the poetry of Aristophanes.[88] The noun form is applied to contemporary philosophers and sophists in Middle Comedy as well. For example, Athenaeus informs us that in the *Timaeus* Plato labels Aristotle an 'ὀψοφάγος' (a fishaholic) and then quotes a fragment from Antiphanes' *Singer to the Lyre* which suggests that Maton (the sophist) was likewise criticized for being an ὀψοφάγος.[89] These examples demonstrate that Greek comedy occasionally represents contemporary purveyors of rhetorical education as something akin to a parasite and, as discussed below, some (successful) parasites as practitioners of an art (τέχνη).

I.2 - The Parasite and the Philosopher in Eupolis: Singing for your Supper

Eupolis' *Kolakes* is the first extant, though highly fragmentary, comedy that features the *kolax* as a fully developed character.[90] Tylawsky argues that, compared to Aristophanic associations between philosophers and parasites, "Eupolis' good idea was to embody the concept of flattery in the fleshed-out figure of the *kolax*." Napolitano provides a recent Italian commentary on Eupolis' *Kolakes* and shows how this play contains many social and political references, particularly references to Athenian ideology and criticism of elite Athenians.[91]
One fragmentary line emphasizes the importance of a parasite's dinner.[92] What is most important to my analysis of the parasite's connection to rhetoric and philosophy is not the fragment itself but the source from which it is quoted: Plutarch's *Moralia* ("Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι" or "That a Philosopher Ought to Converse Especially with Men

[88] 1999: 209.
[89] Athenaeus 8.28 (KA 117/8).
[90] Wilkins 2000: 74 makes the distinction that although these early flatterers "offered discourse in exchange for food, they had not been called parasites [before Alexis' *Parasitos*]."
[91] 2012: 32-58; 127-50.
[92] Storey 2011 F175 (KA 175) reads: οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ σίδηρος οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείργει μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. (neither fire nor iron nor bronze can deter [parasites] from dinner.)

in Power") in a passage discussing whether it is better to receive or confer gifts.[93] The quotation and reference to flatterers links parasites with philosophers but makes it clear that the good philosopher should not act like a parasite. The context from which the quotation is pulled might suggest that the play itself represented a contemporary philosopher as a parasite. The scholia on line 96 of *Clouds* suggest that Eupolis' *Kolakes* depicted Socrates singing, playing the lyre, and stealing from the banquet. However, the extant fragments cannot even confirm whether Socrates was in fact a character, let alone whether he was overtly cast as a type of comic parasite in this play.

While Greek comedies do occasionally represent a philosopher as a parasite, parasites are more frequently represented as quasi-philosophers, who claim that their way of life is advantageous and desirable. Eupolis' *Kolakes* provides the first extant examples of the character type soliloquizing about the parasite's philosophy. Tylawsky calls this speech "the flatterer's professional monologue.[94]

> κἄν τι τύχῃ λέγων ὁ πλούταξ, πάνυ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπαινῶ,
> καὶ καταπλήττομαι δοκῶν τοῖσι λόγοισι χαίρειν.
> εἶτ᾽ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐρχόμεσθ᾽ ἄλλυδις ἄλλος ἡμῶν
> μᾶζαν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλόφυλον, οὗ δεῖ χαρίεντα πολλὰ
> τὸν κόλακ᾽ εὐθέως λέγειν, ἢ ᾽κφέρεται θύραζε.
>
> Whatever this rich man utters, I praise to the skies
> and I stand there awestruck, pretending to enjoy his words.
> Then we go our various ways to dine off another man's bread.
> There the sponger must come out with many witty things
> immediately or be chucked out the door.
>
> Eupolis KA 172[95]

[93] *Moralia* 778d.
[94] 2002: 46. Webster 1970: 64 quotes Antiphanes' *Soldier* to show how the parasite's basic philosophy is: "the only safe human possession is food in the mouth."
[95] English translation from Storey 2011.

Here the parasite uses flattering rhetoric to secure a dinner invitation in the first place and then must flatter his host again to secure his meal once he has arrived at dinner. The stipulation that the parasite must flatter his host or risk getting kicked out makes it clear that constant flattery (a form of rhetoric) is how the parasite earns his keep: he must sing for his supper. This fragment shows that this way of life is advantageous for parasites but the fear of being ejected from dinner before dining suggests that the lifestyle is precarious. This precarity is stressed by the ever-hungry parasites in Plautus but Terence's parasites only present their lifestyle as advantageous.

I.3 - The Parasite's Philosophy in Antiphanes is Advantageous and Desirable

Antiphanes is an author of Middle Comedy whose work survives today through quotations from Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, an antiquarian sort of encyclopedia on feasting and food. Nesselrath considers the parasite a figure distinct from the flatterer in Middle Comedy.[96] Brown critiques this argument, however, and shows that there is no firm distinction between the terms *parasitos* and *kolax* in Middle Comedy in general.[97] Wiles argues that "the three mask terms in Pollux relate to three phases in the evolution of the parasitical type," but when considering evidence outside of Pollux he argues that "parasite and toady are overlapping rather than strictly antithetical terms."[98] Thus, it is clear that, even visually, the parasite is a multiform that resists rigid categorization. Wilkins demonstrates that the parasite has become an established stock character by Middle and New Comedy, characterized by his hunger and neediness.[99] He shows how the discourse about food and drink (i.e. parasites) "enables the poet to draw on wider aspects of flattery and clientship in the *polis*."[100] Thus, in Middle Comedy, the parasite's ability

[96] 1985: 102-8; 1990: 69-79 and 309-317.
[97] Brown 1992: 101 maintains that "we simply cannot say how clear-cut the distinction became, or at how early a stage."
[98] 1991: 174.
[99] Wilkins 2000: 71-86. He suggests that Antiphanes' *Parasitos* featured this type of parasite (2000: 380).
[100] 2000: 72.

to serve as a conduit of various social contexts becomes a stable and foundational feature of the character type.

The parasite's monologue in which he advocates for his way of life sometimes resembles a formal rhetorical demonstration piece. A speech like the one in Antiphanes' *Lemnian Woman* works on the same level as a sophistic demonstration piece, such as Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*: it is highly stylized rhetoric for rhetoric's sake. Damon shows that this parasite "stresses the entertainment that he and his peers provide."[101] The successful parasite in *Lemnian Women* suggests that his profession is even an art form:

> εἶτ᾽ ἔστιν ἢ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἡδίων τέχνη
> ἢ πρόσοδος ἄλλη τοῦ κολακεύειν εὐφυῶς.
>
> [Being a parasite] either is, or became, a more pleasant art
> or (is) another onset of well-adapted flattery.
> Antiphanes KA 142

Here being a parasite is explicitly described as a kind of τέχνη and as the practice of employing flattery. Antiphanes presents a different kind of parasite from Eupolis, one that relishes his craft's ability to provide satiation and comfort:

> πρόσεστι πᾶσιν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πόνος.
> ἡμῖν δὲ μετὰ γέλωτος ὁ βίος καὶ τρυφῆς:
> οὗ γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον ἔργον ἐστὶ παιδιά,
> ἁδρὸν γελάσαι, σκῶψαί τιν᾽, ἐμπιεῖν πολύν,
> οὐχ ἡδύ; ἐμοὶ μὲν μετὰ τὸ πλουτεῖν δεύτερον.
>
> Diligence and hard work are present for all (parasites).
> Life, for us, comes with laughter and luxury.
> Indeed this sport is the greatest profession,
> to laugh deeply, to make fun of someone, to drink a lot,
> (to) not (be) pleasant; in my opinion, it's the next best thing to being rich.
> Antiphanes KA 142

[101] 1997: 29.

Here the comic parasite is not characterized by his neediness. Instead, this parasite portrays himself as living a life of leisure and luxury. Access to resources serves as a foil for the parasite whose hunger derives from depravation. The comic parasite is typically hungry, but the contexts (and implications) of his hunger is variable.

I.4 - Plautine Parasites and Social Context

The parasite as a comic character has drawn much scholarly attention, particularly investigations into the historical contexts (as noted above) of Greek parasites, sycophants, and priests.[102] The issue of stock characterization extends beyond generalized connections between philosophers, rhetoricians and parasites where words (as well as abuse endured and services rendered) are the means of acquiring the parasite's true (stereotypically) defining feature: food. Parasites from Plautine comedy (and beyond) have seen revived scholarly interest since Cynthia Damon's *The Mask of the Parasite*, which shows how Plautus adapts the Greek stock character into a uniquely Roman creation: she argues that the parasite represents the Roman client in the formal relationship of Roman *amicitia*.[103] Damon's argument rests on Fraenkel's earlier observations that the Roman terms associated with the parasite's host (*rex* and *basilicus*) were not present in the Greek source material and therefore serve as an example of Plautine invention.[104] These works are foundational in understanding the Plautine parasite and the extent of its literary influence.[105] Other scholars challenge the claim of Plautine originaligy. For example, Csapo, in a similar vein as Zagagi, argues that the regular use of the term '*rex'* in Roman comedy implies it serves as a translation for '*tyrannos'* in the Greek source material and

[102] Nesselrath 1985: 88-121; Wilkins 2000: 71-86.
[103] Damon 1997.
[104] 2007: 130-1; this 2007 English translation provides updates and supplements to Fraenkel's 1922 first edition.
[105] Tylawsky 2002 builds off the ideas raised by Damon 1997, tracing the evolution of the Greek flatterer as the basis for Plautine client-parasites.

therefore denies the originality ascribed by Fraenkel.[106] However, as Damon has shown, Plautus does implicate the parasite into a discussion about patrons and clients at Rome. Therefore, even if the terminology is less original than Fraenkel proposed, Plautus' rhetoric and imagery captures social aspects of Roman culture. The parasite's rhetoric acts as a vehicle for the discussion of food which, in turn, is a foil for a discussion of social issues like access to sustenance and resources. Furthermore, Plautus' parasites do not typically stress rhetoric or persuasion as much as they do dependency and poverty.[107] Ergasilus (*Captivi*), Saturio (*Persa*), Peniculus (*Menaechmi*) and Gelasimus (*Stichus*) are all parasites who explain that their way of life derives from necessity and consists of beggary, flattery, and the rendering of services, as in a patron/client relationship. Nevertheless, Plautine parasites, unlike those in Terence's comedies, retain a lightheartedness of character.

White shows how the comic poet might even be implicated into a discussion of patron-client relationships, as opposed to a more formal kind of literary patronage.[108] Saller supports this notion by analyzing the terminology and Konstan discusses "dialectic" between patronage and the system of *amicitia*.[109] White's later monograph goes further to substantiate his earlier arguments, but much rests on evidence provided in the time of Augustus and the Roman Empire.[110] This makes his arguments less compelling when narrowly applied to Plautine and Terentian comedy. Nevertheless, White rightly points out that "from at least the time of Terence, off-duty aristocrats had shown a notable predilection for the company of poets."[111] White does not substantiate this claim but presumably he is referring to the so-called Scipionic circle.

---

[106] 1989: 157. Zagagi 1980: 15-67.
[107] Damon 1997: 26.
[108] 1978: 74.
[109] Saller 1982: 8-22; Konstan 1995: 341.
[110] White 1993.
[111] 1993: 24.

Parasites in Plautine comedy act as a way to anchor their plays to the culture that produced them, malleably adapted to certain social contexts, including but not limited to *amicitia*. For example, Bloomer suggests in his discussion of the economies of slave and master in Plautus' *Captivi* that Ergasilus' entrance serves to "define comic space; a window opened from war makes possible the dramatic action as a window from *negotium* is filled by the play."[112] Here, the parasite is seen as the vehicle through which economic and martial metaphors can be established within the dramatic world of the play. Although the exact social issue or theme does not remain static, Plautine parasites often define their comic space in specific social terms. For example, the parasite Peniculus in *Menaechmi* connects parasitism with slavery in addition to the "bondage" of hunger.[113] In a similar fashion, Gelasimus speaks about selling himself on the auction block[114] and repeats the idea that he sells words.[115] Another social context of the Plautine parasite is sexual exploitation. For example, Ergasilus informs the audience that his nickname is 'Scortum' which suggests, even if the line is a joke and/or metaphor, that the sexual exploitation of his body is a possible service rendered to a patron in exchange for food.[116] This character's sexual exploitation calls attention to the potential sexual exploitation of clients in Rome since dramatic parasitism in Plautus is akin to performing the social role of a client.[117] It is clear from these Plautine examples that parasites act as a means through which contemporary social topics are brought into the world of the play, such as those outlined above: the socioeconomic systems of *amicitia* and enslavement as well as social anxieties such as hunger and sexual abuse. This character's position as a conduit of (certain aspects of) the playwright's contemporary world into

[112] Bloomer 2001: 44.
[113] *Menaechmi* 899-902.
[114] *Stichus* 193-5.
[115] *Stichus* 221 (*logos ridiculos vendo*).
[116] *Captivi* 69. Cf. Fontaine 2010: 585 demonstrates that the line is a joke and must not be taken seriously.
[117] Damon 1997.

the world of the play is, perhaps, the most significant aspect of the Greek parasite that was adapted for Roman audiences.

II - Terence's Parasites and Roman life in previous scholarship

For many scholars, a parasite's connection to philosophy and rhetoric serves as one of multiple reasons why the parasite is representative of something relevant to the playwright's contemporary culture. For example, Nesselrath observes that Greek parasites often represented real people, or real kinds of people, who ancient playwrights negatively characterize.[118] Damon argues that the parasite is, in general, "a conveniently compact personified form of something quite abstract, of a complicated nexus of social irritants including flattery, favoritism, and dependency."[119] This argument expands on previous observations by suggesting that these characters reflect a multitude of social conditions. Wilkins, perhaps stemming from the ideas raised in White's earlier arguments, suggests that both philosopher and poet may be represented as parasite in Greek comedy due to "their receipt of patronage from one of the Athenian elite."[120] Tylawsky discusses some of the general connections between flatterers and philosophers in Greek and Roman comedy.[121] Ultimately, and paramount to her book's central claims, Tylawsky convincingly argues that parasites tend to be defined by their poverty and hence that "from his earliest beginnings the future parasite of the comic stage was characterized in terms of his marginal and uncertain position on the edge of society."[122] Plautus' parasites can transform this

---

[118] Nesselrath 1985: 96; 102-6.
[119] Damon 1997: 7 adds that "these irritants existed in both Greek and Roman society, and the parasite provided a focus for reaction to and discussion of them."
[120] 2000: 76; White 1978.
[121] Her analysis emphasizes the connection between specific philosophies and generalized beggary: Pythagoreanism and wandering sophistical charlatans (31-2), Socrates as the symbolic intellectual beggar (35-41), Philosophers as parasites in Eupolis' *Flatterers* (45-7), and the double cloak that would characterize the Cynic's outfit as professional beggar (55-7). She expertly shows how Plautine parasites fit into this paradigm.
[122] Tylawsky 2002: 2; 77.

general feature into specific types of marginalized individuals in contemporary Rome, such as clients involved in Roman *amicitia*. A Terentian parasite, by contrast, is a penniless (or idle) aristocrat, and hence enjoys a class distinction that slaves and other marginal figures do not.

II.1 - Terentian Parasites

The effect of Greek culture on Roman culture in the Middle Republic is a complex and much studied phenomenon. Terence himself has been thought of as a Hellenizing figure by the very nature of his comedies, adapted from Greek sources. Adapting from Greek into Latin does Hellenize Roman culture to a certain extent and individual playwrights contribute in varying degrees. In some ways Plautus' comedies position themselves as relatively more Greek than the comedies of Terence. For example, as Gruen rightly points out, Plautine comedies contain some Greek phrases and some Latinized Greek words.[123] In contrast, the characters in Terence's plays are not seen speaking in Greek nor do they typically call attention to specifically Greek social or political institutions. Terence's comedies typically include characters with Greek names and occasionally reference Greek locations; however, to consider his plays merely as a product (or byproduct) of cultural diffusion overly simplifies the issue. Gruen signals two options for interpreting Terence's characters. The first option is that Terence's shift away from Plautine caricatures and exaggeration "is often ascribed to the growth of Hellenism in second-century Rome, to Terence's greater fidelity to Greek models, to a philhellenic turn away from conservatism and nativism."[124] The second option, as informed by Beare, is that "Terence had a broader sympathy for mankind, a deeper sensitivity to persons, a commitment to *paideia*, a belief in the capacities of human nature and individual reason against the bonds of social convention; in

[123] 1992: 232.
[124] 1992: 219.

sort, *humanitas*."[125] This second interpretation falls in line with my arguments about Terence's adaptation of Greek models and his methods of character development.

II.2 - Adaptation Theory and Politics

Theater is inherently political—all the more so in Rome, where theater was sponsored and staged by the state. Hutcheon, a leading theorist of literary adaptation, stresses the importance of contexts in any type of adaptation.[126] She argues that "almost always, there is an accompanying shift in the political valence from the adapted text to the 'transculturated' adaptation. Context conditions meaning, in short."[127] Adaptation theory explains why political interpretations emerge automatically when analyzing an adaptation.

For example, Athol Fugard's *the Island* showcases the significance of an adaptation's context as well as the political impact of that context in performance. This play is set inside a South African prison during the apartheid era and the plot revolves around a group of prisoners preparing for and performing an adaptation of Sophocles' *Antigone*. Weyenberg presents a compelling look at the intersection between adaptations of ancient dramas and contemporary politics by examining African adaptations of Greek tragedy.[128] She shows how Fugard metatheatrically subverts certain elements of the trial scene in Sophocles' *Antigone* to show how "apartheid ideology is rejected through its on-stage transformation into the ideology it opposes."[129] Even if, therefore, one insists that Terence was mostly translating his source material, it is clear that his plays take on a new meaning in Rome.

---

[125] 1992: 219. Beare 1964.
[126] 2012.
[127] 2012: 145.
[128] 2013.
[129] Weyenberg 2013: 32.

Furthermore, Terence repackaged material from multiple sources to create his plays. He references this fact in his prologues: in the *Eunuchus*, the prologue speaker defends 'the poet' from his critics and cites the Greek sources from which he drew his material for his play. Terence cites Menander's *Eunuchus* and *Kolax* as the sources he used and tells us that he took the characters of the parasite and the *miles gloriosus* from the *Kolax*.[130] The fact (or even possibility) that a feature was borrowed directly from a Greek source does not take away from the significance of its performance on a Roman stage and in the Latin language.[131] Were these plays chosen and grafted together at random? Is Terence's penchant for double plots an end in itself or is it symptomatic of something more meaningful to Terentian poetics? Terence's deviations from dramatic convention as well as his textual additions and 'contaminations' infuse his Greek source material with new references, ideas, and morals that reflect and refract specifically Roman social and legal contexts.

Leigh argues compellingly that Terence chose a particular Menandrian play to adapt for specifically Roman contexts, the *Adelphoe*.[132] Terence's *Adelphoe* was performed at the funeral games of Aemilius Paullus in 160 BCE. Leigh demonstrates how the play mirrors certain aspects of Aemilius Paullus' life, primarily his roles as father and military commander. For example, the play roughly mirrors Paullus' family dynamics (the adoption of two of his sons) and military career (particularly his triumph following the battle of Pydna).[133] Most salient to his argument is that the play "dramatizes a conflict and, if one or the other of the modes of education represented

[130] *Eunuchus* 30-33.
[131] Goldberg 1986: 73 emphasizes Terence's choices when adapting Greek source material. He argues: "what [Terence's] characters represent is then more important than what they do, and the relationships among characters will be of greater interest than the plot itself."
[132] 2004.
[133] 2004: 183-189.

may be said to reflect the values associate with Paullus himself, then its vindication will only finally be achieved through struggle."[134]

II.3 - Possible Roman Elements

Therefore, I suggest, Terence's parasites evoke a particular Roman controversy that arose in the same year that both of his parasite-plays were produced. Terence crafts and develops unique characters whose thought processes and reactions can offer possible contextualization for legislative and social issues. The *senatus consultum* of 161 BCE which expels Greek rhetoricians and philosophers from Rome (assigning the task to the urban praetor M. Pomponius) is attested by Suetonius and Gellius.[135] This edict had been largely conceived of as an example of antihellenism before Gruen showed how it might instead be thought of as a more general stance against religious cults and philosophical schools "that might undermine traditional Roman values."[136] Gruen applies this same reasoning to the embassy of philosophers which Cato removes from Rome in 155 BCE.[137] I agree that the issue at stake is avoiding an upset to Roman *mores*, but I am not convinced that these expulsions reflect distaste for specific forms of philosophy. It seems logical to consider as well whether there might have been a more general distaste for public lectures from visiting philosophers at Rome.

Garbarino offers a two-volume look at Greek philosophy at Rome in the second century BCE.[138] The first volume consists of (seemingly) all of the primary sources which reference philosophy and the second volume is a commentary on those sources. Particularly illuminating is the discussion of a clash of values between Greek philosophical thought and Roman culture.[139]

---

[134] Leigh 2004: 159-160.
[135] Suetonius *Gram*. 25.1; Gellius *NA* 15.11.1.
[136] 1984: 263. On antihellenism, see also Astin 1978; Sciarrino 2011; Roselaar 2012.
[137] 1996: 175-177.
[138] 1973.
[139] 1973: 364-370.

Gruen maintains that individual Romans did embrace Greek culture, in varied degrees.[140] Therefore, it is more fruitful to move away from the binary question of Hellenism or antihellenism and instead question what some of the traditional Roman values were. Answers can be found by examining how such values were upheld in Roman society, particularly legislatively. Contemporary literature, such as Terence's comedies, can also expose how these values and morals might be upheld or challenged on a smaller scale, such as within the family. Feeney claims that: "the recurrent expulsion of philosophers and of teachers of formal rhetoric in Latin made especially visible the elite's determination to patrol the boundaries of their traditional prerogatives and authority as mentors of their heirs, even as they worked to incorporate the modernizing new system of education."[141] This idea is helpful when considering Terence's pernicious parasites that are first staged in the same year as one of the above mentioned recurrent expulsions.

III - Gnatho: the philosophical parasite

Terence's *Eunuchus* features the parasite Gnatho, who exemplifies the threats of philosophically charged rhetoric and the corruption of youth through rhetorical education. His entrance monologue showcases his talents as a philosopher-parasite, spreading his message throughout the streets.[142] Terence constantly calls our attention to Gnatho and, as Goldberg observes, "more stage time is devoted to [Thraso and Gnatho] than to anyone else in *Eunuchus*."[143] Furthermore, it is this character that primarily drives the play's double plot. Unlike Terence's, most of Plautus' parasites do not act as a driving force for the plot of their play.

---

[140] 1992: 235 (and *passim*).
[141] Feeney 2016:134.
[142] *Eunuchus* 232-269; passage discussed in detail below.
[143] Goldberg 1986: 113.

Saturio does influence the plot of *Persa* in some ways, but it is not through his own rhetorical domination: in this play it is the parasite's daughter whose rhetorical prowess is showcased and produces dramatic consequences.[144] Gnatho, on the other hand, drives four major plot points (and connects the double plots) in the *Eunuchus*. First, he introduces Parmeno to Pamphila while he takes her to Thais. Second, he urges Parmeno to perceive Thraso as a threat to Phaedria's relationship with Thais. Third, he convinces Thraso that Thais prefers Phaedria and that he should take Pamphila back. Finally, Gnatho brokers the final deal between Thraso and Thais. He is, therefore, a central character in the play and a driving force of the plot.

III.1 - Gnatho's Entrance Monologue

Gnatho's entrance monologue is metatheatrical in multiple ways. The entire speech is a statement about the parasite's way of life. As discussed earlier, some kind of statement is quite common throughout Greek and Roman comedy: often a parasite will explain who they are and what they do. However, in Gnatho's particular monologue, Terence metatheatrically comments on the 'stock' parasite character. Gnatho defines himself through opposing the behavior of previous comic parasites: he does not fit the stereotype. For example, after informing his interlocutor that he does not suffer abuse for his profession, Gnatho interrupts himself with an question:

> omnia habeo neque quicquam habeo; nil quom est, nil defit tamen.
> "at ego infelix neque ridiculus esse neque plagas pati
> possum." quid? tu his rebu' credi' fieri? tota erras via.
>
> I have everything and I don't have anything. Although there is nothing, nothing is lacking. (*imitating his previous interlocuter*) "But, poor me, I am unable to tell jokes or tolerate blows." What? Do you think it happens by those methods? You're way off track.

[144] Tylawsky 2002: 107 discusses 'Saturio's Inheritance' in terms of his costuming, such as the ragged cloak of the Cynic philosopher. For Tylawsky, "it was the profession of a parasite to be ridiculous" and "it was the flatterer's professional responsibility to be funny." (2002: 119-20).

Eunuchus 243-5[145]

Here Gnatho rejects the stock role that would make him the target of different types of abuse: i.e. the target of ridicule (*ridiculus esse*) or physical assault (*plagas pati*). Gnatho's interjected question makes as much sense aimed at Gnatho's defined interlocutor as it does aimed directly at the Roman audience. It works on both levels: the interlocutor in the world of the play might consider beggary and flattery as synonymous with suffering abuses (perhaps even calling to mind the needy Roman client); the audience, however, might consider the parasite as a comic character (perhaps calling to mind Plautine examples, which themselves likely mirrored aspects of the patron-client relationship).

This parasite's profession provides more than a meal: it provides its practitioner with luxury and social status, as evident from Gnatho's description of his relationship with the food vendors:

> dum haec loquimur, interealoci ad macellum ubi advenimus,
> concurrunt laeti mi obviam cuppedenarii omnes,
> cetarii lanii coqui fartores piscatores,
> quibus et re salva et perdita profueram et prosum saepe:
> salutant, ad cenam vocant, adventum gratulantur.
>
> While [the bum and I] discussed these things [i.e. the art of being a flatterer],
> in the meantime when we arrive at the market, all the happy confectioners
> run together to meet me, fish-sellers, butchers, cooks, sausage-makers,
> fishermen, men whom I had been and often still am beneficial to, both
> when my [monetary] status was sound and [now] when bankrupt.
> They greet [me], invite [me] to dinner, thank [me] for coming.
>
> *Eunuchus* 255-9

Gnatho's sumptuous lifestyle is made evident by his emphasis on his continued patronage of the food vendors. *Eunuchus* 257 is atypical: it is uncharacteristic of Terentian style to take up two

[145] Terence's texts are cited from Kauer 1965. All translations of the Latin are my own, unless stated otherwise.

complete metrical lines with a list of (nearly synonymous) words.[146] Dramatic convention creates the expectation that a comic parasite might obsess about the types of food at the market, but Gnatho does not mention the food items themselves or any effects of food as sensory stimuli (seeing, smelling, and tasting). Here Gnatho stresses his relationship to the people at the market, not to the valuable food they sell. In doing so, Gnatho becomes the benefactor and the sellers become the flatterers—a sharp reversal of the Plautine client-parasite paradigm.

The detailed description of snack-sellers in the passage above is consistent with the types found in Plautine markets; both authors mention that butchers, cooks, and fisherman can be found at the Macellum.[147] Barsby suggests that the reference to the Macellum locates Gnatho at Rome, even if the reference results in an "incongruous Romanism."[148] Brown suggests that "details that are distinctively Roman are rare and incidental to the plot," but notes that Donatus considered this passage humorous for "including Roman details in a play with a Greek setting."[149] The reference to the Macellum itself would serve to Romanize the scene's contexts but Terence goes further by describing the kinds of merchants that can be found there.[150] As Barsby notes, the distinction between *lanii* and *coqui* is distinctively Roman, as the Greek occupation μάγειρος likely fulfilled both duties.[151]

---

[146] Lists (sometimes much longer) are quite common in Greek comedy and in Plautine as well, but they generally signal humor, abuse, and/or obsession. Wilkins 2000: 159 shows how long lists of food in Middle Comedy satirize sympotic lists. Karakasis 2014: 561 includes "asyndetic lists of synonyms or parallel forms" as an example of the "Plautine features" which appear in the *Eunuchus* but rarely elsewhere in Terence.
[147] Cf. Plautus' *Pseudolus* (804-9), *Captiui* (4.2.39), and *Rudens* (4.3.48).
[148] Barsby 1999: 132 notes that Donatus "sees a comic intention here in that a Roman market is being described when the context of the play is Greek," and suggests that "the terminology is thoroughly Roman, while the situation of cooks for hire in the market place is Greek."
[149] Brown 2013: 29-30.
[150] References to a *macellum* also appear in Plautus' *Amphitruo* (1012), *Aulularia* (264, 373, and 376), *Pseudolus* (169), and *Rudens* (979). Brown 2013: 30 questions why Donatus might consider *macellum* a clear Romanism worthy of comment whereas he does not comment on the multiple mentions of *forum*.
[151] Barsby 1999: 132; Cf. Fraenkel 2007: 400-1 for a detailed discussion of the duties of the μάγειρος, a term he claims is, in general, best translated as 'butcher' rather than both as 'cook' and 'butcher.'

During the parasite's entrance monologue, Gnatho describes the parasite's philosophy (i.e. rhetoric as a way of life). This monologue begins with some rhetorical questions:

> di inmortales, homini homo quid praestat? stulto intellegens
> quid inter est?
>
> Immortal gods, what makes one person superior to another? How does a wise man differ from a fool?
>
> *Eunuchus* 232-3

The answer to these questions, found at the end very of his lengthy speech, is to join in his philosophical school, the Parasitic (or 'Gnathonic'), which promises to teach its students deceptive persuasion through rhetoric and flattery.[152] Barsby claims that Gnatho's entire entry speech "has no bearing on the plot."[153] I disagree. Gnatho's speech of the parasite's philosophy explains precisely how the plot will be resolved, through the parasite's interference and rhetorical manipulation. Gnatho's entrance monologue is a kind of statement of the parasite's way of life, it acts as a rhetorical demonstration piece, and it is also a means of interpreting the play as a whole.

Gnatho's speech also is significant regarding his character development: the speech influences the way this parasite is developed beyond the confines of his stock character. Typically, stock parasites are marginalized members of society, compared to even more marginal figures, such as slaves.[154] However, Gnatho marginalizes himself. He is not a slave or a freedman, but a citizen who squandered his inheritance away in luxury and thus resorts to the parasitic profession of adulation and rhetoric, as the following passage makes clear:

> conveni hodie adveniens quendam mei loci hinc atque ordinis,
> hominem haud inpurum, itidem patria qui abligurrierat bona:

---

[152] *Eunuchus* 263-4; passage discussed below.
[153] 1999: 126.
[154] Damon 1997: 100 (and *passim*) discusses "a parasite/slave analogy that is well attested in the Greek fragments," as well as in Plautus. Tylawsky 2002: 119 builds on Damon's discussion and shows how Curculio, identified as a parasite, assumes "the guise of the running slave, like his colleague Ergasilus and over-eager Greek predecessors." Wilkins 2000: 71 notes how the parasite is "uninvited, or in need of a special invitation," and "must gain access to the feast through other means."

> While arriving here today I met with a certain man of my own rank and station,
> by no means vile, who had gobbled his inheritance by feasting, just like me.
> *Eunuchus* 234-5

Gnatho stresses that the man he met on the street is like him with the connected ideas of rank and station both governed by the possessive adjective. The adverb *itidem* further emphasizes their similarity: not only were both men afforded inheritances but both men squandered them away with luxurious feasting. The verb *abligurrio* is quite rare: it is a compound from *ligurrio* ('to lick up') and found only in Terence, Ennius, Suetonius, and Apuleius.[155] Plautine parasites employ similar terminology, such as this uncompounded form (*ligurrio*) in *Captivi*:

> item parasiti rebus prolatis latent
> in occulto miseri, victitant suco suo
> dum ruri rurant homines quos ligurriant
>
> in the same way, when their affairs are put aside, parasites lurk
> in secret, wretched men, and they subsist from their own sap
> while the country-dwellers whom they'd sponge off of live in the country
> *Captivi* 82-84

It is clear that the terminology in this passage evokes eating and also eating from another's plate. Papaioannou suggests that the use of *ligurrio* "continues the animal imagery" in the passage.[156] The fact that Plautus uses similar terminology does not diminish the significance of Terence's use of a more infrequent compound verb. In fact, in the Terentian example above we see that the compound verb is used to imply the squandering of private resources whereas the Plautus example implies living off the resources of others.

The audience immediately associates Gnatho's character with the misuse of rhetoric for deceitful purposes when he categorizes his profession as "a new way to catch game:"

---

[155] See OLD, s.v. *abligurrio*. The TLL 106, s.v. *abligurrio* which points out the more frequent use of the verb *ligurrio*.
[156] Papaioannou 2020: 283 lists other animal imagery in the passage, including comparing parasites to: mice, snails, and Molossian dogs.

> olim isti fuit generi quondam quaestus apud saeclum prius:
> hoc novomst aucupium; ego adeo hanc primus inveni viam.
>
> Once, in the previous generation, that was the job for that type [of parasite]:
> but this is a new way to catch game; in fact, I found (and/or invented) this path first."
>
> *Eunuchus* 246-7

The language Gnatho uses here emphasizes Gnatho's personal involvement in the founding of his philosophical parasite-school. While the statement that Gnatho's rhetorical parasitism is completely novel is not to be taken seriously (there is precedent in Greek and Roman comedy of such statements about the parasite being the first of his occupation) it signals to the reader that this character is bringing something novel to the world of the play.[157] Fontaine shows how the rhetoric of primacy is typical of later Latin and Alexandrian poetry; however, the fact that Terence and other authors pose as fundamentalists does not take away from the lines' significance in performance.[158] Fontaine elsewhere argues that the "primus (ego) motif" signals the opposite of actual primacy, instead suggesting the "adaptation or transplantation of an idea to new ground."[159] Papaioannou analyzes the rhetoric of primacy in Gnatho's monologue, and notes that it is not clear how Gnatho's primacy is intended to function, but classifies the claim as "patently false."[160] Her argument, informed by Fontaine, cites Plautine examples as clear predecessors for a parasite calling his way of life novel or imposing his own primacy. She claims that Gnatho's rhetorical primacy "dramatizes the way in which he read his predecessors, both Greek and Latin."[161]

---

[157] Pierini 1991: 242-6 discusses primacy and defensiveness in Terence's prologues.
[158] Fontaine 2014: 548 suggests that both Ennius and Terence "pose as poetic fundamentalists."
[159] 2014: 188.
[160] 2014: 103.
[161] 2014: 103-4.

I interpret the line at face value and in its dramatic context: Gnatho actually does reflect a type of parasite that is new to the Roman stage, one who delights in his rhetorical dominance and offers to teach others his sinister methods. Gnatho is not like the typical parasite who bears the brunt of jokes and is ready to accept abuse: instead, he flips the model around and transforms his host into the punchline. This in itself is not completely novel or confined to Terence: for example, the parasite Artotrogus in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* can be seen similarly mocking the soldier during audience asides. Pernerstorfer argues that the initial situation in the *Miles Gloriosus* is similar to the plot of Menander's *Kolax* even though its model was *Alazon*.[162] Earlier scholars have even suggested that Plautus and Terence might be adapting the same fragment, though this is impossible to substantiate.[163] However, Artotrogus seems to act out of necessity and hunger whereas Gnatho's speech implies that he acts out of personal advantage and even takes pleasure in this form of rhetorical domination.

III.2 - Gnatho the Philosopher

In the following passage Gnatho clarifies what his profession is, i.e. what his brand of parasitism means:

> [GN.] hisce ego non paro me ut rideant,
> sed eis ultro arrideo et eorum ingenia admirer simul.
> quidquid dicunt laudo; id rursum si negant, laudo id quoque;
> negat quis, nego; ait, aio. postremo imperaui egomet mihi
> omnia assentari. is quaestus nunc est multo uberrimus.
> [PA.] scitum hercle hominem! hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit.
>
> [GN.] I don't offer my services to them so they can laugh, but rather I laugh at them and at the same time I admire their talents. I commend whatever they say; whereas if they deny [what they just said], I commend that as well; someone denies, I deny; [if he asks whether] he affirms, I affirm. In short, I've given myself strict orders flatter everything. Now this job is the most lucrative by far.

[162] 2009: 93.
[163] Becker 1837: 82-3.

> [PA.] My god, what a [rhetorically] knowledgeable man! He makes men absolutely insane from being [mere] fools.
> *Eunuchus* 249-250

First, Gnatho explains the art of the flatterer: he always praises his host (i.e. he is a flatterer) and he always aligns his opinions and actions with those of his host (i.e. he is a yes-man, an *assentator*). After explaining the basic features of his parasitic art, Gnatho clarifies that this activity is his profession. He further explains that this profession is extremely profitable: the superlative adjective *uberrimus* combined with *multo* emphasizes its lucrativeness twofold. Gnatho is a corrupting force and considers himself a teacher, ushering in a new generation of professional parasites. This is made evident at the end of his entrance monologue:

> ille ubi miser famelicus videt mi esse tantum honorem et
> tam facile victum quaerere, ibi homo coepit me obsecrare
> ut sibi liceret discere id de me: sectari iussi,
> si potis est, tamquam philosophorum habent disciplinae ex ipsis
> vocabula, parasiti ita ut Gnathonici vocentur.
>
> When this wretched, starving man saw that I had such great respect, and that
> I found sustenance so easily, the man immediately started to beg me to allow him
> to learn this from me; I told [him] to become a follower,
> if he could; just as students of philosophers get their names from the philosophers
> themselves, thus let parasites be called Gnathonics.
> *Eunuchus* 260-4

It is clear in this passage that Gnatho's rhetorical demonstration for the man on the street was successful. The parasite tells us that the man begged Gnatho to teach him and that Gnatho obliged. While the verb *disco* does not always imply teaching in the technical sense of schooling, we do see that use repeated in Terentian comedy. For example, a slave in *Phormio* discusses the play's *adulescens* and his youthful activities, which include "learning at school."[164] The terminology used by Gnatho (particularly *philosophorum disciplinae*) suggests the formal

[164] *Phormio* 88: *ludo discebat*. Grammar/Elementary school is also mentioned in Plautus' *Mercator* as the basis of a joke about spelling.

schools of philosophy.[165] Furthermore, the phrase "*sectari iussi*" may be a pun on the verb *seco*, and therefore might evoke joining Gnatho's philosophical "sect." Terence composes this speech (or, at the very least, transposes it from another play) in order to Romanize and simultaneously vilify Gnatho's character, through a filter of rhetoric and Greek philosophy.

Philosophia is not a common word in Plautus or Terence. It never appears in Terence's plays as the noun, but the substantive adjective *philosophus* is used twice: in *Andria* (where the *adulescens'* father describes his son's behavior before he got into the trouble around which the play's plot revolves) and here in *Eunuchus*.[166] Out of Plautus' twenty-one extant plays, the verb *philosophor* is used four times, and the substantive adjective *philosophus* is found once.[167] All of the Plautine examples are spoken by enslaved characters but that is not the case in Terence's plays. Terence's first use of the word occurs in his first play, *Andria*. It occurs in the context of describing an *adulescens*' education and habits, which his father approved of.

> quod plerique omnes faciunt adulescentuli,
> ut animum ad aliquod studium adiungant, aut equos
> alere aut canes ad venandum aut ad philosophos,
> horum ille nil egregie praeter cetera
> studebat et tamen omnia haec mediocriter.
> gaudebam.
>
> [my son did, at school] what all—or very many—young men do:
> apply themselves to some pursuit, either to maintaining horses
> or dogs for hunting, or to philosophers;
> in not one of these did he engage in particular beyond the rest,
> and yet in all of them in a moderate degree.
> I was pleased.
>
> *Andria* 55-61

[165] This falls in line with Barsby 1999: 134 who notes, for example, the "*Platonici*, *Socratici*, etc." The reference to formal schools of philosophy is reminiscent of the generalized, parasitical references to contemporary philosophers and philosophies in Greek comedy as well as Plautine. Cf. Tylawsky 2002.

[166] *Andria* 55-60.

[167] *Captivi* 284 ([Tynd.] *Salva res est*, *philosophatur quoque iam, non mendax modo est*); *Mercator* 147 ([Acan.] *Nescio ego istaec: philosophari numquam didici neque scio.| ego bonum, malum quo accedit, mihi dari haud desidero*.); *Pseudolus* 687 ([Ps.] *sed iam satis est philosophatum*); *Pseudolus* 974 ([PS.] *Salvos sum, iam philosophatur*.); *Rudens* 986 ([Tr.] *Immo hercle haud est, siquidem quod vas excepisti*. [Gr.] *Philosophe*).

Here, the philosopher is put on equal terms with horses and hunting dogs. This passage does not necessarily suggest a distaste of studying philosophy, even if the grammatical juxtaposition of animals and philosophers might not be particularly flattering to the philosopher. However, the passage does stress the virtue of moderation: Simo was pleased that his son studied these things, but his pleasure rests upon the fact that they were studied with moderation. The sense here, as often, is that moderation in all things ought to be preferable. Had Simo's son taken his philosophical lessons to heart, transforming them into his own philosophy and living his life in the terms it defined for him (as opposed to the terms defined by traditional *mores*), Simo would not likely have been pleased.

While Terence's first use of *philosophus* is cast in terms of moderation, the second occurrence of the word has quite adverse connotations. In the *Eunuchus*, Gnatho tells the audience that he has already enrolled his first student and suggests that the number will grow.[168] His monologue in the play can be read as a recap of a rhetorical demonstration piece he gave on his way to the stage, showcasing his craft (rhetorical domination) as well as its advantageousness. The manipulation associated with Gnatho's rhetoric vilifies the parasite. Nesselrath shows that flatterers (*kolakes*) in Greek New Comedy are disapproved of or considered dangerous by other dramatic characters in comedies by Diphilus and Menander.[169] In Terence, however, the parasite's own words and actions display the harm his character can cause. In Gnatho's speech, he comes off as an almost Machiavellian character but for the parasite the issue is more than the means justifying the ends; he takes *pleasure* in dominating others. This

[168] *Eunuchus* 262.
[169] Nesselrath 1985: 108 suggests that the term *parasitos* would not be applied to the dangerous type but instead represent a relatively harmless character.

idea falls in line with Richard Weaver's notion about the base rhetorician, which is summarized as follows:

> The base rhetorician, as we may say, is a man who has yielded to the wrong aspects of existence. He has allowed himself to succumb to the sights and shows, to the physical pleasures which conspire against noble life. He knows that the only way he can get a following is his pursuits (and a following seems necessary to maximum enjoyment of the pursuits) is to work against the true understanding of his followers.[170]

The fact that Gnatho squandered his inheritance in luxury connects him to the idea of physical pleasures. Gnatho's rhetorical manipulation is exemplified by the way he drives the plot of the play, particularly by his final act of rhetorical persuasion where he convinces both the *miles* Thraso and the *adulescens* Phaedria to take an unattractive deal and thereby ties up the loose ends in the plot and secures a dinner invitation for himself.

Gnatho's entrance speech stresses the importance of deceitful rhetoric and manipulation. In many ways, this parasite harks back to the quasi-philosopher parasites found in Greek Old Comedy as he peppers his speech with philosophical allusions. However, there is something more threatening in the characterization of Gnatho. He has already begun initiating willing students into his 'school' when he recounts his walk from the Macellum to where he stands, soliloquizing on stage. How is the audience meant to take Gnatho's recounting? Is the parasite talking to himself, merely reflecting on his day? It is much more likely that the parasite is addressing the audience while recounting his story and in doing so provides his audience with a demonstration of his rhetorical prowess in real-time. Gnatho's threat to corrupt others in the world of the play by teaching them the Parasitic is itself presented as a troubling concept. The fact that the actor playing Gnatho is professing his philosophy publicly to the play's audience (and for free) is perhaps meant to be even more troubling.

---

[170] Weaver 1953: 66.

III.3 - Naming Practices in Terence

In the *Eunuchus* Terence explicitly refers to Gnatho's stock character, the *parasitus*: in addition to the prologue speaker, a staged character also labels Gnatho as a parasite.[171] By calling him a parasite, Terence not only uses a word from everyday life, but evokes the stock role that is often represented in comedies. Any reference to dramatic convention or stock role is metatheatrical in nature. Terence develops Gnatho's character in significant ways: the parasite's cunning is constantly on display, starting with his name. Terence changes the names of many of his characters when he appropriates them from his Greek sources.[172] Terence likely changed the name the parasite had in Menander's *Kolax*, from Στρουθίας, meaning "sparrow," to Gnatho.[173] It cannot be determined from the surviving text whether there were two parasites, one Strouthias and one Gnathon, or if (and more likely) Gnathon was a nickname of Strouthias.[174] Sparrows (*struthoi*) were associated with lustiness and gluttony in antiquity.[175] Dunbar explains the gluttonous aspect associated with *struthos* in Aristophanes' *Birds*: "The House (US 'English') Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*) in agricultural districts lives mainly (75%) on corn."[176] This kind of bird eats (in US English) wheat; in Greek the term for wheat is *sitos*, which is the root of *parasitos*. This suggests that this type of bird mainly subsides on food produced by human agriculture and thus, like a parasite, dines on food provided by another, as opposed to a more

---

[171] *Eunuchus* 229.
[172] Austin 1922: 51 provides an early discussion of Terence's naming of this character. Fontaine 2014 suggests that Terence's naming practices create intertextuality throughout his corpus. Brown 1987 discusses names and masks used as a general indication of a New Comedy stock character and argues, "the [Greek or Roman] audience has certain expectations that a character with a particular name will be of a certain age, sex and status" (192)
[173] Sparrows (*struthoi*) were associated with lustiness and gluttony in antiquity. For example, *struthos* represents sex in Sappho 1.10 and an appetite for food and sex in Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus* 3.7.
[174] Sandbach 1990: 166.
[175] For example, *struthos* represents sex in Sappho 1.10 and an appetite for food and sex in Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus* 3.7. Henderson 2002: 165. explains that "sparrows were especially associated with Aphrodite (e.g. Sappho I.9-10), and *struthos* was a slang term for phallos, CA 592, Paulus-Festus 411."
[176] 1998: 265.

active means of acquiring sustenance such as hunting or scavenging. Henderson notes on the use of *struthos* in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*: "Small birds would be numerous on or under roofs.[177] This image of many birds lodging under someone's roof and dining off their produce is a logical kind of metaphor for the types of parasite groups seen in *Kolakes*.

Vincent links Gnatho's name with the Greek root *γνώ- as seen in the verb γιγνώσκω (to know), which suggests the character's awareness.[178] She posits two interpretations for the etymology of his name: one, as many other scholars have noted, is "the Jaw" from the Greek word γνάθος, meaning "jaw," and the other is that the name stems from Greek verbs of knowing, γιγνώσκω.[179] The reading of '*gnatho*' as a reference to his awareness acquires stronger resonance than the more common association with the Greek γνάθος, or "jaw."

It is tempting to call Gnatho "the Jaw" because that stock character typically exhibits a kind of obsession with, or addition to, food. However, Terence does not portray Gnatho as a gluttonous parasite, but rather one who uses his education to procure a seat at another's dinner table. Like Terence's tendency for double plots and dual settings (ostensibly Greece, but transferred to Rome), perhaps Gnatho's name is meant to have a similar doubling effect: he is ostensibly 'the Jaw' but his awareness of this characteristic is what makes his rhetoric not only a philosophy, but a pernicious profession. Gnatho's awareness works on multiple levels: Gnatho is both metatheatrically aware of his position as a 'parasite' with a philosophy of rhetoric and he is aware of the contemporary scene at Rome. Even if Gnatho's name cannot be reasonably linked to a verb of knowing, the nickname "the Jaw" might still refer to an oral fixation other than food: the production of speech, even rhetoric.

---

[177] 2002: 164-5.
[178] 2013: 78.
[179] 2013: 78.

IV - Phormio: the parasite and legal rhetoric (or, the Roman sycophant)

Terence's *Phormio* was produced in 161 BCE for the *ludi Romani* in September and features a parasite, Phormio, who (like Gnatho) soliloquizes about the parasite's philosophy of persuasive rhetoric.[180] However, this parasite is not featured as a quasi-philosopher, but rather a professional orator with legal expertise. Although in some respects both Gnatho and Phormio typify the stereotypical stock parasite, Phormio is the type of parasite who gets his dinner by practical scheming and manipulation, a sort of *quid pro quo*, whereas Gnatho does so specifically by an insincere technique of ironic flattery where he immediately contradicts his flattering statements in asides.[181] Terence crafts Phormio in the vein of the sycophant-parasite, well known in Greek comedy, but the character's tight control over the situation (i.e. the plot of the play) pushes the parasite beyond the conventions of his stock type and highlights his profession as a corrupting social force. Terence's parasites conform to the stereotype to the extent that free meals are their reward for their services but neither fits the generic characteristics of the stock parasite, with his fixation on food. Starks distinguishes Phormio and Gnatho from Plautus' parasites Curculio and Peniculus, who dwell on "the stereotypical fixation" of food.[182] Wilkins observes that the parasite usually reflects on the disadvantage or undesirability of his way of life.[183] This stands at odds with the information presented in the speeches of Gnatho and Phormio. Furthermore, while these plays indicate that the parasites will be fed for their services, we never see these parasites attending those dinner parties. This is not to say that they aren't successful

[180] *Phormio* 326-345.
[181] Barsby 1999: 126.
[182] 2013: 140.
[183] 2000: 74.

parasites; both are granted their hospitality in the end; it is just not staged. All parasites sing for their supper but Terence emphasizes their singing, not their supper.

IV.1 - Phormio's Entrance Monologue

Like Gnatho in the *Eunuchus*, Phormio describes his superior parasitic technique when he first appears on stage.[184] He links the parasite's philosophy with patronage and explains that it is better to be the client because the patron pays for the gluttony enjoyed by his client.[185] The term *rex* (*Phormio* 338) would typically imply the relationship between patron and client but, as Martin points out, the relationship isn't perfect in the play's context "because Antipho is not the *rex* of Phormio."[186] In fact, as Starks has shown, Terence references the Roman system of *amicitia* throughout his comedies.[187] Starks suggests that Phormio embodies "the complex food chain of patron/client obligations" but points out that this parasite also assumes a role of "*patronus*" during his trick to marry the penniless young woman.[188] It is clear that this parasite does reflect the Plautine paradigm of client-parasites but this is not his only defining feature. In his entrance monologue, Phormio tells us that he has personal experience winning court trials.

> [PH.] factum est periclum: iam pedum visa est via.
> quot me censes homines iam deverberasse usque ad necem,
> hospites, tun cives? quo magis novi, tanto saepius.
> cedodum, en unquam iniuriarum audisti mihi scriptam dicam?
>
> I've been put to the test; I've already seen which way my feet should go. How many men do you suppose I've flogged quite to death before now? [both foreigners and citizens? The better I know them, the more often I do it!] Tell me now, have you ever heard of a lawsuit being brought against me for assault?
>
> *Phormio* 326-9[189]

[184] *Phormio* 326-345 (quoted in part just below).
[185] Martin 1959: 116.
[186] 1959: 117.
[187] 2013: 143-145.
[188] 2013: 144.
[189] English translation from Brown 2006.

Phormio's speech characterizes him as a parasite with legal expertise. He does not state that he was persuasive in court but the idea that he is responsible for inflicting death on his opponents metaphorically suggests that he was very good at winning legal cases. Adding to this threatening language, Phormio specifies that he has been responsible for the (metaphorical) legal "executions" of both foreigners and citizens alike. Martin suggests that that this passage is shaded by legal rhetoric: he notes that "*periclum* here is used in its original sense of 'trial" and furthermore suggests that *iniuriarum* should be translated as "an action for damages."[190] However, the term *iniuria* does not necessarily suggest a payout for wrongdoings, as is implied in US English by the term "damages."[191] Rather, as Berger explains, penalties for *iniuria* "varied in the course of time from pecuniary reparation (fixed fines in the Twelve Tables)—the amount of which was set by the judge, who had great discretion in estimating the damage done to the reputation and the social rank and respectability of the individual injured—to more severe penalties, such as flogging, scourging, exile, according to the gravity of the injury and the social status of the culprit."[192] This legal scenario reflects Roman legal practices rather than Greek.[193] Phormio then mentions what might happen when a trial is lost:

> [PH.] dices 'ducent damnatum domum'
>
> you'll say 'they'll send me home after I'm convicted'
>
> *Phormio* 334

Although debt-enslavement had been abolished in Rome by the time Terence was producing his comedies, Martin suggests that this line evokes a Roman legal scenario: "in Rome a judgement-

---

[190] 1959: 116.
[191] Berger 1999: 502 defines *iniuria* as "all that has been done *non iure*, i.e. against the law." An *actio iniuriarum* refers to a particular action brought about by praetorian law; Berger states that "*iniuria* was a private crime (*delictum*), prosecuted only at the request of the offended person."
[192] 1999: 502.
[193] It should be noted that the legal scenario which drives the plot (the law which would force a girl to marry her nearest relative) is Greek and not Roman in origin. Cf. Scafuro 1997, Gaertner 2014.

debtor (*addictus*) might be kept in his custody by his creditor till the debt was paid, but he did not lose his public or private rights, i.e. did not legally become a *servus*.[194]

Roman law references serve as particularly useful fodder for humor.[195] Gaertner's analysis shows that, compared to Plautus, Terence's legal language uses less of the specific Latin legal terminology and prefers to use Greek terms.[196] This is an interesting observation which might seem to indicate that Terence was less interested in Romanizing the legal scenarios from his Greek sources, but that need not be the case. As Barsby points out in the case of the *addictus*, even some passages that seem to be clearly related to Greek legal language, the contexts might be specifically Roman.[197] Martin suggests that other terms have legal meanings, such as: a 'crippling lawsuit' (*dicam inpingam*)[198] and a possible reference to the Roman legal usage of '*ampliato*' after the jury returned a verdict of '*non licet*'.[199]

Roman legal language and scenarios are not the only Romanizing features of the play: the slave Geta recounts the action that took place with Phormio and he locates that action in the market.[200] While specifying the forum as a dramatic location can be seen as a way to translate references in Terence's Greek source play to the Athenian Agora, it also transfers contexts to Rome. This is particularly true when considering the context for ancient performance. Goldberg emphasizes the lack of physical theater space in Rome when Terence produced his comedies and shows how the Forum Romanum would have been the site for some theatrical performances.[201]

---

[194] 1959: 116.
[195] Gaertner 2014: 630.
[196] Gaertner 2014: 626.
[197] 1999.
[198] *Phormio* 439; translation suggested by Martin 1959: 126.
[199] *Phormio* 457; Martin 2002: 127 suggests that '*amplius'* might reference *amplicatio*, which he defines as "a renewal of the case." Cf. Berger 1991.
[200] *Phormio* 598. Cf. other allusions to the forum at *Phormio* 312, 859, and 921.
[201] 2018: 151.

Martin, like Barsby, claims that the parasite's entrance monologue in the *Phormio* "has no direct bearing on the plot."[202] In terms of plot this is probably accurate. However, it can help explain a feature of Terentian poetics that has eluded scholars: Terence's use of multiple Greek plays to compose a single play with 'double' plots. Just like Gnatho in the *Eunuchus*, a character not present in Menander's *Eunuchus* but adopted (and probably adapted) from his *Kolax*, Phormio's parasite speech is a point of the text that has been inserted from elsewhere or possibly originally composed by Terence. We know this because in his commentary on the play, Donatus specifically notes on the passage that Phormio's speech was not from the play by Apollodorus.[203] This insertion highlights the prominent themes of rhetoric and manipulation in the play. It also serves as a clear example of a passage brought in from a secondary Greek source, something which Caston attributes to the poet's habit of reinvention.[204]

In some ways Phormio does conform to features of the stock parasite: while food is not a single fixation, he does reference food and gluttony. When Phormio first appears on stage he is told by the slave, Geta, that the play's *adulescens* requires Phormio's legal expertise and help. The parasite then addresses himself in the vocative case:

> …ad te summa solum, Phormio, rerum redit:
> tute hoc intristi, tibi omnest exedendum: accingere.
>
> …It's all up to you, Phormio, just you:
> you crumbled this up, now you've got to gobble it up: suit up.
> *Phormio* 317-8

The verb *exedo* fits in perfectly with the stock *parasitus* who gobbles up food. This image is reinforced a few lines later when Phormio describes himself as gluttonous:[205]

---

[202] 1959: 13.
[203] Martin 1959: 117. Donatus does not specify a Greek source for this speech (perhaps because he did not know or perhaps because it is a Terentian addition).
[204] 2014.
[205] *Phormio* 335.

alere nolunt hominem edacem et sapient mea sententia.

They don't want to feed a voracious man and, in my opinion, they are wise.
Phormio 335

The term *edax* is a typical adjective for a parasite: it emphasizes his voracious appetite. The verb *sapio* is a clever way to reinforce the image of eating, since its primary meaning is "to taste." The phrase might alternatively be translated as "and, in my opinion, they have good taste."

IV.2 - Phormio's Legal Manipulation of Others

Phormio's rhetoric is as manipulative as Gnatho's—perhaps even more. He emphasizes his deception in the following passage:

ego minas triginta per fallaciam ab illoc abstuli:
eas dedi tuo gnato: is pro sua amica lenoni dedit.

I took thirty minas from that guy through trickery:
I gave the money to your son: he gave it to the pimp in exchange for his girlfriend.
Phormio 1038-9

Manipulation and corruption follow Phormio's character, like Gnatho before him. Perhaps there is even a pun on Gnatho's name in the term "*gnato*" as if it were a nominative as well as a dative. Here Phormio gloats about his successful scheme and highlights the nefarious means by which it was achieved. Both of Terence's parasites are considered to be gifted speakers by the characters around them.[206] Phormio's manipulation affects most of the characters in the play. In the play, an *adulescens* reveals to another that he feels as though he has been manipulated by Phormio and expresses regret at having agreed to his scheme in the first place (even though it went according to plan!).[207]

[206] *Phormio* 629: *ea eloquentiast* and *Eunuchus* 254: *scitum hercle hominem!*
[207] *Phormio* 157-160.

Phormio is never positioned as a formal teacher of rhetoric, or the Parasitic, but his name evokes the Peripatetic philosopher named Phormion (Φορμίων) who spoke ineffectually about military matters in front of the famous Carthaginian general, Hannibal Barca.[208] Curnow suggests that Phormion's name "became synonymous with people who try to teach things they know nothing about."[209] However, it is not clear that the name of this parasite would necessarily evoke this individual, since the Lexicon or Greek Personal Names lists many historical individuals with this name, as early as the archaic period and through the imperial period.

Thomas Webster suggests that the parasites of Middle Comedy (like those found in Antiphanes) "seem…to anticipate Gnathon in Menander's *Kolax* and Phormio in Apollodorus' play."[210] This interpretation, however, is founded on the assumption that Terentian comedy can inform—even restore—lost Greek originals. It is not clear that Terence's parasites, Gnatho and Phormio, are representative of Menander's Gnathon and Apollororos' Phormio in all (or any) significant aspects. Terence transforms the parasite from a casual (and often ridiculous) purveyor of beggars' rhetoric to a professional rhetorician: therefore, the parasite in Terence should be understood as a character inspired by the Greek tradition rather than necessarily transferred directly from it. Goldberg distinguishes between inspiration and borrowing.[211]

Concluding Thoughts

Terentian comedy ultimately differs from the Greek presentation of the quasi-philosopher parasite whose game is rhetoric: Terence picks up the idea but stresses the manipulation and corruption associated with rhetoric. Rhetoric and philosophy were topics up for debate in Old

[208] Curnow 2006: 220. Cicero mentions this Phormion in *de Oratore* 1.2.
[209] Curnow 2006: 220.
[210] 1970: 65.
[211] 2019: 23-5.

Comedy, such as Aristophanes' *Clouds* (which features Socrates as a character similar to the philosopher-parasite) and *Banqueters* (which features the parasite's philosophy insofar as rhetoric is a way of life—it's how the student of rhetoric purchases their ticket to a dinner-party). In Eupolis' *Kolakes*, the flatterers are in the process of becoming established as a comic type and for the first time they programmatically state their parasite's philosophy. The fragments of Antiphanes show that by the plays of Middle Comedy the character type was solidified. Antiphanes presents the philosopher as a parasite as well as the parasite as quasi-philosopher. These examples show that there exists, from the time of the character's conception in comedy, a strong link between parasites and purveyors of rhetoric and philosophy. However, Terence's parasites are not presented as ridiculous purveyors of flattering rhetoric: instead, they are dangerous and highly effective professional rhetoricians.

My interest in Roman identities in this chapter relates the parasite to the identities and identification of ancient educators, broadly defined. Subsequent chapters will probe comic texts for information about the identities of other stock character types in Terence alongside the types of identities they might relate or respond to, including: the adulescens as a force of reckless violence (Chapter 2), the *ancilla* as a tangible commodity with a liminal identity (Chapter 3), the the *miles* as an undermined but distinctly Terentian soldier who is not necessarily a mercenary (Chapter 4), as well as the manumitted *servus* as a continued member of the family's social network (Chapter 5). These character types often stand in opposition to the typical stock character in meaningful ways and the breaking of dramatic convention solidifies an often-unexpected identity that is supported and implied by metaphor and allusion.

CHAPTER 2 – SHAMELESS VIOLENCE: TERENCE'S DEVELOPMENT OF THE *ADULESCENS*

The *adulescens* ("young man") is the protagonist of many New Comedy plots. The *adulescens* in Roman Comedy is always a citizen and the creation or solidification of his own family unit is a typical resolution for his amorous plotline. A family unit is established through standard plot devices: marriage as well as rape, which leads to marriage in New Comedy. Alternatively, an already established family unit may be solidified during the plot by the recognition of a child's paternity. The stock character is usually referred to as the *adulescens amans* ("young man in love") but I argue that Terence stages two distinct types of young lover in his plays: a generic, even pitiful, *adulescens amans* type and an excessively violent type. I refer to this second sort as the *adulescens amator* due to the negative connotations of the term "*amator*," which is associated with the inappropriate passions and actions of some fathers in New Comedy, i.e. the *senex amator* character type.

While not all comedies feature sexual violence, most do feature marriage or the amorous relationship which will lead to marriage in the future. As Sharrock explains, "the plots of comedy have an overwhelming generic drive towards marriage, or quasi-marriage."[212] Brecke argues that "the main plot line of New Comedy is in the end perfectly in line with traditional Roman values and norms…[including] marrying and having children."[213] Duckworth claims that "the restraints imposed upon young women of marriageable age in Hellenistic and Roman life are reflected in the love affairs of comedy."[214] Ultimately, Duckworth argues that these comedies offer a negative portrayal of married life.[215] Of course there are other features to a generic New Comedy plot

[212] 2009: 236.
[213] 2021: 84.
[214] 1952: 280.
[215] 1952: 282.

beyond the end-goal of marriage. For example, Fantham stresses that these amorous plots often center on the need for money and the ruse characters will attempt in order to acquire it.[216]

This chapter exposes Terence's meaningful development of the *adulescens* character type(s) by analyzing and comparing the behaviors and plot lines of Terence's young lovers throughout his corpus to those in Greek Comedy.[217] Terence's plots resolve with a marriage between citizens, an atypical amorous relationship, or both (i.e. when the play features a double plot). Some of Terence's plays feature an *adulescens* who is married (or will be married) to a fellow citizen in a manner typical of the genre: premarital rape, often followed by the recognition of the victim's citizenship, and a resolution to the plot that features a marriage arrangement. However, the violence and lack of remorse these young men exhibit is not characteristic of the genre as a whole. Furthermore, Terence's double plots expose a foil to the aggressive *adulescens amator* who will be married in Plot A: the nonaggressive *adulescens amans* in Plot B who will not be married but will instead continue his relationship with an unmarriageable *meretrix*.

I - Violence Against Women in Comedy before Terence

Old Comedies reference violence against women even though their plots do not usually revolve around young men. Robson argues that fantasies and threats of rape in the comedies of Aristophanes highlight martial aggression whereas a lack of female sexual inhibition is used as a metaphor for peace.[218] He shows how the articulation of threats of sexual violence in Aristophanes is bound by the following guidelines: "the victims are typically of lowly status, typically voiceless and, crucially, the fantasy is always projected, never accomplished. In

[216] 2019: 241.
[217] This chapter draws, in part, on my 2016 M.A. thesis, "Mixing the Roman *Miles*: Character Development in Terence's *Eunuchus*."
[218] 2015: 315-331.

Aristophanic comedy, no man actually commits a rape; no woman is ever raped."[219] These restrictions are significant: constraints upon the victim's status are (relatively) maintained in New Comedy but, crucially, sexual violence is (or has been) committed and can become a central aspect to the plot of the play. The fact that the potential victims in Aristophanes do not undergo recognition and attain citizenship puts them at odds with those who become marriageable in New Comedy. Robson argues that "Aristophanic Comedy might be thought of as explicitly exploring the possibilities that citizen men's privileged social position opens up for them in the (hetero)sexual realm."[220] He clarifies this by arguing that "the kinds of women who feature in Aristophanic rape fantasies are those from whom citizen men in Athens could potentially demand sex in real life," and that "the imagined rapes…both reflect and reinforce the realities of power dynamics inherent in gender and social roles in the city."[221] It is an important distinction that the men who threaten violence in Greek Comedy are not portrayed as youths.

In contrast to Old Comedy, Robson claims that "rapes in [Greek] New Comedy lead to marriage and always result in the birth of a child, it seems."[222] Robson demonstrates how trauma for victims and potential victims is downplayed and pleasure for potential rapists is highlighted in Aristophanic comedy.[223] He suggests that "sexual assault in Aristophanes is typically (though not exclusively) presented in celebratory light and its expression by the poet tends to display particular energy and exuberance."[224] In Greek New Comedy acts of sexual violence are not typically celebrated but they do often focus on the young man instead of the young woman. Terence's attention to the physical attack and to the victim's trauma is one way his depiction of

[219] 2015: 315.
[220] 2015: 316.
[221] 2015: 316.
[222] Robson 2015: 315.
[223] 2015: 16.
[224] 2015: 325.

sexual violence is unique. For example, Omitowoju points out that Terence's *Hecyra* describes the victim's appearance whereas Menander's *Epitrepontes* describes the young man's appearance.[225] Along similar lines, Menander's *Perikeiromene* details the guilt and suffering of the male attacker but Terence's *Hecyra* and *Eunuchus* both offer sympathetic descriptions of the women after being assaulted.

I.1 - The *senex amator* in Aristophanes and Plautus

Aristophanes' *Wasps*, a play featuring the themes of generational divide and the associations between formal rhetorical training and symposia, provides a clear and early example of a comic character that shows up in Plautus: the *senex amator*. *Wasps*, at its core, it about addiction: a man (Pro-Cleon) swaps his addiction to the law courts for fun at the symposia. The man's son (Contra-Cleon) wants to satisfy, but exchange, his father's consuming appetites and conspires to provide his father with proper entertainment.[226] During the play's delayed parabasis Contra-Cleon advises Pro-Cleon to relax and prepare for a symposium, which he describes as involving dinner, wine, flute girls, and drinking songs with drinking companions.[227] The symposium that occurred next is then described with emphasis on Pro-Cleon's poor etiquette: Pro-Cleon was superlatively drunk and disorderly at the party (1300), the most outrageous (1303), ate too much food and pranced around (1306), insults the other party guests (1307-22) and then assaults people he sees on the street (1323). Goldhill, following Sommerstein, argues that the old man in this play assumes the stock comic role of a young man.[228] Pro-Cleon even abducts the flute girl from the symposium. Taaffe suggests that the flute girl "functions as a

[225] 2002: 188.
[226] *Wasps* 737-742.
[227] *Wasps* 1212-1223.
[228] 2015: 189; Sommerstein 1983: xviii.

clever source of rejuvenation for Philocleon."[229] For these reasons, this character can be considered a precursor to the character type in New Comedy known as the *senex amator*.

The scene follows them on the street where the audience is presented with one of the play's most memorable jokes: Pro-Cleon pretends that the flute girl he has abducted, named Dardanis, is actually just a large torch.[230] This scene maps the parts of a torch onto the body of a (likely naked) woman, a clear objectification of the female body.[231] Pro-Cleon's language is particularly vulgar and he threatens sexual violence against Dardanis by unrolling his comic phallus, a standard part of the actor's costume.[232] Goldhill notes that in this passage, "the old man's grotesque and sexualized body is flaunted just as the party girl's."[233] This is an interesting observation but it does not take into account the nuances in what a "sexualized body" implies. For example, this man's body is not sexualized in the same way that the flute girl's body is sexualized: the man unravels his costume phallus to expose and sexualize himself whereas the flute girl's body is nude and sexualized by comic convention.

The *senex amator*, now as a stock character, is featured in three Plautine comedies: *Casina*, *Asinaria*, and *Mercator*. In *Caina* there is a potential rape/seduction scene planned by the *senex* but it is not realized and the *adulescens* eventually marries the girl after her citizenship is recognized and restored. Moore shows how the *senex* in *Casina* controls the plot at the beginning of the play by the continued use of a *canticum* meter started by the old man but loses control during the next *canticum* when his plan is foiled.[234] In *Mercator* both *adulescens* and *senex* desire the same enslaved girl, Pasicompsa, who is not staged and never undergoes an act of

---

[229] 1993: 37.
[230] *Wasps* 1372.
[231] For example, Pro-Cleon claims that she is a torch that burns, punning off of the idea that she has been tattooed or branded as a mark of her servitude (ἐστιγμένην).
[232] *Wasps* 1342.
[233] 2015: 189.
[234] 2019: 109-110.

recognition nor gains citizen status.[235] Marshall argues that, particularly during the auction scene between *senex* and *adulescens*, "the audience is therefore invited to focus on the clash of male egos rather than the sufferings of the sex slave Pasicompsa."[236] In *Asinaria* the *senex* conspires with the *adulescens* to trick his wife to gain the money needed to purchase a *meretrix* for his son. In this play the *senex* takes on aspects of the *adulescens* or the *senex amator* when he demands to have sex with the girl before giving her over to his son. This girl, like in *Mercator*, does not become a citizen nor marriageable. Papaioannou discusses how the *senex* in *Epidicus* tries to marry a woman he raped in the past.[237]

I.2 - Sexual Violence in New Comedy: Menander's Remorseful Husband

Remorseful perpetrators of sexual violence in Menander act as a foil to the rapists in Terence who do not appear repentant in any way. In *Perikeiromene* Misconception, the prologue speaker, tells the audience that soldier Polemon cut Glykera's hair during a mad rage that she (Misconception) instigated before the time of the play. During the play, Polemon is depicted as highly emotional and shows earnest remorse for his violence towards Glykera. The play opens with the soldier crying inside his house.[238] Misconception makes it clear that the soldier's outburst of domestic violence is out of character and also fueled by drunkenness and mistakenly believing that Glykera was in the arms of a lover when she was, in fact, being comforted by her brother Moschion.

In *Epitrepontes*, Charisios rapes and abandons his wife Pamphile and has a liaison with Habrotonon. Pamphile is not a sex worker or a slave, but a free citizen. In the play, Charisios

[235] Interestingly, Pasicompsa does have a speaking role even though she has no control over her own outcome.
[236] 2019: 91.
[237] 2014: 140.
[238] *Perikeiromene* 172.

portrays remorse for his actions and gives the impression that he genuinely wants to be a father. His actions are, like Polemon's, explained as a result of drunkenness at the Tauropolia.[239] Habrotonon offers a pathetic description of the rape victim, highlighting the fact that she was seen crying, with her hair ripped out, and her beautiful clothes violently ripped to shreds. When Habrotonon describes the attack a second time, practicing the way she will tell it to Charisios (while pretending to be the victim), she emphasizes his strength and ruthlessness.[240] Omitowoju argues that the rape in *Epitrepontes*, "although it is not made explicit, we are presumably to imagine that Chairisios' action is motivated by self-evident forces – a sudden sexual impulse inspired by the sight of the girl on her own and catalyzed by the alcohol coursing through his veins."[241] Witzke, following Lape, suggests that in Menandrian comedy (*Epitrepontes*, *Georgos*, *Heros*, *Kitharistes*, and *Samia*), "the rape symbolized a rift in the functioning citizen community or a means by which resources might be redistributed from wealthy families to poor ones."[242]

Charisios seems genuinely upset and remorseful about his behavior. For example, he refers to his wife as "Sweetheart" (γλυκυτάτη) and violently hits his own head.[243] He admits to fathering an illegitimate child during a drunken rage, and admits that his actions are shameful, calling himself a merciless savage (βάρβαρος ἀνηλεής) because of the attack.[244] His guilt has physical manifestations, such as his bloodshot eyes and readiness to inflict physical harm upon himself.[245] The fact that the men in Menandrian comedies who sexually attack women admit wrongdoing and suffer emotionally suggest that the behavior is not socially acceptable, even within the dramatic world of the play.

---

[239] *Epitrepontes* 450ff.
[240] *Epitrepontes* 526-550.
[241] 2002: 176.
[242] Witzke 2020: 278; Lape 2004: 24-30.
[243] *Epitrepontes* 888-9.
[244] *Epitrepontes* 896-9.
[245] *Epitrepontes* 899-901.

II - The *adulescens* and Plot in Terence and in Previous Scholarship

II.1 - Terence's *adulescens* and Double Plots

The *adulescens* is the stock character most directly involved in Terentian double plots: plots are "doubled" by focusing on the amorous relationships of two young men, instead of one. Duckworth shows how Terence embraces and executes the "duality method" more frequently than Plautus, and with greater success.[246] Duckworth disagrees with Norwood's assessment that Terence introduces secondary plots in order to make his double plots, but instead suggests that the feature was Menandrian.[247] However, the only evidence offered is the lack of Greek source material to prove singular plots and the fact that Plautus' *Bacchides* is based upon a Menandrian original.[248] Plautus' *Cistellaria* is based on Menander's fragmentary *Synaristosai* and both feature sexual violence.[249] Both plays appear to have a singular plot, however, in both plays the sexual violence occurred as part of a back story. Perhaps the transformation of backstories into subplots is a part of the process of composing the Terentian double plot. Again, due to the lack of evidence, the extent of Terence's role in the construction of his double plots is unclear. However, since extant examples of a double plot cannot be detected in the remains of Greek comedy the suggestion that they are a uniquely Terentian feature is more attractive, even if the level of Terence's distinctiveness in this sense is ultimately unprovable. Wiles' argument is more attractive; he claims that "Terence substitutes double plots for the single plots of Menander, and we are therefore confronted with two contrasted narratives: [one *adulescens* will be married and another will continue his dalliance with a *meretrix*]."[250] This interpretation falls in line with my

---

[246] 1952: 184-9.
[247] 1952; Norwood 1923: 127.
[248] 1952: 189.
[249] Arnott 2000: 327.
[250] 1991: 31. Wiles 1991: 33 also argues that "Plautus' technique consists precisely in disrupting the Greek narrative formula, and in creating a sense of dislocation between the narrative and the performance."

own, though it does fall victim to the same issue discussed above: an assumption about Greek source material that does not survive today. However, by specifying Menander it can at least be said that none of his extant plays or fragments seems to feature a double plot.[251] As assumption based on light evidence may not be definitive, but it is much more productive than an assumption based on a complete lack of evidence. Moore does not take a firm stance on the matter: "In most of his plays Terence either expanded the role of one of the two character sets, or he added a second set of characters to the play. He thus encouraged his audience to compare the actions of different characters in similar situations."[252] This argument is particularly sensible and reasonably restrained while still acknowledging the possibility (even likelihood) of aspects of Terentian originality in the construction of his double plots.

While Terence does use many Menandrian models, he also wrote two plays based on models by Apollodorus: *Hecyra* and *Phormio*. *Hecyra* does not feature a double plot but *Phormio* does. However, this does not necessarily imply that the Greek model featured a double plot since little information is known about the comedies of Apollodorus. As Maltby points out, "most of our evidence for what his work was like comes from these two plays by Terence… [and] our sparse evidence on how his original was treated in Terence's adaptation comes mainly from the fourth-century commentator, Donatus."[253] It is problematic to attempt to recreate lost Greek originals based solely on Terentian comedies. Nevertheless, Maltby suggests that Terence probably did not make substantial changes to the Greek original's plot but acknowledges that "Terence probably increased the role of Antipho in comparison with the Greek original," based

[251] Plautine comedies with Menandrian sources (such as *Aulularia*, *Bacchides*, *Cistellaria*, *Stichus,* and *Pseudolus*) do not feature double plots, though *Bacchides* and *Stichus* do feature dual amorous relationships. Fontaine 2014: 426-9 traces Menandrian echoes in *Pseudolus*.
[252] 2012: 71.
[253] 2012: 20.

on the character's appearance in ensemble scenes—that is, scenes with more than three speaking roles, which is not a feature of Greek comedy.[254] Anderson is the most recent book attempting to recreate lost source material based on surviving adaptations.[255]

II.2 - *duplex facta est*: Terence's Use of Doubling

In the prologue to Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos* the poet seems to call attention to his penchant for creating double plots.

> duplex quae ex argumento facta est simplici.
>
> [this play] which has been made double from a simple plot.
>
> *Heauton Timorumenos* 6

There is much debate about the precise meaning of this line but scholars generally fall into one of two camps: the line either refers to Terence creating a double plot from a singular one, as I argue, or the line refers to the idea that Terence's play is the second, with its Greek source material understood as the first.[256] Duckworth suggests a third interpretation: "Terence in verse 6 reinforces his statement in 4 that the play is free from contamination by saying that his comedy is double but nevertheless comes from one Greek play. This explanation requires interpreting *simplex argumentum* as "a single Greek play," but seems the most probable solution."[257] The issue with this interpretation, as elsewhere, is the suggestion that we must use Terence's play to reconstruct details about a play that does not survive. Radden points out that this line "shares with the prologue to *Andria* a reference to duality – making two of something from one, or indeed one from two."[258] Dunsch argues that the line refers to technical vocabulary pertaining to

[254] 2012: 22-3.
[255] 1993.
[256] Duckworth 1952: 189.
[257] 1952: 189.
[258] 2021: 89.

ancient literary criticism used by Donatus.[259] He assumes that Menandrian plays also featured double plots. Lefèvre argues that the plot of *Heauton Timorumenos* centers more on the *senex*, Chremes, than on any of the *adulescentes* in the play and for this reason suggests another interpretation for the line, claiming that "Terence means he changed the plot of the original to add a second intrigue against Chremes, for the benefit of Clitipho and Bacchis, to one against Menedemus, for the benefit of Clinia and Antiphilia."[260]

Lefèvre argues, against Lowe and others, that Terence made unique additions or alterations to the plot of *Heauton Timorumenos*, such as the elaborate tricks and the fact that a *senex*, as opposed to a young man and/or an enslaved character, is responsible for the scheming.[261] He claims that:

> "The intrigues in *Heauton Timorumenos* are certainly sophisticated: Terence is clearly a skillful artist. But those who detect a 'unity of design' and conclude that it 'surely' stems from Menander are mistaken. Terence can also construct plots and schemes, albeit in a Roman fashion."[262]

This is a significant claim in support of Terentian originality and Lefèvre is quite right in his position. Although it may never be completely clear to what extent Terence made additions and alterations to the Greek originals that are now lost, Lefèvre demonstrates the benefits of considering what we do have: Terence's plays and what little remains of Greek New Comedy. This train of thought encourages scholars to give the unique features of Terence's plays their due consideration and points out the pitfalls of describing Terentian features as Menandrian, as if by default.

---

[259] 1999: 119-31.
[260] 2013: 250.
[261] 2013: 251.
[262] 2013: 251. Lowe 1998: 170.

The double plot in Terence is enabled by having two young men instead of one. Duckworth suggests that "the use of such balanced pairs is even more characteristic of Terence, especially in the case of *adulescentes*—Pamphilus and Charinus (*Andria*), Clitipho and Clinia (*Heauton*), Phaedria and Chaerea (*Eunuchus*), Antipho and Phaedria (*Phormio*), Aeschinus and Ctesipho (*Adelphoe*)—and of *senes*—Chremes and Menedemus (*Heauton*), Demipho and Chremes (*Phormio*), Laches and Phidippus (*Hecyra*), Micio and Demea (*Adelphoe*)."[263] Goldberg suggests that *Heauton Timorumenos* is a good example of Terence's *duplex comoedia*.[264] Hence, when speaking of double plots in Terence, the *adulescentes amantes* are necessarily implicated, since they are the very essence of Terence's double plots. For this reason, Terence took a special interest in developing the stock character, indeed even a double interest that results in two individual variants: the generic *adulescens amans* and the violent *adulescens amator*.

II.3 - The Recognition of Citizenship

The recognition of a girl's citizenship is a prominent theme in New Comedy that is, by its very nature, related to the idea of double plots. Duckworth argues that "the themes of mistaken identity and intrigue are blended into a double plot portraying the fears and misapprehensions of two sets of characters."[265] Indeed recognition of citizenship creates a double identity for the girl herself: she is both noncitizen and citizen in the course of the play, with her citizenship enabling a marriage with the *adulescens*.

Duckworth explains that when Terence has a double plot: "[Terence] limits the recognition in each play to one of the heroines. The true identity of Glycerium (*Andria*),

[263] 1952: 184.
[264] 1989: 139.
[265] 1952: 157.

Antiphila (*Heauton*), Pamphila (*Eunuchus*), and Phanium (*Phormo*) is revealed, but the second love affair, if with a music girl or courtesan, usually results in an illicit union (*Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, *Adelphoe*)."[266] Another feature of Terentian double plots is that rape in Plot A leads to marriage whereas nonviolence and lovesickness in Plot B lead to an atypical comic resolution that does not end in marriage but a continued relationship with a *meretrix*. Sharrock suggests that the ending of *Heauton Timorumenos* "is a joke on us, the audience…It ends quite unexpectedly with a double marriage, and Chremes thus surprisingly gets the last laugh."[267] What is unexpected is not the marriage but the girl he will marry: in this play the *adulescens* agrees to abandon his illicit affair and marry a girl of his father's choosing. More typically in Terence we see a recognition scene which transforms a girl from unmarriageable to marriageable.

II.4 - The Terentian *adulescens* as Excessively Aggressive Remorseless

Mogens claims that dramatic convention accounts for the use of rape in Greek and Roman New Comedy and that they do not reflect the realities of sexual violence.[268] Omitowoju examines sexual violence in forensic rhetoric and Greek New Comedy and shows how "both oratory and the comedies of Menander reveal a significant investment in the stability of the *oikos*, and both develop the subject of sexual relations… in which female consent plays only the most marginalized part… as a central concern."[269] In these ways, then, perhaps the use of rape does reflection certain social realities. Many scholars, perhaps starting with Norwood's general comments, have noted that Terence's negative depiction of rape is striking and uncharacteristic of the genre.[270] For example, James stresses the trauma to victims and brutality of sexual

[266] 1952: 157-8.
[267] 2009: 287.
[268] 2002: 173.
[269] 2002: 5.
[270] 1923.

violence in Terence.[271] Witzke argues that both Plautus and Terence "used comedy to critique Roman society," and that "Plautus focuses on enslaved persons and non-citizen women, while Terence is critical of masculine citizen privilege and its consequences for the *familia*."[272]

James argues that the *adulescens* in Terence "shows his masculinity on a spectrum of development from spineless passive, to sexually impulsive but not fully integrated into adult ownership, to fully assured of his sexual rights to the bodies of others without regard for their feelings or experiences."[273] The phrasing here is misleading because "sexual rights" might imply a legal scenario into which the violent episodes describing rape fall; but that is not the case. James also argues that the violent young men in *Eunuchus* and *Hecyra* "show a fully developed sense of masculine sexual privilege for Roman citizen men: they commit violent rape and abuse against the young women they claim to love, but feel pangs of guilt toward neither beloved nor father."[274] The phrase "sexual privilege" (like "sexual rights") is similarly misleading because Terentian rapes never fall into a legally permissible context (such as an attack on an enslaved character within the attacker's *familia*). Furthermore, only in *Andria* is there a gray area where it is not entirely clear if the sexual encounter was a rape or a seduction. Terence does not describe the sexual encounter in *Andria* but he does highlight the *adulescens*' willingness, even desire, to marry the girl and claim her child as his legitimate offspring, which might suggest a seduction more than a rape. In Terence's other plays, is it always made clear that acts of sexual violence are, in fact, neither legal rights nor privileges of the young men who commit them, though the youth never suffer negative consequences beyond fleeting rebukes from other characters. Once the man marries his victim, sexual access to her does become a type of right but sexual violence

[271] 2013: 186-8.
[272] 2020: 269.
[273] 2013: 183.
[274] 2013: 183.

in Terentian comedies only occurs before a marriage. It is not at all clear that Terentian marriages are happy or that the sex between a young man and his wife in comedy would be nonviolent, the topic is simply not mentioned apart from the tumultuous relationship in *Hecyra*.

Witzke's interpretation is very similar to James' but she makes the distinction between a citizen's privilege and a more general masculine privilege, which she defines as "the right of men to possess the bodies of vulnerable women, regardless of their own status."[275] I do not think that "right" is the most appropriate term, but I agree that a masculine privilege owing to sexual dimorphism in the human species (i.e. the fact that men are often of larger bodily frames and might possess more physical strength than females) certainly exists and that violent rape, which occurs when a victim is physically overpowered, is emphasized in some of Terence's plots. While sexual dimorphism helps to explain the phenomenon of violent sexual assault, it does not explain why male citizens should be permitted to commit such crimes without facing legal consequences.[276] The answer likely lies in the fact that a legal action must be brought forward by fellow citizens, so if no legal action is pursued by a (citizen) male relative there are no legal repercussions. Perhaps Witzke and James use the terms "privilege" and "rights" to refer to socially acceptable (though not legally permissible) actions, given the young men's wealth, social status, and intent (or willingness) to marry their victim. It is also likely that there is an element of entitlement and/or social allowance for activities that could be seen as youthful indiscretions of young men. Terence chose to portray remorseless young men in his comedies. He also highlights their violence and lack of repercussions. These choices were not random and I suggest he does so to highlight the innate privilege of male citizens.

---

[275] 2020: 281; James 2013.

[276] There are no extant examples of sexual violence against men in New Comedy, though Old Comedy contains numerous examples of the threat to rape another man.

II.5 - Amorous Vocabulary in Terence: Games and Violence

Terence's comedies, particularly the *Eunuchus*, make use of two particularly striking types of amorous vocabulary and sexual imagery: sex as a game and sex as an act of violence, even military aggression. The verb *ludo* ("play") and the related noun *ludus* ("game") are some of the most common euphemisms for sexual vocabulary in Latin.[277] Sex as a game can be seen throughout the *Eunuchus*. The *servus*, Parmeno, uses this euphemism while encouraging Chaerea to impersonate a eunuch in the following passage:

> tu illis fruare commodis quibu' tu illum dicebas modo:
> cibum una capias, adsis tangas ludas propter dormias.
>
> You could take advantage of those favorable conditions you were just discussing:
> you could dine together, be together, touch her, have sex with her, sleep next to her.
>
> *Eunuchus* 372-3

The context of the line makes the sexual connotations of *ludo* clear. Here, Terence highlights the sexual metaphor of sex as a game and in doing so implies that there are winners and losers. Chaerea follows Parmeno's example and uses similar terminology when recounting his rape of Pamphila, an attack justified (or perhaps inspired) by a painting of Jupiter and Danaë:[278]

> quia consimilem luserat iam olim ille ludum,
> inpendio magis animu' gaudebat mihi…
>
> Because [Jupiter] once played an entirely similar game,
> I had a rather pleasant thought…
>
> *Eunuchus* 586-7

Here, there is wordplay in the form of *figura etymologica* which calls attention to the terms *ludo* and *ludus*. This line equates Jupiter's divine seduction narrative (in which the god disguises himself for the purpose of accessing or hiding a sexual partner who is otherwise unreachable)

[277] Adams 1990: 162.
[278] This passage is discussed in more detail below.

with Chaerea's sexual violence. Chaerea's rape of Pamphila is also classified in similar terms by another character in the play, the *serva*, Pythias, whose staunch rebuke of the *adulescens* is largely ignored by other characters:

> insuper scelu', postquam ludificatust uirginem
> uestem omnem miserae discidit, tum ipsam capillo conscidit.
>
> moreover, this villain, after he raped the virgin,
> tore off all the poor girl's clothes, then he ripped out her hair.
> *Eunuchus* 645-6

The verb *ludificor* has negative associations which the verb *ludo* does not automatically evoke. It means "treat something as a plaything" and it implies that the verb's subject has their fun at the expense of the verb's object.[279]

In addition to the metaphor of sex as a game, Terence occasionally describes sex and amorous relationships in terms of euphemistic violence and even military metaphor. He does this long before Catullus and the Augustan elegiac poets transformed the metaphor into a common trope of "*militia amoris*" (soldiering for love). For example, *Andria* and *Phormio* both describe amorous relationships in terms of martial battles, signaled by the verb *confligo*.[280] Another example of military metaphors in Terence can be seen in *Hecyra* in a passage describing a mind surrendered to love.[281] Barsby notes that military metaphors for love and sex like those found in Terentian comedy are rarely found in Menander or Plautus.[282] An exception is Plautus' *Casina*, in which play the term *armiger* ("bearer of arms") is used five times.[283]

Adams includes violent metaphors regarding fighting (*pugno* along with *bellum* and *proelium*), killing (*conficio*), dying (*morior*), and exercising (*exercitatio*) as metaphorical

---

[279] See OLD *s. v. ludificor*.
[280] *Andria* 93; *Phormio* 505.
[281] *Hecyra* 294.
[282] 1999: 93.
[283] *Casina* 55, 257, 270, 278, and 769.

language for sexual vocabulary.[284] Most of these terms are found in the comedies of Terence, though they do not always carry military connotations.[285] For example, in the *Eunuchus* the use of *conficio* is not exactly used as sexual vocabulary but its contexts suggest this understanding:

> nam ut mittam quod ei amorem difficillimum et
> carissimum, a meretrice auara uirginem,
> quam amabat, eam confeci sine molestia
> sine sumptu et sine dispendio…
>
> Indeed, so that I might send that most difficult and cherished
> love to him away from the greedy *meretrix*, the girl
> whom he loves, I got her without trouble
> without cost and without loss…
> *Eunuchus* 926-9

Here a slave, Parmeno, is speaking so the verb *conficio* should not be understood as evoking a sexual act between this character and the girl. However, Parmeno's successful plan has provided the *adulescens* with access to the girl and it was only by this plan, not Parmeno's actions, that the girl was acquired.

The verb *pugno* does not seem to be used as sexual vocabulary but the related noun *pugna* (battle) is found in Terence in terms of sexual violence. For example, Pythias describes Chaerea's sexual violence as a "battle" when she suggests the *adulescens* would commit another rape if he were readmitted into the house of the *meretrix*:

> dabit hic pugnam aliquam denuo.
>
> he will make another battle here, once again!
> *Eunuchus* 899

While the term *proelium* is not found in Terence, *bellum* is. The opening of the *Eunuchus* finds one of the young lovers, Phaedria, *in medias res* lamenting his position as a (proto-) *exclusus*

---

[284] 1990.

[285] *Heauton Timorumenos* 567 features the verb *subigito*. *Heauton Timorumenos*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe* use the verb *patior* as sexual vocabulary. Battles and fists appear in *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*. The verb *conficio* is used as sexual/marital vocabulary in *Andria*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, and *Phormio*.

amator, which makes it clear that love and relationships are central to the plot.[286] The play's first military metaphor appears early in the text, when Phaedria is worried that he will return to his lover, Thais, "with peace not made."[287] The play reinforces the link between love and the military when Parmeno tells Phaedria that love is really just like war:

> in amore haec omnia insunt uitia: iniuriae,
> suspiciones, inimicitiae, indutiae,
> bellum, pax rursum…
>
> In love all the following offenses are contained: personal affronts,
> suspicions, hostilities, truces,
> war, then peace again…
> *Eunuchus* 59-61

The terms used in Parmeno's exclamation are increasingly associated with the military, especially the phrase *bellum*, *pax rursum*, which explicitly relates love to military contexts.

III - Lovers, not Fighters: Young Men in Atypical Amorous Relationships in Terence

Even Terence's most typical examples of the *adulescens* character type show signs of adaptation and originality. Not all of them are violent. For example, in *Andria* Pamphilus is not represented as violent against Philumena or Glycerium, nor is his friend and neighbor, Charinus. However, it is atypical for a baby to be born before the young man's marriage, as happens in *Andria*. Neither *adulescens* in this play has an irregular resolution to their amorous plot; each marries a citizen in the end. The young men in *Heauton Timorumenos* are similarly not depicted as violent towards women. In this play Clitipho is the neighbor of Clinia and Menedemus; he has a liaison with the *meretrix* Bacchis but agrees to marry a citizen girl at the end of the play. *Heauton Timorumenos* is Terence's first play to feature a double plot. The fact that Clitipho marries a citizen is typical, but it is not typical for that character to lack some kind of

[286] *Eunuchus* 46-206.
[287] *Eunuchus* 53.

introduction prior to the play's concluding scene. Clitipho serves as foil to the type of *adulescens* that Terence puts into irregular amatory relationships at the resolution of the plot, as discussed below.

The *Eunuchus* features a double plot with two *adulescentes*: Chaerea and Phaedria. Phaedria is not aggressive towards his love interest (the *meretrix*) but the resolution of his part of the plot (Plot B) features an irregular marital situation where the young man continues his affair with a noncitizen sex-worker rather than get married to a fellow citizen. Terence's *Phormio* also features a Phaedria who acts as the *adulescens* in Plot B. This character, like the Phaedria in *Eunuchus*, also shows no aggression towards the object of his desires, the lyre player Pamphila. Similarly, the Phaedria in *Phormio* also resolves his plot in an irregular fashion that does not feature marriage: he is allowed to continue his affair. What is peculiar about this character's plot resolution is that even though the young man remains unwed his mother suggests that he take over as the head of his household after the parasite exposes the double life his father, Chremes, has been leading in Lemnos.[288] Specifically, Nausistrata hands over the family's situation to her son's judgement and claims that she will do what her son commands. Another *adulescens* follows this same general outline: Ctesipho in Terence's *Adelphoe* does not act violently towards the music girl, Bacchis and his plot resolves in an atypical resolution that foregoes marriage. These examples show that marriage is not the only outcome for young men in Terentian comedy. Young men who eschew marriage are never depicted as violent rapists in Terence.

IV - Sexual Violence: the Aggressive *Adulescens* in Terence

IV.1 - Aeschinus (*Adelphoe*)

[288] *Phormio* 1045.

Terence depicts sexual violence in a manner that dashes expectation. Young men in Terence lack shame or remorse for their sexual aggressions. Furthermore, their actions are rarely rebuked; and when they are, the criticism is short lived and forgiving. For example, in *Adelphoe* the *adulescens* Aeschinus is reprimanded by his father for raping a woman. Many scholars describe the relationship between Aeschinus and Pamphila (who is never on stage) as loving. For example, both James and Vincent call her the young man's "beloved."[289] This might imply that their relationship was positive or that their sexual interactions were consensual. However, the play only specifies that Aeschinus has gotten the girl pregnant and would now like to marry her. Since Pamphila gives birth during the action of the play, moreover, it is clear that the young man did not seek a hasty marriage. I do not question the young man's personal feelings toward the girl, but it would be rash to assume that the union would have been consensual or nonviolent. I agree with Sharrock's summary of the events (i.e. that Aeschinus has raped the girl).[290] The *senex* makes it clear in the following passage that Aeschinus' actions were not legally sanctioned, yet he suggests they are socially permissible:

> virginem vitiasti quam te non ius fuerat tangere.
> iam id peccatum primum magnum, magnum at humanum tamen:
> fecere alii saepe item boni…
>
> You defiled a young woman whom the law does not allow you to touch. This is, first of all, a huge transgression, huge but nevertheless human:
> other men, good men, often have done the same…
> *Adelphoe* 686-8

The first line of this passage is a stark rebuke: the phrase *virginem vitiare* is as close to the equivalent to "rape" in English as exists, though *stuprum* is another word which Latin authors might use to describe sexual violence. There is no one word in Latin that corresponds to the

[289] Vincent 2013: James 2013: 187.
[290] 2013: 64.

English word “rape” though violence can be expressed through words such as *vis*. The use of *ius* implicates the legality of the act, as opposed to a word like (*ne*)*fas* which might implicate social or religious norms instead. Indeed, the following two lines make it clear that the transgression is, in the world of the play, a normative act within society (i.e. the other characters in the play), even if it was not technically in accordance with the law (as expressed within the play). This is not to suggest that unlawful sexual violence was necessarily normalized or accepted in Hellenistic Greece or in Terence’s Rome, but rather that the *adulescens*’ violent actions and the nonchalant discussions regarding are accepted as normative behavior by the *senex*. Seeing as the *senex* (Micio) is addressing his son directly (as opposed to a comment made to the audience during an aside) it is possible, of course, that the *senex* here is making use of rhetoric to lighten up the dramatic situation and that his words should not be taken at face-value or necessarily indicate social acceptance of sexual violence within the world of the play. However, the plot itself does reinforce the sense that his behavior is deemed acceptable since the young man suffers no adverse consequences apart from this less-than-enthusiastic rebuke from his father.

Aeschinus’ sexual violence in *Adelphoe* does conform to dramatic convention in some ways, as seen in the following passage:

> persuasit nox amor uinum adulescentia:
> humanumst.
>
> The night, passion, wine, youthful things persuaded [him]:
> It’s human.
>
> *Adelphoe* 470-1

This passage exhibits two conventional features of sexual violence in comedy. First, the *adulescens* was under the influence of alcohol during the rape. Second, the rape occurred at night. The verb *persuadeo* makes it clear that these conventional features drive the sexual

violence in the play. It is not clear whether the setting of this violence was a festival, as would be conventional, or not. Terence's use of the adjective *humanus* in this passage is striking.

Terence's *Adelphoe* makes it seem as though Ctesipho is the more violent of the young brothers, but it is Aeschinus who commits acts of violence. The enslaved Syrus informs Demea that his son Ctesipho not only physically attacked him, an old man who raised Ctesipho from childhood, but also attacked the music-girl, Bacchis. Syrus emphasizes the brutality of the attack with the added detail that they were brutalized to the point of death (*usque occidit*).[291] It is not clear that Ctesipho ever attacked Syrus and although the girl was raped, the perpetrator was Aeschinus and not Ctesipho. It is clear from Syrus' terminology in the following passage that he expects Demea to reprimand his son:

> [SY.] factum; verum venit post insaniens:
> nil pepercit. non puduisse verberare hominem senem!
> quem ego modo puerum tantillum in manibu' gestavi meis.
>
> [SY.] that's what happened: but afterwards he came as a raving lunatic:
> he was not at all moderate. (How is he) not ashamed to beat an old man!
> he whom I carried in my hands when he was a very little boy.
> *Adelphoe* 561-3

Here, Syrus describes Ctesipho as raving-mad and his actions as shameful. He highlights Ctesipho's lack of moderation as well as his own abundance of affection for Ctesipho. Of course, Syrus has made up this entire episode as a part of his scheme. Syrus' expectations (and perhaps the audience's) are dashed when Demea does not reprimand Ctesipho but actually praises his actions:

> [DE.] laudo: Ctesipho, patrissas: abi, virum te iudico.
> [SY.] laudas? ne ille continebit posthac, si sapiet, manus.
> [DE.] fortiter!
>
> [DE.] I praise (his actions): Ctesipho, you take after your father: come, I now judge you to be a man.

[291] *Adelphoe* 559.

> [SY.] You *praise* him? Well, if he knows what's good for him he won't restrain his fist.
> [DE.] Like a man!

Here Demea explicitly praises his son for showcasing his virile virtue of physical strength. The verb *patrisso* is emphatic, signaling not only innately inherited qualities (such as the bodily strength to physically overpower other individuals) but also didactically prescribed and ingrained qualities (like the hyper-aggressive attitude it requires to physically attack individuals who are already subdued, as in an old man who is your slave and a young woman who is a *meretrix*). Demea decides, during this moment, that his son has come into his own as a man—just like his father. The fact that his son has not actually acted in this hyper-aggressive fashion emphasizes Demea's expectations of young men. This scene also mirrors the nonchalance the *senex* exhibits when reprimanding Aeschinus, as discussed above.

IV.2 - Pamphilus (*Hecyra*)

In Terence's *Hecyra* it is reported that the *adulescens* had raped a woman in the street during a bout of drunkenness prior to the action of the play. This attack dashes comic convention but its function as a plot device still advances the young man's development into a fully functioning male citizen. Thus, it is not the scenario but the viciousness of the attack, the theft of the victim's ring, and the identity of the victim which fall in stark opposition to the more stereotypical trope of rape in Greek and Roman New Comedy, since it is typical for a rape to occur in the street, at night, and when the attacker is inebriated after a festival.[292] Conventionally, sexual violence may be used as a means to secure the progression of a simple, linear plot (i.e. the rape results in pregnancy which leads to marriage between citizens). In *Hecyra*, the victim does become pregnant but this pregnancy does not lead to the creation of a new marriage which the

[292] For example, the plot of Plautus' *Cistellaria*, based on Menander's *Synaristosai*, fits this dramatic convention.

play's happy ending might promise. Instead, the play reveals that the victim has already married her attacker and given birth to the child from their violent union. Neither the *adulescens* nor his wife is aware that he is the child's father until the identity of the victim of his attack is revealed.

Gruen suggests that, in *Hecyra*, "a subtle undertone exists here regarding male authority and the ascendancy of the paterfamilias."[293] James argues that this feature is less subtle and that "in Terence's theater…young men, blind to everything but their opportunity and desire, commit rape in a form of male mastery over a woman, and in the case of Pamphilus and Chaerea, we can expect them to develop into the kinds of unpleasant, forceful old men who populate Terence's stage."[294] James' interpretation is most compelling when considering the play from a position of foreknowledge about its plot (such as a modern reader) and considering the consequences and realities of characters not staged (such as Philumena) and I am sympathetic to it. However, when considering the play as a performance Gruen's claim of subtlety is more apt. Terence does not emphasize or even strongly suggest that Pamphilus asserts his male authority in a violent way over female characters until the revelation at the end of the play. Nevertheless, Terence does foreshadow this reality in some ways. For example, Packman claims that "the primacy of the masculine point of view is acknowledged even with the young married couple in *Hecyra*, where the bride has gained the respect and affection of her husband by putting up with poor treatment, not to say actual abuse."[295] Knorr, on the other hand, attributes the shift in Pamphilus' affections to the moment "when Bacchis started to become difficult and demanding."[296] Whatever caused Pamphilus' subsequent acceptance of Philumena (and, indeed, the options are not mutually exclusive), it is clear (and unsurprising) that Pamphilus' perspective is represented with more

[293] 2014: 612.
[294] 2013: 188.
[295] 2013: 207.
[296] 2013: 302.

prominence than Philumena's but it is not clear for the majority of the play that his character is particularly violent or overtly concerned with asserting his dominance as paterfamilias. The dramatic situation is, in fact, quite the opposite: Pamphilus' actions underscore his continued reluctance to claim this social role (until the end of the play).

The strikingly brutal description of Pamphilus' violence is uncharacteristic of instances of sexual violence in ancient comedy, which is not generally explained in much detail. The *meretrix* Bacchis recounts what Pamphilus told her on the night of the attack in a long monologue. The following passage discusses the violence itself:

> homo se fatetur ui in uia nescioquam compressisse,
> dicitque sese illi anulum, dum luctat, detraxisse.
>
> The man confessed that he raped some girl in the street,
> and he said that he stole her ring while (s)he struggled.
> *Hecyra* 828-9

This passage emphasizes Pamphilus' physical force with a term that suggests potency, strength, and violence (*ui*). The elision in the phrase "*ui in uia*" produces a linguistic reflection of the action: the "*ui*" (violence) is "*in*" (in) the "*uia*" (street). It can also be observed that the term *uia* contains within itself a "*ui*-" although the terms are not etymologically linked.[297] This somewhat playful use of language emphasizes, not undermines, the violent image it evokes. The verbs in this passage each suggest violence. The verb *detraho* in the context of a physical altercation evokes images of stripping plunder from fallen enemies. The verb *lucto* is an active form found in Old Latin before the deponent *luctor*, which is used in Classical Latin.[298] The term suggests a struggle or contest, particularly wrestling.[299] While the verb *comprimo* does not, by itself, imply

[297] Cf. "*fit via vi*" in *Aeneid* 2.494.
[298] Barsby 2013: 194.
[299] The TLL suggests that the term is equivalent to the Greek verb παλαίω (wrestle).

that the encounter was a rape (the verb means "subdue" or "repress" or "have sex with"), this meaning is made perfectly clear when the verb is repeated a few lines later:

> …inde est cognitio facta
> Philumenam compressam esse ab eo et filium inde hunc natum.
>
> …thus the recognition was brought about
> that Philumena was raped by him and therefore that this child is his son.
> *Hecyra* 831-2

In this passage, the fact that a child was produced from the violent encounter solidifies the meaning of *comprimo* as rape.

In *Hecyra* the *adulescens* Pamphilus grants himself the authority to rape an unknown victim (who turns out to be the woman he will later marry) and shows no sympathy or remorse to his victim. This is the only scenario in Terence's comedies where the victim of rape is the attacker's own wife but a similar situation is found in Menander's *Epitrepontes* where Pamphile (Charisios' wife and rape victim) gives birth to a child only five months after her marriage to Charisios and so abandons the child while her husband is away on a business trip. Konstan suggests that Menander's *Epitrepontes* might have been used as a model for Terence's *Hecyra*.[300] Papaioannou claims that although "*Epitrepontes* is in no direct sense the model for *Hecyra*, elements in the plot are so close as to render it a clear intertext: both plays involve a premarital rape."[301] In both plays the victim gives birth in a state of shame and attempts to hide the baby (and the rape) from her husband who is affirmed to be the rapist after the production of recognition tokens. The baby is a physical reminder of the attack. As such, it is used as part of a

[300] 1983:138.
[301] 2014: 121.

scheme to buy the freedom of the *hetaira* Habrotonon, who pretends to be the unknown rape victim until it is revealed to have been Pamphile.[302]

Germany credits the invention of dramatic surprise to Terence because of his omission of an expository prologue.[303] Franko, on the other hand, argues that "it is wrong to say that Terence invents surprise and eliminates irony; rather he emphasizes the former and minimizes the latter in comparison with Plautus."[304] This statement is probably true but it brushes away the significance of what Terence did in the plot of *Hecyra*: the audience has no idea that Pamphilus is responsible for the sexual assault on Philumena until the very end of the play. Sharrock considers the effect this might have on an audience, arguing that "the position of the audience, placed for the first time in this state of unknowing, is almost as distressing and disorienting as that of the poor victim herself. Such a nightmarish scenario holds on to its comic credentials only by the skin of its teeth."[305] Knorr points out the "unusual amount of suspense" in *Hecyra*.[306] However, he does not agree with arguments that stress the amount of dramatic surprise in the plot of this play. Instead, he shows how the ending is foreshadowed earlier in the play by the young man's mother, Myrrina, who claims that everyone will rightly assume that Pamphilus is the father of his wife's child, a situation she describes as "*quod veri similest*".[307] Knorr argues that "a neat pun in this statement confirms the audience's suspicions and foreshadows the happy ending: the people who assume that the baby is Pamphilus' believe not only what is "likely" (*veri simile*), but also what is "like the truth" (for which the Latin is also *veri simile*)."[308] This is, in my opinion, a productive

[302] It is worth noting that the Greek word for child (*tokos*) has an additional (metaphorical) meaning of financial interest paid on a debt.
[303] 2013: 227.
[304] 2013: 40.
[305] 2013: 58.
[306] 2013: 296.
[307] 2013: 307.
[308] 2013: 307.

train of thought. Knorr also claims that *Hecyra* "ends with… metatheatrical jokes that emphasize the play's novelty and originality."[309] In support of this, he singles out the following passage, spoken by Pamphilus:

> …placet non fieri itidem ut in comoediis
> omnia omnes ubi resciscunt. hic quos par fuerat resciscere
> sciunt. quos non autem aequomst scire neque resciscent neque scient.
>
> … It's not desirable that the same thing happen as [happens] in comedies, where everyone finds out everything. Here, it has been fitting that those who find out are (already) in the know. But those who shouldn't know will neither find out nor know.
>
> *Hecyra* 398-9

Knorr's interpretation of this passage centers on the fact that Parmeno (a *servus*) is, surprisingly, one of the characters who doesn't find out.[310] This is true but it is not the only remarkable feature of this passage. Fontaine points out that the only characters who will become aware of the full truth by the end of the play are Pamphilus, the *meretrix* Bacchis, and Pamphilus' mother-in-law, Myrrina; he stresses that not even Philumena is made aware of her own child's paternity in the course of the play.[311] Bexley shows how "Terence's dramaturgy tricks the audience into adopting a view that is just as misguided as Pamphilus's" by noting a series of asides that "characterize – incorrectly, it turns out –her as someone in possession of superior knowledge."[312] Thus, it is ironic that Pamphilus, who at this point is not aware that the child is his own, wants to prevent the truth from being revealed to those who are unaware. This irony is probably not "dramatic irony" because the audience is likewise unaware of the child's paternity at this point. However, given the fact that Terence staged *Hecyra* on multiple occasions (one performance in 165 BCE and two performances in 160 BCE), it is possible that this line is a later insertion (from one of

---

[309] 2013: 314.
[310] 2013: 314.
[311] 2014: 545.
[312] 2014: 473. *Hecyra* 623-726.

the performances in 160 BCE) which may have been introduced to joke about the audience's possible familiarity with aspects of the play's plot.[313] This notion would not likely be supported by Goldberg, who argues that, concerning *Hecyra*'s repeat performances, "there were probably different crowds on different occasions."[314] Nevertheless, it remains entirely possible that there might be audience members in the crowd for *Hecyra*'s third performance who had witnessed one of the earlier (failed) performances. Marshall argues that it is even likely that audiences returned for repeat performances.[315] Even if there were not, the playwright is surely aware of the repeat performances and the prologue makes everyone in the audience aware of this fact as well.

This passage's metatheatricality might also allude to Terence's plot construction and innovative use of prologues. Terence's protagonists (like his prologues) cannot be expected to be aware of (or divulge) intricate plot points to the audience. If an audience member or a dramatic character wants to be "in the know" they will have to watch the action and dialogue unfold. Gruen argues that "the conflicting [familial] pressures increase tensions in a situation where ignorance and misunderstandings prevail."[316]

As is conventional, in *Epitrepontes* the recognition tokens are left with the baby and serve to identify his father. Terence changes a key feature of the common motif of recognition tokens in *Hecyra*. In this play, the token produced is a ring which Pamphilus stole from Philumena while raping her. Pamphilus immediately gifts the ring to a *meretrix*, on whose finger it is later recognized by Philumena's mother. Typically, as in *Epitrepontes*, the woman might steal a ring from her rapist and use it to identify him later.[317] As noted earlier, sexual violence precludes

---

[313] The prologue to *Hecyra* 1-7 relates the information that the play was restaged after the first production was interrupted.
[314] 2013: 25.
[315] 2006: 81.
[316] 2014: 613.
[317] *Epitrepontes* 390.

some marriage in New Comedy plots. Sharrock argues that Pamphilus' sexual violence in *Hecyra* "symbolizes one failed, inadequate, improper version of the marriage," and that Terence presents "the story of Pamphilus and Philumena as a series of failed attempts at marriage, as a ritual which is constantly going wrong, constantly being interrupted."[318] She outlines these failed marriage attempts as: (1) the rape itself, (2) the affair with a *meretrix*, (3) the marriage ritual left incomplete by lack of consummation, (4) the eventual consummation interrupted by a business trip, (5) Philumena's return to her parents' house.[319] Thus, Terence's breaking of dramatic convention in these respects is striking. It underscores Pamphilus' reckless actions and his sense of entitlement. Furthermore, the idea that the play depicts a string of failed attempts at a proper marriage highlights the destabilizing issues with the union and, indeed, with the *adulescens amator* Pamphilus.

Sharrock argues that "[a] tragic aspect of this play is the way in which everyone behaves 'well,' in the sense that they behave plausibly within the constraints of their knowledge and of society's norms, but the net effect is – or would be without the comic magic of the ring – disastrous."[320] This is to say that the effect of the recognition scene in *Hecyra* does not uncover a pleasant surprise ripe with dramatic irony but rather exposes a heinous crime, a genuine surprise to both dramatic characters and audience alike, as well as a near tragedy (had Pamphilus refused to recognize the paternity of his own child and exposed it as planned).[321] Sharrock also argues that the play's ending parallels aspects of a Euripidean tragedy, *Alcestis*.[322] She claims that, in a way similar to Alcestis' genre and boundary-pushing elements, "*Hecyra*, likewise, although it

[318] 2009: 239.
[319] 2009: 239.
[320] 2013: 58.
[321] *Hecyra* 399.
[322] 2013: 59-61.

tosses around comic characters and motifs as if it were just another variant on the winning formula, pushes to extremes the idea that such material can make a comedy, offering something rather closer to a nightmare."[323]

IV.3 - Chaerea (*Eunuchus*)

The sexual assault in Terence's *Eunuchus* is uncharacteristically violent and departs from many of the expected features of rape in New Comedy. Perhaps Terence particularly emphasizes Chaerea's actions because the victims' situations in *Andria* and *Eunuchus* are similar in some ways. For example, in each play the girl is entrusted (or given over) to a *meretrix* who pretends to be related to the girl and hopes to reunite her to her family and restore her status as a citizen. In *Andria* the sexual act happens before the play and its details are never mentioned. In *Eunuchus*, however, the sexual act is clearly rape. Furthermore, the violence occurs during the course of the play and Terence grants his audience an array of specific details surrounding it, such as: the disguise and trickery, boasting, and self-justification of Chaerea as well as the trauma his victim suffers, as described by Pythias, a sympathetic witness.

The plot of *Eunuchus*, like most of Terence's plays, revolves around two separate young men and two separate young women. Chaerea represents the *adulescens amator* in Plot A whose sexual violence leads to marriage whereas Phaedria represents the *adulescens amans* in Plot B whose pathetic description and lack of violence result in the continued relationship with a *meretrix* instead of marriage. Chaerea's rape of Pamphila is central to the plot. Brecke argues that in this play, "the depiction of the violent rape is highly shocking to modern readers and must have stood out even in the second century BCE, as it differs in many ways from the conventional

[323] 2013: 61.

rape plot line of the comic genre."[324] For example, the rape occurs during the action of the play, as opposed to happening prior to its action, as all other rapes in New Comedy do. Furthermore, it takes place in the middle of the day and is perpetrated by a completely sober and unapologetic assailant, dashing expectations about drunken errors in judgement that might happen at a festival. Finally, this assault does not, as far as the plot reveals, result in a pregnancy. This fact supports Gellar-Goad's claim that rape is one of the ways in which Terence represents his thematically dysfunctional families.[325]

Terence provides abundant detail surrounding the context of Chaerea's sexual violence. A voyeuristic Chaerea describes a painting depicting the myth of Jupiter and Danaë which hangs on a wall inside the house of the *meretrix*:

> ibi inerat pictura haec, Iovem
> quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aurem.
>
> There, this scene was [depicted] on it, namely,
> the myth that Jove once sent a golden shower into the lap of Danaë.
> *Eunuchus* 584-5

Here the *adulescens amator*, Chaerea, sees a Greek painting depicting Jupiter's rape, or seduction, of Danaë. The young man decides that their scenarios are comparable, and therefore emulates the behavior of Jupiter and rapes Pamphila. This interpretation is supported by Sharrock and Goldberg who argue that the painting encouraged a plan that was already in place.[326] However, scholars such as Germany and Papaioannou interpret the significance of this scene differently.[327] Germany argues that Chaerea did not intend to sexually assault Pamphila but was inspired to do so after viewing the painting of Jupiter and Danaë which Chaerea describes to

[324] Brecke 2021: 85.
[325] 2013: 171.
[326] Sharrock 2009: 222. Goldberg 1986: 105 argues that Chaerea disguised himself to "gain access to his love."
[327] Germany 2013; Papaioannou 2014.

another character after the fact. This suggests that Terence's comedy was structured in a way that reinforces the unexpectedness of his actions. While I agree that Chaerea's actions were unsuspected from a "dramatic convention" perspective, I do not agree with the overall assessment that the painting itself inspired Chaerea's actions. I argue that the painting emboldened Chaerea to attack Pamphila and provided the justification to do so. There is no other logical reason for Chaerea to have assumed a costume and infiltrated the house of Thais if this was not his plan all along. Germany rightly points out that Parmeno gave Chaerea the idea to don a costume, but I can think of few scenarios other than sexual advances where a young man might sneak into the house of a sex worker disguised as a sexually nonthreatening eunuch. Are we to believe that Chaerea intended to woo Pamphila with poetry? Or perhaps that he heard the house contained some beautiful art he wanted to gaze upon? This is doubtful.

Papaioannou follows Germany and agrees that Chaerea decides to rape Pamphila only after viewing the painting of Zeus and Danaë.[328] However, she also argues that the painting justifies the rape.[329] Brecke, following this path, argues that Chaerea was "inspired by a painting of Jupiter's rape of Danaë," but it is not clear that she assumes that the painting actually gave him the idea.[330] It seems that justification for violent actions, rather than inspiration for them, more properly describes this scene. Vidović argues that the way Pamphila is assaulted suggests that the poetics are intentionally misleading or even "violated."[331] In this regard he is in line with Germany.[332] Vidović also argues that "Chaerea… raped her in order to marry her." This implies that the dramatic convention (by which rape leads to pregnancy which, in turn, leads to marriage)

[328] 2014: 84.
[329] Papaioannou 2014: 106.
[330] 2021: 87. Germany 2016.
[331] Vidović 2016: 85.
[332] 2016.

compels Chaerea to rape Pamphila. However, Terence's treatment of Chaerea's sexual violence does not support this idea: the rape dashes all conventions except for the betrothal at the end of the play.

This scene can be linked with tragic elements. Indeed, Barsby points out that the scene contains an intertextual link with Ennius.[333] Some scholars see other tragic elements in the scene as well. For example, Christenson suggests that the entire scene recounting events can be thought of as a typical messenger speech in tragedy.[334] Sharrock similarly argues that Chaerea's violent actions "constitute an allusion to the off-stage events of tragedy which drive the action and the tragedy of the play. Specifically, the scene in which the slave Parmeno suggests to his excitable younger young master Chaerea that he might enter the house in disguise finds a powerful intertext in the scene in Euripides' *Bacchae*, where Dionysus tempts Pentheus into dressing up as a woman…"[335] This suggestion goes too far. The only similarity she proposes is that both Chaerea and Pentheus are very young men in disguise. However, Sharrock's suggests that the allusion to Jupiter makes it clear "that this young man is rather inclined to notions of tragic grandeur," seems appropriate.[336]

There were many Greek plays about Danaë but their remains are only fragmentary. Karamanou explains some were written in Greek, by Aeschylus (cf. *Dictys*), Sophocles (cf. *Acrisius* and *Danaë*), and Euripides (cf. *Danaë* and *Dictys*) as well as lesser-known playwrights such as Samyrion, Apollophanes, Eubulus, and Diphilus and that other plays were later adapted by Latin authors Livius Andronicus, Naevius, and Ennius.[337] The plot of the *Eunuchus* sets up a

[333] 1999: 193. *Eunuchus* 590.
[334] 2013: 263.
[335] 2009: 221.
[336] Sharrock 2009: 222.
[337] 2006: 13-15.

parallel situation between the mythological (or tragic) and comic characters. Pamphila, like Danaë, is put under guard in her home and Chaerea, like Zeus, assumes a disguise in order to infiltrate the house of the *meretrix* and rape the girl. The following passages describe Chaerea's self-comparison to Jupiter:

> … quia consimilem luserat
> iam olim ille ludum, impendio magis animus gaudebat mihi…
>
> …Because [Jupiter] once played
> an entirely similar game, I had a rather pleasant thought…
> *Eunuchus* 586-7

> At quem deum! "qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit."
> ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego illud vero ita feci—ac lubens.
>
> But what a god! "He who quakes the highest regions of the sky with his thunder."
> Should I, a mere mortal, not act like this too? Well, by all means, I acted just like
> him—and with pleasure.
> *Eunuchus* 590-1

Chaerea justifies his scheme to rape Pamphila by the precedent set by Jupiter in the painting of Danaë. The sexual use of *ludo* is the same as discussed above. The use of *homuncio*, a diminutive form of *homo*, emphasizes the fact that Chaerea attempts to shirk responsibility: because he is a "mere mortal" he reasons that he ought to emulate the gods. Goldberg briefly discusses Terence's intertextual reference to Ennius in this passage, during his discussion of Plautine intertextuality.[338] This might suggest that Terence is attempting a similar kind of warped emulation of earlier tragic texts. Along this same line of thought, Karakasis compares the line to Naevius' *Danaë*.[339] Sharrock adds that the tragic tone achieved by the reference "characterizes the young man's self-image as he plays himself into the role of a god who can get away with anything."[340] In this scene, Terence intensifies the conventional plot device of rape and Chaerea

[338] 1986: 209.
[339] 2014: 84. *suo sonitu claro fulgorivit Iuppiter*. (*trag.* 11 R^3).
[340] 2013: 56.

becomes more of an *adulescens amator* than an *adulescens amans*. Chaerea exhibits a superiority complex and a sense of entitlement that leads him to rape Pamphila. This reveals a nuanced level of self-awareness for the dramatic character as well as a nuanced level of dramatic awareness on the part of the playwright.

Terence suggests an association between rape, physical power, and sexual prowess during an exchange between Chaerea and another character, Antipho:

> AN. quid tum? CH. quid 'quid tum,' fatue? AN. fateor. CH. an ego occasionem
> mi ostentam, tantam, tam breuem, tam optatam, tam insperatam
> amitterem? tum pol ego is essem vero qui simulabar.
> AN. sane hercule ut dici'. sed interim de symbolis quid aetumst?
>
> AN. What next? CH. What [do you mean] 'What next,' idiot? AN. Yeah, I'm an idiot. CH. Should I let such an opportunity held out to me, one so short-lived, so desired, so unexpected, slip by? Well then, [if I didn't rape her] I swear I really would be the [eunuch] who I was pretending to be. AN. Yeah. Wow, you're right. But, anyway, what about the potluck?
>
> *Eunuchus* 604-7

In this passage, Chaerea appears insulted that Antipho did not consider Chaerea's rape of Pamphila as a logical outcome of his disguise and infiltration of the house of the *meretrix*. The repetition of *tam* emphasizes Chaerea's pleasure in his actions. This repetition furthermore emphasizes Chaerea's annoyance, as though Antipho questions of his manhood by asking what happened next in the story. This exchange highlights the characters' casual attitude towards Chaerea's sexual violence.

The *meretrix* in the play also echoes the casualness of Chaerea and Antipho's discussion of sexual violence. After Pythias informs Thais about the rape that has taken place within her home, the *meretrix*, Thais, quickly brushes it aside and continues with her plan, seemingly unfazed. This attitude is put on display during the following exchange:

> TH. nam quid ita? PY. rogitas? hunc tu in aedis cogitas
> recipere posthac? TH. quor non?

> TH. What is it? PY. You're still asking? Are you actually considering
> letting this guy back into your house after this? TH. Yeah, why not?
> *Eunuchus* 897-8

Thais' nonchalance is suggested by her colloquial response to Pythias' incensed questions. Terence also reveals Pythias' agitation at the notion that Chaerea could get away with committing such a crime. The fact that Thais would readmit Chaerea into her home exemplifies how little his sexual violence is problematized by the *meretrix*, who legally owns Pamphila (given to her by the soldier, Thraso). Pythias is the only character in the play who rebukes Chaerea's sexual violence but her logical arguments and reprimands are quickly dismissed by her interlocutors. Unfortunately, Terence never gives the victim herself (Pamphila) the chance to speak in the play at all, let alone provide her own perspective on the sexual violence. For that matter, no victim of rape in Terence has the opportunity to speak at length. The only times these women speak is when they give birth, offstage, during the action of the play.

Shortly after Pythias' rebukes fall on Thais' deaf ears the *serva* takes her complaints directly to the perpetrator of the crime. The following lines highlight the emotional state of Pythias while criticizing the terrible job Chaerea did when he served as Pamphila's guard:

> CH. non faciam, Pythias. PY. non credo, Chaerea,
> nisi si commissum non erit. CH. quin, Pythias,
> tu me servato. PY. neque pol servandum tibi
> quicquam dare ausim neque te servare. apage te.
>
> CH. I won't do [anything], Pythias. PY. I don't believe [you], Chaerea,
> unless [the rape] will turn out to have not been committed. CH. Well now,
> you can watch over me, Pythias.
> PY. Good lord, I would neither be so bold as to give anything over to you
> to watch over nor [would I dare] watch over you. Buzz off.
> *Eunuchus* 901-4

Terence employs the verb *servo* ("guard") three times over two consecutive lines. This calls attention to the word and its meaning. The fact that Chaerea uses the verb first suggests that

Chaerea is aware of (and even delights in) the fact that he failed miserably in his role as Pamphilus' guard.

Concluding Thoughts

Heightened aggression during acts of sexual violence against women leads to marriage in Terence's comedy. On the other hand, a lack of aggression in sub-plots leads to atypical resolutions of amorous sub-plots that do not include marriage. Each of Terence's three violent rapists, Pamphilus (*Hecyra*), Chaerea (*Eunuchus*), and Aeschinus (*Adelphoe*) display excessive aggression and they tend to break conventional settings and features of the rape plot devise. Excessive violence is not typically criticized by dramatic characters, apart from Pythias in *Eunuchus*, and at times it is even encouraged by a *senex*. Furthermore, the fact that sexual violence in Terence leads to marriage while nonviolent affairs do not is striking and suggests that Terence composed his double plots with this in mind.

CHAPTER 3 – FEMALE CHARACTERS AND POWER DYNAMICS: TERENCE'S DEVELOPMENT OF THE *ANCILLA*

The majority of characters in Terence's comedies are male. Female characters are also present but they often have fewer lines and time on stage when compared to Terence's male characters. This is not surprising or unique to Terence. For example, Barrios-Lech shows how, "the proportion of the total speech in all Roman comedy assigned to women is 13.8 percent."[341] This does not mean that there is not much to say about women in Roman comedy. For example, Barrios-Lech's study, along with Dutsch's work on gendered speech, focuses on the language (particularly the linguistic markers) used by the characters in Roman comedy.[342] Rosivach focuses on the theme of rape in New Comedy.[343] He primarily discusses the male involved in sexual violence but his analysis also makes astute observations about the females involved, such as his claim that "without a male link to the larger community all women who are on their own are of necessity outsiders (though obviously some, notably foreigners, will stand further outside than others)."[344] Feltovich discusses women's relationships with each other, as opposed to their relationships with men, and shows how female social networks function in Aristophanes, Menander, Plautus and Terence.[345] Traill examines how female characters function in the plots of Menander.[346] Vidovic suggests that some women in Terence might even function as an analogy for poetry.[347] Dutsch, James, and Konstan recently edited a wide-ranging collection of essays on the female characters in Roman drama in three parts: the first examines females in the context of

[341] 2016: 17.
[342] Barrios-Lech 2016; Dutsch 2008.
[343] 1998.
[344] 1998: 6.
[345] 2020.
[346] 2008.
[347] 2016.

performance, the second in the context of Roman society, and the third in the context of reception studies.[348]

Terence represents the idea of women as outsiders in a different direction via a metaphor found throughout his corpus that sexually available and vulnerable women represent land. Overall, Terence represents the following types of female characters in his plays: wives and mothers, wet-nurses, marriageable young female citizens, sex workers, and enslaved individuals. Terence includes *matronae* in four of his plays: *Hecyra*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe*. Terence also depicts four examples of *nutrices*. The nurse in *Heauton Timorumenos* and Sophrona in *Eunuchus* are former wet-nurses to women who have been enslaved. These nurses are crucial to the recognition plot by which an enslaved girl is freed due to the discovery of her paternity and citizenship.[349] Sophrona (*Phormio*) and Canthara (*Adelphoe*) are former wet-nurses to married women and therefore are not needed to facilitate a recognition plot. All of Terence's plays except for *Phormio* include at least one *meretrix*. In *Phormio* the music girl Pamphila is owned by a *leno* but she is not referred to as a *meretrix* in the play. In *Adelphoe*, the *meretrix* Bacchis is mentioned by other characters but never appears on stage. Terence features some female characters (*virgines* and recently married women) who are involved in marriage plots and whose citizenship is not in question, such as: Philumena (*Andria*), Philumena (*Hecyra*), Antiphilia and Archonides (*Heauton Timorumenos*), Phanium (*Phormio*), and Pamphila (*Adelphoe*).

The final type of female character in Terentian comedies is the main focus of this chapter: the *ancilla*. There are examples of this character type in all six of Terence's comedies. When Terence's *ancilla* is central to the plot, she does not appear on stage; when the *ancilla* is not

[348] 2015.
[349] This character is similar to a tragic nurse who might fulfil a similar function in the recognition plot.

central to the plot she does appear on stage but does not have many lines. For these reasons the *ancilla* as a character in her own right is not often discussed in scholarship.

I suggest that Terence merges two character types (music girls and girls with mistaken identities) into a singular type. Terentian *ancillae* are enslaved women owned by sex workers (*meretrices*) and pimps/human traffickers (*lenones*). Some of these characters are integral to the plot of their play but never appear on stage, such as: Pasibula (*Andria*), Pamphila (*Eunuchus*), and Pamphila (*Phormio*). Others are staged but are not integral to the plot at all, such as Lesbia and Mysis (*Hecyra*), Phrygia (*Heauton Timorumenos*; *Adelphoe*), as well as Pythias and Dorias (*Eunuchus*).[350] Terence's characters occupy an imagined world that may offer reflections of social issues such as gendered power dynamics in addition to allusions to political and military institutions. As I will argue, Terence uses *ancillae* as a means of establishing male dominance: some are sexually assaulted and some are characterized in a way that evokes images of land and invites an association between sex/marriage and colonization.

1 - Women and Gender Politics in Comedy and Roman Law

To understand the significance of Terence's development to the *ancilla*, it is important first to consider some of the various ways that women and gender politics are discussed in comedy and in Roman law. Playwrights like Aristophanes, Plautus, and Terence deal with gender politics within their genres in unique ways. For example, Froma Zeitlin pioneered the argument for women as "the Other" applied to Greek drama.[351] The chorus of old men in *Lysistrata* reference tragic depictions of women and suggests that women are subhuman:

[350] Archylis (*Andria*) might be added to this list, but she does not appear on stage and does not drive the plot in any way; she is referenced at *Andria* 228 and 481.
[351] Zeitlin 1996: 346 argues that "it is essential to understand that in the Greek theater, as in the Shakespearean theater, the self that is really at stake is to be identified with the male, while the woman is assigned the role of the radical other."

> οὐκ ἔστ᾽ ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου σοφώτερος ποιητής:
> οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω θρέμμ᾽ ἀναιδές ἐστιν ὡς γυναῖκες.
>
> There is no wiser man than the poet Euripides:
> For, there is no creature as shameless as women.
> *Lysistrata* 368-9

Aristophanes casts women as the "Other" in this passage by means of the generic insult that they are shameless. Aristophanes further separates women from the race of men by classifying women as a creature (θρέμμα). This elevates the previous notion of the female "race" to a whole new level, no longer are women considered a foreign type of human but they are now a foreign species. Zeitlin reads Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazousae* from a perspective of gender studies and argues that the representations of women in the plays are mimetic and that Aristophanes, like Euripides before him, presents his audience with the "feminization of Greek culture."[352] Tsoumpra discusses identity and gender in comedy, arguing that "Old Comedy, to a much greater extent than New and Roman Comedy, delights in the constant transgression of gender boundaries: women appropriate male speech and behavior (Lysistrata, Praxagora) and often transgress their stereotypical gender roles, while men are disempowered, effeminized, and emasculated."[353] Although Terence's *ancillae* do not usually transgress gender roles, they are marked as "Other" both by their connections to land and by their enslavement.

Gender politics is addressed in Plautine scholarship from multiple angles. One such angle is the context of performance, where some scholars assume that male actors performed female roles on stage.[354] Related to this is the context of a male playwright writing verses for a female character. For example, Hunter argues that "we might expect that the verses which male poets give female characters will be phrased so as to accord with male assumptions and avoid giving

[352] Zeitlin 1996: 327.
[353] 2020: 158.
[354] Richlin 2017; Dutsch 2008.

offence to male prejudices."[355] A more significant angle for my purposes is the context of the character's performance of female social roles.[356] Witzke shows how the terminology associated with sex labor in Roman comedy is not easy to map onto the actual social roles Plautus' sex workers inhabit.[357] Konstan discusses the difference between citizen and noncitizen women, arguing that "the comic tradition enshrined the distinction between citizen women, who were perceived as proper but passive partners in an arranged marriage, and noncitizen women, who were represented as objects of passionate desire."[358] Habinek convincingly argues that "woman's status as [the primary occupational caste, *sub specie aeternitatis*] is guaranteed by the very rites of passage that comedy co-opts and subsumes to its own ends – namely to objectify the slave as the open secret of Roman *imperium*."[359] Terence's *ancilla* functions at the intersection of all these discussions: her character might be more or less comical depending on the gendered performance (and gender) of the actor, her point of view is written by a man living in a patriarchal society, she is associated with sex work and unstable terminology, she undergoes a transition between noncitizen and citizen, and her associations with land objectify the character and highlight the contexts of slavery and Roman contact with the greater Mediterranean.

Terence does not present many female characters that assume masculine social roles. Instead, Terence's *ancillae* exist within a system created for and by male citizens. James argues that "the primary role of women of all ages, in Terence's theater, is to be subject to the urges or control of men."[360] I suggest that issues which might appear to be related to gender politics in Terence might also be understood as metaphors for different expressions of elite, Roman power

[355] 1985: 83.
[356] Witzke 2020.
[357] 2015: 7-27.
[358] 1994: 148.
[359] 2005: 54.
[360] 2013: 177.

and authority. In this type of metaphor, women stand in as the objects/locations over which the male citizen can, and does, extend his own personal authority. I argue that Terence's plays also encourage connections to be made between types of possessions (land) and dependents (women) with identities that fluctuate between foreign and domestic as well as between free (sovereign) and enslaved (politically subjected to another nation).[361]

Cantarella shows that a father had a significant amount of control over his daughters (and sons) during the Monarchy and the Republic, arguing that "even if their position could not be compared to that of female slaves, their subjection to the *pater familias* was extensive. At birth, if accepted by the *pater familias* within the family, they fell under his *patria potestas*."[362] Perry defines the legal concept of *potestas* as "the power that a head of household (*pater familias*) possessed over his dependents. By law, all the property and possessions of a household belonged to the *pater familias*; his descendants (and possibly his wife) could own nothing in their own right."[363] Johnston explains that "paternal power (*patria potestas*) was in principle lifelong, so that in principle a man who had already become a grandfather might still be subject to his father's power, and become independent only late in life."[364] Cantarella explains that, during the Roman Monarchy, fathers could choose to kill his daughter or her child if the child was conceived outside of marriage.[365] Saller explains that in marriage *cum manu*, "upon her marriage the woman passed from her father's *potestas* into her husband's and took her place *loco filiae* (in the position of a daughter)."[366] Rei shows how both marriage *cum manu* and the relatively liberal

[361] This idea is discussed in more detail below.
[362] 2016: 420.
[363] 2016: 436.
[364] 1999: 30.
[365] Cantarella 2016: 421.
[366] 1994: 207.

marriage *sine manu* are represented in Plautine comedy.[367] By the end of the Republic marriage *sine manu* is the norm, but in the time of Terence both systems existed simultaneously.

Cantarella argues that, according to the earliest Roman laws, both a father and a husband may have had the legal authority to kill a woman if they deemed her actions as adulterous or otherwise defiant of the law (e.g. if she was caught drinking wine).[368] However, as Saller points out, "there is no clear evidence for the successful invocation in the classical era of a father's *vitae necisque potestas* against a grown offspring except in defense of the *patria*."[369] In the Second Century BCE, Cato the Elder references the law that a husband could kill his wife if she was caught in adultery. However, with the rise of marriage *sine manu* this legal right (even if it was never a social reality) is lost until Augustus' adultery law. Although wives in Rome are not legally possessions, literary texts encourage this type of reading. The legal authority a husband has over his wife begs the question of how different the power dynamics are between parent and child, husband and wife, as well as slave owner and enslaved individual. Terence dramatizes these types of power dynamics through his *ancillae*.

I - *Ancilla* Character Type(s) in Comedy Before Terence

In order to assess my claim that Terence combines multiple character types to form his *ancilla* it is necessary to examine those character types in Greek and Plautine comedy. This character, as a whole, has no clear Greek precedents apart from female slaves and the music girls who accompany symposia. In Plautine Comedy, the term *ancilla* seems to refer to any female slave regardless of what type of character in the comedy owns her. For example, Richlin

[367] 2005: 98.
[368] 2016: 421-2.
[369] 1994: 117.

translates the term "*ancilla*" as "slave-woman" and the less commonly used term "*serva*" as "female slave" in her analysis of Plautine slaves.[370] In Terentian comedy, unlike the plays of Plautus, the *ancilla* is always associated with a *meretrix* or *leno* but does not appear to engage directly in sex work. However, the fact that an *ancilla* might be raped and/or impregnated while living with a *meretrix* highlights the possibility that this character might also be a sex worker. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that, in Plautus' *Truculentus*, the *ancilla* Astaphium is owned by the *meretrix* Phronesium and does appear to be engaging in sex work during a scene in which she attempts to solicit the *servus* known as Truculentus.[371]

I.1 - Slaves of Sex Workers and Mistresses in Greek Comedy

Terence's *ancillae*, as discussed in the previous section, are not *meretrices* but they are associated with sex work. Likewise, some female characters in Greek comedy are associated with sex work but are not *hetairai* or *pornai*. These character types include the *pallake* (a mistress, sometimes interpreted as a common-law wife), slaves of *hetairai*, and silent flute girls. The fact that some Greek comedies define these female characters against the role of courtesan or prostitute suggests that the characters were understood as engaging in some kind of sex work, otherwise there would not be a need for such specificity. For example, Glykera in Menander's *Perikeiromene* is a *pallake* (a common-law wife or mistress, possibly a sex worker).[372] In fact, Menander specifies that that Glykera is not a *porne* in the following passage:

> οὐ [γὰρ ὡς αὐ]λ[ητρ]ὶς οὐδ' πορνίδιον τρις-ἀθλιον
>
> She's no [call-girl], no pathetic prostitute
>
> *Perikeiromene* 340[373]

[370] 2017: 25.
[371] *Truculentus* 669-681.
[372] *pallake*: cf, Lape 2002 and 2004; Patterson 1991.
[373] Greek and translation from Arnott 1996.

Here, the diminutive form of *porne* emphasizes the distastefulness of the term, which refers to a streetwalker rather than a high-class courtesan. If the reconstruction is to be trusted, the girl is also defined against the role of a sympotic flute-girl. Arnott explains that this character is also a sex worker of sorts, arguing that "these professional musicians…were expected additionally to provide sexual favors at the parties for which they were hired."[374] Therefore, this passage does emphasize that the girl is no mere prostitute or sympotic music girl, but it does not suggest that she does not engage in sex work at all.

Habrotonon in Menander's *Epitrepontes* is not always described as a *hetaira*, but it is clear that she is an enslaved sex worker. For example, Smikrines twice calls her a *porne*.[375] He also calls her a *hetaira* once, using the diminutive "ἑταιρίδιον."[376] However, Karion calls her a music girl (ψάλτριαν) the first time she is discussed in the early fragments of the play.[377] Furley argues that the term *psaltria* might mean "*hetaira* who played a stringed instrument…as opposed to e.g. an *auletris*, an *hetaira* who played the *aulos*."[378] In addition to Habrotonon's various titles, Furley points out that Smikrines even calls her lover, Charisios, a pimp (πορνοβοσκός).[379] Lape convincingly argues that the attitudes of male characters, and not Habrotonon's own status, determine her titles of *hetaira*, *porne*, and flute girl.[380] However, it seems also true that there exists some inherent confusion about the terminology and how it defines the type of sex worker it describes. As Davidson points out, the term *hetaira* is itself a euphemism.[381] Definitions of the term often argue that (high-class) *hetairai* stand in opposition to another figure, such as the

[374] 1996: 405.
[375] *Epitrepontes* 646 and 794.
[376] *Epitrepontes* 985.
[377] Arnott 1996, *Epitrepontes* F1.
[378] 2009: 122-3.
[379] 2009: 123. *Epitrepontes* 136.
[380] 2004: 81.
[381] 1997: 135.

(brothel-housed) *pornai*. Davidson argues that "commodity exchange" differentiates the *hetaira* from the *porne*.[382] MacDowell discusses the distinction but concedes that it is not clear-cut.[383] Cohen argues that the two distinct categories appear to be fused together in ancient comedy.[384] McClure shows how the distinction between *pornai* and *hetairai* is actually quite ambiguous since both titles can be (and are) applied to the same woman.[385] Sommerstein defines a *hetaira* as "any woman who makes herself (or, if a slave, is made by her owner) sexually available for a reward."[386] Glazebrook shows how the figure is crafted intentionally as an antithesis to the ideal wife in Greek thought and argues that "the *hetaira* in oratory provides sex to anyone who can pay, is excessive in her behavior, and often arrogant and impious."[387] The various attempts to define the *hetaira* indicate how difficult the figure (and the term itself) is to pin-point. The modern confusion might suggest that there was also an inherent ambiguity in the terms in Greek comedy. Alternatively, the application of multiple titles for the same sex worker might be intentionally applied by playwrights in the service of character and/or plot development. The switching of appellations shows that a character's identity is being misidentified or misrepresented.

I.2 - Music Girls in Greek and Plautine Comedy

Music girls in Greek and Plautine comedy are silent characters whose main function is to present a sympotic atmosphere in the play. As mentioned in the previous section, this type of character can be understood as a kind of sex worker. Aristophanes sets his first play, *Banqueters*,

[382] 1997: 110.
[383] 2000: 14.
[384] 2015: 98.
[385] 2003: 9-24.
[386] 2021: 100.
[387] 2006: 128.

at a banquet honoring Herakles which features the silent flute girl who works parties.[388] This character shows up more prominently in *Wasps*, where Procleon abducts the flute girl, Dardanis, from a banquet.[389] Silent flute girls appear throughout Greek Comedy. For example, Menander's *Perikeiromene* features Habrotonon, a silent flute girl with the same name as the *pallake* in *Epitrepontes*. This play also references the figure when describing a scene of girls dancing that is embroidered on a cloak.[390] The comedies of Plautus feature music girls as well. For example, *Aulularia* has *tibicinae* (flute players) and *Epidicus* has *fidicinae* (lyre players). Plautus' *Stichus* features a scene where the music girl Stephanium is asked to perform a dance for other slaves.[391]

I.3 - The *ancilla* in Plautus

Plautus uses the term '*ancilla*' to describe any enslaved, young female. Packman shows how *ancillae* represent a more generic type of domestic enslaved worker who may or may not be associated with a *meretrix* or a *leno* in Plautus' comedies.[392] For example, she notes that an individual character might be called both "*ancilla*" and "*anus*" within a play.[393] She also points out the fact that modern editions often assert (and insert) designations of *dramatis personae*, as is often the case with *adulescentes* as well as *ancillae*, even when such inferences cannot be supported explicitly within the text.[394] Habinek argues that "the slave is constituted by comedy as the ritual object, the materialized outcome of process of transformation, whose status continues beyond the ritual performance as a guarantor of the less stable, indeed inherently unstable, transformation of youth into adult, non-Roman into Roman. (Should the slaves, like the

[388] *Banqueters* 1072-3.
[389] *Wasps* 1371. This scene is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.
[390] *Perikeiromene* 768.
[391] *Stichus* 755-75.
[392] 1999.
[393] 1999: 252.
[394] 1999: 255.

ancilla, ever begin to move *sponte sua*, of their own accord, Rome would indeed be at risk, as the Romans surely knew.)"[395]

Plautus specifies that these kinds of enslaved women (*ancillae*) in his plays are owned by many types of characters, such as a *matrona* (*Asinaria*), a *senex* (*Curculio*), an *adulescens* (*Stichus*), a *meretrix* (*Cistellaria*), a *leno* (*Rudens*), or a *miles* (*Miles Gloriosus*). In contrast, the *ancilla* in Terence is always owned by a *meretrix* or *leno*. This is common in Plautus as well. For example, the following *ancillae* in Plautine comedy reside in the home of a *meretrix* or *leno*: Halisca (*Cistellaria*), Ancilla (*Menaechmi*), Scapha (*Mostellaria*), Palaestra (*Rudens*), and Astaphium (*Truculentus*). Out of these five *ancillae* only Palaestra in *Rudens* undergoes a scene of recognition and becomes involved in a marriage plot. In Plautus the *ancilla* is not classifiable in any way except by a current state of enslavement and there is not much confusion between an *ancilla* and a *virgo*, as there is in Terence. For example, in Plautus' *Persa*, the female character only classified as "*Virgo*" makes a distinction between *ancilla* and a *virgo* when she asks her father, the parasite Saturio, the following question:

> utrum tu pro ancilla me habes an pro filia?
>
> Do you think of me as an *ancilla* or a daughter?
> *Persa* 341

This passage exemplifies the sharp distinction between an enslaved *ancilla* and a free born *virgo*. To this question, the girl's father responds with the following suggestion:

> utrum hercle magis in ventris rem videbitur.
> meum, opino, imperiumst in te, non in me tibi.
>
> By Hercules, whichever one seems like a better situation for my belly.
> I think my *imperium* is over you, not the other way around.
> *Persa* 342-3

[395] 2005: 54.

Here the relationship between men and women (more specifically between a father and daughter) is discussed using terminology associated with military command as well as political authority and/or jurisdiction (*imperium*). The term *imperium* occurs forty-six times in Roman comedy.[396] Richardson argues that twenty-nine times in Plautus, two times in Terence, and once in Turpilius the term just indicates an 'order' but one Plautine example carries "the meaning of the power to issue such order," and "the remaining fourteen instances all carry the meaning of power or authority."[397] Leigh discusses the comic use of the term *imperium* (not in this particular passage) in domestic and military contexts as a link between modes of fatherhood and military command.[398] Leigh argues that "to the extent that being a son, like being a soldier, exposes an otherwise free man to the servile experience of absolute subjection to the authority of another, both positions cannot but be problematic within the complex web of Roman power relations."[399] This argument is in accordance with my own analysis. The parasite makes it clear that whether she is (treated like) a *virgo* or an *ancilla* remains entirely up to the prerogative of the man in charge.

II - Women and Identity in Comedy and in Previous Scholarship

The *virgo* and *ancilla* character types themselves are rarely the central figure discussed in scholarship, but they are often included in more general discussions about women, gender politics, and gendered speech in Greek and Roman drama. The characters are not usually involved in stage action and some do not even appear on stage or speak at all. Konstan argues that in Greek and Roman New Comedy, "a young lover of middle-class background had scant

[396] Richardson 2008: 50.
[397] 2008: 50.
[398] 2004: 158-91.
[399] 2004: 178.

opportunity to associate with marriageable women because they were kept at a modest distance from male company, and this distance was reflected in the dramatic convention by which citizen girls did not appear on stage, or if they did, only as the kind of exception that proves the rule."[400]

II.1 - Mistaken Identity and the Recognition Plot in Greek and Roman New Comedy

Some of Terence's plays contain complex marriage plots that feature mistaken identity and the eventual recognition of citizenship. This transition from *ancilla* to marriageable *virgo* features in *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, and *Adelphoe*. Hence, the character inspires scholarly discussions about the dramatic (and social) contexts of marriage, identity, and citizenship. For example, Duckworth discusses the importance of mistaken identity and the recognition scene in Plautus and Terence.[401] He shows how the recognition scene (or even the love plot) is not a common feature to all comic plots in the plays of Plautus and Terence and argues instead that "a general atmosphere of misapprehension seems by far the most essential factor in developing the action and producing the complications in comedy."[402] Konstan comments on the silence of rape victims in comedy, claiming that "there remains a sign of the erotic passivity required of a citizen girl in the silence imposed upon her in her new civic identity, which marks a categorical division between the two instants of her life."[403] Franko argues that, for Plautus, "most of his plays do not aim for or end in a marriage; frequently, the Plautine happy ending consists of the young man's continued access to his mistress."[404] James also maintains this distinction between Plautus and Terence, arguing that "Plautus's theater differs starkly from this sentimental, bourgeois plot structure: within his plays, the intention of marriage is formally announced or accepted by a

[400] 1994: 142.
[401] Duckworth 1952: 151-160 discusses mistaken identity in the plots of eight plays by Plautus and Terence: *Captivi*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Poenulus*, *Andria*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, *Eunuchus*, and *Phormio*.
[402] Duckworth 1952: 141.
[403] 1994: 147.
[404] 2020: 13.

father or brother only six times (*Aulularia*, *Curculio*, *Poenulus*, *Rudens*, *Trinummus*, and *Truculentus*)."[405] It is clear, then, that the structure and function of mistaken identity (and the gender politics involved) differ between Plautus and Terence.

The recognition plot in Menander is not restricted to the same scenarios as it is in Terence's comedies. For example, Traill shows how "mistaken identity embraces a much wider range of characters than low-status women from the ranks – or potential ranks – of *hetairai*."[406] She argues, in fact, that "all of Menander's plays have a recognition of some sort."[407] Traill also claims that Menander's plays "represent an early stage in comedy's appropriation of mistaken identity, before it was so well established as a dramatic premise that it figured in self-conscious allusions."[408] When the Menandrian plot does revolve around the mistaken identity of a female citizen, it is done in the service of restoring her lost citizenship.[409] More recently, Panayotakis argues that Plautine women who undergo mistaken identity "offer the dramatist an especially rich vehicle for exploring the theme of identity."[410]

II.2 - Gender and Identity

Identity itself, in addition to mistaken identity, is a feature often emphasized and distorted in comedy. For example, Dutsch opens her monograph on feminine discourse by arguing that "language is the fabric from which social identities are made: we constantly use words to fashion our own *personae*… and the female personae of Roman comedy are no exception: the characters in these plays would have been shaped by (and would have in turn shaped) the ways in which

[405] 2020: 109.
[406] 2008: 245.
[407] 2008: 261.
[408] 2008: 262.
[409] Traill 2008: 246.
[410] 2020: 94.

Roman people (and characters) projected their identities."[411] Her analysis on gendered speech convincingly demonstrates how male and female speech follows some distinct patterns in Plautus and Terence.[412] Barrios-Lech shows how, statistically, "Plautus and Terence agree in characterizing women as more positively polite than men."[413] He argues that significance of this is that "it suggests actual speech habits: in everyday conversations, women were probably more positively polite than man."[414] Both Dutsch and Barrios-Lech suggest that the data found in comedy can shed light on potential speech patterns of women in ancient Rome.

These are fruitful observations and I do not deny their accuracy. However, I do not think that women in comedy can be understood solely through their own linguistic actions and interactions. Are we to understand the women who speak as being more representative of something reflected in real life than the female characters who do not speak? Perhaps this is, in fact, true in the sense that silent female characters, at least in Terence, might be more of a metaphorical tool to discuss power relations than a way for Terence to reflect truths about Roman (or Athenian) women or gender politics in Rome (or Athens). Panayotakis argues that Plautus, by his use of tragic elements, "double" features, and mistaken identity, "is also making a serious statement about the artificiality of human identity, which can be constructed and deconstructed at will, the inability of the human condition to grasp truth, and the tension that exists between reality and the experience of reality, between belief and fact, and between vision and certainty."[415] This suggestion holds true for Terence as well: the way his mistaken identity plots function highlights that same tension between the idea of identity as something internal and

[411] 2008: 1.
[412] Dutsch 2008.
[413] 2016: 296. Dutsch 2008: 56.
[414] 2016: 56.
[415] 2020: 106.

fixed, and as something that can be constructed or deconstructed by outside forces. Identity, whether individual or political, is more fruitfully conceived of as a process and an amalgamation of events and contexts rather than a fixed, singular state.[416] In this way of thinking, therefore, identity is by definition variable and dependent upon context and perspective.

The formation of Roman cultural and political identities among elite males is a productive comparison for Terence's formation of dramatic identities and might even be directly linked to aspects of the identities of his *ancillae*. One type of argument is that Roman identity is inextricably linked to expansionism, colonialism, and/or imperialism. For example, both Dench and Lavan suggest that there is a traceable Roman ideology which directly concerns the incorporation (or marked separation) of particular lands and peoples during the Republic.[417] In other words, Roman identity might be defined through the power relationships between Roman and foreign cultures. Harris argues that Romans might have been annexing land during the Republic; he is adamant that there is no evidence to disprove the idea.[418] Richardson maintains that formal land annexation and the related power dynamics are not yet solidified in the time that Terence is writing.[419] Lavan's book only considers evidence from the Late Republic and the Principate, so in this way his conclusions about slavery and the subjugation of provinces cannot be read in the same way as Richardson's account, which focuses mainly on the Republic as the development of the *provincia* comes about.[420] It is clear that the Romans in Terence's time (the 160s BCE) were not systematically annexing territories of land and then calling them

---

[416] Mattingly 2007: 14 argues that "Various factors can be suggested as bearing on individual and group identity in the Roman world: status; wealth; location; employment; religion; origin; proximity to the imperial government; legal status and rights; language and literacy; age and sex. Status incorporated various broad categories: slave, free, freed, dependent, independent, barbarian, Roman citizen, non-citizen, *humiliores*, *honestiores*, curial class, equestrian, senator, imperial household."
[417] 1995; 2013.
[418] 1979.
[419] 2008.
[420] 2013; 2008.

'*provinciae*' even though Rome did acquire lands after the First and Second Punic Wars. However, this does not imply that Romans were uninterested or uninvolved in land politics and (re)distribution. While Richardson does not disprove this way of thinking about provincial populations and Roman ideology, his argument stresses what I would call a Roman ideology of an individual's boundless power, tempered by the same legal circumstances which ascribe that power. What is essential in this paradigm of power is the authority of individual Romans to act on behalf of the State, not so much about the Roman state's authority over other populations, provincial or not.

II.3 - Names of Sex Workers in Comedy and on the Walls of the Brothel of Pompeii

Terence's first play, *Andria*, features two women who are called "Andria." Very early on, Terence informs the audience of the elder Andria's real name: Chrysis.[421] Interestingly, Chrysis is also the name Menander gives to his Samia (the Girl from Samos).[422] Glycerium is also referred to as Andria in the play (she is the younger Andria), in addition to Glycerium and Pasibula. There are two ways to render "Andria" into English: either as a substantive adjective describing a place name "(the woman) from Andros" or perhaps even as a proper name "Andria." The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names lists one record of a historical individual bearing the name Ἀνδρία: a female from Miletus in the first century BCE whose name appears in Didyma.[423] This shows that the interpretation is possible, but the name does not appear to have been widely used. It is more likely that "Andria" simply indicates that she was a "woman from Andros." Regardless of how the name "Andria" is interpreted, the dramatic character in Terence can be understood as a metaphor for a specific land (Andros). When Davos calls the woman "Andria" in the play, he

[421] *Andria* 85.
[422] *Samia*.
[423] Didyma 228 II.4.

highlights the liminal status of her identity. Since the play is set in Athens, even if that setting might act as a veil for Rome, the name "Andria" places great emphasis on her perceived foreignness while simultaneously concealing her personal identity—with one significant exception: her (potential) point of origin.

Although it might seem tempting to assume that such an ethnic-marking name might reflect an historical reality for an enslaved sex worker in ancient Greece or Rome, this may not be the case.[424] Levin-Richardson's recent work on the graffiti in the Brothel of Pompeii, the only well-preserved archaeological site that is definitively known to have been a brothel, has shown that a name carrying any sense of identity before enslavement (and sex work) would be the exception and not the rule.[425] In the Brothel of Pompeii, 88 distinct names are inscribed 141 times and the majority of these are the names of males, likely the names of clients and likely written by those clients themselves.[426] When female names are identified, Levin-Richardson shows how it is uncommon for any details that mark an individual's identity outside of (or before) the brothel to be listed: she explains that such details might include "their origins, occupations, character, possibly their family associations."[427] Levin-Richardson suggests instead that "many [Roman] prostitutes were called by stage names."[428] Some of the female (stage) names inscribed on the walls of the Brothel of Pompeii are: Victoria ("Score"), Fortuna and Fortunata ("Get Lucky" and "Got Lucky"), and Mola ("Grinder").[429] While personal details are

[424] McClure 2003: 68-78 discusses the naming practices of Greek literary and quasi-historical *hetairai* as they are presented in Book 13 of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. She shows how the names of *hetairai* listed by Athenaeus do little to individualize or fully identify the individual *hetaira*, and instead often appear to be "homonyms, nicknames, or professional names, both generic and particular…" (2003: 74).
[425] Levin-Richardson 2019: 118.
[426] Levin-Richardson 2019: 56.
[427] 2019: 59 shows that only one inscription contains such information (CIL 4.2173 Add. p. 215); it reads "*Salvi filia*" which may potentially refer to an historical "Salvus" or "Salvius."
[428] 2019: 118.
[429] Translations are my own unless stated otherwise.

not often included, some descriptions (often involving military metaphors, such as "Restituta bellis moribus," "vitrix Victoria," and "Victoria invicta") or specific sexual acts (such as "Μόλα φουτοῦτρις" and "Fortunata fellat") are listed.[430] This feature of a Roman brothel might be quite different in older, Greek contexts. For example, Glazebrook claims that the Greek *hetaira*'s foreignness is typically marked: she argues that "to most Athenians, *hetaira* would imply slave, freedwoman, or *xene*—a woman who was clearly non-Attic—because *astai* who became prostitutes in Classical Athens seems to have been rare.[431]

In *Pseudolus* Plautus gives several enslaved sex workers similar types of stage names, all formed from Greek terms. In the play the *leno*, Ballio, addresses women he calls Hedytium ("Pleasurable"), Aeschrodora ("Nasty Goodies"), Xystilis ("Shaved"), and Phoenicium ("Date Candy").[432] In light of this, Terence's use of a name such as "Glycerium" ("Sweetie") is a suitable name referring to an (enslaved) sex worker whereas "Andria" is more peculiar. Not only does such a name act as an ethnic marker but it also is already ascribed to another character referenced, but not staged, in the play: the *meretrix* who owned Glycerium before giving her to Pamphilus upon her death bed is also referred to as "Andria" in the play. Sex workers in comedy with names such as Phoenicium in *Pseudolus* and (perhaps) Lesbia in *Andria* split the difference between names like Glycerium and Andria by evoking political territories in the service of transferring cultural features and stereotypes from the place onto the sex worker.[433] Terence's *ancilla* called "Andria" appears to evoke only the place, not the culture or any perceivable stereotypes associated with it.[434] Her close connection with the *meretrix* Andria marks her as a

[430] CIL.4.2202 Add. p. 465; CIL.4.2212 Add. p. 215; CIL.4.2226; CIL.4.2204; CIL.4.2275.
[431] Glazebrook 2006: 134.
[432] *Pseudolus* 188, 196, 210, 227. Plautus' Phoenicium is also an ethnic marking name but it serves double-duty by playing off the idea of a date palm as well as the sex act implied by *phoenikazein*.
[433] Lesbia is described as a drunk by Mysis in *Andria*, a description which might evoke a cultural stereotype associated with the peoples of Lesbos. Cf. *lesbiazein*, discussed below.
[434] Perhaps ἀνήρ ("man") is relevant.

potential sex worker. The girl's citizenship is restored when a man (named Crito) called "Andros" shows up and her lost identity is revealed. Perhaps Crito does evoke a stereotype insofar as he is a "man" from a place that is etymologically related to the Greek word for man. Regardless, it takes a man (i.e. Andros) to restore a woman (i.e. Andria) to citizenship and impose an identity that makes her marriageable.

Terence's choice to use the name "Andria" to refer to Pasibula is striking. However, this kind of naming practice is not entirely absent from Plautus. In fact, Plautus names one of the *ancillae* in the *Pseudolus* using a substantive adjective describing a place name: the *leno* Ballio lists a certain Phoenicium ("Date Candy") among his enslaved sex workers.[435] This name also refers to the girl's (potential or supposed) point of origin and might also be interpreted as "Phoenician." This name, like Lesbia, ambiguously refers both to the place and to the Greek verb derived from the place, which carries connotations of cultural behavior and/or stereotyping. Gilhuly discusses this discursive trope in Greek literature and points out and glosses verbs like *korinthiazomai* ("to traffic in prostitutes"), *sybarizein* (to be a sybarite, or a pleasure-lover), *phoenikizein* (to perform oral sex), and *lesbiazein* (to do shameful things).[436] Henderson offers some slightly different interpretations, for example he suggests that *korinthiazomai* "is synonymous in comedy with fornication because of the reputation of Corinth for wantonness and luxuriousness."[437] He also interprets *lesbiazein* as, "the *vox propria* for fellatio in the comic poets."[438] Henderson only mentions the verb *phoenikizein* briefly, suggesting that it might also fall into the category of terminology for cunnilingus.[439]

---

[435] *Pseudolus* 227.
[436] Gilhuly 2018: 1.
[437] 1991: 175.
[438] 1991: 183.
[439] 1991: 186.

One prominent difference between the sex-workers in *Andria* and those listed in *Pseudolus* is the fact that Phoenicium stands alone among a group of fellow enslaved sex workers with a name that marks her (perceived, assumed, or ascribed) ethnicity whereas Andria is accompanied by the characters Mysis and Lesbia. Plautus' Phoenicium may conceivably represent Carthage, or at least a Carthaginian, but the name might more readily imply the sexual act associated with the verb and is very quickly made the subject of word play where Phoenicium also refers to the shade of purple bruises which Ballio threatens to inflict on her skin.[440] Phoenicium is therefore referential to three separate features: a person from Carthage as well as a sexual act and even a piece of candy (dates, which are sweet, might be considered an ancient equivalent to candy). No similar pun or explicit word play is found in relation to the names of Terence's sex workers, although Lesbia in *Andria* is a possible exception. This is to say that, even though Plautus does use a sort of place name when referring to a sex worker, the function of that name is not the same as the function of place names in Terence's *ancillae*.

III - Terence's (first) *Ancilla*: Transition and Transformation in *Andria*

Liminality and hybridity highlight the tendencies of binary thinking and categorization by virtue of their resistance to these ideas. The kind of character, like an *ancilla*, that embraces two opposing roles or embodies a space between those roles undergoes either a transformation or a transition.

III.1 - Terentian Poetics: Liminality and Acts of Naming

There is little scholarly discussion about what motives, if any, Terence may have had in changing the names of his characters. Plautus also changes names, but instead of Plautine

[440] *Pseudolus* 229.

absurdity, Terence's changes are much more subtle. This might be because Terence's poetic style (in addition to his comic characters) is in general more subtle than the exuberant and farcical comedy of Plautus. The name which Terence assigns a character, however, can still inform our reading because of the connotations associated with that name. For example, Brown argues that "the [Greek or Roman] audience has certain expectations that a character with a particular name will be of a certain age, sex and status."[441] The association of names with dramatic masks is possible, but there is little evidence for the specifics of mask usage on the Roman stage. Some of Terence's characters' names, whether changed or not, are stock names belonging to stock characters which are repeated even within the small corpus of Terence: for example, the names Pamphilus or Pamphila for an amatory character and the name Chremes for a *senex*. It is therefore striking that, in the *Eunuchus,* Chremes (Pamphila's brother) does not fit his stereotypical name since he is an *adulescens*. Other examples in Terence include: the mothers named Sostrata in *Hecyra*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, and *Adelphoe* and the slaves named Parmeno in *Hecyra*, *Eunuchus*, and *Adelphoe*.

Menon recently coined a term for Plautine studies, what she calls the "foreign imaginary" in order to "refer to the foreign parts of the world which exist just out of sight of the audience, offstage."[442] In fact, the interplay between foreign and domestic in Plautus lends itself, in Menon's opinion, to a theoretical lens of hybridity.[443] Plautus even sets some of his comedies in faraway places.[444] The interplay in Terence is much more subtle. Terentian plots do not allude to travel very much and even less often do they describe (or ridicule) foreign lands or the people

---

[441] 1987: 192.
[442] 2020: 30.
[443] 2020: 31-2. Menon applies the concept of hybridity to the relationship between Greek and Roman elements in Plautine comedy and cites postcolonial theory for her definition of hybridity as "a disruptive force which emerges in moments between colonizer and colonized," (Bhabha 1994).
[444] For example, *Amphitruo* is set in Thebes, *Captivi* is set in Aetolia, *Cistellaria* is set in Sicyon, *Curculio* is set in Epidaurus, *Miles Gloriosus* is set in Ephesus, *Poenulus* is set in Caledon, and *Rudens* is set in Cyrene.

who live there, with one exception: abducted and orphaned women. In the course of his plays, *ancillae* are always enslaved and either engage in sex work explicitly or are in such a position that their engagement in sex work in the (very near) future seems imminent.[445] Marshall discusses enslaved women in the sex trade in Roman comedy.[446] He specifically limits his study to "characters typically labelled 'courtesans': the Greek ἑταίρα and the Roman meretrix."[447] Therefore, Marshall does not take the *ancillae* in Roman comedy into account in this work but the addition of these figures into a study like his would be fruitful. Richlin, on the other hand, does include *ancillae* in her discussions of sex slaves in Plautine comedy but her study does not include the comedies of Terence.[448] Richlin argues that, in Plautus, "the plays that do open up space for the viewpoint of *ancillae*, and even show where the category *ancillae* itself had fractured lines."[449] The same can be said for Terence's *ancillae*. Terence presents these enslaved women associated with the sex trade as *ancillae* and even presents them interchangeably as *ancillae* and as *virgines* when the identity of the girl is questioned or pushed into a liminal social space due to her status and (sexually vulnerable) position.[450]

I describe the social space between enslaved *ancilla* and marriageable *virgo* as liminal because the dramatic character can sometimes exist in a space between two distinct social positions: she is both *ancilla* and *virgo* from the perspectives of those around her but she also fulfils neither role entirely if her own perspective is considered. A liminal model is more appropriate to the context of Terence's foreign *ancillae* than a theoretical model of hybridity. Konstan, borrowing from Van Gennep, explains that all transitions are marked by three phases:

---

[445] i.e., they are legally owned by a *meretrix* or a *leno* with no reason to believe they would be spared from the profession.
[446] 2013; 2015.
[447] 2013: 174.
[448] 2017: 105-26.
[449] 2017: 265.
[450] This is the case with Glycerium in *Andria*, discussed above.

"the first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a "state"), or from both. During the intervening 'liminal' period, the characteristics of the ritual subject are ambiguous…in the third phase (reaggregation or reincorporation), the passage is consummated."[451] Thus, Terence creates a liminal space these female characters inhabit: terminology shifts as characters assume new roles according to unfolding plots and the revelation of identities but some of the *ancillae* themselves (namely those who turn out to have been citizens all along) can also be understood as simultaneously inhabiting different roles (*virgo* and *meretrix*). When an *ancilla* is also a *virgo* in Terence she is always on the verge of becoming a *meretrix*; she is either owned by a *meretrix* (as is the case in *Andria* and *Eunuchus*) or a *leno* (as is the case in *Phormio* and *Adelphoe*), and she often is either sexually attacked and/or made pregnant by the play's *adulescens* (as is the case in *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, and *Adelphoe*).

The *ancilla* by virtue of her servitude alone can be considered liminal but Terence's plays add further to the figure's liminality by the specific contexts of her dramatized servitude. Patterson famously calls slavery a kind of living "social death" and explains how it exists on various margins "between" spaces and concepts.[452] He suggests that the Romans viewed slavery as a three-step process, whereby "institutionalized liminality" constitutes the stage after enslavement/capture and before manumission. More recently, Bodel clarifies that this stage is transitional and fluid, not static, and that slavery as "social death" is appropriate only if we consider this death a temporary condition.[453] Perry clearly shows how the complexity of Roman slavery in terms of the social relationships involved was further complicated by gender.[454] He

[451] 1995: 67. Konstan 1995: 68 describes Dionysus' refusal to admit his name in *Frogs* as a "liminal pattern."
[452] 1982: 51.
[453] 2016: 96.
[454] 2013.

argues that a suitable marriage is the only means whereby a female freedwoman could lose the stigma of being sexually available that is attached to a female slave.[455] The fact that Terence's *ancillae* are enslaved by sex workers muddles the temporary condition of slavery even further, due to the social stigma surrounding sex work in addition to the stigma surrounding a female slave's general sexual availability.

III.2 - *Andria*: a Case Study

Terence uses terms such as *ancilla*, *virgo*, and *meretrix* instead of (or in addition to) less marked terms (such as *mulier* and *femina*) when describing *ancillae*. Davidson points out how "applying several different terms to the same woman" in Greek literature creates ambivalence: in Greek the term for "woman" (γυνή) is ambiguous since it refers to a male citizen's "wife" as easily as it refers to one's "mistress" or even "concubine."[456] Terence's terms (*ancilla*, *virgo*, and *femina*) are less inherently ambiguous, but Terence creates an ambiguity by changing and exchanging the terms that he applies to individual enslaved sex workers, soon-to-be sex workers, and those who were almost sex workers.

For example, in *Andria* Mysis is called both an "*ancilla*" and a "*meretrix*" by Davos.[457] This female character is also addressed as "*mulier*" by Chremes.[458] Simo categorizes Pasibula in *Andria* as an "*adulescentula*" (young lady)[459] and a "*peregrina*" (foreign woman)[460] but he also includes her among groups of "*meretrices*"[461] and "*pedisequae*"[462] in the play. Pasibula's uncle,

[455] 2013: 151.
[456] 1997: 74.
[457] *Andria* 514; 756.
[458] *Andria* 742.
[459] *Andria* 118.
[460] *Andria* 146.
[461] *Andria* 913.
[462] *Andria* 123.

Crito, calls her a "*virgo*."[463] The issue goes beyond establishing ambiguity between "wife-material" (*virgo*) and "(other) lover" (*ancilla* and/or *meretrix*) since that inherent ambiguity is present in the terms for "woman" (e.g. *mulier*, *femina*) at the time Terence was writing. The term "*virgo*" means "wife-material" insofar as it refers to an unmarried female and is typically restricted to citizens (and goddesses), as opposed to enslaved individuals. The term "*mulier*" is a more general designation of "woman" that does not seem to distinguish between a wife and an enslaved individual. Witzke examines terminology relating to sex labor in Roman comedy and designates *amica*, *meretrix*, and *scortum* as the most common terms for female sex laborers.[464] Like Marshall, she does not include comic *ancillae* in her analysis. Witzke does discuss the difference between free and enslaved sex workers, observing that "free women have agency, brothel slaves do not."[465] *Ancillae* are another kind of (potential) sex slave that does not have agency, as depicted in Terentian comedy.[466]

With only limited exceptions, the audience hears nothing beyond the occasional screams of childbirth from female victims of sexual abuse; the issue of female consent is only addressed when sexual violence is expounded by descriptions of particularly brutal physical attacks which are integral to the plot of the play.[467] Scholars such as Dutsch interpret the silence of female characters as reinforcing gender roles.[468] The fact that consent is not discussed in other scenarios where an *adulescens* has made an *ancilla* pregnant in Terence is hardly surprising, since an

[463] *Andria* 924.
[464] 2015: 8.
[465] 2015: 11.
[466] For the issue of slave agency in antiquity as discussed through Plautine comedy, see Stewart 2012: 7-17. For a more recent and general discussion of female slavery and slave agency, see Marshall and Kamen 2021.
[467] For example, Chaerea's attack of an *ancilla* while disguised as a eunuch in *Eunuchus* and Pamphilus' attack of his wife Philumena in *Hecyra* fit this exception.
[468] 2008: 39.

ancilla in Terence's plays, as I have shown, automatically signals an enslaved individual who has (or will have) the profession of the *meretrix*.

Legally speaking, the *ancilla*'s servitude prevents consent over her own body from belonging to her in the first place. Since these women often do turn out to be wrongfully enslaved daughters of citizens, they transform from "(other) lover" into "wife-material" from the perspective of the other characters in the play. However, if the perspective of the female character is considered, the transformation is less "real" than it is "legal," since she has always been "wife-material" even while she was enslaved and employed in the business of the "(other) lover." There is a legal transformation and a personal transformation. The legal transformation can be more correctly thought of as legal reinstatement of citizenship rights which were illegally stripped from her. The personal transformation of the *ancilla* is more complicated since her experiences living in the home of a *meretrix* or *leno* cannot be removed or rewritten once the truth is made evident. In this way the *ancilla* is both *virgo* and *meretrix*, but she satisfies neither role in its entirety: the fact that the *adulescens* consents to marry her at all muddles her previous role as a *meretrix*, yet the girl's sexual availability while enslaved muddles her role as marriageable *virgo*. The *ancilla* thus embodies a space between roles, one that somehow resists and encourages the binary categorization that other characters use to exert their control over her (enslaved/free, wife/other lover). These roles are directly relational to and ultimately dependent upon the *adulescens* who engages with her sexually while she has the status of *ancilla* and ultimately will marry her once it becomes legally feasible. Therefore, Terence defines the *ancilla*'s liminality and/or hybridity according to her relationship with an *adulescens* more prominently than he defines it by virtue of her state of enslavement alone. I suggest that Terence does this in the service of establishing the character type as a metaphor for land and property.

III.3 - Andria's Mistaken Identity and the Transformation from *Ancilla* to *Virgo*

The most significant transformation within the dynamic of character development of the *ancilla* in Terence is the extent of control which the *adulescens* can exert over the girl: while she is an *ancilla* the *adulescens* has limited access to her (he pays for short-term, conditional sexual access), yet when she is called a *virgo* the *adulescens* is given a certain amount of power over her actions (and exclusive access) via marriage. McGinn analyzes Republican evidence for the legality of marriage between a freed person and a person born free and argues that "if before the *lex Iulia* marriages between freeborn and freed were so objectionable, unions between freed and prostitutes may have been less so, though if so this does not mean they were entirely immune from censure."[469] McGinn also argues that the prostitute's profession "stigmatized woman, rendering them ineligible for respectable work and isolating them within the context of lower-class society, a sort of marginalization from the marginal."[470] Thus, socially, it is unlikely that the girl would be able to find a husband other than the man with whom she engaged as an *ancilla* and/or *meretrix*. Furthermore, that man might be legally entitled to marry a prostitute or freedwoman but that doesn't imply that the practice was normative or conventional. Konstan argues that "only the man who had done the deed could, by the conventions of New Comedy, have her as wife, thus restoring her social position, and all instances of rape in the genre are resolved in just this way."[471] From this context, the question might be revisited under the framework of "marry your rapist" laws. However, before Augustan's adultery law sexual misconduct would likely have been a private matter dealt with by the *pater familias*.[472] The situation in Terence is not a legal requirement but rather a social norm, as decided by whichever

[469] 1998: 85.
[470] 1998: 212.
[471] 1994: 144-5.
[472] Williams 2010: 130.

man has legal control over the woman, whether that man is a parent, uncle, or even a brother (as is the case in *Eunuchus*).

The character known as Glycerium, for example (the young woman in *Andria*) experiences the transformation from *ancilla* to *virgo*. This play is about a young man (Pamphilus) in love with an *ancilla* who is given over to him by a dying *meretrix*. The *ancilla* turns out to have been made pregnant by Pamphilus, which upsets his father's plans for arranging a marriage for him with the daughter of a neighbor. In the end, it is revealed that Glycerium is actually a citizen and therefore marriageable. This woman gives birth during the course of the play so she inhabits a space between life and death. Her ever-changing name exemplifies her character's muddled identity: she is typically called Glycerium (thirteen times in the text), but she is also once called Andria and once called Pasibula. While she has the status of *ancilla* she is Glycerium ("Sweetie"), but when Davos reveals that she is pregnant by Pamphilus he calls her "Andria."[473]

Pamphilus calls the young woman Glycerium frequently throughout the *Andria* but he is also the one to reveal her 'real' name once her citizen status has been rediscovered at the end of the play: her name is Pasibula.[474] Thus, this woman's name shifts as she slips between social roles which the character (paradoxically) fills and also rejects. The slippage of her name centers around her social and legal status: she is Glycerium when enslaved and sexually vulnerable (*ancilla*), Andria when pregnant and in a socially liminal state between *ancilla* and *virgo*, and only Pasibula once her lost citizen status has been regained and her free legal status ascertained. Liminality is a useful tool to understand the complexities of the female characters' relationship to

[473] *Andria* 215.
[474] *Andria* 945.

their shifting dramatic roles. Parker discusses the shared liminality of slaves and wives in relation to the Roman men with whom they lived.[475]

IV - Land and Women

IV.1 - Women and Land (Names) in Greek Comedy

Terence's *Andria* is certainly not the first comedy to feature (or at least reference) a girl "from (somewhere)." Although the comedies themselves are largely fragmented or lost entirely, there are numerous comedies attested that are named after a girl from (somewhere). For example, Antiphanes wrote plays titled *the Lemnian Women* and *the Woman from Caria*. Menander has many plays with this type of title, including: *Andria*, *Samia*, *Messenia*, *Leukadia*, *Olynthia*, *Thettale*, *Karine*, and *Boiotis*.[476] Among Menander's plays are also those named after male characters, likely all soldiers, from (somewhere), such as: *Kres* (also known as *Androgynos*), *Ephesios*, *Karchedonios*, and *Lokroi*.[477] Since the contents of these plays are fragmentary or lost entirely, it is impossible to fully understand (or reasonably speculate about) the function of the name and/or the female character beyond the possibility of her being a *hetaira* or other sex worker. Olson maintains that it is fruitless to speculate based on titles and one-word fragments.[478] Welsch discusses the fragments of *fabulae togatae* and argues that "fragmentation alone does not diminish the value of the evidence available in the fragments of Titinius, Afranius, and Atta, for these comic performances of Roman civic and social relationships offer important confirmation and correction to the impressions of those same relationships we gain from Plautus and

---

[475] 1998: 152-172.
[476] Tragedy also has plays with titles of this type, for example Euripides' *Trachiniae* and *Troades*.
[477] Plautus' *Poenulus* is based on Alexis' *Karchedonios* and is not named after a soldier. Alexis' play is highly fragmentary, and it is not clear if the titular character is a soldier or not.
[478] 2007.

Terence."[479] Thus, while the titles of lost Greek comedies cannot confirm a pattern of characterization, they do suggest that Terence did not invent "the girl from (somewhere)" as a comic trope. However, by the same reasoning these titles do nothing to prove that Terence's girls from (somewhere) are merely a remnant of his Greek sources.

IV.2 - How Place Names in Terence Evoke Lands with Roman Significance

There is evidence to suggest that naming enslaved individuals after their points of origin (or where their seller pretends they originate from) is common. This scenario can be found in Plautus' *Persa* when the character named Virgo pretends to be Lucris ("the girl from Lokris").[480] However, this practice is not typical in Roman comedy or reflected on the walls of the Brothel of Pompeii. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous section, it is not clear from the extant Greek fragments that the titles of lost plays reflect the name of an enslaved female, let alone a sex worker.[481] In these ways the names of Terence's *ancillae* stand out against earlier comic examples of the character type(s).

In *Andria* the audience is introduced to a unique dramatic world that gives an impression of being engaged with the wider world/Mediterranean. This impression stems from the presence of female characters whose names imply specific ethnicities from across the Mediterranean. In addition to Andria (the Girl from Andros), Terence includes Mysis (the Girl from Mysia) and Lesbia (the Girl from Lesbos) in the world his first play, *Andria*. There is no extant evidence to suggest that the names Mysis and Lesbia were (or were not) used by Terence's Greek sources. I suggest that the sexual availability and vulnerability of these women in relation to the plays'

[479] 2016: 203.
[480] *Persa* 624-7.
[481] "Women and Land (Names) in Greek Comedy." .

male (citizen) characters evoke the political and martial vulnerability of the same lands after which the women are named.

Terence calls attention to the names of *ancillae* by giving them names in the first place. Most Plautine *ancillae* are not referred to by name at all, but some, such as those in *Pseudolus* are named.[482] Terence also calls attention to these characters by the nature of the names he ascribes to them: most are feminized place names with recent connections to contemporary Rome.[483] While "Andria" as an example could be explained as a Menandrian feature since his Greek play was also called *Andria* and also likely included a character by this name, the fact that *ancillae* in more than one of Terence's plays bear such place names suggests that the name "Andria" was a literary choice, and not a meaningless result of mechanical translating. Hutcheon shows that in addition to transposition and intertextual engagement, "the act of adaptation always involves both (re-)interpretation and then (re-)creation."[484] In other words, the use of a source text opens up the possibility for political reinterpretation. For example, Fontaine argues that, in the case of *Adelphoe*, "Terence positions Menander's imitation of third-century Greek life as a prophetic, hyper-real imitation, or reflection, of second-century Roman life – and he stages it in the context of a Roman funeral, which was itself a retrospective imitation of a particular life."[485] The names of *ancillae* in Terence break with both dramatic convention as well as convention of brothel-workers at Pompeii, and whether Terence intended it or not, the emergence of a political interpretation seems inevitable.

Terence makes use of an extended metaphor: sexually available and vulnerable women in his comedies represent land. The *ancillae* he depicts often bear the name of a foreign land. In

[482] Discussed in "the Names of Sex Workers in Comedy and on the Walls of the Brothel of Pompeii."
[483] Syra is a Plautine *ancilla* in *Mercator* whose name is also referential to a place.
[484] 2012: 8.
[485] 2014: 542.

addition to the women in *Andria* discussed above there are women in *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Adelphoe* who both are called by the name Phrygia (the girl from Phrygia). The name Pamphila, which does appear in Greek comedy but might also evoke the territory of Pamphylia, is given to girls in *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe*.[486] Pamphila is a common stock name for an *adulescens*' love interest. Pamphilus is likewise a common name for an *adulescens* in New Comedy. The name plays on the Greek meaning 'lover of all/loved by all' but given the names of other *ancillae* in Terence, the reference to Pamphylia probably remains available. Likewise, an Ethiopian woman (so designated) is gifted to the same *meretrix* to whom Pamphila is given in the *Eunuchus*. Ethiopia is not an easily definable territory in antiquity but apparently refers roughly to Sudan and further south, with no clearly definable limits.[487] Snowden discusses the Greek and Roman descriptions of Ethiopians in antiquity and argues that "through describing Ethiopians as black or dark, the ancient recognized that these peoples differed in pigmentation and took considerable pains to record the observed differences."[488] He also notes that "an intense black was denoted in Plautus by the intensive *per*-, which Lucretius also used in his description of black men south of Egypt."[489] Given the status of these women, *ancillae* owned by a *meretrix* or *leno*, their names could (and likely do) denote the enslaved women's points of origin. Terentian naming practices call attention to these women and establish a metaphor for women as representing land in the Mediterranean (and beyond) throughout his plays rather than a way to draw attention to real-world sex trafficking or gender politics.

For example, the *senex* Simo in *Andria* highlights Andria's foreignness in the following passage:

---

[486] Menander's *Epitrepontes* has a character by the name of Pamphila.
[487] Pliny 6.35.
[488] 1970: 3-4.
[489] Snowden 1970: 3.

… quid hoc?
adeon est demens? ex peregrina? …

…What's this?
Is he so out of his mind? Because of a foreign woman?
Andria 468-9

Here Simo is discussing his son's behavior and it is clear that he does not approve of the romantic love that has developed between the two characters. To be more precise, it is probably his son's marital intentions that Simo disproves of rather than the emotional connection his son claims to have.

Dougherty explains how an ethnographic imagination in early Greek literature (particularly in Homer's *Odyssey*) can reflect social contexts of transformation and even crisis.[490] Following Dougherty's method, I argue Terence's dramatic world might also be interpreted metaphorically, where the (mis)treatment of women veils a reflection of Rome's (aggressive) foreign and domestic agrarian approaches because the women have been cast to suggest physical embodiments of land. My interpretation is based on a reading of the Terentian corpus almost as a kind of 'ethnographic exercise' where those texts make up their own world which is filled with reflections, refractions, and subversions of contemporary culture as well as literary convention. Dougherty provides a useful theoretical framework by treating her reading of the *Odyssey* as an 'ethnographic exercise' in two parts: one dealing with literary imagery and the other with the lands themselves.[491] In her analysis, Dougherty shows how the Phaeacian episode models colonialism through references to marriage and how the metaphors of marriage and sexual violence map onto representations of colonialism throughout Greek and Roman literature.[492] Essentially, she argues that the marriage metaphor depicts a poeticized, ideal relationship

[490] 2001.
[491] 2001: 8.
[492] Dougherty 2001: 130-4.

between colonizers and colonized whereas the sexual violence metaphor suggests an exploitative relationship.[493] The marriage function in Terence works differently, though, since the victims of sexual assault are (or will become) married to their attackers. Thus, marriage does not necessarily signal an "ideal" relationship in Terentian comedy but can, in fact, emphasize the injustice of the *adulescens*' aggression. However, when the violence involved in the marriage ritual (and its significance) is taken into consideration, the seemingly exploitative relationships might instead signal a union that is positive from the Roman perspective. Hersch argues that violence itself (in its connection to the rape of the Sabine Women) is a fundamental part of the Roman marriage ritual which "was a reenactment of a forced mass marriage of maidens from neighboring communities to the male population."[494] Marriage as a plot device in Terentian comedy becomes, then, a moral dilemma in and of itself.

IV.3 - Women as Land in Plautus

Plautus' *Truculentus* makes it clear that a metaphor which maps land politics and policies onto the sexualized female body was already readily available and at home in Roman comedy. In the following passage Astaphium (an *ancilla* of a *meretrix*) responds to a comment made by the *adulescens* Diniarchus, who first mentions an agrarian sexual metaphor. This passage exemplifies the metaphor:

> non arvos hic, sed pascuost ager: si arationes
> habituru's, qui arari solent, ad pueros ire meliust.
> hunc nos habemus publicum, illi alii sunt publicani.
>
> There's no plough land here, but rather land for grazing: if you're going to occupy arable lands, it's better to go to the boys, who are accustomed to

[493] Dougherty 2001: 133 explains that "within a context of overseas settlement, the Phaeacians again represent a utopian model, this time an idealized picture of the nature of the interaction between overseas settlers and the people whose land is settled." It should also be noted that although sexual violence and marriage are conflated in the poems she discusses on these pages, marriage is her focus in this section.
[494] Hersch 2020: 70.

> being ploughed. We occupy this (land) rent free; those others are tax collectors.
>
> *Truculentus* 149-151

The *ancilla*'s metaphor here is explicit: land represents the sexually available body. Astaphium relates the body of the *ancilla* or *meretrix* to public land that can be grazed but counters that image with the insistence that it would be inappropriate to equate them to the kind of land that was leased out to farmers. Hofmann points out the link in the text between the *publicani* and the suggestion of pederasty.[495] The dramatic context makes it clear that these two characters are talking about the details of sexual access as if there were a legally binding document between the *meretrix* and her client. This passage also makes a gendered distinction within the metaphor: the policies specifically associated with *ager publicus* map onto the *meretrix* and *ancilla* as opposed to a more generalized equation of land as women. The dialogue between Astaphium and Diniarchus revolves around the metaphor of the sexually available body as land.[496]

Since this Plautine sex worker compares her body to *ager publicus*, a brief explanation about the state of public land in the Middle Republic will help unpack the metaphor. Roselaar fills in the gaps in what is known about the nature and function of the *ager publicus* by providing a comprehensive overview of its history in the Roman Republic, focusing on its role in the economy and society of Rome in addition to the legal and technical aspects of the administration of this land.[497] Her main arguments rest on the assumption that there was a large amount of public land both before and after the Second Punic War (as is generally assumed), which leads to the following question: why was there was public land at all (i.e. why was it not all privatized for the benefit of Roman citizens and allies)? The answer to this is tied up in the concept of

---

[495] 2001: 145-6.
[496] *Truculentus* 139-152.
[497] 2010.

occupatio wherein public land could be used by citizens at those times when the state did not have use/need of it.[498] She approximates how much land was privatized in distributions to Roman citizens and Italian allies by estimating when and where land was confiscated as *ager publicus* following the circumstances of conquest.[499] The power dynamics at play between Roman citizens and Roman "allies" are the same dynamics which Plautus dramatizes between sex worker and client. In the following section, I will show how Terence dramatizes a similar dynamic between *ancilla* and *adulescens*.

IV.4 - The Male G(r)aze in Terence: *oculos pascere*

If certain *ancillae* can signal a metaphorical embodiment of a specific type of land, it stands to reason that other *ancillae* (and slaves in general) might be treated with the same kind of metaphorical representation in Terence's plays. In *Phormio* Terence provides his most vivid allusion to women as land, as perceived through the male gaze:

> ea serviebat lenoni inpurissimo,
> neque quod daretur quicquam; id curarant patres.
> restabat aliud nil nisi oculos pascere,
> sectari, in ludum ducere et redducere.
>
> She has been enslaved to the vilest procurer,
> and (there was) nothing to be given, their fathers took care of that.
> nothing else was left (to do) except pasture his eyes,
> follow (her), escort (her) to school and escort (her) back.
> *Phormio* 83-6

The passage opens with a verb of servitude, which makes the woman's status clear: she is enslaved and therefore lacks agency in a legal sense. The phrase *oculos pascere* suggests that the object of the male gaze is a woman being equated with land. The reference to grazing brings cattle to mind and suggests that the girl is being equated to rent-free Roman grazeland: *ager*

[498] Roselaar 2010: 94.
[499] Roselaar 2010: 302.

publicus. The verb also implies a slow intake, as if the gaze sweeps over the female body in a scopophilic fashion.[500] Ruffell's observation that in Greek literature, "this aggressive desiring comic gaze is almost exclusively directed towards slaves and foreigners" applies equally to Terentian comedy.[501] Reed shows how Vergil fashions Aeneas' gaze in the *Aeneid* as "imperial" and argues that "in it, desire becomes a figure for imperial subjection and subsumption—a gathering-in under a single national identity."[502] In the Terentian passage, sexual desire becomes a conduit for desired control over bodies (and spaces). The young man's gaze reveals a desire to subjugate and freely access the body of the *ancilla*. Thus, Terence figures women both as specific lands (i.e. the women named after countries/territories) as well as this more generalized conception of *ager publicus*. The *Phormio* example discussed above highlights the male gaze and readily sets up women as a foil for land.

IV.5 - Silence and Screams: Women in Terence

There are different types of silent female characters in Terence's comedies. Some silent characters are victims of sexual assault, such as Philumena in *Hecyra*, Pamphila in *Eunuchus*, and the music girl, Bacchis, in *Adelphoe*. For these characters, their silence may mirror a psychological state of shock or post-traumatic stress disorder for the victim. However, it also forces the audience's attention onto the psychology and justifications of the attacker. The silence of these women highlights the atrocity of the attack as well as the vulnerable social position these women are in.[503] Other silent female characters (*ancillae*) are not assaulted within the dramatic

[500] For an introduction to the "gaze" of sadistic voyeurism, see Mulvey 1975. For interpretations of the "male gaze" in terms of classical scholarship, see Fredrick 2002 who discusses the issue in erotic art from antiquity as well as observed in Seneca's plays, and also Richlin 2014 who applies the "male gaze" to sexual violence in Ovid's works. Ruffell 2014: 254 applies the same concept of voyeurism and sexual violence to the study of Greek Old Comedy and argues that "sexual power here stands as a proxy for political power."
[501] Ruffell 2014: 265.
[502] 2016: 42.
[503] Lavinia in the *Aeneid* is similarly silent: she never speaks a single word.

time of the play, but their bodies are vulnerable to attack: for example, Glycerium's two *ancillae* in *Andria* and Phrygia in *Heauton Timorumenos*. Another class of silent women are those who have already been raped and/or impregnated before the time of the play. For example, Glycerium in *Andria* has been impregnated by Pamphilus. Her voice is actually heard once during the play, while she is (offstage) giving birth:

> [*intus*] Iuno Lucina, fer opem, serva me, obsecro!
>
> [*inside*] Juno, Goddess of childbirth, help me, save me, please!
>
> *Andria* 473

Here Terence grants a typically silent character a singular line, one which highlights the fact that sexual assault against a woman is doubly dangerous: not only at the time of assault but also in the event of pregnancy, during which a female's mortality rate might be quite high without modern medical practices. Flemming argues that throughout the classical world "there was a heavy emphasis on regulating procreation, in theoretical discourse and state action; though not, it should be admitted, of the kind of which would qualify as part of a modern, Foucauldian population."[504] Flemming concludes her study by arguing that "patterns of colonization, the regulation of citizenship, policies on marriage and childbearing – all informed the writings of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero on population."[505] The reference to Juno Lucina Romanizes the contexts of ancient childbirth. This image (and the line itself) is repeated in *Adelphoe*, where Pamphila is also offstage in the process of childbirth, having been impregnated by one of the play's protagonists before the start of the play. This repetition might be intertextual in nature, but that is not the only possibility. These female characters might be merely using a stereotypical

[504] 2018: 68.
[505] 2018: 79.

phrase, or even uttering a real prayer. In *Adelphoe* Terence actually gives Pamphila two lines in this rendition of the scenario:

> [PA. intus] miseram me, differor doloribus!
> Iuno Lucina, fer opem! serva me obsecro!
>
> [PA. inside] wretched me, I am ripped apart by my labor-pains!
> Juno, Goddess of childbirth, help me, save me, please!
> *Adelphoe* 486-7

The first line in this passage adds emphasis to the very real physical threat of childbirth. The image suggested by the verb *differo*, used passively here, in the context of labor-pains is striking: while it may mean something like simply 'disturbed' the image of actual splitting and/or shattering is certainly evoked.[506]

Birth pangs are even used in modern, American discussions of foreign political contexts as a symbol of the creation of a *novam rem* (in this context a geopolitical order that is both new and violent). For example, in 2006 the term "birth pangs" was used by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice when describing Israel's bombing of Lebanon. Richard Cohen even wrote an article for *the Washington Post* about her use of the metaphor.[507] Cohen discusses the devastation from technology in modern warfare and considers the implications of the metaphor of "birth pangs" in such contexts, arguing that "these are the realities of the new warfare, and if they are the 'birth pangs of the new Middle East,' then what is being produced is not some cute, babbling democracies but a hideous monster."[508] This same reasoning is relevant to Terence's critique of Roman power dynamics and land settlement: if the *ancilla*'s birth pangs are related to power dynamics between Roman soldiers (even colonizers) and the land they have some kind of

[506] Cf. Plautus' *Cistellaria* 209 for a similar usage of the verb.
[507] 2006.
[508] 2006.

authority over, then the dramatic moment of birth pangs evoke military violence and even land settlement.

Concluding Thoughts

Many of the females in Terence seem relatively unremarkable and scholars have made relatively few remarks about them as characters in their own right. This chapter adds the *ancilla* to my discussion of stock characters in Terence. I hope to have shown that Terence's *ancilla* is unique in the number of roles she inhabits: she is enslaved, a victim of sexual and physical assault, a new mother, a victim of mistaken identity, and even a marriageable citizen. This character is defined by the transitions and transformations other characters impose upon her during the play. To summarize this chapter's main takeaways, I suggest that Terence merges earlier character types (enslaved women, sex workers, music girls, and girls with mistaken identities) into a singular type. Terence's *ancillae* are always enslaved and associated with sex work; some recover a lost citizenship status, but all exist in the peripheries of Terence's dramatic world. Some of these female characters also actively push the boundaries of that dramatic world by their allusions to foreign lands. Terence's representation of *ancillae*, often staged but rarely given dialogue, exposes a common literary metaphor (women stand in as representations of land) and a well-established literary motif that marriage and sexual violence signal, and even set in motion, societal change (e.g. colonialism as well as periods of political turmoil and revolution). The function of rape and childbirth in Terence's plays could, therefore, be a metaphor for political abuse relating to imperialism, war, and land politics. From this insight, many secondary metaphors become available, such as: women as land to be colonized, the role of the soldier, and marriage as a metaphor for colonial relations.

CHAPTER 4 – SOLDIERS AND SOCIAL CONTEXT: TERENCE'S DEVELOPMENT OF THE *MILES*

In Roman New Comedy, the soldier is generally depicted as a *miles gloriosus* stock character; he is a free man, without citizenship or backstory, and a mercenary soldier by profession.[509] This character type, although long considered to be a borrowing from Greek New Comedy, is distinct in significant ways from the soldiers of Greek comedy. This chapter first traces the types of soldiers found in Aristophanes, Menander, and Plautus before analyzing Terence's only *miles gloriosus* character type: Thraso in the *Eunuchus*. My arguments are in accordance with the astute suggestions recently proposed by Major that Menandrian soldiers are mercenaries confronted with a turbulent process of (re)integration into a civic community and are not the basis for the *miles gloriosus* character type favored (and perhaps pioneered) by Plautus.[510]

I - The Soldier in Comedy before Terence

This chapter will later argue that the soldier in Terence differs from earlier comic representations of the soldier in meaningful ways. Nevertheless, Terence maintains one significant feature that is constant in Greek comedy: comic soldiers act as a convenient mechanism by which the poet confronts and even criticizes the (real or imagined) effects of war on Greek society. Aristophanic choruses of sub-groups of soldiers criticize individual soldiers, groups of soldiers, and even war itself. Menandrian comedy might criticize mercenary work by posing mercenaries as a threat to their communities. Plautine parodies of soldiers might criticize the Greek mercenary soldier, set up as a foil to the elite citizen. Therefore, a brief analysis of the

[509] This chapter draws, in part, from my 2016 M.A. Thesis.
[510] 2022.

soldier in comedy before Terence is necessary to appreciate the nuanced social implications of soldiers on the comic stage as well as the ways Terence adapts and develops the character.

I.1 - Citizen-Soldiers in Aristophanes

Aristophanes is perhaps best known for the comic representation and harsh criticism of Cleon, an elite citizen-soldier whom Aristophanes portrays as a demagogue in *Acharnians* and *Knights*. Henderson notes that *Knights* is a "remarkably savage indictment, both personal and political, of Cleon, of the other popular politicians who had succeeded Pericles upon his death in 429, and of the complacency of the demos in following their advice."[511] In the play, the Sausage Seller accuses Cleon (the Paphlagonian) of being indifferent towards the people and of a corrupt abuse of war, prolonging the war to avoid prosecution.

Choruses of citizen-soldiers provide a clear intersection between comedy and politics, particularly during parabases where the playwright discusses contemporary events and issues. Multiple plays feature a chorus of Greek citizen-soldiers. For example, the chorus in *Acharnians* (performed at the Lenaia in 425 BCE) is comprised of old citizen-soldiers who fought at Marathon.[512] Similarly, the chorus in *Knights* (424 BCE) is also comprised of citizen-soldiers. However, in *Knights* the soldiers are young men: they are knights (ἱππεῖς), the second-highest order of citizens at Athens who embody old, aristocratic preferences and prejudices.[513] Sommerstein suggests that Aristophanes chose this particular group as the chorus in *Knights* because of "their hostility as a class to Cleon," and because of their elevated position in

[511] 1998: 221.
[512] *Acharnians* 209-222.
[513] Sommerstein 1981: 6.

society.[514] The chorus prays to Athena and Nike, the goddesses of War and Victory, to aid in the defeat of Cleon in the following section from the play's first parabasis:

> Ὦ πολιοῦχε Παλλάς, ὦ
> τῆς ἱερωτάτης ἁπασῶν
> πολέμῳ τε καὶ ποιηταῖς
> δυνάμει θ᾽ ὑπερφερούσης
> μεδέουσα χώρας,
> δεῦρ᾽ ἀφικοῦ λαβοῦσα τὴν
> ἐν στρατιαῖς τε καὶ μάχαις
> ἡμετέραν ξυνεργὸν
> Νίκην, ἣ χορικῶν ἐστιν ἑταίρα
> τοῖς τ᾽ ἐχθροῖσι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν στασιάζει.
>
> Pallas, City Guardian, mistress of the land that is the holiest of all and the most successful in war, poets, and power, come join us, and bring our helper in expeditions and battles, Victory, our companion in choral dances, who sides with us against our enemies.
>
> *Knights* 581-590[515]

These soldiers do not boast but seem to pray in earnest. Strauss shows how "the parabasis of the *Knights* is remarkably irenic. Neither the poet nor the knights who form the chorus rebuke the city of Athens, nor do either of them boast of their merits to make demands on the city."[516] This chorus of soldiers is not particularly abusive in physical or rhetorical terms. Wilson argues that Athena "appears supportive of both comedy and war."[517] This is made clear in the passage by the common association of Victory both with dramatic choruses and military altercations. In this play, the comic chorus itself, comprised of citizen actors portraying citizen-soldiers, is a tidy representation of the intersection between comedy and war.

This intersection can be observed elsewhere in Aristophanes, such as in *Peace*, presented at the Dionysia in 421 BCE. This play features many soldiers, such as Lamachus and Pericles

---

[514] 1981: 3-4.
[515] English translation by Henderson 2022: 137.
[516] 2008: 89.
[517] 2000: 138.

(generals and enemies of Peace), in addition to personified ideas relating to war, such as the goddess Peace as well as her counterpart War and his slave, Mayhem. The chorus in *Peace* is comprised of average citizen-soldiers: hoplites. Olson shows how Aristophanes' *Peace* "as a whole concentrates relentlessly on the equipment and experience of the hoplite soldier."[518] In the play's first parabasis, the chorus of hoplites first praises the poet in a typical fashion.[519] The chorus then calls for peace, as seen in the following passage:

> Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένη μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ
> τοῦ φίλου χόρευσον,
>
> Muse, drive the war away and celebrate with me, your friend, in a choral dance.
> *Peace* 774-5

In this passage, the poet calls upon the Muses, instead of Athena and/or Nike to drive out war from the city. The way they can do this, the poet suggests, is by inspiring his poetry. By invoking the Muses for the same request as he made of Athena and Nike in *Knights* (discussed above), this passage highlights the same intersection between comic poetry and politics/war. It also suggests that Aristophanes thinks that his comedies can bring about meaningful political change.

The Chorus in *Peace* critiques elite soldiers in general terms, as opposed to offering criticism on a specific individual. The chorus of *Peace* provides a perspective of a lower-class farmer and citizen soldier (hoplite) in the play's second parabasis.[520] Aristophanes criticizes elite citizen-soldiers from the perspective of these hoplites by suggesting that elite soldiers are deserters. At the same time, the chorus commends average citizen soldiers (i.e., themselves) for

---

[518] 1998: 291. For example, there are references to the chorus pulling ropes and holding the hoplite shield (*Peace* 437-8.). Peace is described as "μισοπορπακιστάτη" (very hating of the shield) which might reference the heavily armed hoplite specifically, in addition to a more general reference to war (*Peace* 662.). The son of Lamachus refers to the young hoplites (ὁπλότεροι) and their clashing shields (*Peace* 1271; 1274.). Trygaeus converses with a crest-maker, who speaks among a group of characters who craft and profit from the tools of war, i.e., makers of trumpets, helmets, and spears (*Peace* 1209-1269.).
[519] *Peace* 729-816.
[520] *Peace* 1159-1190.

bearing the brunt of the work in war. It is typical for an Aristophanic parabasis to express criticism, but the second parabasis in *Peace* stands at odds with those in *Acharnians* and *Knights*, where the poet does not criticize types of soldiers in general but specific individuals (such as Cleon).

Many scholars interpret antiwar sentiments found in the comedies of Aristophanes. For example, Santosuosso argues that Aristophanes "seems to have been one of the few intellectuals uneasy about the warlike tendencies of his society."[521] Olson suggests that, in Aristophanes' *Peace*, "the most basic point of Hermes' speech, however, is that average Athenians and Spartans never wanted or benefited from war and supported it only because they were tricked into doing so by corrupt leaders, on the Athenian side above all else by Kleon (647-8, 665-9)."[522] There are specific social contexts for anti-war sentiments in Aristophanic comedy. For example, Olson argues that what matters in *Peace* "is not theology but politics, and much of the play is devoted to showing how political affairs in Greece have gone so disastrously wrong in recent years."[523] Wilkins argues that "*Acharnians*, a text particularly rich in Dionysiac imagery, presents a peace-treaty in the material form of wine in wineskins (187-200) and the rejection of war in the refusal to drink with War personified because he pours away wine and burns vine-props (983-6)."[524] As demonstrated above, the soldier in Aristophanes is a citizen-soldier who often offers critique of other citizens. Aristophanes uses the choruses of citizen-soldiers, along with themes of war and peace to critique Athenian society.

---

[521] 1997: 25.
[522] 1998: xli-xlii.
[523] 1998: xli.
[524] 2000: 17.

Olson shows that Eupolis, a fragmentary author of Old Comedy, was also in the habit of depicting contemporary soldiers in his comedies.[525] Olson suggests that Eupolis criticizes Cleon with sarcastic praise in a fragment from *Chrysoun Genos*.[526] Arnott shows that the mercenary soldier was a common character type in Middle Comedy and suggests that the name of the titular character in Alexis' *Thrason* might indicate that a precursor to the braggart soldier can be found earlier than New Comedy.[527] Arnott lists similar names of (probable) soldiers in other Greek comedies, such as Thrasonides in Menander's *Misoumenos* and the assumed titular character of Menander's *Thrasyleon*.[528] The fragmentary nature of this material makes the point difficult to substantiate, but equally difficult to disprove. The fact that Terence names his soldier Thraso might support the idea, but there is no indication beyond the similar names that Terence used Alexis' comedies, or any other Middle Comedy plays, as direct source material for his own plays. Lape adopts the view that the name Thrasonides "came to be synonymous with the braggart soldier type in antiquity," but also shows how Thrasonides in Menander's *Misoumenos* does not fit this label.[529] Olson offers support to the idea that braggart soldiers can be found in Middle Comedy by commenting on the soldier's description of his military exploits in Cyprus and their related luxuries in a fragment from Antiphanes' *Stratiotes*.[530] Olson also shows that some New Comedy plays show an awareness of a braggart soldier stereotype, as a fragment from an unknown play by the Phoenicides demonstrates.[531] In the fragment, a *hetaira* complains about

[525] 2007: 210-214.
[526] 2007: 212. The fragment is Olson 2007 E18 (Eupolis fr 316).
[527] 1996: 249.
[528] 1996: 250.
[529] 2004: 190.
[530] 2007: 139. The fragment from *the Soldier* is Olson C13 (Antiphanes fr. 200).
[531] 2007: 347. The fragment from the unknown play by Phoenicides is Olson I11 (Phoenicides fr. 4).

a soldier who talks about his military exploits and shows off his scars and Olson compares this to a line in Terence's *Eunuchus* that also references the stereotype.[532]

I.2 - Menandrian Mercenaries

Major has recently shown that the soldier in Menandrian comedy is always a mercenary, as opposed to a citizen-soldier, and has dispelled the belief that Menandrian soldiers are the vainglorious type of mercenary found in Roman comedy (the *miles gloriosus*).[533] Menander's mercenaries, namely those in *Perikeiromene*, *Misoumenos*, and *Sikyonios*, also differ from the ineffectual soldier found in Roman comedy in the sense that they inflict actualized violence upon other characters, usually women. Although they are violent, these mercenaries are also remorseful and complex: Major argues that Menander drew his inspiration from tragic warriors.[534] Major also suggests that their violent presence in a domestic setting references the anxieties of (re)integration into society after combat. He argues that "Menander's plays offer a valuable trajectory of ancient Greek cultural narratives about veterans after combat where the Greeks learned, preserved, and renegotiated their communities' perspectives on the morally injured soldiers among them."[535] Odysseus' bloody homecoming at the end of Homer's *Odyssey* provides a significant literary background for the idea of a soldier's reintegration into society.[536] In Menander's *Perikeiromene* the soldier Polemon is labelled as a mercenary soldier (ξένος).[537] Major explains that this label "marks him primarily as an outsider to the community."[538] Polemon's violence, discussed previously, though incited by the personified goddess

[532] The comparable line in Terence is *Eunuchus* 482-3.
[533] 2022.
[534] 2022: 68-76.
[535] 2022: 13.
[536] Cf. Franko 2022: 11-16 for a discussion of the *Odyssey* as a creative inspiration behind some of the themes in Plautus' *Mostellaria*.
[537] *Perikeiromene* 361 (Arnott 1996).
[538] 2022: 98.

Misconception, is echoed in the violence threatened on his behalf by the enslaved Sosias.[539] In the play, Sosias threatens Daos (also enslaved) that three soldiers will smash down Moschion's house.[540] Moschion is a young citizen and long-lost brother of Glykera, the woman whose hair Polemon cuts as an act of domestic violence.

The resolution of the plot in *Perikeiromene* involves the mercenary integrating into the community and marrying a citizen. At the end of the play, Glykera's father grants permission for her to marry Polemon and provides three talents for her dowry.[541] He also instructs Polemon to stop acting like a soldier, as seen in the following passage:

> τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιλαθοῦ στρατιώτης ὤν, [ἵνα
> προπετὲς ποήσῃς μ[η]δὲ ἕν, [Πολέμων, πάλιν.
>
> From now on, [Polemon], forget your soldiering—
> [So that] you'll never act too hastily [again]!
> *Perikeiromene* 1016-1018

Here, two meanings can be understood. First, Pataikos is referencing the previous act of domestic violence against Glykera. Second, he suggests that Polemon leave the profession of mercenary soldier behind. This second meaning falls in line with Major's argument that Menander's ultimate goal is to present the integration of mercenary soldiers into the civic community. Major shows that "by the conclusion of the play, [Polemon] has replaced his military identity with that of a husband as sanctioned legally and ideologically by his community."[542] Konstan focuses on the resolution of the plot primarily in terms of Glykera's identity as a citizen and wife (as opposed to the foreign *pallake* she has been misunderstood to be).[543] Konstan argues that with the recognition of the girl's citizenship she no longer has the freedom to choose

[539] The soldier's violence is discussed in Chapter 2 (on the *adulescens*).
[540] *Perikeiromene* 392-3.
[541] *Perikeiromene* 1012-1015.
[542] 2022: 102.
[543] 1995.

whether she wants to continue her relationship with the soldier or not: these decisions fall under the authority of her recently (re)discovered father.[544] Major's analysis makes a strong case that Menandrian soldiers are not only changeable and multi-dimensional but that the transformation of this character is central to the plot of this play.[545]

The transformation from a soldier and outside to a husband and member of the civic community can be found in other Menandrian comedies: for example, the mercenaries Thrasonides (*Misoumenos*) and Stratophanes (*Sikyonios*). Although *Misoumenos* is highly fragmentary and its plot is not entirely clear, Major astutely conjectures that, similar to the situation in *Perikeiromene*, "part of the reconciliation must have included learning that Thrasonides had not in fact killed Krateia's brother, and thus in some fashion the specter of his past military identity was put behind him."[546] Likewise, Major argues that "a crucial part of *Sikyonios* involves conflict between keeping Stratophanes at bay as a non-citizen while he is simultaneously demonstrating that he is in fact an Athenian citizen."[547] This argument falls in line with Lape's earlier claim that "by portraying the mercenary as passionately attached to the heroine, comedy employs *eros* to civilize the mercenary through self-interest rather than coercion."[548] However, Lape also observes that in *Misoumenos*, Menander problematizes "war rather than the mercenary or mercenary service."[549] Thus, while Menander's soldiers critique aspects of Greek society though their transformations, the exact object of that criticism does not remain static and might be interpreted in distinctive ways at different times. For example, Menandrian soldiers expose and resolve general issues like the violence of war as well as more

[544] 1995: 116.
[545] 2022: 81.
[546] 2022: 110.
[547] 2022: 111.
[548] 2004: 33.
[549] 2004: 199.

specific issues, such as citizenship in *Sikyonios* and the (real or imagined) threat of foreign mercenaries in *Perikeiromene* and *Misoumenos*.

As demonstrated above, Menandrian mercenaries pose a threat to their communities and Menander's comic plots demonstrate a process of removing that threat by integrating the soldiers into Athenian society. This threat might reflect social contexts in the Greek world. For example, Santosuosso explains that "a mercenary was a different species from the citizen-soldier of the Persian Wars. He had no stake in the land that hired him…the military duties of the citizen-soldier who fought as hoplite were rather simple."[550] Lape argues that "Menander's mercenary protagonists…are associated with the Hellenistic rulers and, by default, with the threats that the mercenary was seen to pose to life and values of the Greek polis community."[551] Thus, it is clear that Menandrian mercenaries do not respond to the stereotypical features of a braggart soldier in two significant ways: first, they pose a serious threat (instead of being ineffectual and the object of mockery) and second, they are ultimately embraced by their communities (instead of remaining on the outside due to their foreign statuses).

I.3 - Soldiers in Plautus

Modern scholars are reassessing the extent that the soldiers in Greek comedy influenced the depiction of soldiers in Roman comedy and refining brief observations from earlier scholarship. For example, Harris argued in the late 1970s that the Plautine soldier's mercenary attitude towards war is a remnant of the Hellenistic mercenary found in Menander, but he suggested that "sometimes the Roman concepts and terminology show beyond doubt that we are not simply faced with a translation from Greek."[552] However, as just noted, Major has now

[550] 2019: 89.
[551] 2004: 32.
[552] 1979: 103.

shown how the braggart soldier character type is an invention of Roman Comedy which is not present in the extant Greek source material.[553] Mercenaries in Plautine comedy do not serve the same functions as they do in Greek comedy. As Gruen points out, mercenary soldiers would have been common in Hellenic and Punic warfare but uncommon in the Roman military.[554] For this reason, their presence has often been interpreted as a feature borrowed from Greek source material, but this is not the case. Again, Major has shown that the *miles gloriosus* is in many ways an invention of Roman comedy. He argues that the character is always a fraud and is always made inferior to characters who would be his subordinates.[555] This is a significant change to the characterization of the comic soldier. Plautus lampoons the Menandrian soldier who has tragic undertones by transforming him into an ineffectual (but boastful) buffoon.

Mercenaries in Menander and Plautus all have a foreign status, but the function and development of that status is different. Although the Menandrian mercenary is ultimately embraced, the Plautine mercenary is generally thwarted and becomes an object of mockery. They are not particularly formidable rivals and don't pose the same threat to their communities. Instead, Plautine mercenaries are relegated to the position of rival suitor to their plays' protagonists. Konstan, in the same vein as Duckworth, interprets the mercenary soldier, Pyrgopolynices, in *Miles Gloriosus* as a caricature of a stereotypical "blocking figure" that prevents the play's protagonist from advancing a desired romantic relationship.[556] This suggests that Plautus not only diminished the role of the soldier from lover to rival, but went a step further and parodied the soldier. Major adds to this the idea that the Plautine soldier's foreignness creates an expectation from the Roman audience that he is martially inferior to Roman citizen-

[553] 2022.
[554] 2014: 602.
[555] Major 2022: 138.
[556] 1995: 95; Duckworth 1952: 264.

soldiers.[557] The Greek comic mercenary can be a citizen or a foreigner and thus the resolution of the Menandrian plot is either a negotiation of establishing a civic identity or a renegotiation of reestablishing a civic identity that has been muddled through traumatic military experience. The emphasis on foreignness in Roman comedy is echoed in the fact that, as Major points out, the Plautine soldier is always dominated by a subordinate character.[558] This constitutes a shift from the plot-related circumstances in Greek and Roman New Comedy, since the mercenary in Menander is the protagonist of his plays, not a rival suitor as he always is in Plautus and Terence.

II - Interpreting the Soldier in Roman Comedy and Previous Scholarship

II.1 - Historicizing the Soldier in Plautus and Terence

Harris notes a peculiar feature found in multiple Plautine prologues: the prologue speaker expresses a hope that audience members will be successful in war.[559] Plautus expresses this sentiment in the prologues of *Asinaria*, *Captivi*, *Casina*, *Rudens*, and *Cistellaria*.[560] In doing so, Plautus insinuates that there are soldiers in his Roman audience. Whether or not soldiers were in the audience during performances featuring a *miles gloriosus*, Plautus invites the audience to compare and comically contrast comic soldiers with soldiers in their own community. Anderson maintains that the Plautine soldier "emerges as the very opposite of the Roman soldier: he represents, in fact, the contemptible features of Greek corruption."[561] However, corruption in the ancient world is certainly not limited to Greek society or to Greek soldiers. Although the setting of Roman comedy is nominally Greek, the contexts of performance on the Roman stage invite the audience to identify with characters and ideas in a more personal manner. Therefore, I

---

[557] 2022: 133.
[558] 2022: 134.
[559] 1979: 43.
[560] *Asinaria* 15; *Captivi* 67-8; *Casina* 87-9; *Rudens* 82; and *Cistellaria* 197-202.
[561] 1993: 145.

suggest that, particularly in *Captivi*, a play about citizen-soldiers being captured by an enemy and sold into slavery, the Roman audience might find common ground with Plautine soldiers. The fact that these soldiers have Greek names and are set in the Greek world does not negate this possibility.

Plautus' *Captivi* continues to captivate scholars due to its depiction of POWs sold into slavery. Konstan argues that "the basic tension of the *Captivi*… rests ultimately in the clash between two opposing ethical systems or world views, the communal ethos of the city-state and a universal humanism."[562] However, Konstan does not suggest that the world view is particular to a Roman perspective. Instead, he argues that "the story of the *Captivi* is set within that world of internecine war and subjection among the Greek city-states; it serves to expose the ambiguities in the ideology that supported it."[563] However, Leigh demonstrates that the dramatic context in *Captivi* corresponds to a pattern of "harsh treatment of prisoners of war on the part of the senate," during the third and second centuries BCE.[564] Leigh explains that "the denial to the captured soldier of any unconditional right of return by *postliminium* is a powerful deterrent against unauthorized surrender on the part of the individual soldier or unit of soldiers."[565]

Distinctly Roman features relating to soldiers are not limited to Plautus' *Captivi*. For example, Gruen points out that Stratophanes, the soldier in Plautus' *Truculentus*, echoes sentiments expressed in a speech of Cato the Censor that question a general's qualification for military triumph.[566] He contends that the *miles gloriosus* in this play "mirrors public awareness, perhaps exasperation, with the distortions and hyperbole engaged in by *imperatores* avid for

---

[562] 1983: 64.
[563] 1983: 66.
[564] 2004: 66.
[565] 2004: 66.
[566] Gruen 1996: 138 explains that Cato sought to deny Q. Minucius Thermus a triumph "on the basis of *falsae pugnae*," and compares this phrase to a remark made by Stratophanes (*Truculentus* 484-6) that "countless men have been condemned *falsis de pugnis*."

distinction."[567] This suggests that Plautine soldiers are not always definitively "Greek" in all aspects of their characterization and language, but might reflect features of the culture that produced them.

Leigh revives a "historicist approach" to Terence.[568] He investigates a system of analogies that equates modes of fatherhood with military generalship in Terence's *Adelphoe*.[569] Leigh demonstrates that Livy makes frequent use of this metaphor, but flips it around, making military commanders analogous to fathers, as opposed to the Terentian father made analogous to a military commander.[570] In doing so, Leigh convincingly argues that Terence's *Adelphoe* alludes to the specific contexts of its performance: the funeral games of Aemilius Paullus.

II.2 - Terentian Allusions to Asia Minor and Mercenaries

Although there are multiple references to soldiers fighting in Asia Minor in Terence's comedies, the playwright never specifies that these soldiers are in fact mercenaries. Plautus, by contrast, does specify that the soldier in *Miles Gloriosus* is a mercenary and in charge of enlisting other mercenaries on behalf of a foreign king.[571] It is plausible that Terence's soldiers can be explained as remnants from the Hellenistic world of Greek New Comedy, where mercenary soldiers were frequently depicted. However, I suggest an alternative explanation: soldiers in Terence are not usually mercenaries, but citizen-soldiers. Terence only has one *miles gloriosus*, Thraso. This character does not appear to be a citizen-soldier, but I will argue in the following section that Thraso is also not necessarily a mercenary soldier. Apart from Thraso, there are numerous soldiers in Terence's comedies. For example, in *Heauton Timorumenos*, Terence

[567] 1996: 138.
[568] 2004.
[569] 2004: 177.
[570] 2004: 177-9.
[571] *Miles Gloriosus* 43 ("Scitholatronia"), 74 ("latrones"), and 477 ("latrocinamini").

describes both Menedemus and Clinia as soldiers who fought in Asia Minor. In *Eunuchus*, the *adulescens* Chaerea (as well as his friend, Antipho) can be understood as a young soldier by the reference to the Piraeus. In *Andria*, Chremes informs the audience that the last thing he heard about his brother, Phania, was that he had followed him to Asia Minor. However, as the following passage demonstrates, Terence does not imply that these men went to Asia Minor to engage in work as mercenary soldiers:

> is bellum hinc fugiens meque in Asiam persequens proficiscitur
>
> He set out from here to avoid the war and follow my tracks to Asia
> *Andria* 935[572]

It is not at all clear what war Chremes is referring to and there is not enough information to raise even a plausible suggestion for a historical military reference in Greek or Roman contexts. As Brown notes, earlier in the play a character informs the audience that Chremes and Phania were away on business.[573] The text is quite clear in that section that Chremes was not acting as a soldier (let alone as a mercenary) but rather a "*mercator*."[574] Even with the reference to some war, there is no strong implication that either of these men served as a mercenary soldier apart from a modern expectation, though misguided, that all soldiers in Greek and Roman comedy were mercenaries.

In *Heauton Timorumenos* there are three references to Asia Minor and here the connection to mercenary work is strongest.[575] In this play, Menedemus tells his neighbor, Chremes, why he went to Asia Minor when he was younger:

> sed in Asiam hinc abii propter pauperiem atque ibi
> simul rem et gloriam armis belli repperi.

---

[572] English translation by Brown 2006: 49.
[573] 2006: 311.
[574] *Andria* 222.
[575] *Heauton Timorumenos* 111; 117; 181.

> But I went off from here into Asia on account of my poverty and there
> I obtained money and glory by the weapons of war.
> *Heauton Timorumenos* 111-2

While this passage does imply that Menedemus engaged in mercenary work, Terence does not make this explicit. If the Greek setting can be reasonably understood as a thin veil for Rome, a connection to Roman excursions into Asia Minor become possible. Harris shows that the generation before Terence was writing (201-188 BCE) was a "period of rapidly expanding power (wars in Spain and Northern Italy again, and against Greek states and Macedon, and then against King Antiochus III in Greece and Asia Minor)."[576] In 188 BCE the Treaty of Apamea ended the war with Antiochus. Joined by his brother (Scipio Africanus), L. Cornelius Scipio (afterwards known as Asiaticus) led a Roman expedition to Asia Minor that resulted in a naval victory at the Battle of Myonnesus and a land victory at the Battle of Magnesia.[577] Eckstein interprets this war as "the crucial system-wide war that established Rome as the sole remaining superpower in the Hellenistic Mediterranean."[578] He explains that the expedition crossed into Asia Minor in the summer of 190 BCE and marks "the first Roman military crossing into Asia."[579]

Eckstein emphasizes that Roman victories relied on allied forces, such as the Pergamene cavalry whose charge tipped the scales of the battle fought at Magnesia in December of 190 BCE or January of 189 BCE, a decisive victory.[580] He makes it clear that during this time Romans "handled these states as if they were friends, not submissive clients."[581] He substantiates this by examining Rome's relationship to Rhodes during the war and emphasizes the fact that the Peace of Apamea (188 BCE) resulted in a redistribution of the lands Antiochus III had taken since 198

---

[576] 2016: 34.
[577] Harris 2016: 33.
[578] 2008: 307.
[579] Eckstein 2008: 330.
[580] 2008: 329-30
[581] Eckstein 2008: 330.

BCE, explaining that "not only was the Achaean League allowed a free hand to conquer the entire Peloponnese, but Pergamum and Rhodes gained enormous swathes of territory in Asia Minor."[582] It is important to note that, by the time Terence is producing plays, the political relationship between Rome and Rhodes has soured significantly. Scipio's expedition offers a plausible reason why a Roman citizen-soldier might be in Asia a generation before Terence's play. Menedemus is a *senex*, not an *adulescens*, so it is reasonable to place this character's military background a generation earlier than the 160s BCE, in the contexts of the first Roman expeditions to Asia Minor that took place during the time of Plautus. Terence certainly does not make any specific context clear, but I argue that understanding a Roman context is equally plausible to an interpretation of the character's work "in Asiam" referring to mercenary service to Hellenistic kings in the time of Menander. Thus, Hellenistic kings and kingdoms are as relevant to Roman politics in the Middle Republic as they had been to Greek politics and comic references to soldiers in Asia Minor could easily reference either culture.[583] Terence does not specify that Menedemus was a mercenary soldier, but the character is a citizen. This suggests that Menedemus served as a citizen soldier in his youth.

The situation is not the same for Menedemus' son, Clinia, whose soldiering is more suggestive of mercenary work than his father's. Menedemus discovers that his son has gone to Asia as a soldier, as he tells his neighbor, Chremes, in the following passage:

> in Asiam ad regem militatum abiit, Chreme.
>
> he went off into Asia to serve as a soldier for the king, Chremes.
> *Heauton Timorumenos* 117

[582] Eckstein 2008: 230-33. He bases much of his argument on Livy's history.
[583] Cf. Hutcheon 2012 on the theory of adaptation and political interpretation.

This example is the most likely candidate for a reference to a mercenary soldier in Terence's plays. This is because Terence specifies that Clinia went to Asia Minor in military service for a king (*rex*). The verb *milito* explicitly connects the idea of military service. Menedemus' negative reaction to his son's military service also implies that Clinia is engaging in mercenary work, rather than soldiering on behalf of his own community. Duffalo argues that Clinia is an inversion of the *miles gloriosus* character type and "the comical antithesis of a Hellenistic king such as the one he has served."[584] There is no high-profile Roman expedition into Asia Minor while Terence is writing but the recent victories over Macedon cement a Roman presence in the East that started with the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE.

In *Heauton Timorumenos*, Menedemus is so distraught that his son is soldiering in Asia Minor that he sells all his luxury goods, household slaves, and even his house and instead works the fields of a small farm himself.[585] Menedemus' suffering can be compared to a comment made in *Adelphoe*. Demea, the *senex* in *Adelphoe*, expresses a fear that his son might turn to military service to gain financial security, as seen in the following passage:

> …vae misero mihi!
> videre videor iam diem illum quom hinc egens
> profugiet aliquo militatum.
>
> …Oh, wretched me!
> I think I already see the day when he, lacking funds,
> will run off somewhere to serve as a soldier.
> *Adelphoe* 383-5

The grammatical structure is comparable in both passages: a supine of the verb *milito* expresses the purpose of the main verb. The father's negative association with military service is also similar in the two plays. The *Adelphoe* passage does not mention mercenary work explicitly, but

[584] 2021: 80.
[585] *Heauton Timorumenos* 121-150.

the indefinite adverb *aliquo* implies something open-ended about the military service. The ambiguity here might be intentional, encouraging audience members to draw their own assumptions about the context of military expeditions. The negative reactions might simply convey that these fathers are worried about the physical safety of their sons while they are engaged in military service. However, Menedemus' extreme reaction in *Heauton Timorumenos* suggests that there is something particularly upsetting about Clinia's situation.

Duffalo argues that "Clinia's alienation from his family and separation from its domestic space… are related, Terence suggests, to his apparent shortcomings as a soldier abroad, a linkage typical of the way Terentian drama explores the psychology of parenting and father-son relations in general."[586] I interpret Clinia's alienation from his community differently. Clinia alienates himself from his father in the play by not informing Menedemus that he has returned from his military service. Instead of returning home, the young soldier chooses to stay at the neighbor's house. Terence does not suggest that Clinia is ashamed by the way he acted during his military service (or even that he necessarily has "apparent shortcomings as a soldier"). Instead, Terence makes the source of Clinia's shame clear: he disobeyed his father by engaging in military service in the first place and, more importantly, he did not heed his warnings about women.[587] Clinia is not upset because he was a bad soldier, but because he thinks his girlfriend has found another suitor while he was away.

This section has demonstrated that soldiers in Terence are clearly not all engaged in mercenary work—in fact, Terence never states that his soldiers are mercenaries. Terence connects his soldiers with mercenary work only tenuously and only implies such a connection with the younger generation. The old men in *Andria* and *Heauton Timorumenos* do not describe

[586] 2021: 81-2.
[587] *Heauton Timorumenos* 256- 263.

themselves engaging in mercenary work but rather soldiering and engaging in business more generally. Terence avoids using language that provides any clear context for military expeditions or the type of service his soldiers engage in. Frequent references to Asia Minor are the exception, but these references do not provide enough information to determine whether the soldiers should be understood as Greek mercenaries like those in Menander or as something more specific to Roman contexts.

III - Terence's *Miles Gloriosus*: Thraso

Thraso in the *Eunuchus* is the only example of a *miles gloriosus* in Terence's corpus. The play's prologue informs the audience that the character has been brought into the play from a separate source than the Menandrian play by the same title. Thraso is a soldier who has likely served in Asia Minor, though the play does not mention a specific place, but only that Thraso served a king (*rex*).[588] Barsby suggests that this king "would be understood to be one of the Hellenistic kings who came into power after the death of Alexander in 323 BC."[589] However it is not clear whether Barsby interprets this as one of the Hellenistic kings in Menander's time or one in the time of Terence. I suggest the latter, but both possibilities are plausible and are not mutually exclusive. For example, Major argues that the treatment of mercenaries in Plautine comedy exposes a paradigm of Roman military superiority over the Greek-style soldier.[590] With this in mind, perhaps the mercenaries of Roman comedy are intended to evoke a comparison between Hellenistic Greek mercenaries and Roman soldiers. In the previous section, I argued that Terence's soldiers are not easily categorized as mercenaries and there is no indication that those characters were caricatures of soldiers in the way that the Plautine *miles gloriosus* parodies the

[588] *Eunuchus* 397.
[589] 1999: 159.
[590] 2022: 139.

mercenary soldier. Thraso, conversely, is a *miles gloriosus* in the same vein as his Plautine counterparts: he is ridiculous and ineffectual. Furthermore, Thraso is not left humiliated and defeated at the plot's resolution but instead continues his liaison with the *meretrix* Thais. As I will explore below, perhaps Terence's *miles gloriosus* is intended to evoke a comparison between different kinds of soldiers in the service of Rome rather than a specifically Greek versus Roman comparison.

III.1 - Terence Dashes Comic Convention

Although he is the only example of the character type in Terence, Thraso is set apart from the stereotypical *miles gloriosus* who incessantly brags about his military exploits. Terence calls attention to the *gloriosus* stereotypes when Phaedria's trusted confidant, Parmeno (an enslaved individual), encourages the *meretrix* Thais to choose the *adulescens* Phaedria over the *miles* Thraso by falsely linking Thraso to the generic characteristics of a Plautine *miles gloriosus*.

> neque pugnas narrat neque cicatrices suas
> ostentat neque tibi obstat, quod quidam facit.
>
> [Phaedria] neither rambles about battles nor shows off his scars
> nor stands in your way, as a certain guy [i.e., Thraso] does.
> *Eunuchus* 482-3

This description fits the stereotypes associated with the *miles gloriosus* in Roman Comedy before Terence, that is, telling battle stories and showing off battle wounds. For example, Pyrgopolynices begins his play by boasting about many of his military achievements [591] However, this description is false: it develops Thraso's character only in a superficial way since it is presented entirely from Parmeno's perspective. Terence never presents Thraso showing off

[591] *Miles Gloriosus* 1-77.

scars or discussing his martial exploits at length. Instead, Thraso focuses on how well he has been received in the past, as can be observed in the following passage:

> rex semper maxumas
> mihi agebat quidquid feceram: aliis non item.
>
> The king always used to give great [thanks] to me for whatever I did: to others, not so much.
>
> *Eunuchus* 397-8

Instead of boasting about how bravely he fought or how he crushed a brave enemy, Thraso boasts about his proximity to the king. Again, Thraso does not list his military achievements, but only that he was well received and well rewarded. This is a type of boasting, but it is not typical of the *miles gloriosus* in Plautus and also stands apart from the Menandrian mercenary whose anger prevents him from integrating into society with ease. It is not clear that Thraso is intended to be understood as a current mercenary, but the reference to serving the king might suggest that this is the case. What is most important to my analysis is that Terence does not explicitly cast Thraso as a mercenary soldier and that his conformation to the stereotypes associated with the Plautine *miles gloriosus* is superficial at best.

During one of his few boastful moments, Thraso describes a verbal altercation instead of his exploits on the field of battle.

> …una in convivio
> erat hic quem dico Rhodius adulscentulus.
> forte habui scortum; coepit ad id alludere
> et me irridere. ‘quid ais,’ inquam ‘homo impudens?
> lepus tute’s’ pulpamentum quaeris?’
>
> There was this very young Rhodian whom I’m talking about with me at a dinner party. By chance, I had a whore; he started to flirt with her
> and mock me. ‘What’re you saying,’ I said, ‘shameless man?
> You yourself are a rabbit: are you hunting fresh meat?’
>
> *Eunuchus* 422-6

Wright argues that the quotation at the end of the passage is similar to a Plautine motif that Fraenkel calls "identification" and maintains that the subject's identification with an animal as well as the line's word order and asyndeton "are typically Plautine" features.[592] Stylistically, then, Terence is borrowing features from Plautus in this passage. Thraso's joke itself constitutes another type of borrowing. Barsby argues that Thraso's joke should be understood as an old witticism and explains that the line might even be borrowed from an earlier play by Livius Andronicus.[593] Thus, Terence borrows material from Livius Andronicus using a kind of phrasing borrowed from Plautus. Barsby suggests that Terence's joke is the fact that Thraso "is claiming it is his own."[594] Fontaine takes this suggestion further and argues that "Thraso's own move to appropriate the *vetus dictum* is simultaneously a move by Terence to appropriate or usurp a *dictum* of Livius."[595] This line of reasoning is appealing because it explains why Terence might have changed the witticism itself, along with its setting to Rhodes when the Greek source (Menander's *Kolax*) has "a reference to the proverbial Cypriot ox which fed on dung."[596]

The passage locates Thraso in Rhodes, a place with contemporary contextual significance and one mentioned multiple times in the play. Discussing the reasons for the political turbulence between Rhodes and Rome, Starks explains that "Rhodian mistakes, unilateralism, and, above all, perceived arrogance in their responses to Rome appear as central charges, the subject of refutations and confessions in the ongoing arguments over Rhodes' (in)actions regarding the war with Perseus, the heated deliberations on how to punish them afterward, and Rhodes' ambassadorial pleas for clemency, which led to a deleted formal alliance (164 BCE)."[597] This

---

[592] 1974: 26-7.
[593] Barsby 1999: 164 explains that Vopiscus attributes the line to Livius Andronicus but remains skeptical of the suggestion.
[594] 1999: 164.
[595] 2013: 195.
[596] Barsby 1999: 162.
[597] 2013: 137.

event occurred just a few years before Terence stages *Eunuchus* (161 BCE). I suggest that Terence places Thraso in Rhodes because of Rome's recent military interactions with Rhodes, namely the Second Macedonian War, waged between 200 and 197 BCE by Rome on behalf of the Rhodians and the subsequent disenfranchisement of Rhodes by Rome in 164 BCE. The reference to Rhodes might call to mind this recent fracturing of the political relationship between Rome and its former ally. The reference in this way contextualizes the passage for a Roman audience but it also invites the audience to evaluate the relationships between Rome and Roman allies more generally.

This type of argument is similar to one made by Euripidean scholars, such as Arnott, who suggest that a reference to Sicily at the end of the *Electra* might allude to the Sicilian Expedition in 415-413 BCE.[598] While the uncertain dating of Euripides' play makes this interpretation less evident, the question of why this reference to Sicily exists in the *Electra* remains. In fact, Sicily is referenced in another of Euripides' plays: it is the setting of his satyr play, *Cyclops*. Seaford argues that Cyclops was written not long after the Sicilian Expedition and that "the audience may have been reminded, as they saw the Greeks trapped in the Aitnaian cannibal's cave, of their fellow-citizens imprisoned in the Syracusan quarries with the growing pile of bodies."[599] Although the dating of *Cyclops* is similarly uncertain, Euripides' continued references to Sicily suggest that the tragedian invites his audience to make specific connections between the dramatic world and their own.

Like Euripides' continued references to Sicily in *Cyclops*, Terence references Rhodes in the *Eunuchus* on multiple occasions. Thraso is not even the only character to reference Rhodes: the *meretrix* Thais also mentions Rhodes directly, as seen in the following passage:

---

[598] *Electra* 1347. Arnott 1993: 413.
[599] 1984: 55.

> Samia mihi mater fuit: ea habitabat Rhodi.
>
> Samia was my mother: she used to live at Rhodes.
> *Eunuchus* 107

This line might not seem to add much to the character's personal development, but the mention of Rhodes brings the place into the dramatic world of the play and establishes a theme of foreignness that reverberates in Thraso's story about the altercation with a young Rhodian. Samia might be her proper name, but it is more likely to simply mean "the (girl from) Samos."

Another possibility also emerges: Menander's *Samia*, while not listed as a source for Terence's *Eunuchus*, could be referenced here by virtue of the name of Thais' mother: Samia. Hinds explains that:

> "allusive self-annotation, like any other aspect of poetic meaning, is always, in practice, something (re)constructed by the reader at the point of reception. This could lead to a more radical formulation, namely that all allusions, at the moment in which they are apprehended as such, incorporate an element of self-annotation, in that just to recognize an allusion, any allusion, is to hear in it the affirmation 'Yes, I am an allusion' – within, or besides, all other things which it may be saying."[600]

Considering this explanation, the allusion could reference the way Terence composes plots from multiple Greek plays, with inspiration for the character of Thais stemming from Menander's *Samia*. If this is the case, then Terence is engaging in a dynamic form of intertextuality with Menander's corpus that goes beyond an individual plays' use as mere source material for Terentian comedies.

Terence's intertextuality with Greek comedy as well as earlier forms of Roman comedy creates a comic space that is both shaped by the playwright and thrust upon him because of his relatively late career and authorial conventions of the genre. In other words, Terence amplifies his own position as a playwright of Roman comedy by exaggerating the ways he uses source

[600] 1998: 10.

material. Terence creates a unique dramatic world that constantly expands its own boundaries. Terence's plays do not reflect Greek or Roman societies in simple terms, but instead exist within a space where both exist simultaneously. Because of this, Terence's characters seem to seamlessly shift between Greek and Roman contexts.

III.2 - A Soldier Subordinate to a *Meretrix*

Terence imitates the Plautine stereotypes of the *miles gloriosus* in two significant ways. First, Thraso is ineffectual and ridiculous in some ways. Second, Thraso expresses a desire to become dominated by a *meretrix*, a character who should be a social subordinate. The context of Thraso's desire to be dominated can be understood by briefly summarizing his involvement in the plot of *Eunuchus*. Thraso's relationship with the *meretrix* Thais is strained when he becomes jealous of her other relationships and tries to reclaim the gifts (i.e., Pamphila) he gave her earlier in the play. The strain on their relationship reaches its zenith when the soldier lays an ineffective siege on Thais' house.[601] After Thraso loses the siege, he expresses his desire to be subservient to Thais.[602] His hopes of reconciliation with Thais are dashed after Gnatho informs him that Thais entered an exclusive (though still financially supported) relationship with Phaedria's father.[603] At this point Thraso seems to conform to the stereotype of the Plautine *miles gloriosus*. However, the unconventional ending of the play dashes the expectation that the *miles gloriosus* is ultimately humiliated and unsuccessful in all his endeavors. At the end of *Eunuchus*, Gnatho brokers an unusual deal between Thraso and the *adulescens* Phaedria that allows both rival suitors to maintain their relationships with Thais: Phaedria's family enters a formal arrangement

[601] *Eunuchus* 771-816.
[602] *Eunuchus* 1027.
[603] *Eunuchus* 1039.

of *amicitia* with Thais but Thraso will be responsible for lavishing the *meretrix* with expensive gifts.

Terence significantly develops Thraso's character when the soldier reveals his desire to be dominated by Thais. This desire manifests in the form of a mythological parallel, as seen in the following dialogue between Thraso and his parasite, Gnatho:

> [Gn.] quid nunc? Qua spe aut quo consilio huc imus? quid coeptas, Thraso?
> [Th.] egone? Ut Thaidi me dedam et faciam quod iubeat. [Gn.] quid est?
> [Th.] qui minus quam Hercules servivit Omphale? [Gn.] exemplum placet.
>
> [Gn.] What now? With what hope or plan are we coming here? What are you attempting, Thraso? [Th.] Me? I'm going to surrender to Thais and do what she tells me to. [Gn.] What! [Th.] Why not? Hercules was Omphales' slave, wasn't he? [Gn.] I like the precedent.
>
> *Eunuchus* 1025-7[604]

Here, Thraso compares himself to Hercules, who is usually the epitome of belligerent masculinity. However, Hercules is enslaved in the Omphale myth and engages in activities that undermine his masculinity and position of control. In the *Eunuchus*, Thraso's initial threat of violence is diffused and the masculine, militaristic ideals which support that violence are subverted. This mythological parallel constitutes a moment of insight into Thraso's mindset: he has a desire to subvert belligerent masculinity by submitting to the *meretrix* rather than dominating her physically. The parallel also provides insight into the ways Terence subverts audience expectation. By failing to overpower the *meretrix* martially during the siege, Thraso seems to adhere to the stereotype that the *miles gloriosus* is an unsuccessful soldier.

In fact, Lape demonstrates that Thrasonides in Menander's *Misoumenos* expresses a similar reversal of roles when the soldier "confesses to complete subjugation at the hands of his seemingly powerless prisoner of war" by performing a lover's *paraclausithyron* outside of his

[604] The English translation is modified from Brown 2006: 198.

own door and commenting that his own servant enslaves him.[605] In Plautine comedy, the unsuccessful soldier is equally ineffective at maintaining his amorous relationship. However, the *miles gloriosus* in Terence is a remarkably effective rival to the *adulescens* because his relationship with the *meretrix* never ends. In these ways, Terence adheres to a stereotype in one moment only to dash audience expectations of that stereotype in the next moment.

III.3 - Imperator Peregrinus

Thraso also conforms to the stereotype that the Plautine *miles gloriosus* is marked by his foreignness. After Pamphila's citizenship is recognized and her familial bonds to the *adulescens* Chremes are established, Thais tries to persuade Chremes to stand his ground against Thraso during the siege. In the context of this conversation, Terence makes it clear that Thraso is, in fact, a foreign soldier.

> immo hoc cogitato. quicum res tibist peregrinus est,
> minus potens quam tu, minus notus, minus amicorum hic habens.
>
> Just ponder this. The guy [i.e. Thraso] you have an issue with is foreign, less powerful than you, less known, has fewer friends here.
>
> *Eunuchus* 759-60

Terence's use of *peregrinus* and the repetition of *minus* emphasize Thraso's (perceived) political inferiority to a citizen, i.e. a contributing member of a civic community. This passage also suggests that the soldier is not as well liked as he perceives himself to be. This does not constitute a lack of self-awareness because Thraso never claims to have many friends. However, his boasting about how much the "king" liked him does suggest that he thinks of himself as friendly and well-received by others. Thraso is marked as foreign by the adjective *peregrinus* and by the suggestion that he lacks a local community.

---

[605] 2004: 193.

Although the soldier is foreign, he is also rich (as evident from his generous gifts to Thais in the play) and a commanding officer. Multiple characters call Thraso a general (*imperator*). Parmeno, the *servus* of Thraso's rival, first labels Thraso as an *imperator*.[606] This is reinforced when another character uses the term during the siege of Thais' house: the cook, Sanga, joins Thraso and calls him an *imperator*.[607] The fact that Thraso's enemies as well as allies call him an *imperator* cements the soldier's high rank. Labeling Thraso a general distinguishes him from average soldiers but also makes the loss of the siege more humiliating. However, unlike Plautine soldiers, Thraso's loss is not decisive since he ultimately reestablishes his relationship with the *meretrix*. Thus, Thraso is a high ranking, foreign soldier who sustains substantial losses but ultimately succeeds. I suggest that Thraso can be interpreted as a *socius miles*, a soldier from one of Rome's allied territories, rather than a mercenary *miles gloriosus*. Such allied territories in Terence's time can be broadly placed into two groups: 1.) Italian allies with full citizen rights (*cum suffragio*), which include the Sabines, Arpinum, Formiae, and Fundi and 2.) Italian allies with no Roman citizen rights at all, which include most of Etruria, Umbria, Lucania, Samnium, and Bruttium. Since Terence does not make this connection explicit, it would be unconvincing to conjecture to which, if any, of these groups Thraso might belong. Perhaps he might even evoke a general for a foreign army that fights beside Romans, such as the armies of Rhodes or Pergamum.

Thraso, as a comic soldier, can be understood in three different ways. First, Thraso can be interpreted as a mercenary, a crystalized relic from Menandrian comedy, but Terence never states this as a fact. Second, Thraso can be interpreted as a caricature of the soldiers of Greek comedy and thus as a feature borrowed from Plautine comedy. However, Thraso's ultimate success in the

---

[606] *Eunuchus* 495.
[607] *Eunuchus* 778.

play dashes the expectations that a Plautine *miles gloriosus* sets up. Finally, as I suggest, Thraso can be understood as a non-citizen soldier fighting alongside Roman soldiers. Thus, just as the soldier's military context is ambiguous, so too are the contexts from which Terence's character was created: is he supposed to be a Menandrian mercenary, a Plautine braggart, or a product of Terence's own creation?

III.4 - Thraso's Atypical Plot Resolution

Terence recovers (and adapts) a Menandrian feature of the soldier that is lost in Plautus: the reintegration of that soldier into the civic community. In the *Eunuchus*, Chaerea resolves his half of the play's double-plot by his decision to marry Pamphila, with the support of her male relatives. Phaedria resolves his half of the double plot when his father enters into a patron-client relationship with Thais, ensuring her continued affection for his son. Saller defines a patron as "a person who uses his influence to assist and protect some other person, who becomes his 'client,' and in return provides certain services to his patron."[608] Williams explains that there is a necessary mutual benefit derived from the patron-client relationship and friendship in general.[609] Wallace-Hadrill notes that this relationship "can function as the prime mechanism in the allocation of scarce resources and the dominant means of legitimizing the social order."[610] In the play's context, Phaedria's father entering into such a social contract with her legitimizes Thais' social status. In return for her elevated social status, as it seems, Thais will provide Phaedria with a sexual relationship. Although this development would be a suitable stock ending within the New Comedy genre, as in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* wherein the rival, Pyrgopolynices, loses his love interest to the *adulescens* and is left on stage beaten up and humiliated, Terence does not

[608] 1982: 1.
[609] 2012: 48-9.
[610] 1989: 223.

end the *Eunuchus* here. Rather, he escalates the confusion by allowing Thraso to continue his relationship with Thais.[611] Goldberg interprets the play's ending, i.e. "Thraso's reward for his foolishness," as an example of Terence rejecting conventional stock elements.[612] The ending is unconventional: Chaerea decides to grant Thraso continued access to Thais, Thais is never asked, or heard from in the play again, and Phaedria seems happy to share the woman he allegedly loves with Thraso. Although Thraso's continued involvement with the *meretrix* is irregular, by virtue of this relationship the soldier is integrated into the play's society in a seemingly stable, if unconventional, way.

Thraso's dramatic relationships might suggest a kind of comparison can be made to contemporary political relationships and practices in Rome. For example, (A) Roman allies financially support (B) allied territory for the benefit of (C) Roman citizens. The play displays: (A) a foreign soldier, Thraso, financially supporting (B) a foreign woman, Thais, for the primary benefit of (C) a male citizen, Phaedria. This scheme is also summarized in the following cycle:

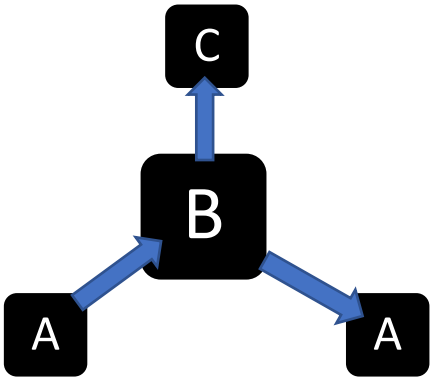

Figure 1: Cycle of Unequal Dynamics of Support and Benefit

[611] Goldberg 1986: 120 argues, "Gnatho brings Thraso and Phaedria together by satisfying what has become the idealism of the soldier and the materialism of the young man. Thraso is willing to share; Phaedria realizes that he must."
[612] Goldberg 1986: 16.

This figure demonstrates that (A) both offers benefits to (B) and received benefits from (B) but that (C) only receives benefits. I argued in the previous chapter that (B) allied territory is analogous to (B) foreign women in Terentian comedy. In the following section I will explain in more detail how (A) Roman allies are comparable to (A) Terence's *miles gloriosus*, Thraso.

III.5 - Elephants, Pyrrhus, and Allied Soldiers

References to war elephants and Pyrrhus link Thraso with the idea of allied soldiers. Thraso's identity as an elite foreign military commander reinforces the link. Thraso makes a reference to war elephants while describing how other soldiers envied his elevated rank and/or status. Thraso identifies one Strato as a fellow soldier who was particularly envious of him:

> inuidere omnes mihi,
> mordere clanculum. ego non flocci pendere.
> illi inuidere misere, uerum unus tamen
> impense, elephantis quem Indicis praefecerat.
> is ubi molestus magis est, 'quaeso,' inquam 'Strato,
> eon es ferox quia habes imperium in beluas?'
>
> Everyone envied on me,
> jabbed at (me) privately. I don't care a hair.
> They envied [me] horribly, and yet one in particular,
> the one whom [the king] had appointed over the Indian elephants,
> when he was being increasingly annoying, I said 'Okay, Strato,
> are you savage because you have authority over beasts?'
>
> *Eunuchus* 413-5

The reference to elephants, regardless of the specific type of elephant, might suggest the recent wars in which elephants were employed by Roman armies. Although war elephants were used by the Hellenistic Kings, Barsby points out that war elephants were also starting to be used by Rome during Terence's lifetime, for example at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BCE.[613] Griffith explains that Italian mercenaries and African war elephants, perhaps for the first time, were used

[613] Barsby 1999: 161.

by Carthage during the first Punic War (264-241 BCE).[614] Hannibal's elephants crossing the Alps became a symbol of the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE). The reference to a king might bring a few different individuals to mind. There were, in the time of Terence's literary output, recent and notorious Roman wars fought against kings: namely those against the king of Epirus, Pyrrhus (280-275 BCE) as well as the Macedonian Wars (214-148 BCE) and the Seleucid War (192-188 BCE).

Thraso's foreignness has no direct bearing on whether he might be a citizen in Roman social contexts. For example, Cornell distinguishes between types of non-native Roman citizens, saying that "they possessed the rights of *conubium* and *commercium*…the Latins were technically foreigners (*peregrini*), whereas the Oscan-speaking Campanians and Volscians were technically citizens (*cives*)."[615] Gargola shows that the earliest attestations of the term "*peregrinus*" are found in Plautine comedy but argues that "when categorizing a person, *peregrinus* usually appears in contrast to *civis*, citizen, but when denoting a thing or a practice, it can designate something brought more fully into the Roman civic order."[616] Gargola provides the contemporary creation of the office of the *praetor peregrinus* and the later designation of *ager peregrinus* as examples in support of her claim.[617] These examples show that the term certainly can mark an object or institution as Roman. However, as Gargola has shown, the term is in the process of developing its more specific meanings and has not yet crystallized at all. Therefore, Thraso's *peregrinus* status might, in fact, suggest that this type of soldier is one brought into the Roman civic order, such as an allied soldier. However, it is equally possible that the term

[614] 1935: 212-3.
[615] 1995: 351.
[616] 2017: 87.
[617] 2017: 88; 141.

suggests an outsider in the way that the Greek *xenos* implies. Again, perhaps the ambiguity is intentional since neither possibility can be ruled out entirely.

Perhaps Thraso's character calls to mind the Latins, or another allied group. Thraso's professional success and apparent great wealth (he presents the *meretrix* with multiple enslaved individuals) suggests that he belongs to the elite classes of foreign allies. Cornell argues that a "consistent feature of Rome's foreign policy [was] her support for the upper classes in the communities of Italy, who regarded Rome as their natural ally, whereas the masses were normally hostile."[618] Thraso is not portrayed as being particularly hostile in the play, and what hostility he does display is not directed towards citizens, but towards the *meretrix* Thais. In this way he is reminiscent of the Menandrian mercenaries, but he is not a carbon-copy representation of them.

I argued above that Thraso's relationships with Thais and Phaedria suggest Thraso's identity as an allied soldier. In fact, Thraso has another relationship in the play that supports this interpretation. Through the relationship between Thraso and his parasite, Gnatho, Terence might be criticizing Roman dependence upon and exploitation of allied soldiers in Rome's military following the Italian Wars (327-220 BCE). Harris explains that during these wars the bulk of Italy fell under Roman political control: Italian territories were plundered, confiscated as *ager publicus* (public land), and were established as Roman colonies.[619] The topic can be found in earlier Roman comedies: for example, Plautus references *ager publicus* in a sexual metaphor in the comedy *Truculentus*.[620] Harris emphasizes that, after Italian territories became Roman allies, "the allied states had to finance large contingents to fight for the Roman state, but had no

[618] 1995: 363.
[619] 1979: 59-61.
[620] *Truculentus* 147-51. The passage is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (on the *ancilla*).

prospect, as states, of obtaining plunder and indemnities."[621] On this topic Cornell notes that "the treaties (*foedera*) probably differed from one another in detail, but the basic provision common to all of them was the allies' obligation to supply military aid to Rome."[622] Thraso and Gnatho, the soldier's parasite, typify the relationship between Rome (and its citizen soldiers) and the allied soldiers demanded as a part of Italian subjugation. Gabba describes this relationship and explains that "Latin and Italian allies were obliged to meet Rome's requests for contingents of troops under the laws establishing colonies and under individual treaties, which will have laid down the two parties' reciprocal obligations to give military assistance and the services to be rendered by the allies…the allied communities were entered in a kind of military register or roll, the so-called *formula togatorum*, which formed the basis of Rome's annual demands for the required allied contingents."[623] Potter clarifies that "the alliance system…gave Rome the ability to mobilize the manpower of its allies with unprecedented efficiency."[624] He also defines the terms of these alliances, namely that they "establish peace between Rome and the other signatory and stipulate that each shall assist the other with armed force if attacked…the levying of troops from allies and Latin colonies became an annual event as Rome's wide-ranging interests and obligations made annual campaigns, and eventually a standing army, a necessity."[625]

Roman drama was produced following the First Punic Wars (264-241 BCE), a time that saw the expansion of Rome unlike any other era before it. Lazenby explains that "before the first [Punic War], Rome was a purely Italian power and its forces had never operated outside peninsular Italy; by the end of the last, its armies had fought in Sicily, Africa, Albania, France,

---

[621] 1979: 62.
[622] Cornell 1995: 365.
[623] 1989: 221-2.
[624] 2014: 58.
[625] Potter 2014: 240.

Spain, Greece, and Turkey, and it had acquired its first provinces in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Africa and now dominated the Mediterranean world."[626] Potter clarifies that, following the defeat of the Latins in 338 BCE, "Rome would no longer deal with the Latin League as a military institution. Instead, each city would have an individual treaty with Rome specifying the contribution the it would henceforth make to the Roman army."[627] Gabba argues that in the time following the Second Punic War "there are many indications that the Roman government tended to place the greater part of the military burden on the allies … [whose military] participation now meant involvement as subordinates in a policy of expansion."[628] As a result, the qualifications for service in Rome's military changed dramatically during this time. No longer did the Roman army consist exclusively of the wealthiest Roman citizens, but now consisted of *socii milites*, the non-citizen allied troops from recently subjugated territories. Around the time of Terence's literary output (166-161 BCE) the Roman army was heavily reliant on the use of *socii*. In fact, the total number of *socii* serving with the Roman army likely outnumbered the citizen-soldiers significantly.[629] Vishnia argues that "the disinclination of the rich [citizens] to serve, while fully enjoying the remunerations of war, shifted the military burden…to Rome's allies and to less affluent citizens."[630] I claim that Terence develops Thraso's character to provoke debate about such imbalanced relationships.

---

[626] 2014: 260.
[627] 2014: 58.
[628] 1989: 222.
[629] Kendall 2013: 81 conjectures that at this time the total number of *socii* serving with the Roman army likely outnumbered citizen soldiers 3:1. Gabba 1989: 222 argues that the ratio of allied troops to Roman soldiers would have varied over history, but that around the time of the Second Punic War and Terence's literary output there were either two or three times as many allies as there were Roman soldiers.
[630] 1996: 162.

Thraso's military prowess is put to the test when Thraso undermines Roman military formation by taking a "Pyrrhic" offensive strategy and applying it to a Roman maniple. This can be seen in the following discussion between Thraso and the parasite, Gnatho:

> [THR.] tu hosce instrue. ego hic ero post principia: inde omnibus signum dabo.
> [GN.] illuc est sapere: ut hosce instruxit, ipse sibi cauit loco.
> [THR]. idem hoc iam Pyrrhus factitauit.
>
> [THR.] You, draw up [the troops]. I'll station myself here behind the first rank: from that position I'll give the signal.
> [GN.] That's smart thinking, right there: as he drew up these [troops], he protects himself by his position.
> [THR.] Pyrrhus always used to use this same [military tactic].
>
> *Eunuchus* 781-3

Thraso's reference to Pyrrhus recalls the Roman war against Pyrrhus (280-275 BCE) and the employment of his infamous Pyrrhic tactics. Pyrrhus was from Epirus and, as Rawlings notes, he was "trained in the arts of Hellenistic warfare, with his army of 25,000 men and 20 elephants."[631] Goldsworthy summarizes that Pyrrhus was "hired by Tarentum to fight against Rome [and he] defeated two Roman armies before finally succumbing in a third, hard-fought battle."[632] Hoyos shows how Pyrrhus' tactics of placing Italian maniples before his phalanx brigades were effective but resulted in "dispiriting attrition to his own side."[633] Barsby suggests that these lines might reference actual Roman military positions wherein the young troops are placed in the front ranks, the higher ranking troops behind them, and if absolutely necessary the veteran troops take the rear.[634] Rawlings suggests that Rome's victory over Pyrrhus was due to its organization and integration of *socii* troops.[635] Erdkamp even cites the war against Pyrrhus, in which he was aided

[631] 2007: 46.
[632] 2003: 164.
[633] 2004: 74.
[634] 1999: 233.
[635] 2007: 52.

by Italian allies, as a prime example of Italian defection from the Roman army.[636] I argue that Terence's reference to the Pyrrhic war, in which both armies relied heavily on such allies, might incite a topical critique on Rome's excessive reliance upon its allies.

Concluding Thoughts

Terence sets up Thraso as a foil to the Plautine parodies of soldiers. Thraso's partial inclusion into (rather than complete alienation from) the civic community is cemented when the *adulescens* allows him to continue his relationship with Thais. Since Thraso does not marry Thais (or anyone) he cannot be seen as transitioning into a fully-fledged member of the civic community in the same way that Menandrian mercenaries do. I suggest that the ambiguity of this dramatic situation is intentional and invites the audience to compare Thraso to soldiers who occupy a similarly ambiguous space in society, such as allied soldiers.

[636] 2007: 101.

CHAPTER 5 – FREEDOM ON THE COMIC STAGE: MANUMISSION AND THE *LIBERTUS* IN TERENCE

Comic representations of slaves and slavery have received much scholarly interest in recent years, particularly in terms of how the comic characters and scenarios reflect and distort slavery in Greece and Rome. Current discussions start from Fraenkel's 1922 contention that the *servus callidus* is a distinctly Plautine feature, but they go far beyond it.[637] For example, Richlin argues that Plautine comedy reflects the fantasies (as well as some realities) of enslaved people, particularly concerning their freedom.[638] On the other hand, McCarthy argues that Plautine comedy ultimately reinforces the hegemonic perspective and that the same fantasies of freedom expressed by enslaved characters can be understood as a reflection of two simultaneous processes.[639] She argues that "because… masters have a need for rebellion in their own lives, as well as anxiety about the possible rebellion of slaves, this form of comedy both promotes and undermines rebellious fantasies."[640] Along similar lines of thought, Stewart argues that "all representations of slavery from a slave society (whether inscriptional or literary artifact) will reflect the ideological silencing of the slave by the master and the strategic silencing of the slave by him or herself."[641] Brown challenges Richlin's assertion that the Plautine audience mainly consisted of slaves.[642] I will argue below that Terence's comedies do not engage in fantasies of freedom in the same way that Plautus' comedies do. Rather, Terence's plays demonstrate that a freedman is still bound to his former master and that the same power dynamics are in play in their relationship, whether that relationship is formally one between slave owner and enslaved

---

[637] 1960: 223-41. Fraenkel's arguments are expanded on by Anderson 1993:92-106.
[638] 2017.
[639] 2000. Both Richlin 2017 and McCarthy 2000 won the SCS Goodwin Award, although the evidence had not changed, which indicates a divided opinion among scholars.
[640] 2000: 6.
[641] 2012: 12.
[642] 2019.

individual or between former owner and freedman. Terence's plays might therefore represent a more accurate depiction of slavery, where the freedman stays in close proximity to his former owner and continues to be an active part of the social network of the *familia*.

I - Enslavement and Mistaken Identity in Greek and Roman Comedy

I.1 - POWs and Captivity in New Comedy

Tordoff explains that "Athens' system of slave ownership was a mixture of private and public chattel slavery, with the former accounting for the vast majority of slaves."[643] Menander's *Aspis* focuses on private, enslaved war captives. At the beginning of the play, the slave Daos enters stage with a large group of POWs behind him. Daos expresses regret that he continues to work hard well into his old age, as seen in the following passage:

> ἐμοί τ᾽ ἔσεσθαι τῶν μακρῶν πόνων τινὰ
> ἀνάπαυσιν εἰς τὸ γῆρας εὐνοίας χάριν.
> νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν οἴχει παραλόγως τ᾽ ἀνήρπασαι.
>
> And for me too, as I grew old, I hoped
> there'd be some rest from these long-lasting tasks, after all
> I'd done for you. But now you're unexpectedly dead and gone.[644]
> *Aspis* 11-13

Sommerstein argues that "Daos hopes for a labour-free and restful old age, not necessarily for manumission."[645] Richlin points out that this scene is not particularly humorous even though this kind of scene might typically make light of warfare and/or the slave-owner.[646] Daos laments the end of his fantasy for freedom more than he laments the death of his former master. This idea can also be seen in the following passage:

> οὐδείς. —ὦ Τύχη,

[643] 2013: 5.
[644] All Greek and English translations from Menander's *Aspis* are from Arnott 1979. The English translation is modified.
[645] 2014: 54.
[646] 2017: 450.

οἵῳ μ᾽ ἀφ᾽ οἵου δεσπότου παρεγγυᾶν
μέλλεις. τί σ᾽ ἠδίκηκα τηλικοῦτ᾽ ἐγώ;

No one. —Lady Chance,
some owner you assign me, after him!
what awful crime against you have I done?
Aspis 213-15

Here, Daos might be expressing fondness for his former master but it is more likely that Daos laments the idea of starting over in a new master-slave relationship. This brings to mind the question of why Daos returns home at all after the battle: if he wants to be free, why does he not run away (or stay where he is)? It is possibly a fantasy in the service of highlighting the authority of slave-owners: while some comic slaves dream of freedom as escape from their servitude, others like Daos in this passage dream of freedom as an end to assigned tasks. Fitzgerald points out that "Tyndarus is the only slave who is actually punished in the course of a comedy, sent to the quarries by his master/father when the latter discovers that he has been duped."[647] In this sense, then, Tyndarus' desire for an end to his labor is dramatic irony.

Another character expresses disbelief that Daos has returned and questions his actions, as can be seen in the following passage:

…ἀπόπληκτε· χρυσίο[ν
ἔχων τοσοῦτο, παῖδας, ἥκεις δεσπότῃ
ταῦτ᾽ ἀποκομίζων, κοὐκ ἀπέδρας; ποταπός π[οτ᾽ εἶ;
[ΔΑΟΣ] Φρύξ. [ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΙΟΣ] οὐδὲν ἱερόν· ἀνδρόγυνος. ἡμεῖς μόνοι
οἱ Θρᾷκές ἐσμεν ἄνδρες·

…Senseless fool! When you
had so much money and slaves, you've brought them all
back for your master? You didn't disappear? Where do you come from?
[Daos] Phrygia. [Waiter] That means you're no good: an effeminate person.
Only us Thracians are real men.
Aspis 239-43[648]

[647] 2019: 198.
[648] The English translation is modified from Arnott 1979.

Menander turns the question into the set up for a joke about Daos' ethnicity. When Daos reveals that he is Phrygian, his interlocutor concludes that his Phrygian identity makes him more servile by nature by effeminizing an ethnicity and suggesting that his own Thracian ethnicity is more manly. The castrated Galli, the priests of Cybele (the Magna Mater), offer one explanation for the stereotypical link between effeminate characteristics and Phrygians. However, there is also a more general stereotype that people from Asia Minor had effeminate qualities, as Turnus' criticism of the Trojans shows in Virgil's *Aeneid*.[649] Therefore, this kind of discussion relates to biases and cultural stereotypes rather than any kind of thoughtful discussion about freedom and captivity.

In contrast, Plautine comedy does engage in negotiations between freedom and captivity. *Captivi* is similar to *Aspis* in the sense that both plays parade a group of P.O.W.s on stage. One of these P.O.W.s laments his situation in the following passage:

> nunc quando patriam et libertatem perdidi,
> non ego istunc me potius quam te metuere aequom censeo.
>
> Since I've now lost my home and freedom,
> I don't think it's fair that he should fear me rather than you.
> *Captivi* 300-1

First, in speaking to Hegio, his captor, Tyndarus – who is pretending to be his master, Philopolemus – laments the loss of his country, then the loss of his freedom. This ordering of ideas is logical since the idea of freedom is inextricable from belonging to a particular civic community. As an enslaved person impersonating a free person, Tyndarus voices the kind of things he imagines a slave-owner might say: he is not speaking from his own perspective since an enslaved person would have neither *patria* nor *libertas*, strictly speaking. The rest of the passage reinforces the idea that personal power is relational to belonging to a civic community.

---

[649] *Aeneid* 12.75; 12.96-100.

Before being captured in war, Tyndarus was already enslaved. However, his enslavement is a case of dramatic irony since the audience is aware that Tyndarus was a freeborn citizen sold into slavery as a child. Because of this, Fitzgerald argues, "it is never quite clear whether we are to think of him as behaving as a faithful slave or as an honorable free person."[650] Thus, his comment about losing freedom is also relational. In this context the meaning of what he lost must not be literal 'freedom' (from slavery) but relative freedom (from slavery) in a foreign setting. The following passage demonstrates that Tyndarus believes that his freedom is only possible after his former owner is freed and returned to citizen-status:

> **…ARIST.** Quem patrem, qui servos est? **T.** Et tu quidem
> servos es, liber fuisti, et ego me confido fore,
> si huius huc reconciliasso in libertatem filium.
> **ARIST.** Quid ais, furcifer? tun te gnatum <esse> memoras liberum?
> **TYND.** Non equidem me Liberum, sed Philocratem esse aio. …
>
> **Arist**. What father? He's a slave. **T**. (to Aristophontes) And you're also a slave and were free before; and I trust I'll be free if I restore this man's son to freedom here. **Arist**. What are you saying, you rascal? Are you telling us that you are a born free man? **T.** I'm not saying that I'm the Free(d)man, but Philocrates.
> *Captivi* 574-8

The passage suggests that actual freedom (*libertas*) for his former master is the only way he can envision transitioning from *servus* to *libertus*. This holds true on two levels: first, in order for Philopolemus to free Tyndarus he would need to be a free man again and second, he thinks that if he succeeds in securing Philopolemus' freedom that he will be given his own freedom as a reward for his service. In other words, his former master was, and can be again, a free man but Tyndarus can only hope to be a free man's freedman. Of course, since Tyndarus is actually freeborn this is dramatic irony. Plautus highlights this irony in the final line of the passage, punning on the ideas of liberated men and the god Liber (i.e. Plautus conflates the idea of

[650] 2019: 197.

freedom from a state of servitude with freedom from the restrictive social boundaries that inebriation and the worship of Dionysus provide).[651]

I.2 - Manumission in Greek Comedy

Aristophanes discusses the manumission of enslaved people on multiple occasions in *Frogs*. Manumission is never directly discussed in terms of freeing Xanthias from his servitude but recurring references to manumission do amount to a kind of unfulfilled expectation.[652] Tordoff explains that, in Greek comedy, "while comic masters routinely escape oppression, frustration and want, comic slaves are never granted the rewards of which many of their real-life counterparts undoubtedly dreamed: they are neither manumitted nor do they win their freedom by any other means."[653] However, the discussion of manumission during the play's parabasis, seen in the following passage, implies that the prospect of freedom is dangled in front of Xanthias.

> εἶτ᾽ ἄτιμόν φημι χρῆναι μηδέν᾽ εἶν᾽ ἐν τῇ πόλει·
> καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρόν ἐστι τοὺς μὲν ναυμαχήσαντας μίαν
> καὶ Πλαταιᾶς εὐθὺς εἶναι κἀντὶ δούλων δεσπότας·
> κοὐδὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽ ἔχοιμ᾽ ἂν μὴ οὐ καλῶς φάσκειν ἔχειν,
> ἀλλ᾽ ἐπαινῶ·
>
> Next I say that no one in the city should be disenfranchised, for it's a disgrace that veterans of a single sea battle should forthwith become Plataeans, turning from slaves into masters; not that I have any criticism to voice about that—indeed I applaud it as being your only intelligent action.
>
> *Frogs* 692-6

The Aristophanic parabasis is a place in the play when comic masks are removed, and the poet expresses thoughts (often critical) about Athens as well as Athenian institutions and people. This

[651] Plautus' pun could, and probably does, pun on the Greek ἐλευθέριος (relating to a free person) and ἐλευθερεύς (related to the act of freeing others, i.e. Dionysus).
[652] Konstan 1995: 170-1.
[653] 2013: 42. Tordoff does not discuss manumission in relation to Terence's source material for *Andria* but he does suggest that a mischievous slave is present in *Perinthia*.

passage expresses approval of large-scale manumission but it also reflects a particular social context instead of a general approval of manumission. Konstan points out that this passage is the last of a string of references to the manumission of slaves who fought at Arginusae in *Frogs*: Xanthias says that he would be free if he fought at the battle (33-4), Charon references the sea-battle when he refuses a seat to Xanthias (19-1), and the chorus' approval of the enfranchisement (695-6).[654] As Konstan points out, this extraordinary event occurred only months before Aristophanes staged *Frogs* in 405 BCE. The multiple references to this manumission amount dangling freedom in front of an enslaved character. Unrealized manumission ultimately reinforces the preexisting social conditions and hierarchies.

The chorus later questions why another group hasn't been manumitted. Lape argues that "the chorus leader cites the enfranchisement of the former slave rowers to call into question not the existence of slavery and the continuing divide between citizen and slave but rather the disfranchisement of former citizens."[655] Lape discusses Xanthias' disguise as a god and argues that "while it is true enough that Xanthias' transformation is temporary and superficial, it nevertheless provides a template for the actual transformation of slaves into citizen-soldiers that had recently occurred after the battle of Arginusae."[656] This is true, but the fact the transformation of those manumitted after the battle of Arginusae is permanent only highlights Xanthias' continued state of servitude and the playwright's mode of dangling freedom. Konstan argues that "the stigma of alien origin remains even as the granting of citizenship to former slaves is applauded."[657] Perhaps his foreign origins are why Aristophanes does not manumit Xanthias in *Frogs*.

---

[654] 1995: 70.
[655] 2013: 85-6.
[656] 2013: 77.
[657] 1995: 71.

Discussions of freedom in Greek comedy are generally centered around foreign women who are engaged in an amorous relationship with the play's protagonist. *Hetaerae* in Greek comedy are generally either enslaved or metics, but they are never manumitted on stage. Indeed, these women cannot be manumitted in a technical sense since they were illegally enslaved in the first place. It is not always clear what status these women have in a play. For example, Traill shows how Krateia's status in Menander's *Misoumenos* is unclear: she argues that "there is no indication [Thrasonides] has gone through the usual forms of manumission."[658] She describes the extent of Thrasonides' benefactions as "nominal freedom, clothing, jewelry, servants, and a position of authority within the household."[659] However, sometimes the situation is clearer. For example, Lape demonstrates that Glykera's status in *Perikeiromene* is likely a freedwoman (metic). Traill argues that a phrase used by Pataikos to describe the girl "is very close to a recurring formula in manumission inscriptions, which often mention freedom of movement as a newly acquired right."[660] This suggests that Pataikos treats her like a freedwoman, but it does not constitute a comic scene of manumission. Traill points out that Habrotonon's freedom in *Epitrepontes*, while hinted at, does not manifest within the time of the play: "Charisios has not freed her when he leaves the stage for the last time in Act IV."[661] Thus, while their statuses are not always clear, *hetaerae* are not formally manumitted on the Menandrian stage.

Women undergo a recognition of citizenship lost through mistaken identity in New Comedy, but they are not, at least in the extant plays and fragments, formally manumitted on stage. Instead, other characters acknowledge a woman's citizenship and arrange a marriage for her, as happens in *Perikeiromene*. Traill explains that, in Menandrian comedy, "mistaken identity

---

[658] 2008: 27.
[659] 2008: 19.
[660] 2008: 42. The phrase he uses is ἑαυτῆς κυρία (control over herself).
[661] 2008: 239.

offered an alternative to the prevailing system of arranged marriage by making women who were ineligible for any number of reasons suddenly permissible."[662] This plot feature in which enslaved women are freed to wed features in Plautus' *Casina*, *Cistellaria*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Poenulus*, and *Rudens*. Similarly, women are freed to wed in Terence's *Andria* (before the action of the play), *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe*. Although there are more Plautine than Terentian examples, a greater percent of Terence's plays depict this feature. This observation is limited to informal acts of restoring a lost citizenship, as opposed to formal acts of (staged) manumission.

The more formal acts of manumission are more common in Plautus and only occur once in Terentian comedy. Thus, the remainder of the chapter focuses on scenes of manumission and the implications of staged manumission and manumitted characters in Roman comedy. If unrealized manumission, as I posit, constitutes a reinforcement of existing social structures and power dynamics, does realized manumission constitute a subversion (or reversal) of those same dynamics? For Plautus, this might be the case, but Terentian comedy shows how even the act of manumission does not rid an enslaved person of their former owner entirely. Furthermore, manumission in Terence does not seem to alter the power dynamics of their relationship in a significant way. Instead, Terence shows a relationship with continuity and highlights the fact that a former owner expected services rendered even after manumission. This falls in line with aspects of Roman manumission and social practices regarding Roman freedmen.

II - Manumission in Roman Comedy and in Scholarship

II.1 - The Roman Freedman

[662] 2008: 268.

Scholars approach slavery at Rome primarily in terms of the relationship between slave-owner and slave; these relationships demonstrate the basic structures of Roman authority. For example, Bradley argues that slavery for the Romans "was a way of thinking about society and social organization."[663] Mouritsen argues that the basic construct of a dichotomy between 'free' and 'slave' proves problematic from social and legal perspectives because manumission implies a transgression of those binaries.[664] Mouritsen stresses the great complexity of the freedman, including the inherently contradictory views held by the Romans themselves concerning categorization. For example, he shows how the Roman jurists' third category of 'freed' carries a stain leftover from the freedman's time in servitude.[665]

Mouritsen explains that "early on in Roman history three different procedures were developed which would transform the slave into a free person – *manumissio vindicta*, *censu*, and *testamento*."[666] The type of manumission found in Roman comedy is similar to a *manumissio vindicta*. Mourisen clarifies that a *manumissio vindicta* "took the form of a mock trial by which the owner of the slave appeared before a magistrate with *imperium* together with a Roman citizen."[667] Mourtisen also shows how the relationship between slave and owner turns into one between freedman and patron by creating a strong sense of social, and especially familial, connection.[668] This relationship of dependence and authority that continues past slavery reinforces a conception of power dynamics and innate superiority of citizens to those who had been enslaved. Dumont compiles every example of slaves in the Plautine corpus and categorizes

[663] 1994: 181.
[664] 2011.
[665] 2011: 12.
[666] 2011: 11.
[667] 2011: 11.
[668] 2011: 37-8.

them thematically, looking at issues like physical violence, domination, enslavement, and manumission.[669]

II.2 - Scholarship on Slavery in Roman Comedy

Leigh discusses Roman slavery primarily in the context of enslavement after military defeat, drawing on Plautus' *Captivi*.[670] Boyle's edited volume contains nine papers which cover various social, historical, and cultural contexts surrounding Terence's plays, including slavery and manumission as well as fathers and sons in Rome.[671] Furthermore, Roberta Stewart posits an exciting thesis which Richlin picks up: that Roman comedy can provide a valuable social context for Roman slavery and (in Richlin's view) that it can provide information about the slave experience itself.[672] Stewart's argument resists the ideological implications that come from reading a text from entirely one perspective, such as that of the slave owners in McCarthy or that of the slaves themselves such as in Richlin, and for that reason offers a more helpful contextualization of the implications of slavery at Rome.[673] Stewart argues that "Plautus makes comedy with the strategic silence of the trickster slaves who mimic – indeed reflect back – the expectations and emotions of the master in order to subvert the master's will."[674]

II.3 - Plautine Manumission

---

[669] 1987.
[670] 2004.
[671] 2004.
[672] Stewart 2012 uses Plautine scenes to contextualize Roman enslavement (Chapter 2), the sale of slaves (Chapter 1), and manumission (Chapter 4). She addresses social topics such as: the staged depiction of slave-auctions and the isolation and the (particularly sexual) vulnerability of slaves (Chapter 1), violence committed against and between slaves (Chapter 3), various ideas and modes of the 'release of slavery' (Chapter 4), and the paradox of representing a slave's agency (Chapter 5). Richlin 2017 outlines much of the contemporary social, political, and military history of the Middle Republic in her study of Plautine slaves; particularly useful is her Appendix I (pp. 481-491) which provides a timeline of Roman wars and comic authors, from Philemon in 321 BCE down to Plautus in 194 BCE.
[673] It is worth noting that McCarthy 2000 does not intend or claim to historicize Plautus, but instead offers only her literary analysis and a general reflection on the universal features of slavery.
[674] 2012: 79.

The emancipation of enslaved characters via formal manumission in Roman comedy might be an example of a Plautine addition that was not present in the Greek source material. The extant fragments can neither confirm nor disprove the suggestion. Still, the legal situations in Plautus often do reflect Plautine originality and aspects of contemporary Rome. For example, Gaertner argues that "the legal elements added by Plautus sometimes structure the plot and mark a closure," offering the endings of *Asinaria* and *Bacchides* as examples that "comparisons between Roman debt bondage and sexual relations underscore the complete defeat and submission of the father(s) and thus signal the end of the action."[675] In this way, Plautine manumission can be understood as subverting established power dynamics. However, Stewart interprets the effect of manumission on power dynamics differently and argues that "the plays, like the law of manumission, portray manumission as the gift of the honorable master."[676] Taking this idea further, she argues that "Roman manumission, like Roman slavery, reflected the absolute and arbitrary power of the master."[677] I agree with Stewart's analysis, but Gaertner's examples where fathers are thwarted prove that the issue is not clear-cut in Plautine comedy and that there is considerable room for manumission to subvert the hegemonic control of a father.

Damon points out that, for Plautus, "in most instances comic references to the manumission of slaves are prospective – it is held out as a potential reward for the successful completion of an important task."[678] Plautus stages the manumission of music girls in *Mostellaria* and *Pseudolus*.[679] Stewart shows how Plautus includes a second manumission (of a *servus*) with the more common recognition of lost citizenship of a woman at the end of *Rudens*.

---

[675] 2014: 619.
[676] 2012: 118.
[677] 2012: 190.
[678] 1997: 48. She lists *Amphitruo* (462), *Captivi* (408, 575, 713), *Epidicus* (725-7), *Miles Gloriosus* (961), *Persa* (487), and *Pseudolus* (358) as examples.
[679] *Mostellaria* 975.

Gripus shares his fantasy of life as a freedman as he soliloquizes on stage in the following passage:

> nunc haec tibi occasio, Gripe optigit, ut liber s<it
> nemo> ex populo praeter te.
> nunc sic faciam, sic consilium est: ad erum veniam docte atque astute.
> pauxillatim pollicitabor pro capite argentum, ut sim liber.
> iam ubi liber ero, igitur demum instruam agrum atque aedis, mancipia,
> navibus magnis mercaturam faciam, apud reges rex perhibebor.
>
> The time is ripe, Gripus, for you to be the freest
> man on the face of the earth!
> Here's the plan: I march up to Master all confident and smart.
> I'll offer him more cash for my freedom (upping the offer as needed).
> Once I'm free, I'll buy a farm, a house, and some slaves.
> I'll become a shipping magnate and be proclaimed king of kings!
>
> *Rudens* 926-31

Here, the suggestions that Gripus will be freer than anyone else is fantastical, but it also reveals a philosophical point about the hierarchy of freedom: freedom is relative.[680] Stewart argues that in *Rudens*, "the slave's planned offer of cash for his freedom reflets the ideology of the Roman slave society whereby a slave might work and save resources, or a *peculium*, in order to buy his freedom."[681] The type of manumission requiring a *peculium* is *manumissio vindicta*. By the end of the passage it is clear that Gripus is operating of the level of fantasy when he expresses the desire to be a king among kings. Sharrock cautions that thinking about "whether the slave Gripus, who thought the chest was his salvation (not someone else's), will ever own anything, is to fall into the realist trap – the comic response is just a party, just the here-and-now."[682] I disagree that thinking about the potential ramifications of a character's dramatic situation constitutes a type of trap. Clearly, Gripus thought he could buy his freedom with the money from the chest. Furthermore, the chest does exist within the world of the play and the system of

[680] Here Gripus could be channeling an idea from Greek philosophy, such as Stoicism.
[681] 2012: 135.
[682] Sharrock 2009: 9.

peculium reflects Roman social contexts. It seems to me that two distinct realities in *Rudens* (as in many Roman comedies) are grafted together uncomfortably, from the audience's perspective: the dramatic world set in Hellenistic Athens and contemporary Rome. From the character's perspectives the two realities converge and therefore neither is more 'real' than the other.

In the same play, Trachalio also is promised his freedom. However, the *servus* displays clear apprehension or distrust of the situation, as seen in the following passage:

> **DAEM.** Omnian licet? **TRACH.** Licet. sed scin quid est quod te volo?
> quod promisisti ut memineris, hodie ut liber sim. **DAEM.** Licet.
> **TRACH.** Fac ut exores Plesidippum, ut me <manu> emittat. **DAEM.** Licet.
> **TRACH.** Et tua filia facito oret: facile exorabit. **DAEM.** Licet.
> **TRACH.** Atque ut mi Ampelisca nubat, ubi ego sim liber. **DAEM.** Licet.
> **TRACH.** Atque ut gratum mi beneficium factis experiar. **DAEM.** Licet.
>
> D. So everything's okay? T. Yes, okay. But do you know what I want the most?
> I want you to keep your promise that I'll be made free today. D. okay.
> T. So you've got to convince Plesidippus to free me today. D. okay.
> T. And have your daughter plea my case, too: she'll win him over for sure. D.
> okay. T. And arrange for me to marry Ampelisca once I'm freed. D. okay.
> T. And see that I get what I deserve for all I've done. D. okay.
>
> *Rudens* 1216-21

Here, Trachalio reminds Daemones that he promised to help him and places a series of demands upon the *senex*. The magnitude of his demands crescendo when he requests for the manumission of a female character to serve as his wife. Although Daemones consents to Gripus' demands, the manumission of the *servus* is only promised: manumission is not staged, and the audience sees no follow-through. For example, Daemones states his intention to free Gripus with his half of the money from the treasure chest that washed ashore. However, Gripus is clearly not satisfied with a stated intention, as seen in the following passage:

> …**GRIP.** Quam mox mi argentum ergo redditur?
> **DAEM.** Res soluta est, Gripe. ego habeo. **GRIP.** At ego me hercle mavolo.
> **DAEM.** Nihil hercle hic tibi est, ne tu speres. iuris iurandi volo
> gratiam facias. **GRIP.** Perii hercle. nisi me suspendo, occidi.
> numquam hercle iterum defraudabis me quidem post hunc diem.

> …G. So when do I get my money?
> D. Everything's settled, Gripus – I have it. G. Damn it! I should have it!
> D. There's not a damn thing for you here, so stop hoping. And you should let him off his oath. G. Damn, that's the death of me! Death if I don't hang myself first! At least that way you'll damn well never cheat me again!
> *Rudens* 1413-6

This passage shows that Gripus distrusts Daemones. Because of Gripus' distrust, compounded with the fact that the promises are never fulfilled during the play, I argue that the audience, too, should distrust that such promises will (or must) ever be fulfilled. Although there is an arrangement made that half of the value of the chest's contents will be given to Gripus so he can purchase his freedom, Gripus remains enslaved for the duration of the play and is not seen receiving any money. This is not to say that any comic promise or discussion of manumission should be ignored as an impossible fantasy. Rather, I argue that any promise of future freedom needs to be realized before a reasonable conclusion can be made concerning the character's ultimate freedom. For example, Segal lumps Gripus in with the Plautine slaves who "win" their manumission "by sheer luck."[683] However, Gripus is not manumitted on stage, nor does another character discuss his manumission. Thus, at the time the play ends, this character is still enslaved and so it is not reasonable to consider him a freedman (only a potential freedman).

The confusion between the identities of the twins, Menaechmus and Sosicles, sets up a series of scenes discussing, thwarting, and ultimately depicting the manumission of the slave Messenio in *Menaechmi*. Messenio is the *servus* of Sosicles, the twin from Syracuse. Stewart argues that, by the treatment of Messenio in *Menaechmi*, "Plautus stages manumission as an unthinkable act."[684] When Messenio encounters Menaechmus in the following passage, he

[683] 1968: 165.
[684] 2012: 153.

mistakes the young man for his twin (Sosicles), Messenio's owner. Messenio discusses his potential manumission with Menaechmus in the following passage:

> **MESS.** Salve, mi patrone. cum tu liber es, Messenio,
> gaudeo. credo hercle vobis. sed, patrone, te obsecro,
> ne minus imperes mihi quam cum tuos servos fui.
> apud ted habitabo et quando ibis, una tecum ibo domum.
>
> (dialogue with himself) 'Greetings, patron.' – 'Ah, Messenio,
> The fact that you're now free makes me very glad.' – 'Well, I believe that's true.'
> (to Menaechmus) But, patron dear,
> You can have authority no less than when I was a slave.
> I'll be glad to live with you, and when you go, go home with you.[685]
>
> *Menaechmi* 1031-4

This passage constitutes a literal fantasy since the character is talking to himself as if he had the power to manumit himself, which he does not. The repeated vocative address to his patron, first addressed to himself, and later to Menaechmus, is striking. At first, it seems as though Plautus suggests that Messenio can reclaim a power over himself, being his own patron, but his idea is quickly snuffed when he specifies that the power Menaechmus has over him will not diminish when their relationship evolves from the dynamics of master/slave to the dynamics of patron and freedman. Later in the play, Sosicles, who is confused because it wasn't he who had the first conversation about manumission with Messenio, states in certain terms that he has no intention of freeing the slave.

> **SOS.** Liberum ego te iussi abire? **MESS.** Certo. **SOS.** Quin certissimumst,
> mepte potius fieri servom, quam te umquam emittam manu.
>
> Sos. Free? I said you could go free? Mess. For sure. Sos. Now look, for super-sure
> I would rather make myself a slave than ever set you free.
>
> *Menaechmi* 1058-9

[685] All translations from *Menaechmi* are from Segal 1996.

In this passage Messenio's expectation for manumission is met with a harsh reaction. The suggestion that he would sooner become a slave himself than free his slave is clearly hyperbolic, but also striking. It is as though losing their power dynamic threatens the very identity of the young citizen. However, soon after making this declaration, Sosicles consents to free Messenio under the condition that he performs a specified task, as seen in the following passage:

> **SOS.** Hercle qui tu me admonuisti recte, et habeo gratiam.
> perge operam dare, obsecro hercle; liber esto, si invenis
> hunc meum fratrem esse. **MESS.** Spero. **SOS.** Et ego item spero fore.
>
> Sos. Hercules, you do advise me well. I'm very grateful to you.
> Please work on, by Hercules. I'll make you free if you discover that the man is my brother. Mess. Oh, I hope so. Sos. And I hope so too.
> *Menaechmi* 1092-4

Here, by spouting the formula for manumission (*liber esto*), it seems as though Menaechmus is formally manumitting Messenio on stage. However, Menaechmus adds a condition that must be met before he will free Messenio, rendering the scene into an unfulfilled promise of freedom rather than a scene of manumission. The addition of such a clause constitutes a kind of conditional manumission (under the umbrella of testamentary manumission, even though Sosicles is still alive and therefore the manumission must be closer to *manumissio vindicta*. It turns out that Messenio fulfils the condition and Menaechmus does manumit the *servus*, as seen in the following:

> **MESS.** Numquid me morare quin ego liber, ut iusti, siem?
> **MEN.** Optimum atque aequissimum orat, frater: fac causa mea.
> **SOS.** Liber esto. **MEN.** Quom tu es liber, gaudeo, Messenio.
> **MESS.** Sed meliorest opus auspicio, ut liber perpetuo siem.
>
> Mess. Is there any reason to delay the freedom that you promised?
> Men. Brother, what he asks is very fair and fine. Please do it for me.
> Sos. 'Be thou free.' Men. The fact you're free now makes me glad, Messenio.
> Mess. Actually, I need more facts, supporting facts to keep me free.
> *Menaechmi* 1146-50

Gratwick explains that '*liber esto*' in this passage (and elsewhere in comedy) are "the formal words of manumission, saying which, the master turned the slave around and gave him a symbolic slap on the fact (*alapa*)."[686] This phrase can be compared to an earlier passage which Gratwick interprets as a parody on the Roman formula of manumission.[687] McCarthy interprets Messenio as one of the "good slaves" in Plautine comedy, as opposed to the tricky *servus callidus* type.[688] Fitzgerald argues that Messenio's preference for words (*verba*) to blows (*verbera*) is a distinguishing factor between what makes a "good" Plautine slave.[689]

II.4 - Terentian Manumission

I agree with scholars like Richlin and McCarthy, who argue that Plautine references to manumission reflect fantasies (of enslaved characters and of characters who own slaves).[690] However, Terence's comedies do not reflect similar fantasies about escaping captivity. Instead, his plays present a more pragmatic image of the freedman: one who remains inextricably bound to his former owner. The only staged manumission in Terence occurs in *Adelphoe*. Syrus and his "wife" Phrygia are manumitted on stage at the end of the play, as seen in the following passage:

> [Mi.] … si quidem hoc
> volti': Syre, eho accede huc ad me: liber esto. [Sy.] bene facis.
> omnibu' gratiam habeo et seorsum tibi praeterea, Demea.
>
> Mi. Well, if you really want it: Syrus, hey, come over here: be thou free. Sy. Thank you! I'm obliged to you all and especially to you, Demea, over and above!
> *Adelphoe* 969-71[691]

[686] 1993: 234. The phrase "*liber esto*" is repeated earlier in the play (*Menaechmi* 1029).
[687] 1993: 1039. *Menaechmi1074*-7.
[688] 2000: 172.
[689] 2019: 197.
[690] Richlin 2017; McCarthy 2000.
[691] Translations from *Adelphoe* are from Gratwick 1999.

Terence uses the same formula to free the enslaved Syrus: a simple "be free" statement serves as a formal manumission in Plautus and here in Terence. This simplified process reflects, but does not reproduce, the kind of (*vindicta*) manumission that legally freed an enslaved person in Rome. After securing his own freedom, Syrus doubles down and requests that Demea free a woman for him to marry as well. This crescendo of demands can be seen in the following passage:

> [De.] gaudeo. [Ae.] et ego. [Sy.] credo. utinam hoc perpetuom fiat gaudium, Phrygiam ut uxorem meam una mecum videam liberam!
>
> D. I'm very pleased. Ae. So am I. Sy. I know you mean it: thanks. How nice it would be if this fleeting moment of joy could be made to last forever by my seeing Phrygia here beside me as my wife—and free, too!
>
> *Adelphoe* 972-3

Both here and in *Andria*, discussed earlier, the issue of a *servus'* split loyalties between an *adulescens* and a *senex* evokes a type of struggle for hegemonic power. In *Andria*, the *servus* tricked the *senex* in order to help the *adulescens*. That *servus* not only remains enslaved but endures physical violence at the hand of the *senex*. In *Adelphoe*, however, the influence of the *adulescens* on the *senex* is stronger and the *servus* is freed by the *senex* after the *adulescens* requests that it be done. I argue that the situations initially are similar in terms of plot and amount of trickiness employed by the *servus*, but the Terence's treatment of the situation has developed.

The fact that Terence compounds the manumission of Syrus with the addition of a second manumission is striking but reflects a scenario also found in Plautus' *Rudens* (where the slave Trachalio and his "wife" are both manumitted). The manumission of Phrygia can be seen as a kind of fantasy belonging to the enslaved, male character but it also ensures a continued dependency on the freedman's master-turned-patron. The expectation that the freedman will be married suggests, as it does with Menandrian mercenary soldiers, that this character is in the

process of integrating into the hegemonic society. As such, an arranged marriage would afford the recently manumitted individual a similar arc of character development that the *adulescens* is given in Roman comedy: the establishment of the individual as a fully-fledged member of the civic community, as determined by the creation of a family unit within that community.

III - Freedom and the Freedman in Terence

III.1 - Metaphorical Manumission in Terence's *Andria*

The manumission scene in *Adelphoe*, as discussed above, is the only scene depicting manumission in Terence. However, Terence also uses the language of manumission metaphorically. In the following passage the *adulescens* ironically asks his *servus* to liberate him from his anxiety concerning his father's (mock) preparations for an unwanted marriage match:

> [Pam.] obsecro te, quam primum hoc me libera miserum metu. [Da.] em libero: uxorem tibi non dat iam Chremes. [Pam.] qui scis? [Da.] scio.
>
> [Pa.] Please free unhappy me from my fear as quickly as possible! [Da.] There! I free you! Chremes isn't marrying his daughter to you any longer. [Pa.] How do you know? [Da.] I know.
>
> *Andria* 351-2[692]

This passage contains the only uses of the verb *liberare* in Terence. Pamphilus, the *adulescens*, uses the verb in the imperative mood and Davos, the *servus*, promptly repeats the verb in the indicative and then informs the young man that his worries are unfounded. This language is used metaphorically, as the young man compares his situation with enslavement. The scene creates the anticipation for dramatic irony since there is an expectation that the *servus* might be manumitted at the end of a Roman comedy in exchange for his help resolving the plot. Goldberg notes that the particle *em* often accompanies a stage action and suggests that "the stage business here may

[692] Translation is modified from Brown 2006.

therefore parody the touch of the lictor's staff (*festuca*) in a formal *manumissio vindicta*, though extant Roman comedy never adopts the legal formulae for manumission directly."[693] Although it is difficult (if not impossible) to establish ancient stage action and whether Terence staged such an explicit parody, I agree that the language used here evokes a warped scene of manumission and that parodying the touch of the lictor's staff would fit the atmosphere.

Ultimately, Terence dashes the expectation that Davos might be manumitted at the end of the play. It becomes clear in hindsight that this passage is not a case of dramatic irony that anticipates the manumission of Davos, but another example of Terence playing with audience expectation and dramatic convention. Therefore, this passage is only ironic in the sense that an enslaved person is being asked to free the slave-owner. The dramatic irony of this passage turns out to be another dashed expectation. However, Terence sets up this same expectation for Davos' manumission at the end of the play, as seen in the following passage:

> [Pam.] … tu, Dave, abi domum
> propera, accerse hinc qui auferant. em quid stas? quid cessas? [Da.] eo.
> ne exspecteti' dum exeant huc: intu' despondebitur;
> intu' transigetur siquid est quod restet. [Cantor] plaudite.
>
> [Pa.] … as for you, Davos, go home right away, get people to move her from here! Hey, why are you standing around? Why are you lingering? [Da.] I'm going! Don't wait for them to come out here: the betrothal will take place inside – if there's anything left over, it'll be settled inside. Applaud!
>
> *Andria* 978-81[694]

The passage is a rare example that signals stage direction: it appears as though Davos hesitates on stage after being ordered to go inside. This is made clear when Pamphilus asks Davos why he

[693] 2022: 176.
[694] Translation modified from Brown 2006. Brown attributes the last three lines to Pamphilus, following the Bembine codex, but Goldberg 2022: 259 follows the more common tradition that attributes the lines to Davos.

is standing around and lingering (*quid stas*? *quid cessas*?). Goldberg notes that "Davos' apparent slowness could be attributed to the lingering effects of his treatment, or simply be a function of Pamphilus' impatience and desire to assert his authority."[695] The *senex* inflicted violence upon Davos earlier for his part helping the *adulescens* so it does make sense that the character might be moving slowly. However, the verbs used by Pamphilus express that Davos is stationary (as opposed to slow-moving). I argue that this hesitation suggests that the *servus* expects to receive something for helping secure favorable outcomes. Dramatic convention suggests that manumission might be appropriate, but the *adulescens* fails to even express gratitude. Compared to Plautine fantasies about freedom, this play reflects something closer to reality. Fitzgerald argues that "as a servant of two masters, *adulescens* and *senex* (old man), the comic slave is the point where the tensions between father and son are played out."[696] The violence against Davos at the hands of the *senex* and Pamphilus' snub at the end of the play reinforce the existing power structures within the *familia*.

It is possible that the ending of *Andria* reflects the plot resolution found in Terence's Greek source material. However, the fact that Terence recurrently sets up the expectation for Davos' manumission only to thwart that expectation reflects one of the distinct ways that Terence distances himself from his comic predecessors: playing with audience expectation and dramatic convention. As discussed earlier, there are plenty of examples of dangling freedom in front of an enslaved character in Greek and Plautine comedy only for that manumission never to be realized. The characters in *Andria* do not dangle freedom in front of Davos in a similar way. No promises or formal requests are made between characters in the play. Instead, Terence dangles the character's freedom in front of his audience in a metatheatrical way.

---

[695] 2022: 259.
[696] 2019: 189.

III.2 - The Freedman in Terence

It is not always completely clear whether freedmen in Roman comedy reflect Roman or Greek institutions of slavery. Mouritsen explains that, compared to Roman practice, "for classical Athens most estimates of the rate of manumission have been very low."[697] Thus, the relative differences in manumission rates between Roman and Athenian slavery suggest that manumission in Roman comedy more closely reflects Roman practice. Damon points out that "the Roman origin of one freedman in Roman comedy is certain…Donatus reports that the expository dialogue between *senex* and *libertus* in Terence's *Andria* was adapted from a scene in which the conversants were a *senex* and his wife."[698] In fact, as Goldberg notes, this freedman is the only clear example of the character type in Roman comedy other than the *advocati* in *Poenulus*.[699]

In the passage in question, Simo recalls freeing Sosia as a way to remind his former slave that he owes favors to the current patron.

> ego postquam te emi, a parvolo ut semper tibi
> apud me iusta et clemens fuerit servitus
> scis. feci ex servo ut esses libertus mihi,
> propterea quod servibas liberaliter.
> quod habui summum pretium persolvi tibi.
>
> Ever since I bought you, from your childhood onwards, you know how fair and mild your slavery in my household always was. I turned you from my slave into my freedman, because in your slavery you behaved like a free man; I gave you the greatest reward it was in my power to give.
>
> *Andria* 35-9[700]

[697] 2011: 141.
[698] 1997: 48.
[699] 2022: 122.
[700] Translations from Brown 2006.

Goldberg points out that the adjectives "*iusta*" and "*clemens*" which modify the noun expressing servitude are "not commonly associated with the slave condition."[701] He also argues that although this statement is made by Simo, "Sosia does not (or is not in a position to) contradict him."[702] These adjectives evoke discussions about the nature and morality of slavery from the perspective of the hegemonic class by suggesting that servitude could be just or mild. Simo reminds Sosia of his former servitude and reinforces the current power dynamics in their relationship by stating that he purchased Sosia as a slave when he was only a child. The fact that Sosia was able to be purchased by another individual reminds him of his former status.

Damon argues that the reason Terence inserts the freedman character into the scene "is apparent: the *senex* needs someone on whose *fides* and *taciturnitas* he can rely."[703] Rawson's observations support this interpretation: she points out that "there is no mention of his having bought his freedom… and Sosia is pathetically grateful for this *beneficium*, and desperately anxious to be helpful."[704] The reference to owning him even as a small child implies a father-son relationship (in terms of power dynamics) which the patron-freedman relationship reinforces. Starks argues that, in this scene, "Sosia is intimately, obsequiously dependent on his former master's whims, while technically free to operate in society on his behalf, and thus to reinforce "Roman" social order onstage from beginning to end."[705] Thus, Terence depicts the freedman as a character still intimately connected to his former owner and the inner workings of his *familia*. Since Terence inserted the freedman into the scene (i.e. the character was not present in Terence's source material) this striking discussion about slavery and manumission is also likely a Terentian

[701] 2022: 121.
[702] 2022: 121.
[703] 1997: 48.
[704] 1993: 220.
[705] 2013: 143.

addition. This passage is in the opening scene of Terence's first play and it establishes a Terentian mode of inserting characters and themes into his plays which reflect the society for which his plays were produced: Rome.

Goldberg explains that "a slave's obligations to his master did not end with manumission: deference (*obsequium*) and also specific duties (*operae*) were still expected of the *libertus*."[706] The following passage anticipates these expectations:

> [s..] in memoria habeo. [si.] haud muto factum. [s.] gaudeo
> si tibi quid feci aut facio quod placeat, Simo,
> et id gratum fuisse advorsum te habeo gratiam.
> sed hoc mihi molestumst; nam istaec commemoratio
> quasi exprobratiost inmemoris benefici.
> quin tu uno verbo dic quid est quod me velis.
>
> [So.] I never forget it. [Si.] And I don't regret doing it. [So.] I'm glad
> if I've done anything or do anything that you like, Simo; and I'm pleased that it's given you pleasure. But something troubles me: your reminding me looks like a reproach for not remembering your kindness. Why don't you tell me in one word what it is you want of me?
>
> *Andria* 40-5

Here, Sosia's language and pliability are requisite based on his status as Simo's freedman. For example, Goldberg points out that the prolepsis in line 41 is a rhetorical way that "Sosia literally puts his patron before himself."[707] The repeated juxtaposition of verbs in the perfect and present tenses highlights the continuity of Sosia's past and present amenability. Goldberg argues that *gratum…gratiam* is "deliberate word-play."[708] Brown's translation picks up on this idea.[709] There is a clear emphasis on Sosia's amenability and Simo's pleasure in the passage. However, the passage also highlights Sosia's uneasiness or discomfort at the thought of performing tasks for

[706] 2022: 123. Cf. Treggiari 1969: 68-78, Mouritsen 2011: 152-4, Hunt 2018: 128-30, Richlin 2017: 418-34.
[707] 2022: 122.
[708] 2022: 123.
[709] 2006.

Simo. For example, after placating Simo, Sosia expresses discomfort, clarifies that he feels like he is being rebuked, and then asks Simo to get to the point and make his request. Simo lays out his demands upon Sosia in the following passage:

> [Si.] nunc tuomst officium has bene ut assimules nuptias,
> perterrefacias Davom, observes filium
> quid agat, quid cum illo consili captet. [So.] sat est,
> curabo. [Si.] eamus nunciam intro. i prae, sequar.
>
> [Si.] Now it's your job to make a good pretense of this wedding,
> terrify Davos, and keep an eye on what my son's
> up to and what plans he's hatching with him. [So.] Say no more,
> I'll see to it. [Si.] Let's go inside now – you go ahead; I'll follow.
> *Andria* 168-70

Here, the patron gives his freedman three tasks to perform: pretend to set up a wedding, frighten Davos, and spy on Pamphilus.[710] He does not request Sosia's help as an equal, but rather expects his compliance as a subordinate. The fact that Simo started the exchange by reminding Sosia of his manumission and that he was kind to him when he was in servitude might imply the "*do ut des*" type of rhetoric that implies a reciprocal exchange, such as the logic behind sacrifice to the gods in exchange for divine protection or assistance. From Simo's perspective, the relationship might be mutually beneficial. However, the current dynamic between Simo and his freedman Sosia is not reciprocal or balanced. Furthermore, the duties themselves do not seem to differ substantially from what a comic *senex* might command a *servus* to do: help him manage the household. In this sense, it is difficult to tell how different the dynamic is between the two as slave/slave-owner and as freedman/patron. I suggest that Terence intentionally blurs this line to highlight the inequal power balance.

[710] Goldberg 2022: 142 notes that the verb *praeterrefacio* is only found in this passage and that the verb *praeterreo* is more commonly used.

This passage marks the end of the scene and is the last appearance of the freedman, Sosia. Goldberg points out the textual and dramaturgical issues with the end of this passage, arguing that if Simo follows Sosia inside, "Simo must exit and return almost immediately to deliver the brief monologue of 172-4," but if Sosia is only saying that he will follow at some point in the future, "he stays behind to address the audience and does not leave the stage until 205."[711] It makes more sense for Simo to remain on stage in order to deliver his monologue. Germany argues that Sosia "serves his obvious function of motivating the narration of the backstory and then vanishes."[712] However, this rather one-dimensional function cannot explain why Terence chose to insert a freedman, as opposed to staging a dialogue between husband and wife, as found in the opening of Menander's *Perinthia*, one of Terence's two sources. Terence could have related this information in the prologue, in a monologue, or between two different characters but he chose to have Simo explain the ruse to his freedman. Terence provides an explicit discussion about servitude, manumission, and duties during the exchange between Simo and Sosia. For these reasons, the freedman in *Andria* is meaningful beyond his function as an interlocutor for Simo to relate basic plot points.

Terence sets Sosia up as a foil to Davos. Sosia is compliant to Simo's commands, but Davos is not, instead aiding Simo's son in his plans to trick his father. Sosia and Davos perform similar tasks, pretending to be busy setting up a wedding to trick a male citizen. However, Sosia's continued service to Simo is what afforded him his manumission. At the end of the play, Davos is not manumitted for his service and *fides* to the *adulescens*, instead he is bound and beaten by the *senex* for his trick.[713] In this way, the power dynamics within a household are put

[711] 2022: 142.
[712] 2013: 232.
[713] *Andria* 865-8.

on full display, with the power of the *paterfamilias* distinctly on top. Terence sets this up from the beginning of the play, when Simo characterizes Davos as a tricky slave, as seen in the following passage:

> [Si.] simul sceleratus Davos si quid consili
> habet, ut consumat nunc quom nil obsint doli,
> quem ego credo minibus pedibusque obnixe omnia
> facturum, magis id adeo mihi ut incommodet
> quam ut obsequatur gnato. [Sos.] quapropter? [Si.] rogas?
> mala mens, malus animus…
>
> [Si.] At the same time, if that rascal Davos has any schemes up his sleeve, he can use them up now, when his tricks can't do any harm. I believe he'll strain every nerve to do anything he can – and more to be a nuisance to me than to help my son. [Sos.] Why? [Si.] Why? An evil mind, an evil heart!
>
> *Andria* 159-164

The beginning of this passage associates Davos with tricks and characterizes him as criminal or scoundrel. Germany points out that "Davos would emerge from the second Act as the consummate *servus callidus* and arch-manipulator of theatrical illusion, but … for all his cleverness, Davos is really playing straight into Simo's Plan B."[714] This is on par with the *servus callidus* stock character, a characterization which the last line reinforces with the repeated adjective *malus*. However, the situation is more complex than Simo explains it—throughout the play Davos acts according to the wishes and commands of the *adulescens*. Thus, it is not the case that Davos acts maliciously towards his captors in general, but that he sides with the less powerful of them. For the *senex*, Simo, this seems to be an even more egregious affront.

Concluding Thoughts

Terence's first play is the only to feature a freedman, and that freedman talks about being a freedman. Terence's last play is the only to feature a scene of manumission and setting up a

[714] 2013: 236.

freedman with property. The way Terence highlights his discussions of freedmen and manumission suggests that his plays do not engage in the same kind of fantasies about freedom that Plautus stages, but Terence does play off audience expectation concerning Plautine conventions. In fact, as Papaioannou argues, "in Terence's case, the confrontation with Plautine tradition would center on the development of plots that, as far as their characters were concerned, by and large played out against the background of the social and comic stereotypes established in the theater of Plautus."[715] She clarifies her stance, arguing that "the way Terence's characters react to these misleading conventions is no less a metaliterary commentary on alternative treatment of standardized plot-making."[716] I agree with this interpretation: Terence habitually imposes characters and situations that set up an audience expectation in line with dramatic convention only to dash those expectations. Dashed expectations highlight the type of homogenous plot-making found in the genre and simultaneously push beyond them. In these cases, Terence often inserts references to and evocations of contemporary social, political, and/or legal circumstances at Rome.

[715] 2014: 143.
[716] 2014: 144.

CONCLUSION

There is a striking tendency in scholarship to lump together the plays of Terence with those of Plautus as representing 'New Comedy' as a genre when arguments are largely based on the Plautine texts, pulling in an anecdote from Terence (often without substantial analysis) in the attempt to broaden an argument. The main goal of this dissertation is to illuminate the ways in which Terence breaks from dramatic convention and inserts original thought into his comedies by extending current scholarship on adaptation and Terence's use of stock characters and offering novel textual analyses of Terentian passages. For example, Leigh investigates a collective Roman psychology in the assimilation of fathers and commanders.[717] Psychological realism is often attributed to Menander, so it might be tempting to attribute the same effect in Terence as a leftover Menandrian feature. However, some key moments of the psychological development of his characters are also moments where the text deviates from the Greek source. Terence is astutely aware of dramatic convention and the stereotypes associated with particular comic characters. Terence often dashes audience expectation by setting up and then defying these conventions. Many of Terence's characters are also aware of their stock roles, highlighting them in moments of metatheatrical asides and introspection.

The characters in Terence's comedies, as scholars have noted, have a level of sophistication and realism. Beyond these observations, Terence's poetry captures ideas, anxieties, and dynamics from the world around him. Terence's comedies are the only extant, complete corpus of any author who wrote in the Middle Republic.[718] As such, his work stands as a beacon for those who wish to find new ways of bridging the gaps in our understanding about Rome

[717] 2004.
[718] Plautus' surviving corpus is much larger than Terence's but many of his plays were lost where all of Terence's known plays survive.

during the time Terence wrote. It is not possible to establish with certainty the full extent to which Terence adapted Greek source material. Nevertheless, I consider the plays in their entirety as Terence's and assign all responsibility for the final form of their construction to the playwright: Terence is not a mere translator. Hutcheon stresses the importance of context in adaptation; she argues that "context conditions meaning."[719] Scholars like Leigh offer a helpful way to analyze the social and historical contexts of Roman comedy.[720]

In order to understand social contexts and Terentian morality, it is necessary to question what contemporary anxieties, values, and morals might have been, we can do so by examining the means by which they were upheld socially and legislatively as well as how these values are upheld or challenged in Terentian comedies.[721] For example, Terence's development of the *parasitus* (Chapter 1) casts a negative light on professional philosophy and rhetoric and likely reflects (or even encourages) the social and political atmosphere that removed all such professionals from Rome in 161 BCE. The parasite's connection to philosophy and rhetoric is an example of one of the multiple reasons the parasite represents something real, contemporarily relevant, and even marginalized.[722] The flatterers in *Kolakes* provide the first extant example of the character soliloquizing about his way of life, which is advantageous but not secure: there is always a risk, or a fear, of being kicked out of dinner before eating. Plautus emphasizes hunger and social debasement associated with some of his parasites, such as: Ergasilus (*Captivi*), Saturio (*Persa*), Peniculus (*Menaechmi*), and Gelasimus (*Stichus*).[723] Plautine parasites are are often the

[719] 2012.
[720] 2004.
[721] Garbarino 1973; Gruen 1992; Feeney 2016.
[722] Nesselrath 1985, Wilkens 2000; Damon 1997, Tylawsky 2002.
[723] Damon 1997; Fraenkel 2007.

vehicle through which metaphors relating to contemporary issues are established, such as *amicitia*, *negotium*, or slavery.[724]

Terence's parasites do not fit into the same social contexts as their Plautine counterparts do: they enjoy a class distinction. Terence's parasites are not slaves and Gnatho even had a wealthy inheritance, though he squandered it away. Gnatho is also a corrupting force and considers himself a teacher, ushering in a new generation of professional parasites with terminology that suggests formal schools of philosophy (*philosophorum disciplinae*). He is also more threatening than previous examples of parasites because of his focus on initiating others into the Parasitic way of life. The Roman audience might even be implicated as possible initiates! The parasite in Terence should be understood as a character inspired by the Greek tradition rather than necessarily transferred directly from it.[725] Terentian comedy ultimately differs from the Greek presentation of the quasi-philosopher parasite whose game is rhetoric: Terence picks up the idea but stresses the manipulation and corruption associated with rhetoric. The *parasitus* in Terence is a warped philosopher or rhetorician whose vilification can be contextualized by the *senatus consultum* of 161 that expelled such professionals from the city. Beyond this, Terentian comedy has the potential to contextualize the social and historical backdrop as well.

Terence's development of the *adulescens* (Chapter 2) illuminates his methods of plot construction. Terence's double plots expose a foil to the aggressive *adulescens* in Plot A who will be married: the pathetic *adulescens* in Plot B who will continue his relationship with an unmarriageable girl. In New Comedy, violence and the potential victim's perspective are typically downplayed but Terence emphasizes these aspects. Heightened aggression during acts

[724] Bloomer 2001.
[725] Goldberg 2019.

of sexual violence against women leads to marriage in Terence's comedy. On the other hand, a lack of aggression in sub-plots leads to atypical resolutions of amorous sub-plots that do not include marriage. Terence's development of the *ancilla* and *virgo* (Chapter 3) is closely connected to his development of the *adulescens*. These are the women who endure the shameless violence of Terence's aggressive young men. Terence develops the *ancilla* into a fully-fledged stock type in his comedies by only staging one type of *ancilla*: an enslaved female owned by a *meretrix* or *leno*. Analyses of these female characters reveal a sophisticated system of allusions which equate women with land. In this interpretation, the comic theme of young love is equated with an imperialistic desire to conquer and/or subdue. Interestingly, Terence does not depict particularly violent soldiers but his development of the *miles* is enmeshed with earlier comic tradition. Plautus offers caricatures that criticize the Greek mercenary soldier and stand as a foil to the elite citizen soldier. Terence's *miles* is a foil to the Plautine type: the plot provides the soldier with (partial) inclusion into the civic community. The ambiguity of this dramatic situation invites a comparison between Thraso and the types of soldiers who occupy a similarly ambiguous space in Roman society, such as allied soldiers.

Terence's *libertus* (Chapter 5) is the only clear-cut example of the character type on the comic stage. Freedom is not necessarily a fantasy in Terence as it is for Plautus. In Terence's comedies freedom found through manumission has specific strings attached. The freedman remains an active participant in the *familia*'s social network and continues to be subjected to similar power dynamics in his relationship with the man who manumitted him. For all these reasons, I submit, scholars should no longer regard Terence only for Menandrian reflections and Greek contexts and should instead begin regarding him as a poet in his own right and even as socially and politically engaged with his Roman contexts.

APPENDIX A: TIMELINE

The following is a historical timeline of the social, literary, legal, and political circumstances and trends discussed in the preceding chapters. It is not comprehensive.

Year (BCE)	Acts of Legislation and Land Politics	Wars, Triumphs, and Impeachments	Orations and Significant Events	Plays, Other Literature, death of playwrights
ca. 180-145	Latins expelled from Rome			Agatharchides of Cnidus' 'On the Erythraean Sea'
177	*lex Claudia de Sociis et nomine Latinis*	cos. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus granted triumph		
175		cos. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus granted triumph		
173	The senate expels two Epicurean philosophers, Alcaeus and Philiscus, for corrupting the youth. [Athenaeus XII.547a may have been 154]		cos. Lucius Postumius Albinus instructs Praeneste (an ally) to: (1) meet/greet him, (2) accommodate/entertain him, (3) provide pack animals.	
171-168		Third Macedonian War [Perseus vs. Rome]		
171	*lex Licinia et Cassia* (on the appointment of the *tribuni militum*)			
169	*lex Voconia de Mulierum* (restricts female inheritance) by tribune Q. Voconius Saxa, with support from Cato the Elder	Patrician Censor (Gaius Claudius Pulcher) is impeached. (Livy XLIII.14-16; XLV.15) Plebeian (Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus) becomes Censor; has the Basilica Sempronia constructed in the Forum (one of the four original basilicas in the Forum, destroyed and replaced by the Basilica Julia (JC in 54 BCE)	Orations: Cato: (ORF 156-160) = suasio legis Voconiae C. Sulpicius Galus: (ORF2) = apud milites, de lunae defectione	death of Quintus Ennius
168		'pax' after Third Macedonian War: » Perseus in triumph; imprisoned » Macedon transformed into four regions, each with its own assembly and elected officials » Perseus' land and mines transferred to the Roman state » Aetolians (100s killed)	Roman embassy, led by G. Popillius Laenas, forces Antiochus IV to end invasion of Egypt after rulers of Egypt send renewed request to Rome for aid. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus gives speech (in Greek) at Rhodes.	festival in Antioch thanking Apollo (performances). death of Caecilius Statius

167	the senate suspends the collection of tribute/tax from citizens [treasury full after Third Macedonian War]	[fallout of Third Mac.] documents incriminate the Aechaean League: they must send 1000 men to Rome as hostages (Polybius is one of these POWs). extravagant festival for Roman victory Aemilius Paullus ordered by senate to enact brutal revenge on Epirus (for being Mac. ally): 70 towns destroyed, at least 100,000 citizens sold into slavery delegates from Rhodes get hostile treatment in Rome (spring). The praetor, M. Iuventius Thalna (cos. 163), formally proposed war (Gruen 1984: 590).	Ser. Sulpicius Galba – ORF11 – *contra L. Aemilii P. triumphum* Cato – ORF 161-2 – *de Macedonia liberanda*; ORF 172 – *Contra Ser. Galbam ad milites*. L. Aemilius Paullus – ORF1-2 – *de rebus a se gestis apud populum*.	
166				*Andria* –ludi Megalenses
165				*Hecyra*, first performance
164		Egypt: Ptolemy VI Philometer (king) expelled from Alexandria by his brother, Ptolemy VIII Eucrgetes, and flees to Rome for support. Seleucid: Antiochus IV Epiphanes dies in Persia (while on campaign). Succeeded by his son (Antiochus V Eupator) who is only nine years old at the time. Roman senate holds Demetreus (son of Seleucis IV), the heir to the throne, as hostage [=Roman influence on events in the Seleucid empire] Battle of Beth Zur (Judas Maccabeus): the destruction of Temple in Jerusalem (est. of Hanukkah).	Cato: ORF (F173) – *de sumptu suo*. C. Sulpicius Galus – *in Graeciam et Asia Minor* (?)	
163		Egypt: Ptolemy VI Philometer is restored to the throne. Rome intervenes, partitions the kingdom (Pt. VIII takes control of Cyrenaica, Pt. VI takes control of Cyprus and Egypt). Seleucid: Lysias tries to make peace with the Jews in Duden.		*Heauton Timorumenos*

162		Egypt: Ptolemy VIII Physcon goes to Rome hoping to be granted control of Cyprus Seleucid: Maccabees continue struggle against the Seleucids. With the help of Polybius, Demetrius escapes from Rome, returns to Syria, becomes king (Lysias, the regent, and king Antiochus V killed upon return)		
161	*lex Fannia de sumptuaria* [Gellius AN 2.24.2-4] *senatus consultum* charges M. Pomponius (praetor) with the task of exiling philosophers, rhetoricians, etc. from Rome. [Suet. Gram. 25.1; Gel. 15.11.1]	T. Manlius Torquatus drafts *senatus consultum* (territorial dispute between Magnesia and Priene) Egypt: Ptolemy VIII Euergates (king of Cyrenaica) convinces the Roman senate to back his claim for control of Cyprus. After his attempt to conquer Cyprus fails, the Roman senate disengages from the dispute. Envoys of Judas Maccabeus conclude a treaty of friendship with the Roman Senate		*Eunuchus* (ludi Megalenses) *Phormio* (ludi Romani)
160				*Adelphoe* (funeral games of Aemilius Paullus) *Hecyra*, two performances Cato writes *de Agricultura* (estimate date)
155			Crates of Mallus (the Stoic philosopher) delayed in Rome, gives lectures. embassy of Critolaus, Diogenes, and Carneades give lectures and are removed from Rome	
146	*lex Provincia*			
133	*lex Sempronia agraria**			

Table 1: Historical Timeline

APPENDIX B: CHARACTER RELATIONSHIPS IN TERENCE'S COMEDIES

1. *Andria* (166 BCE – *ludi Megalenses*)

Characters and Types	Amorous Relationships	Friendly Relationships	Familial Relationships	Slave Owners and Enslaved
senex: Simo		Chremes Sosia	father of Pamphilus	owns Davos and Dromo
senex: Crito			cousin of Chrysis, uncle of Glycerium	
senex: Chremes		Simo	father of Philumena	
adulescens: Pamphilus	Glycerium (Philumena)	Charinus	son of Simo	
adulescens: Charinus	Philumena	Pamphilus		
servus: Davos				Simo
servus: Dromo				Simo
libertus: Sosia		Simo		
meretrix: Chrysis ("Andria")			cousin of Crito	owns Mysis and Glycerium
ancilla: Glycerium ("Andria")	Pamphilus		(long lost) niece of Crito	Chrysis
ancilla: Mysis				Chrysis
virgo: Philumena	(Pamphilus) Charinus		daughter of Chremes	

Table 2: Character Relationships in *Andria*

2. *Hecyra* (165 BCE – *ludi Megalenses*; staged twice in 160 BCE – funeral games of Aemilius Paullus and unknown location)

Characters and Types	Amorous Relationships	Friendly Relationships	Familial Relationships	Slave Owners and Enslaved
senex: Laches	Sostrata	Phidippus	father of Pamphilus	owns Sosia and Parmeno
matrona: Sostrata	Laches		mother of Pamphilus	
senex: Phidippus	Myrrina	Laches	father of Philumena	
matrona: Myrrina	Phidippus		mother of Philumena	
adulescens: Pamphilus	Bacchis Philumena		son of Laches and Sostrata	
servus: Sosia				Laches
servus: Parmeno				Laches
meretrix: Bacchis				owns Syra and Philotis
ancilla: Syra				Bacchis
ancilla: Philotis				Bacchis
virgo: Philumena			daughter of Phidippus and Myrrina	

Table 3: Character Relationships in *Hecyra*

3. *Heauton Timorumenos* (163 BCE – *ludi Megalenses*)

Characters and Types	*Amorous Relationships*	*Friendly Relationships*	*Familial Relationships*	*Slave Owners and Enslaved*
senex: Chremes	Sostrata	Menedemus	father of Clitipho	owns Syrus and Nutrix
senex: Menedemus		Chremes	father of Clinia	owns Dromo
matrona: Sostrata	Chremes		mother of Clitipho	
adulescens: Clitipho	Bacchis	Clinia	son of Chremes and Sostrata	
adulescens: Clinia	Antiphila	Clitipho	son of Menedemus	
servus: Syrus				Chremes (Clitipho)
servus: Dromo				Menedemus (Clinia)
nutrix: Nurse				Chremes
meretrix: Bacchis	Clitipho			owns Phrygia
ancilla: Phrygia				Bacchis
virgo: Antiphila	Clinia		long lost daughter of Chremes	

Table 4: Character Relationships in *Heauton Timorumenos*

4. *Eunuchus* (161 BCE – *ludi Megalenses*)

Characters and Types	Amorous Relationships	Friendly Relationships	Familial Relationships	Slave Owners and Enslaved
senex: Demea			father of Phaedria and Chaerea	owns Parmeno
adulescens: Phaedria	Thais		son of Demea, brother of Chaerea	purchased Dorus
adulescens: Chaerea	Pamphila	Chremes	son of Demea, brother of Phaedria	
adulescens: Chremes		Chaerea Sophrona	brother of Pamphila	
servus: Parmeno				Demea
servus: Dorus (eunuchus)				Phaedria
meretrix: Thais	Phaedria Thraso			owns Pamphila, Pythias, Dorias, and serva ex Aethiopia
ancilla: Pamphila	Chaerea		sister of Chremes	Thais
ancilla: Pythias				Thais
ancilla: serva ex Aethiopia				Thais
ancilla: Dorias				Thais
nutrix: Sophrona		Chremes		
miles: Thraso	Thais	Gnatho		
parasitus: Gnatho		Thraso		

Table 5: Character Relationships in *Eunuchus*

5. *Phormio* (161 BCE – *ludi Romani*)

Characters and Types	Amorous Relationships	Friendly Relationships	Familial Relationships	Slave Owners and Enslaved
senex: Demipho		Hegio, Cratinus, and Crito	father of Antipho	owns Davos and Geta
senex: Chremes	Nausistrata		father of Demipho	
senex: Hegio		Demipho		
senex: Cratinus		Demipho		
senex: Crito		Demipho		
matrona: Nausistrata	Chremes		mother of Phaedria	
adulescens: Antipho	Phanium		son of Demipho	
adulescens: Phaedria	Pamphila		son of Chremes	
servus: Davos		Geta		Demipho
servus: Geta		Davos		Demipho
parasitus: Phormio		(Geta; Phaedria)		
leno: Dorio				Owns Pamphila
meretrix: Pamphila	Phaedria			Dorio
virgo/matrona: Phanium	Antipho		long lost daughter of Chremes	

Table 6: Character Relationships in *Phormio*

6. *Adelphoe* (160 BCE – funeral games of Aemilius Paullus)

Characters and Types	Amorous Relationships	Friendly Relationships	Familial Relationships	Slave Owners and Enslaved
senex: Micio	(Sostrata)		brother of Demea, adoptive father of Aeschinus	owns Parmeno, Syrus, Phrygia
senex: Demea		Hegio	brother of Micio, father of Ctesipho (and Aeschinus)	
senex: Hegio		Demea	Sostrata	
widow: Sostrata	(Micio)		Hegio	owns Geta, Canthara
adulescens: Aeschinus	Pamphila		son of Micio, brother of Ctesipho	
adulescens: Ctesipho	Bacchis		son of Demea, brother of Aeschinus	
servus: Parmeno				Micio
servus: Syrus	(Phrygia)			Micio
servus: Geta				Sostrata
nutrix: Canthara				Sostrata
leno: Sannio				owns Bacchis
meretrix: Bacchis	Ctesipho			Sannio
serva: Phrygia	(Syrus)			Micio
virgo / matrona: Pamphila	Aeschinus		long lost daughter of Sostrata	

Table 7: Character Relationships in *Adelphoe*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, J. (1990). *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Akrigg, B. and R. Tordoff (eds.). (2013). *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comic Drama.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, W. S. (1993). *Barbarian Play: Plautus' Roman Comedy.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Aristophanes. (1981). *Knights.* (A. H. Sommerstein, ed.). Warminster, Wilts, England: Aris & Phillips.

–. (1998). *Aristophanes' Peace.* (S. D. Olson, ed.). Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press.

Aristophanes, & Henderson, J. (2022). *Three More Plays by Aristophanes: Staging Politics.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003159407

Arnott, W. G. (ed.). (1979). *Menander. Volume I.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

–. (1981). "Double the Vision: A Reading of Euripides' *Electra*." *Greece & Rome*, 28(2): 179-92.

–. (1996). *Menander: Volume II*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

–. (2000). *Menander: Volume III*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Astin, A. (1978). *Cato the Censor*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Augoustakis, A. & A. Traill (eds.). (2013). *A Companion to Terence.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Austin, J. C. (1922). *The Significant Name in Terence.* [Urbana]: The University of Illinois.

Banducci, L. M. (2021). *Foodways in Roman Republican Italy.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Barrios-Lech, P. (2016). *Linguistic Interaction in Roman Comedy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Barsby, J. (1993). "Problems of adaptation in the *Eunuchus* of Terence." In Slater and Zimmermann (eds.), *Intertextualität in der griechisch-römischen Komödie*. Stuttgart: M & P. 160–179.

–. (1999). *Terence: Eunuchus*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

–. (2013). “Terence in Translation.” In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 446-65.

Beare, W. (1964). *The Roman Stage: A Short History of Latin Drama in the Time of the Republic.* ([3d ed., rev.]). London: Methuen.

Becker, W. A. (1837). *De Comicis Romanorum Fabulis Maxime Plautinis Quaestiones*. Leipzig: Fleischer.

Berger, A. (1991). *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law.* American Philosophical Society: American Philosophical Society.

Bexley, E. (2014). “Plautus and Terence in Performance.” In Fontaine and Scafuro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 462-476.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge.

Bloomer, W. M. (2001). “Cross-Speaking in Plautus: The Economies of Slave and Master in the Captivi.” In Tylawsky and Weiss (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Gordon Williams: Twenty-Five Years at Yale*, New Haven: Henry R. Schwab. 33-58.

Bodel, J. & Scheidel, W. (2016). *On Human Bondage: After Slavery and Social Death*. Wiley-Blackwell: Wiley-Blackwell.

Boyle, A. (ed.). (2004). *Rethinking Terence*. *Ramus* 33.1-2. Bendigo North, Australia: Aurean.

Bradley, K. R. (1994). *Slavery and Society at Rome.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P. (1987). “Masks, Names, and Characters in New Comedy.” *Hermes* 115: 181-202.

–. (1992). Menander, Fragments 745 and 746 K-T, Menander’s “Kolax”, and Parasites and Flatterers in Greek Comedy. *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, *92*: 91–107.

–. (2013). “Terence and Greek New Comedy.” In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 15-32.

Brecke, I. (2021). “Rape and Violence in Terence’s Eunuchus and Ovid’s Love Elegies.” In Brecke, Harrison, and Thorsen (eds.), *Greek and Latin Love: the Poetic Connection*. Germany: De Gruyter. 83-104.

Cantarella, E. (2016). “Women and Patriarchy in Roman Law.” In Plessis (ed.), the *Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society.* Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press. 419-31.

Caston, R. (2014). “Reinvention in Terence’s Eunuchus.” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 144: 41-70.

–. (2020). “Thinking of others: pity and empathy in Terence’s comedies.” In Bettenworth and Hammerstaedt (eds.), *Writing Order and Emotion: Affect and the Structures of Power in Greek and Latin Authors*. Hildesheim; Zürich: Olms. 107-129.

Christenson, D. (2013). “Eunuchus.” In Augoustakis and Traill, *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 262-280.

Cohen, R. (2006, August 15). ‘Birth Pangs’ of What? *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2006/08/15/birth-pangs-of-what/625c0a9b-8210-4b69-aba6-018b32cfb576/

Cohen, E. (2015). *Athenian Prostitution: the Business of Sex.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cornell, T. and D. Rogers. (1995). *The Beginnings of Rome*: *Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars* (*c*. *1000-264 BC*). London: Routledge.

Csapo, E. (1989). “Plautine Elements in the Running-Slave Entrance Monologues?” *The Classical Quarterly*, *39*(1), 148–163.

Curnow, T. (2006). *Philosophers of the Ancient World: an A to Z Guide.* London: Duckworth.

Cyrino, M. (1998). “Heroes in D(u)ress: Transvestism and Power in the Myths of Herakles and Achilles.” *Arethusa* 31 (2): 207-241.

Damon, C. (1997). *The Mask of the Parasite: a Pathology of Roman Patronage.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Davidson, J. N. (1997). *Courtesans & Fishcakes: the Consuming Passions of Classical Athens.* (1st U.S. ed.). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Dinter, M. (ed.). (2019). *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dinter, M. (2019). “Fathers and Sons,” in Dinter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 173-187.

Dougherty, C. (2001). *The Raft of Odysseus: the Ethnographic Imagination of Homer’s Odyssey.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Duckworth, G. E. (1952). *The Nature of Roman Comedy: a Study in Popular Entertainment.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Dufallo, B. (2021). *Disorienting Empire: Republican Latin Poetry’s Wanderers.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Dumont, J.-C. (1987). *Servus: Rome et l'esclavage sous la république.* Roma: Ecole française de Rome.

Dunsch, B. (1999). "Some Notes on the Understanding of Terence, Heauton Timorumenos 6: Comoedia duplex, argumentum simplex, and Hellenistic Scholarship." *Classica & Mediaevalia* 50: 97–131.

Dutsch, D., James, S., and Konstan, D. (eds.). (2015). *Women in Roman Republican Drama.* Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Dutsch, D. (2008). *Feminine Discourses in Roman Comedy: On Echoes and Voices.* Oxford University Press.

Eckstein, A. M. (2008). *Rome Enters the Greek East: from Anarchy to Hierarchy in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, 230-170 BC.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Erdkamp, P. (ed.). (2011). *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

–. (2011). "War and State Formation in the Roman Republic." In Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 96-113.

Euripides, & Seaford, R. (1984). *Cyclops.* Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Clarendon Press.

Ewans, M. (ed.) (2020). *A Cultural History of Comedy in Antiquity*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Fantham, E. (2019). "Family Finances." In Dinter (ed.), *the Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 241-58.

Feeney, D. C. (2016). *Beyond Greek: the Beginnings of Latin Literature.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Feltovich, A. (2020). "Social Networking Among Women in Greek and Roman Comedy." *Classical World*, 113(3): 249-278.

Fitzgerald, W, (2019). "Slaves and Roman Comedy," In Dinter (ed.), *the Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 188-99.

Flemming, R. (2018). "States and Populations in the Classical World." In Hopwood (ed.), *Reproduction: Antiquity to the Present Day.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 67-80.

Flower, H. (ed.). (2014). *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fontaine, M. (2010). *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

–. (2013). “Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Comedy,” in Olson (ed.), *Ancient Comedy and Reception: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Henderson*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 180-202.

–. (2014). “The Terentian Reformation: from Menander to Alexandria.” In Fontaine and Scafuro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Drama*. Oxford and New York. 538-554.

Fontaine, M., & Scafuro, A. C. (eds.). (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fowler, R. (2013). *Early Greek Mythography*. *Volume 2*: *Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fraenkel, E. (2007). *Plautine Elements in Plautus*. Translated by Tomas Drevikovsky and Frances Muecke. Oxford: Oxford University Press.[726]

Franko, G. F. (2013). “Terence and the Traditions of Roman New Comedy.” In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 33-50.

–. (ed.). (2020). *A Companion to Plautus.* (First edition.). Hoboken: Wiley.

–. (2022). *Plautus: Mostellaria*. United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Fredrick, D. (ed.). (2002). *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power, and the Body.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gabba, E. (1989). “Rome and Italy in the Second Century B.C.” In Astin, Ogilvie, Frederiksen, and Walbank (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*. *Vol*. *8*, *Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 B.C*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 197-243.

Gaertner, J. (2014). “Law and Roman Comedy.” In Fontaine and Scafuro (eds.), *the Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 615-33.

Garbarino, G. (1973). *Roma e la filosofia greca dale origini alla fine del II secolo* A.C. Turin.

Gargola, D. J. (2017). *The Shape of the Roman Order: the Republic and its Spaces.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Geller-Goad, T. (2013). “Religious Ritual and Family Dynamics in Terence.” In Augustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 156-174.

Germany, R. (2013). “Andria.” In Augustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 223-42.

[726] This edition (2007) contains translation of the forty-five pages of addenda by Fraenkel to the Italian translation (1960) that update some of his earlier views (1922).

–. (2016). *Mimetic Contagion: Art and Artifice in Terence's Eunuch.* (First edition.). Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Gilhuly, K. (2018). *Erotic Geographies in Ancient Greek Literature and Culture.* London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Glazebrook, A. (2006). "the Bad Girls of Athens: the Image and Function of Hetairai in Judicial Oratory." In Faraone and McClure (eds.), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press. 125-138.

Glazebrook, A., & Tsakirgis, B. (eds.). (2016). *Houses of Ill Repute: the Archaeology of Brothels, Houses, and Taverns in the Greek World.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goldberg, S. (1980). *The Making of Menander's Comedy.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

–. (1986). *Understanding Terence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

–. (1989). "Poetry, Politics, and Ennius." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 119: 247-61.

–. (2013). *Terence: Hecyra*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

–. (2018). "Theater without Theaters: Seeing Plays the Roman Way." *TAPA* 148 (1). Johns Hopkins University Press. 139-172.

–. (2019). *Terence: Andria* (Ser. Bloomsbury ancient comedy companions). Bloomsbury Academic, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

–. (2022). *Terence: Andria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldlhill, S. (2015). "Is there a history of prostitution?" In Masterson Rabinowitz and Robson (eds.), *Sex in Antiquity: Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World*. London: Routledge. 179-197.

Goldsworthy, A. (2003). *The Complete Roman Army*. New York: Thames & Hudson Inc.

Griffith, G. T. (1935). *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gruen, E. (1992). *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

–. (1996). *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

–. (2014). “Roman Comedy and the Social Scene.” In Fontaine and Scafuro (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 601-613.

Gruen, E. (1984). *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Habinek, T. N. (2005). *The World of Roman Song: from Ritualized Speech to Social Order.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Halliwell, S. (2008). *Greek Laughter: a Study of Cultural Psychology from Homer to Early Christianity.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, W. (1979). *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

–. (1989). “Roman Expansion in the West.” In Astin, Ogilvie, Frederiksen, and Walbank (eds.), *The Cambridge Andient History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 107-162.

–. (2016). *Roman Power: A Thousand Years of Empire.* Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Hassall, M. (2002). “Romans and Non-Romans.” In Wacher (ed.), *The Roman World*. New York: Routledge. 685-700.

Henderson, J. (1991). *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Henderson, J. (ed. and trans.) (1998). *Aristophanes Knights*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

–. (2002). *Aristophanes Frogs, Assembly Women, Wealth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hersch, K. (2020). “Violence in the Roman Wedding.” In Beneker and Tsouvala (eds.), *the Discourse of Marriage in the Greco-Roman World*. Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press. 68-93.

Hinds, S. (1998). *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hofmeister, T. (1997), “αἱ πᾶσαι πολεῖς: Polis and oikoumene in Menander.” In Dobrov (ed.), *The City as Comedy: Society and Representation in Athenian Drama*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 289-342.

Hopwood, N. (Ed.). (2018). *Reproduction: Antiquity to the Present Day.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoyos, D. (2011). “The Age of Overseas Expansion (264-146 BC).” In Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 63-79.

Hunter, R. (1985). *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hutcheon, L. (2012). *A Theory of Adaptation.* Routledge: Routledge.

James, S. (2013). “Gender and Sexuality in Terence.” In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 175-194.

–. (2020). “Plautus and the Marriage Plot.” In Franko (ed.), *A Companion to Plautus*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell. 109-121.

Johnston, D. (1999). *Roman Law in Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Joshel, S. & Murnaghan, S. (eds.). (1998). *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations.* London: Routledge.

Karakasis, E. (2014) “Tragic and Epic Interactions in Terentian Comedy.” In Papaioannou (ed.), *Terence and Interpretation*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 75-94.

Karamanou, I. (2006). *Euripides Danae and Dictys: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*. Munich: K. G. Saur.

Kassel, R. and C. Austin (1983). *Poetae comici Graeci (PCG).* Berolini: W. de Gruyter.

Kendall, S. (2013). *The Struggle for Roman Citizenship*: *Romans*, *Allies, and the Wars of 91-77 BCE.* Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

Klein, V. S. (2022). *Plautus: Menaechmi*. United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Knorr, O. (2013). “*Hecyra*.” In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 295-317.

Konstan, D. (1983). *Roman Comedy.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

–. (1994). *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

–. (1995). *Greek Comedy and Ideology.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Lape, S. (2002). *Love Among the Ruins: the Erotics of Democracy in Classical Athens*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

–. (2004). *Reproducing Athens: Menander's Comedy, Democratic Culture, and the Hellenistic City.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

–. (2013). "Slavery, drama and the alchemy of identity in Aristophanes." In Akrigg and Tordoff (eds.), *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comic Drama.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 76-90.

Lavan, M. (2013). *Slaves to Rome: Paradigms of Empire in Roman Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lazenby, J. (2014). "Rome and Carthage." In Flower (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 260-277.

Le Guen, B. (2001). *Les associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellenistique.* Nancy: Association pour la diffusion de la recherche sur l'antiquité.

Leigh, M. (2000). "Primitivism and Power: the Beginnings of Latin Literature." In Taplin (ed.), *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds: a New Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 288-310.

–. (2004). *Comedy and the Rise of Rome*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Lefèvre, E. (1969). *Die Expositionstechnik in den Kömodien des Terenz.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

–. (ed.). (1973). *Die Römische Komödie, Plautus und Terenz*. Darmstadt, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

–. (1994). *Terenz' und Menanders Heautontimoroumenos*. Munich: Beck.

–. (1999). *Terenz' und Apollodors Hecyra.* München: C.H. Beck.

–. (2013). "*Heauton Timorumos*" In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 243-261.

Levin-Richardson, S. (2019). *The Brothel of Pompeii: Sex, Class, and Gender at the Margins of Roman Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lomas, K. (2014). "Italy During the Roman Republic, 338-31 B.C." In Flower (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 233-259.

Lowe, J. (1998). "The Intrigue of Terence's Heauton Timorumenos." *RhM* 141: 163-171.

MacCary, W. (1973). "Menander's Soldiers: Their Names, Roles, and Masks." *AJPh* 93: 279-98.

MacDowell, D. M. (1978). *The Law in Classical Athens.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Major, W. (2022). *Love in the Age of War: Soldiers in Menander* (Ser. Hellenic studies, 93). Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University.

Malcovati, E. (1953). *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta Liberae Rei Publicae.* (3. ed.). Romae: In aedibus Io. Bapt. Paraviae et Sociorum.

Marshall, C.W. and D. Kamen. (2021). *Slavery and Sexuality in Classical Antiquity*. Madison, WI.: University of Wisconsin Press.

Marshall, C.W. (2006). *The Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

–. (2013). "Sex Slavery in New Comedy." In B. Akrigg and R. Tordoff (eds.), *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Drama.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 173-96.

Martin, R. H. (1959). *Terence: Phormio*. London.

–. (2002). *Adelphoe: Terence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mattingly, D. (2007). *An Imperial Possession*: *Britain in the Roman Empire*, *54 BC-AD 409*. London and New York: Penguin.

McCarthy, K. (2000). *Slaves, Masters, and the Art of Authority in Plautine Comedy.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

McClure, L. (2003). *Courtesans at Table: Gender and Greek Literary Culture in Athenaeus.* New York: Routledge.

McElduff, S. (2004). "More than Menander's Acolyte: Terence on Translation." *Ramus*, 33 (1-2): 120-129.

McGinn, T. (1998). *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome*. New York and Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Menander, & Furley, W. D. (2009). *Menander: Epitrepontes.* London: Institute of Classical Studies, School for Advanced Study, University of London.

Menon, D. (2020). *Travels Through the Foreign Imaginary on the Plautine Stage*. [Doctoral Thesis, UC Santa Barbara].

Mogens, L. (2002). "*Vis comica*: Consummated Rape in Greek and Roman New Comedy." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 53: 173-196.

Moore, T. (2012). *Music in Roman Comedy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

–. (2019). “Music and Metre.” In Dinter (ed.), *the Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 101-119.

Morley, N. (1996). *Metropolis and Hinterland: the City of Rome and the Italian Economy, 200 B.C.-A.D. 200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mouritsen, H. (2011). *The Freedman in the Roman World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mulvey, L. (1975). “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.” *Screen* 16: 6-18.

Napolitano, M. (2012). *I Kolakes di Eupoli: Introduzione, traduzione, commento*. Studia Comici 4. Berlin: Verlag Antike.

Nesselrath, H. (1985). *Lukians Parasitendialog: Untersuchungen und Kommentar*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

–. (1990). *Die attische mittlere Komödie: ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte.* Berlin: W. de Gruyter.

Norwood, G. (1923). *The Art of Terence.* Oxford: B. Blackwell.

Olson, S. D. (2007). *Broken Laughter: Select Fragments of Greek Comedy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

–. (ed.). (2014). *Ancient Comedy and Reception: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Henderson.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

Omitowoju, R. (2002). *Rape and the Politics of Consent in Classical Athens*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press

Packman, Z. M. (1999). “Feminine Role Designations in the Comedies of Plautus.” *The American Journal of Philology*, *120* (2): 245–258.

–. (2013). “Family and Household in the Comedies of Terence.” In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 195-210.

Panayotakis, C. (2020). “Plays of Mistaken Identity.” In Franko (ed), *A Companion to Plautus*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell. 93-108.

Papaioannou, S. (2014). *Terence and Interpretation.* Pierides, v.4. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

–. (2020). “Plautus and the Topography of his World.” In Franko (ed), *A Companion to Plautus*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell. 287-300.

Parker, H. (1998). “Loyal Slaves and Loyal Wives.” In Joshel and Murnaghan (eds.), *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations.* London: Routledge. 152-173.

Patterson, O. (1982). *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study.* Harvard University Press: Harvard University Press.

–. (1991). *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Pernerstorfer, M. (2009). *Menanders* “*Kolax.*” Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

Perry, M. (2014). *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

–. (2016). “Defining Gender.” In Plessis (ed.), *the Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society* 432-442.

Pierini, R. (1991). “Uno prologo polemic di Afrianio, Compitalia 25-18 R.” *Prometheus* 17: 242-246.

Plautus and Wolfgang de Melo (ed.). (2011). *Amphitryon. the Comedy of Asses. the Pot of Gold. the Two Bacchises. the Captives.* Harvard University Press: Harvard University Press.

Plessis, P. J. du (ed.). (2016). *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society.* Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Potter, D. (2014). “The Roman Army and Navy.” In Flower (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 54-76.

Radden Keefe, B. (2021). *The Illustrated Afterlife of Terence’s Comedies (800-1200).* Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Rawlings, L. (2011). “Army and Battle During the Conquest of Italy (350-264 BC).” In Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 45-62.

Rawson, E. (1993). “Freedmen in Roman Comedy.” In Scodel (ed.), *Theater and Society in the Classical World*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. 215-33.

Rei, A. (2005). “Villains, Wives, and Slaves in the Comedies of Plautus.” In Joshel and Murnaghan (eds.), *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*. London: Routledge. 92-108.

Reed, J. D. (2007). *Virgil’s Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Richardson, J. (2008). *The Language of Empire: Rome and the Idea of Empire from the Third Century BC to the Second Century AD.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Richlin, A. (2014). *Arguments with Silence: Writing the History of Roman Women.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

–. (2017). *Slave Theater in the Roman Republic: Plautus and Popular Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robson, J. (2015). "Fantastic Sex: Fantasies of Sexual Assault in Aristophanes." In Masterson, Rabinowitz, Sorkin and Robson (eds.), *Sex in Antiquity: Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World. Rewriting Antiquity*. Abingdon: Routledge. 315–331.

Rosenstein, N. (2004). *Rome at War: Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Roselaar, S. (2010). *Public Land in the Roman Republic: a Social and Economic History of Ager Publicus in Italy, 396-89 B.C.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

–. (ed.). (2012). *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*. Leiden: Brill.

Rosivach, V. J. (1998). *When a Young Man Falls in Love: The Sexual Exploitation of Women in New Comedy*. London: Routledge.

Rudolph, K. (ed.). (2018). *Taste and the Ancient Senses.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group.

Ruffell, I. (2014). "Character Types." In Revermann (ed.), *the Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 147-67.

Saller, R. (1982). *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

–. (1994). *Patriarchy, Property, and Death in the Roman Family.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sandbach, F. H. (1990). *Menandri Reliquiae Selectae*. Oxford: Oxford Classical Texts.

Santosuosso, A. (1997). *Soldiers, Citizens, and the Symbols of War: from Classical Greece to Republican Rome, 500-167 B.C.* Boulder, CO.: Westview Press.

Scafuro, A. (1997). *The Forensic Stage: Settling Disputes in Graeco-Roman New Comedy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Scodel, R. (ed.). (1993). *Theater and Society in the Classical World*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Schefold, K. and L. Giuliani. (1992). *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sciarrino, E. (2011). *Cato the Censor and the Beginnings of Latin Prose: From Poetic Translation to Elite Transcription*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Sharrock, A. (2009). *Reading Roman Comedy: Poetics and Playfulness in Plautus and Terence.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

–. (2013). "Terence and Non-Comic Intertexts." In Augoustakis and Traill, *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 52-68.

Snowden, F. M. (1970). *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience.* Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Sommerstein, A. (1983). *The Comedies of Aristophanes: Wasps*. Warminster.

–. (2013). *Menander: Samia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

–. (ed.). (2014). *Menander in Contexts.* New York: Routledge.

–. (2021). *Menander: Epitrepontes*. India: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Starks, J. (2013). "*opera in bello*, *in otio*, *in negotio*: Terence and Rome in the 160s BCE." In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell. 132-155.

Stewart, R. (2012). *Plautus and Roman Slavery.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Storey, I. (ed.) (2011). *Fragments of Old Comedy*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Strauss, L. (1966). *Socrates and Aristophanes.* New York: Basic Books.

Taaffe, L. K. (1993). *Aristophanes and Women.* London: New York.

Taplin, O. (ed.) (2000). *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A New Perspective*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Terence & Brown, P. (2006). *Terence, the Comedies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Terentius, Afrus P., and R. Kauer. (1965). *P Terenti Afri Comoediae.* Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Clarendon.

Terence and Maltby, R. (ed.). (2012). *Terence: Phormio.* Oxford: Aris & Phillips.

Traill, A. (2008). *Women and the Comic Plot in Menander*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

–. (2013). "Adelphoe." In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 318-339.

Tsoumpra, N. (2020). "Identities." In Ewans (ed.), *A Cultural History of Comedy in Antiquity*. Bloomsbury Publishing. 79-96.

Tylawsky, E. I. (2002). *Saturio's Inheritance: the Greek Ancestry of the Roman Comic Parasite.* New York: P. Lang.

Vidović, G. (2016). *Women, Metapoetry, And Comic Reception in Terence*. [Doctoral Thesis, Cornell University.]

Vincent, H (2013). "Language and Humour in Terence." In Augoustakis and Traill (eds.), *A Companion to Terence*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 69-88.

Vishnia, R. (1996). *State, Society and Popular Leaders in Mid-Republican Rome 214-167 BC*. London and New York: Routledge.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1989). *Patronage in Ancient Society*. London and New York: Routledge.

Weaver, R. (1953). *The Ethics of Rhetoric.* Chicago: H. Regnery Co.

Webster, T. (1970). *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Weyenberg, A. V. (2013). *The Politics of Adaptation: Contemporary African Drama and Greek Tragedy.* Brill Academic Publishers: Brill Academic Publishers.

White, P. (1978). "*Amicitia* and the Profession of Poetry in Early Imperial Rome." *Journal of Roman Studies, 68*: 74-92. doi:10.2307/299627

– . (1993). *Promised Verse: Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wiles, D. (1991). *The Masks of Menander: Sign and Meaning in Greek and Roman Performance* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkins, J. (2000). *The Boastful Chef: The Discourse of Food in Ancient Greek Comedy*.

Williams, C. (2010). *Roman Homosexuality.* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

–. (2012). *Reading Roman Friendship.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Witzke, S. (2015). “Harlots, Tarts, and Hussies? A Problem of Terminology for Sex Labor in Roman Comedy.” *Helios* 42.1: 7-27.

–. (2020). “Ethics in Roman Comedy.” In Ewans (ed.), *A Cultural History of Comedy in Antiquity*. Bloomsbury Publishing. 269-283.

Worman, N. (2008). *Abusive Mouths in Classical Athens.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, J. (1974). *Dancing in Chains: the Stylistic Unity of the Comoedia Palliata.* Rome: American Academy in Rome.

Zagagi, N. (1980). *Tradition and Originality in Plautus: Studies of the Amatory Motifs in Plautine Comedy.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Zeitlin, F. (1996). *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.