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Influence of Menander on the Comedies of Terence Particularly the Andria of Terence

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INFLUENCE OF MENANDER ON THE COMEDIES OF TERENCE,
PARTICULARLY THE ANDRIA OF TERENCE

By
Marian Petrakis

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Loyola University

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INFLUENCE OF MENANDER ON THE COMEDIES OF TERENCE,
PARTICULARLY THE ANDRIA OF TERENCE

Introduction to the Topic

My intention in writing this thesis is to discover the influences of Menander on the comedies of Terence in general, by analysis and comparison of the plays of Terence, particularly the Andria, with the fragments of Menander.

Menander, the most famous of all the poets of the New Comedy, writing in his native Greek, flourished at the close of the third century B.C. (340-291 B.C.). Only fragments of his works survive, which depict various phases of Athenian social life. Publius Terentius Afer, on the other hand, was a Carthaginian, who was at the peak of his career at the time of his death in 159 B.C. Though he had migrated to Rome as a slave, Terence received freedom and a fine education from his master. He subsequently wrote in Latin and produced six plays, all adaptations of the Greek plays, four of which were based solely upon the works of Menander.

Principal Sources

Inasmuch as the modern reader would turn with great interest to these plays of Menander, were they wholly extant, to find unparalleled studies in characters of men, this thesis endeavors to lay before the modern reader Terence's adaptations of Menander
The many allusions and references made to Menander in the many and various notes appended to the plays of Terence prompted this undertaking and investigation. I discovered this topic had been considered and investigated in the broad viewpoint of "New Comedy". One such important study is the work of an eminent French scholar, Professor Philippe E. Legrand, whose Daos, Tableau de la comedie grecque pendant la periode dite nouvelle -- Κωμωδία νέα, appears in the English version by James Loeb.

There are other earlier sources which Legrand also employs in his investigation, but they are not as full and complete as the French reference for two reasons: many additional fragments of Menander were discovered after the writings of these sources; and philological research has progressed greatly since their time. Legrand draws generously from both kinds of documentary sources: the original fragments, and the imitations and derivative works both Greek and Latin, embracing in his scope every phase of Κωμωδία νέα. This thesis, however, intends only to discuss the influence of Menander upon the works of Terence, particularly the Andria of Terence.

The earlier sources which are employed in this investigation are chiefly George Colman's The Comedies of Terence of 1768, Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, a French editor of Publilii Terentii Afri Comoediae, 1827, the Reverend Edward St. John Parry's

C.R. Post, "The dramatic Art of Menander" in Volume XXIV of the *Harvard Studies of Classical Philology*, affords fine material regarding specific references to Menander in both Terence and Plautus. Friedrich Leo's *Plautinische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1912, is valuable for the individual topics "Monologue", "Prologues", and "Dimidiate Menander", which this thesis considers in its discussion. The *Art of Terence* by Gilbert Norwood, Oxford, 1923, so minutely detailed, presents Terence as the sole imitator of his art and translator of the Greek. This thesis, on the other hand, intends to discover in Terence not the translator, but the adaptor of Menandrian feeling, thought and sentiment into excellent Latin Style. W. G. Waddell at Oxford in 1927 published *Selections from Menander*, bequeathing to the field of Latin Comedy valuable references and citations taken directly from Menander. This book I used as a later and modern reference source in the writing of this thesis.
CHAPTER I
EARLY ORIGINS OF GREEK COMEDY

Greek Comedy \( \kappa \omega \mu \delta \alpha \), historically passed through three periods of development, each of which advanced in perfection of literary form. "The early history of Comedy is obscure because official recognition came to it later than to tragedy."\(^1\) The first period, 480-404 B.C., is known as Old Comedy, and had its origin in the union of the Attic comus (\( \kappa \omega \mu \circ \zeta \)), with the Doric farce. The \( \kappa \omega \mu \circ \zeta \) represented the choral lyrics sung to the music of the flute, and accompanying dances of mimics, who were celebrating the annual village festival in honor of Dionysus, god of nature. The Doric element was non-choral and contributed actors who mimicked nature-spirits. The term \( \kappa \omega \mu \delta \alpha \) arose from \( \kappa \omega \mu \delta \zeta \), which was derived from the Attic \( \kappa \omega \mu \circ \zeta \) combined with \( \zeta \delta \zeta \iota \nu \). Submerged in this background of mythological farce, Old Comedy became satirical and burlesque, attacking public men and actions. Exponents of this Old Attic Comedy were Aristophanes, Eupolis, Cratinus, and Phrynicus.

Sidney G. Ashmore, in his discussion on the origins of Greek Comedy, says that the divisions of comedy were arbitrary and it is difficult to determine accurately when Old Comedy gave way to the second period, known as Middle Comedy.

Beginning at the close of the Peloponnesian War, 404 B.C., Middle Comedy extended to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., an interim in which comedy abandoned its tone of censorship and personal and political satire. It was the period of caricature of mythological subjects, and of literary, philosophic and social life; the period of a restricted chorus and a limited subject matter. In outward form Middle Comedy reduced the size and function of its chorus and its scenic accessories and disposed of the parabasis, the address to the spectators. Alexis and Antiphanes wrote Middle Comedy, as well as Aristophanes, in two of his plays, the *Plutus* and *Ecclesiazusae*.

**Nature of Menandrian Comedy**

New Comedy differs from the period of Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Cratinas, the period in which the comic writer, rightly considering the times in which he was living, wrote of those things with which his audience was familiar: government in the Periclean Age and men in public life. The enjoyment of the galleries in the satirization of politicians and the discomfiture of notables was both the essence and appeal of Old Comedy, the type which continued until the end of the Peloponnesian War. When Athens was stripped of her power and government jobs disappeared overnight, Athenians lost interest in this type of comedy. Sparta, in addition, was strictly a disciplinarian at heart, and would
not allow the satirizing of her leaders, nor the expense of maintaining a chorus.

Becoming Socratic in vision, the Athenians began looking at themselves, their habits and customs, their reactions to certain situations, their likes and dislikes. Human behavior became the essence of a new type of drama, New Comedy, a drama which aimed not at political satire or caricature or fantastic allusion, but at a sincere representation of life actually lived, of real manners and characteristics, of philosophic reflections on life, a drama which Gilbert Murray has said, "extended its sphere to all subjects of ordinary life." Menander, Diphilus, and Philemon chose to write in the field of New Comedy, but of the last mentioned two so little is extant, that our knowledge of *koumòdia* Nea tends to come mostly from Menander. Cosmopolitan in its appeal, New Comedy endured for nearly a century, 336-250 B.C., and has as wide an interest for modernity as it had for Terence, who reproduced in the Latin language much of the refinements of Menander to Roman tastes.

Personal abuse in New Comedy is aimed at men of wealth and of rank, men other than foreigners, slaves or beggars. Except in ridicule there is very little mentioned of the mythical, or the fantastic element of the supernatural. No symbolical beings or personified abstractions of just and unjust, or clouds,

---

islands and cities exist in New Comedy. Animals do not talk, as birds, frogs, or fish. Gods perform only in the prologues, and after previewing the plot, do not reappear. The true characteristics of New Comedy are traced not to the stage of Middle Comedy, but to the stage of Tragedy, for New Comedy portrayed life so realistically that Gilbert Murray has termed it a comedy with thought and with tears in it, and Collins has said, if it moved to smiles, it also abounded in tears; if it moved in humor, it also abounded in pathos. Often serious and melancholy in tone, its plot fringed many situations with tragic incidents.

Diderot termed New Comedy le genre sérieux; and Norwood maintains that Euripides' tragedies, which he would term "tragi-comedies", are so often reflected in Menander, that the "New Comedy of Menander and others owed more to him (Euripides) than to Aristophanes." Gilbert Murray said that New Comedy descended from both the Old Comedy of Aristophanes and Euripidean tragedy. This same prevailing opinion is voiced by Collins when he says "the style and versification of Menander are unmistakably modelled on those of Euripides."

In these discussions of New Comedy it may be well to bear in mind Cicero's definition of comedy given us in a fragment of

3 Gilbert Norwood, *The Writers of Greece*, op. cit., p. 66
De Republica: "Comedy is an imitation of life, a mirror of men's ways, a reflection of truth", or the definition which John W. White gave in the introduction to the English version of New Greek Comedy by Legrand: "Comedy is a humorous reflection of the life of the men and women of its day; it may be extravagant, but must ring true to experience."5

The Plays and When Presented

Between 166 B.C. and 160 B.C. Terence presented his six plays, some twice, some more often. In order of their presentation, the plays are The Andria, Hecyra, Heauton Timorumenos, Eunuchus, Phormio, Adelphoe. Comedies were written about four things: a name, a place, a deed, an event. For example, in Terence, plays about a name were the Andria, Phormio and Hecyra; about a deed, Eunuchus; about an event, Adelphoe, Heauton Timorumenos. In the case of the Andria, Eunuchus and Adelphoe and possibly Hecyra, Terence employed what has been called contaminatio, a noun connected with the verb contaminare, used by Terence in his prologues to the Heauton and the Andria.6 Thus applied by Terence, the verb has reference to the process of combining particular parts of two or more Greek comedies so as to form a single Latin play. Thus, the Andria is based on two plays of Menander, the Ἀνδρία and the Πειρηγία. The Eunuchus also was

6 The noun form of contaminatio is nowhere in Terence's plays
based on two other plays of Menander, the Ἐνυνθοξός and the Κόλαξ. The Adelphoe is a contaminatio of Menander's Ἀδελφοί and a play of Diphilus entitled Συναποθυροχοντες, from which one scene was taken. The Hecyra was based on the Ἐξύρα of Apollodorus of Carystus, to which was added (possibly) a portion of Menander's Ἐπιτρέποντες. Of the Phormio and the Heauton, the Greek source is in each case a single play, the second of these being derived from the Εὐτόν Τιμωρούμενος of Menander, and the first, from the play of Apollodorus, entitled Ἐπιδικχόμενος.

Of these six plays of Terence, the Andria is the most pathetic; the Adelphoe in general, more true to human nature than the rest; the Eunuchus, the most varied and lively; and the Hecyra, the one of least merit. Colman quotes Dacier in a translation of Suetonius, saying,

It would not be easy to decide which of the six is the best, since each of them has its peculiar beauty. The Andrian and Brothers seem to excell in beauty of character: the Eunuch and Phormio, in the vivacity of intrigue: and the Self-Tortmentor and Step-Mother have, in my mind, the advantage in sentiment, a lively painting of the passions, and in the purity, and delicacy of style.7

CHAPTER II
LIVES OF MENANDER AND OF TERENCE

Aelius Donatus, a commentator and grammarian of the fourth century A.D., gave us an account of the life of Terence, preserving an extract of Suetonius in the introduction to his commentary of Terence's plays. This extract belonged to Suetonius' De Poetis, a part of the more comprehensive treatise, entitled De Vitis Illustribus, now lost. Critics attribute this document on the life of Terence both to Suetonius and to Donatus. Other narratives of Terence's life are also preserved: one copied by Gronovius from a manuscript at Oxford; another, a Life of Terence, by D.F. Petrarcha in the Milan edition, 1476. The latter two add very little to the memoir of the former one of Donatus.

8 In the chronicle of Eusebius, 354 A.D., St. Jerome said: "Victorinus rhetor et Donatus grammaticus, praeceptor meus, Romae insignes habentur", and again when commenting on Eccles. chapter I., calls Donatus "praeeceptor meus", and a third time addressed him thus in his Apol. adv. Rufinum I.16; also mentioning in the latter Donatus' commentaries on Terence and Vergil. At the close of each play, Donatus is designated "Orator Urbis Romae" - a title which is still puzzling as to whether or not Donatus held some official position, or preferred the title of "orator", id est, "grammaticus". See Kirby Williams Smith, thesis, "Archaisms of Terence mentioned in the Commentary of Donatus", Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Isaac Friedenwald, 1890.
According to Donatus, Terence was a native of Carthage, as his cognomen infers, who was brought to Rome as a slave when a child, perhaps as a prisoner during the Numidian invasion into Carthaginian territory. A Roman senator, Terentius Lucanus by name, adopted Publius Afer upon his arrival at Rome. Lucanus noticed the ability of his newly adopted Carthaginian, and, affording Publius a good education, later freed him. Having assumed the gentilic nomen of his previous owner by custom, Publius became known to posterity as Terentius or Terence. Donatus, quoting from Volcatius Sedigitus and indirectly from Q. Cosconius (or Consentius), informs posterity that Terence, while enroute to Greece for travel and study in 160 B.C., died a year later in Arcadia or Leucadia, either grieving over the loss of several manuscripts of his translations of Greek plays, or by shipwreck on the return voyage to Rome. 

9 "De morte ejus Volcatius tradit:
'Sed, ut Afer sex populo dedit Comoedias, Iter hinc in Asiam fecit. Navim quum semel Conscendit, visus nunquam est. Sic vita vacat.'

Q. Cosconius redeuntm a Graecia perisse in mari dicit cum centum et octo Fabulis, conversis a Menandro." p.xxi, preface, Publuii Terentii Afri Comoediae, Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, (Parisiis, 1827), (Bibliotheca Classica Latina)
Terence's own prologues to his plays preserve in some measure references of his own associations, literary and personal. The year generally accepted for his birth is 185 B.C. If he first saw the light of day in that year, Terence was only nineteen years of age when he brought forth his first play, The Andria. But Ashmore contended that "The Andria is too finished a production to have been the work of so young a man. It bears evidence of having been the result of much study, and of considerable experience in the calling of a playwright"\textsuperscript{10}, and that, as a result of logical deduction, Terence must have been born in 190 B.C.

Publius Afer is said to have been "of medium stature, graceful in person, and of dark complexion"\textsuperscript{11}. This pleasantness of appearance coupled with his intellectual gifts no doubt combined to make Terence an eligible and permanent member of the young, literary and aristocratic society of his age. He became an active member of this society. His writing ability had introduced Terence to that elite literary circle in which Laelius and Scipio Africanus the Younger enjoyed membership. Scipio's name became the title of the group, the "Scipionic circle" of


\textsuperscript{11} "Fuisse dicitur mediocri statura, gracili corpore, colore fusco", Donatus, Lemaire's collection, p. 12
litterati, "a relatively small community of persons who made Greek literature their special study, and Greek refinement of education their standard". This literary society had originated and grown in the interim of time separating Plautus—the only other Roman writer of comedies whose works are extant—from Terence, that is, from 230 B.C. to 160 B.C.

Through association with these enthusiastic students of Greek literature, Terence became acquainted with the Aemilii, Metelli, and the Scaevolae. Intimacy with such friends suggests the natural thought that Terence's works in some instances may not have been his own. But in answer to this questionable doubt E.P. Crowell said that

The plays are so even and consistent throughout, individually and with one another, having the same neatness of language, the same attention to metre, the same quiet tone of good-natured humor and practical knowledge of the world, that we might well defy any critic to show where Terence left off and his friends began.

On the other hand, as Collins says, Terence may have been indebted for his refined dialogue in some measure to the accomplished, dignified women in the home of Laelius.

12 Ashmore, p. 27
The ladies of that family were all charming talkers; and Laelia, the eldest daughter of Scipio's friend, is mentioned by her son-in-law Crassus, the famous orator, as reminding him, in the elegance of her language, of the dialogues of Naevius and Plautus.14

Members of this literary clique admired and adopted in Latin whatever things in Greek literature and culture they found adaptable. Adhering to Greek refinement Terence "...directed his efforts especially toward the attainment of elegance and correctness of expression, and symmetry in elaboration of his plots."15 The comic playwright used vulgar, coarse expressions, but Terence polished his language, so much, that he produced some plays more than twice to be favorably received by the multitude. E.P. Crowell said that Terence "...in purity of idiom and elegance of style, was not surpassed by Cicero or Caesar."16

At the suggestion of the aediles, Terence visited the aged poet Caecilius to submit to him the first result of his literary and artistic endeavors, the play Andria. At dinner Terence started to read from a stool at the foot of Caecilius' couch. After reciting a few verses, he was asked to share the delicacies of the head table and continue recitation when the meal was finished. The play was highly approved by the audience. That this incident may be apocryphal or handed down by Donatus and from him to posterity is a belief maintained by Sellar, but other

15 Ashmore, p. 24
16 E.P. Crowell, p. 174
authors have mentioned the incident so often that it is well to think some such occurrence brought Terence into the literary limelight. Thus, gaining the approval of the litterati, Terence could repel the attacks of his enemies, who through jealousy charged him with plagiarism.

That there were two poets named Terence, the one Fregellanus Terentius Libo, and the other, the freed-man, Terentius Afer, is a fact often brought forth concerning the identity of each, but the question is discussed by Melius on page xxiii of the preface to Lemaire's collection, which has been mentioned in footnote nine of this thesis. There was another, a Terentius Culleo. Petrarch in 1476 edited a life of Publius Terentius, in which he mentions the fact that Livy noted in his histories many indirect statements about Terence's life. Petrarch believes the identity of the name Terentius brought about the error of the identity of the person. He mentioned the Roman Terentius Culeo; whereas, the comic author was a Carthaginian; the former was freed from slavery, the latter, enslaved; the former had been a senator, the latter, a poet; the former was older at the particular time in question, (namely, when captured by Roman generals), the latter, a youth.
Elogia Veterum De Publico Terentio

In speaking of the comparison between the coarseness of the language of Plautus, and the elegance of Terence's language, Scaliger is quoted by Lemaire as having said:

Atque in ea Terentianae munditiae potiores essent salibus Plautinis: quantum propter animi voluptatem tribuerunt Plauto Prisci, tantum aetas nostra ob linguæ cultum, Terentio. ...Nam equidem Plautum ut Comicum, Terentium ut locutorem admirabor.17

Varro attributes the palm of praise to Terence for his character sketches in "In argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam; in ethesin Terentius; in sermonibus Plautus."18 Cicero, in speaking of the use he made of the form *Piraeeae* instead of *Piraeeum*, quoting from Terence as his authority instead of Caecilius, said in translation19

I do not depend on a quotation from Caecilius: 'Mane ut ex portu in Piraeeum' as he is a poor authority in Latinity; but I will quote Terence, whose fine style caused his plays to be ascribed to C. Laelius 'Heri aliquot adulescentuli coiimus in Piraeeum', and again 'Mercator hoc addebat Captam et Sunio'.20

17 Lemaire, footnote p. cl, preface
18 Ibid., p. cxlvi, preface
19 Marcus Tullius Cicero, Epist. 3, ad Attic., Lib. VII: ...secutusque non dico Caecilium: 'Mane ut ex portu in Piraeeum' (malus enim auctor Latinitatis est), sed Terentium, cuius fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi: 'Heri aliquot adulescentuli coiimus in Piraeeum'. et idem: 'Mercator hoc addebat, captam et Sunio'.
Horace had described the artistic abilities of Menander, Caecilius and Terence in the following Latin words:

Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro:

... Vincere Caecilius gravite, Terentius arte.
Hos ediscit, et hos arcto stipata theatro
Spectat Roma frequens

The 'gown' of Afranius, such is the cant phrase, was of the very cut of Menander. ... Caecilius takes the prize for 'dignity', Terence for 'art'. These are they whom this mighty Rome of ours learns by heart, these she crowds the packed theatres to gaze at.

Volcatius Sedigitus, to Aulus Gellius, Book XV, chapter 24, places Terence in sixth place as a comic writer, in order after Caecilius Statius, Plautus, Naevius, Licinius, Atilius. Quintilian's expression referring to Terence's writings, has often been quoted by various authors. It states in its entirety:

"... licet Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum laudibus referantur: quae tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima, et plus adhuc habitura gratiae." Having termed the works of Terence written as elegantissima, Quintilian is quoted by authors who wish to describe Terence's lofty language. Cicero admires Terence in many other references made to the comic playwright in Phil. 2.6.15; de Orat. 2.80.327; ad Fam. 1.9.19. Pliny refers to Terence in book I, Epistulae, 16; Aulus Gellius, book VII,
caput 14, and book VII, caput 21; Sidonius Hieronymus, in writing to Paulinus, said that each field had its own leaders, as Roman duces imitate the Camilli, Fabricii, Reguli, Scipios; as the philosophers place before them Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotelē, so "poetae aemulentur Homerum, Virgilium, Menanderum, Terentium." Rufinus Grammaticus of Antioch said of the metric skill of Terence "Agnovit metrum servatque Terentius artem; nam prologos trimetro didicit componere versu, scenarumque actus primos pede claudit eodem." Fl. Sosipater Charisius attributes the art of Terence to his characterization in the words "Hēm, ut ait Varro de Latino sermone, Lib. V, nulli ali servare convenit quam Titinnio et Terentio." Isidore mentions the fabulae which the poets Plautus and Terence composed delectandi causa in the Origines, book I, caput 39.

MENANDER

Till recently our knowledge of Menander rested on three insufficient bases: a collection of fragments and a few personal anecdotes scraped together with great labor by modern scholars from certain ancient authors, such as Alciphron and others; the one-line maxims Γυῖαὶ Μονοστυχίαι; and the comedies of Plautus and Terence, including criticisms of both Quintilian and Plutarch.
The precise dates of Menander's life and career appear
doubtful, but 340 B.C. — 290 B.C. seem the most logical. (W.E.
Clark, in Menander: Chronology, C.P. I. 313-328, 1906, ante-
dates Menander to 343/342 B.C. — 292/291 B.C.; and W.S. Ferguson,
The Death of Menander, C.P. II. 305-312, 1907, confirms the re-
vised date.) If born in 340 B.C., Menander enjoyed the same age
as Epicurus. An Athenian citizen, he was the son of Diopeithes
of Cephisia 27. We know nothing about his mother Hegesistrate.
His uncle Alexis, one of the most popular dramatists of the time,
may have taught Menander dramatic composition. Theophrastus,
Aristotle's successor, was one of his teachers. Associated with
Epicurus, and that orator, philosopher and poet, Demetrius of
Phalerum, Menander depicts their influences in his philosophy
of life portrayed in the characteristics given his creative pieces
of writing, but himself took no part in politics. A man of
wealth and family, λαμπρὸς καὶ βίω καὶ γένει, and except for a
cast in his eye, to which Suidas in Vita Menandri refers, "ωτογ-
βός τὰς ὄψεις, ὁδὸς δὲ τὸν νοῦν", Menander was of notable good
looks. At twenty he published his first successful comedy, tit-
led Ὄργη, The Angry Man (or it may have been Ἐρωτόν Τιμωροῦμε-
νος). Averaging more than three plays a year, Menander presen-
ted a comedy at every festival of Dionysus until his death in
292 (or 290) B.C.

27 W.G. Waddell in the introduction xi, to Selections from
Menander, edited in 1927, tells us Menander's father was not
the famous general of Sunium whom Demosthenes mentions in De
Chersonese, as Norwood says in his Greek Comedy of 1932.
During thirty years of writing, Menander is said to have composed between 105 and 107 plays, but to have won the prize only eight times, three at the Lenaea, five at the city Dionysia. Since the Greek comic writer won only these eight victories for his plays, we may conclude that his contemporaries paid him less recognition than posterity, but throughout later antiquity Menander's fame was immense, surpassed by that of no other poet save Homer and Vergil: the vast array of quotations in ancient writers and the constant allusions to his name show that he was regarded as the finest comic playwright of Greece.  

INFORMATION OF ANCIENT AUTHORS AND MODERN SCHOLARS

Our first source of information on Menander's life comes from this "vast array of quotations in ancient writers". Aristophanes of Byzantium exclaimed: Ἦ Μένανδρε καὶ δέ, πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῖν πότερον ἐμπύθιστο; — Menander, and Life, which of you two copied the other?

In the first century after Christ, Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom actually preferred (for reasons not far to seek) Menander to Aristophanes, a verdict which weakens, indeed, our respect for their literary objectivity but, none the less, indicates the dominant influence of Menander as the 'bright and morning star of New Comedy'.

The expression describing Menander as the "bright and morning star" of New Comedy is found in the Greek as "σωματόφορος ἀστήρ". Lucian's Dialogues of Courtesans are based entirely upon

28 Gilbert Norwood, Greek Comedy, (Boston, John W. Luce and Company, Inc., 1932), p. 314
29 Francis G. Allinson, Menander, tr., (London, Wm. Heinemann, 1921), Loeb Classical Library, footnote 3, p. x, general introduction
30 Greek Anthology, L.C.L. vol. I, p. 86
Menander. Sidonius Apollinaris,31 Propertius,32 Ovid,33 Ausonius, Persius and Aulus Gellius— all mentioned Menander. Aristophanes of Byzantium wrote about Menander and his works thirty years after Menander's death34. Aulus Gellius in his "learned mosaic", Noctes Atticae detailed accounts of Menander's popularity35. From Lucian we receive two fragments of Menander's play, the 'ΕΠΙΤΡΕΠΟΝΤΕΣ36, and also references to the prologues of Menander. Aelian's Medley contains such material where Menander can be read "by the handful".37

His acquaintance with life in all its manifold phases was the wonder of all the ancient world. Practical wisdom was imparted in aphorisms, styled in diction almost faultless. Aristophanes, the grammarian, and other literary critics ranked Menander second to Homer. Beside Homer, Menander seems to have

31 Bishop of Avergne, 472, A.D., said Menander was a part of the required reading in school
32 4.21.28; 5.5.43
33 Amores, I.15.17-19; in which Ovid expressed the opinion that Menander represented comedy as Sophocles, tragedy
34 Francis Allinson, footnote 3, p. x, general introduction; this footnote also mentions twice Quintilian’s references to Menander
35 II.23,12,15,21; III.16,3
36 Fragments 7 and 535 K
37 Caecilius Statius used Ναόξλεξος, Υποβασιλιάτος, Πάκιον, Χαλκείς; Luscius Lavinius, the Σάκιος; Turpilius, the Αττιάργος; Atilius, the Μισογούνς, as mentioned on p. 270 Wilhelm Christ, Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur, (Munchen, Oskar Beck, 1890)
been the most widely read, appreciated and commented upon. "An inscription on one of his statues calls him the Siren of the Stage." 38 Pausanias 39 tells of Menander's tomb standing near the cenotaph of Euripides along the road from Piraeus to Athens, and his statue alone of all the comic poets placed in the theatre beside those of Euripides and Sophocles. Greek and Roman critics vied with one another in extolling him. Plutarch said in Symposium, VII, 3, that Menander's comedies were as indispensable to banquets as the wine. Lynceus, Aristophanes (the grammarian), Latinus, Soteridas of Epidaurus, Plutarch, and Sellius Homerus wrote scholarly essays and commentaries on Menander and his style, and Athenaeus quoted him often, we are told by the commentaries Ashmore and Norwood. Dion Chrysostom valued Menander's delineation of the manners of men. Caecilius, Afranius, Plautus and Terence were his disciples and translators. These writers of Roman Comedy not only used, but abused Menander's works in their translations and capturing entire plays of Menander. 40 Seneca, Horace and Manilius quoted and praised Menander, Norwood continues in his enumeration of references to Menander.

38 John Churton Collins, Essays and Studies, p. 318
40 See footnote 37; also Wilhelm Christ, Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur, (Munchen, Oskar Beck, 1890), p.270
Menander was read by girls and boys of Roman schools, we are told by Ovid in his *Tristia*: 41

fabula iucundi nulla est sine amore Menandri,
et solet hic pueris virginibusque legi.

"No play of charming Menander is free from love, yet he is wont to be read by boys and girls." 42 From the third century B.C. Menander's plays became very popular, so much so that Caesar, two centuries later, in his comments upon Terence judges Terence to be dimidaitus Menandri. That his plays were repeated often during the centuries, moreover, is attested by various references Mediaeval writers were influenced by Menander, including Hroswitha, the learned nun of Gandersheim, as Norwood informs us.

In Augustus' era, previously, Crinagoras noted the production of Menander's works; in the time of Claudius, Cassius Dio noted the re-production of Menander's plays; in the last half of the first century, Quintilian noted Menander's works in a complimenting manner. "Quintilian has exhausted the language of panegyric in discussing his merits." 43 Quintilian said: 44 "He (Menander) alone, in my judgment, if read with diligence would suffice to secure all the qualities which we are inculcating; so completely has he mirrored human life, ...so aptly does he conform to every circumstance, character and mood."

41 369-370
43 Collins, of footnote 38, p. 319
44 *Inst.* X. 1.70
In the third century A.D. Fronto of Emisa noted the popularity of Menander. In the fifth and sixth centuries the plays were read in Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt. In fact, it is to the dry climate and sandy soil of Egypt that we owe the existence of the most recently discovered fragments of Menander: the Egyptian papyri, notably the Cairo Codex discovered at Aphroditopolis. Psellus, literary philologist of the eleventh century in Constantinople, referred to fragments of Menander, rather than to complete plays. A conspectus of the long list of authors and lexicons containing Menander's fragments is made in Kock's Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta, including authors from the time of Pliny the elder in the first century to Planudes in the fifteenth.

Living all his life in Athens, Menander pictured vividly Athenian social life as then lived, permeated with the post-Platonic philosophies of Epicureanism and Stoicism. Of the 105 (some say three or four more) plays, none lacked a love-story, as Plutarch testifies in his reference to love as "the connecting theme that flows evenly through all the plays of Menander." Friedrich Leo maintains that through Menander's development of comedy arose the most important love material for later writers. Ovid in the Tristia, 2.369: fabula iucundi nullast sine amore Menandri expresses the same opinion. Since the element of love was so strongly expressed in Menander's plays, L.A. Post attributes to
this fact the non-existence of any manuscript of Menander in the Middle Ages. In his introduction to his *Three Plays*, Post infers that to Christianity Menander's subject matter seemed frivolous or wicked. The love of woman was not a theme with which to attract serious readers. In this twentieth century if Menander is again less popular, it is because fragments do not bear the same interest for peoples as entire plays. Post stated that if half of any play is absent, the rest loses most of its meaning.

Modern viewpoints of Menander were completely altered by the famous discoveries of the papyri in Egypt, which had covered wine-jars and rubbish-heaps, which, though defective, proved revealing. Fragments of three plays were found in satisfactory number to form a decision once lacking concerning the plot and other bits of information. The plots are distinguished by their extreme simplicity. Some other plays remain only in fragmentary length, but newsy. Passages were also discovered which belong to unidentified plays.
"From the plays of Menander, probably aggregating when complete more than 100,000 lines, we possess today a little over 4,000 lines. The Fragments are valuable in estimating Menander's ethical quality and in their reflection of contemporary life."  

The extant 4,000 lines are the sources of Menander found in these codices:

1. The Cairo papyrus, discovered in Egypt in 1905, contains portions of five comedies and some unidentified minor fragments. There is no complete play, but sufficient fragments in continuous scenes of three plays, preserve the main outlines of plots. Leipzig and Heidelberg MSS also exist for one of these three last-mentioned plays: namely \( \text{Περιχειρομένη} \), Oxford Papyri, volume II, adds 51 lines near the end of the same play.

2. A combination of several fragments variously collected has enlarged the scope of 7 or 8 more of Menander's plays.

(a) 125 lines of the \( \text{Γεωργός} \), Egypt, 1907, now in Geneva;
(b) 118 lines of the \( \text{Κόλαξ} \);
(c) 23 lines of the \( \text{Περινεία} \);
(d) 40 lines, broken, of the \( \text{Μισούμενος} \), published from 1903-1910 in volumes III, VI, VII of Oxyrhynchus papyri; and in Volume XIII, No. 1605, published in 1920-1921, fragment of 27 more broken lines and verse ends.

\[46\] Allinson, p xxiii, general introduction
(e) 101 lines of Κιθαρίστής, Berlin Klassikertexte, Heft, volume 2, 1907;

(f) 20 lines of Κονείαξομεναι, in library of Dorpat, published by Korte in 1910;

(g) certain fragments in Leningrad, containing 56 lines of the Πάγμα;

(h) 2 other fragments which Korte calls Unidentified Comedy No. II, but which may belong to the Επιτρέποντες;

(i) one fragment assigned to the Καννόφορος;

(j) an important fragment of the Επιτρέποντες published in 1914, Oxford papyrus of volume X. No. 1236.


4. Kock's Comicorum Atticorum Fragments, edited from various sources:

(a) about 1,000 lines under 90 titles;

(b) more than 800 lines from unidentified plays, among which 169 are attributed to Menander.

The most important manuscript is the so-called Cairo papyrus, found in 1905 at Aphroditopolis by Gustave Lefebvre. Norwood, quoting from Korte, refers the pun upon the town to his readers: the poet of Venus arose from the dead in the town of Venus. Parts of five major works are contained in this papyrus:
the Ἑρως, Ἐπιτρέποντες, Σαμία, Περικερομένη and a nameless play. Norwood continues in a bantering tone telling of the unearthing of the poet's works;

Over this and its lesser companions, together with small pieces and mere shreds containing but some half-dozen letters, the united scholarship of the world has for a quarter of a century toiled with microscope and photographic camera, with limitless patience, immense ingenuity and learning, to build up a trustworthy text of these lightly-written comedies, as the Chinese Emperor lavished all his jewels on the effort to complete one casement of Aladdin's palace. 47

Powell, in the "New Chapters" in the History of Greek Literature, edited in 1933, gives a minute description of the codices of recent discovery, since the turn of the century. He recognized the greatness of the mere fact of discovery in the following words, when he said, "Lefebvre's discovery in 1906 of some 1,600 lines of Menander is for our knowledge of New Comedy what the discovery of the papyri of Bacchylides and those of Herondas have been for our knowledge of post-Pindaric lyric and mime." 48

He states that since Professor Allinson in the Loeb edition, from whose works this thesis has often quoted, has made the latest plays so accessible to the reader, that there is no need of expounding on the plays themselves again, but enumerates some articles which refer a certain papyrus to Menander's Ἐπιτρέποντες.

47 Norwood, Greek Comedy, p. 318
Powell does mention the fragments of the Fayum papyrus, containing several sayings of Menander.

Definitely Menandren are 10 ἔρμωμες discovered on a third century papyrus in the . Of these four were known previously; the other six are new to us. All but one begin with ἀλλα, e.g. ἄλλοι ἱστολόγων καὶ τέχνων συμμομία and evidently formed part of a collection, as we might say, of 'bright thoughts' from Menander, for Florilegia were common in the first few centuries of our era, and many examples have come to light among papyri.

In the discussion of page 19 of this thesis, several of the fragments of anecdotes of Menander are reviewed. These comments give us an indication of the life of Menander, and the collection made of his works up to the present day. The second source of information of Menander is imbedded in his one-line maxims, the Ἐρμωμές Μονόστιχοι.

THE MAXIMS

Our second basis of authority about the Greek comic playwright is Menander's Maxims, epigrammatic in style, meaty, moralizing, attributable to all ages. The more famous ones which are often quoted are: φθείρουσιν ἡ δο λοφος ὀμελίαι κακοί. "Bad associates spoil a good character." This quotation had become famous in the centuries of Christianity as presented by St. Paul
in the First Corinthian, XV, 33: "Evil communications corrupt good manners." Another maxim well known is: ἡ χάρις ἐστὶν ἔρως, ἓτεν ἐρωτοῖς. "How delightful is a human being, when he is human!"

MENANDER IN STATUE

Another source of information about Menander is the artistic value which the statue of the eminent comic playwright portrays in the Vatican. "It is the figure of a man in the prime of life, sitting on an arm-chair with a roll in his hand. Clad in simple drapery, the firm, hale-, well-knit limbs reveal themselves in all the perfection of symmetry and contour." There is an ease, a grace, a mannerism of self possession, an air of superiority about the statue. "The face," Collins continues in his excellent description of the statue, "is the face of one on whom life had sat lightly, ... and humour had brought insight, and insight tolerance and enjoyment." The head is bowed, as in reflection or in the habit of thought, thought which has lined the brow of the comic playwright with wrinkles towering the earnestness of the expressive face. The eyes are keen and searching, their depth suggesting the philosophic observer. Collins expresses the opinion that a light, playful irony flickered

50 John Churton Collins, pp. 321-322
51 Ibid.
on the lips of the statue, and pride, refinement and sensibility were stamped on the curved nostrils. He concludes with the simple, dramatic statement: "Such was Menander as he appeared among men."52

MENANDER'S STYLE AS EVIDENCED IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

The third and last basis of authority concerning Menander's plays and his life is found in the comedies of Plautus and Terence. This thesis is primarily interested in what part Terence played in the role of Menander's life, and the influence which Menander exercised upon Roman taste. Many authors referring to both Menander and Terence will tell us repeatedly that Menander's plays were familiar to the Greek-reading multitude of Hellenistic and Roman times, but fail to mention the fact that Terence makes those plays accessible in thought as well as reading to the Latin-speaking throngs as well. Terence set out on the task of building up a national literature by reproducing faithfully the works of Greek genius. To Romanize Hellenic comedy "by close imitation of his Greek models he succeeded in combining with the better and purer Latin of the cultivated class much of the flexibility, delicacy and smoothness of Attic idiom."53

Though the Latin plays give us a general idea of the topics and methods of New Comedy, we cannot say that Plautus or Terence merely translated Menander, handing down to posterity the works

52 ibid.
53 Ashmore, p. 27
of the eminent Greek comedy writer. The work of the Roman poets felt cold and inanimate, of weakened wit, of glamourless brilliance in comparison with Greek poetry, as Quintilian said (10. 1.): 

\[ \text{vix levem consequimur umbram,} \]  

"we have not even the shadow of the Greek excellence in comedy". Fragments of the "Greek excellence" contained in Menander had been collected from early times, but not in such great quantity that Terence could be called the translator of Menander. Norwood sums it up: "Terence learned his craft, and borrowed scenes, from Menander; but the available (highly various) evidences overwhelmingly imply that he was original in the structure and the spirit of his plays."\(^54\)

Prior to Terence's day there was no prose literature in Latin, and though Greek had been known, generally speaking, for over a century, Ennius, the "father and prince of Roman poetry", was giving Latin its first real culture. Greek dramatists were known to the few literary Romans of the era, but rude translations were just being presented by Livius Andronicus about a half century before the advent of Terence. The first eminent tragedian, Pacuvius, was a contemporary of Terence, and but three comedy writers had preceded Terence: Naevius, Plautus, and Caecilius Statius. It was this last person to whom Terence read the first form of the Andria for criticism.

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54 Norwood, Greek Comedy, p. 317, footnote 1
CHAPTER III

Before this thesis discusses the Andria and the other plays of Terence in relation to Menander's fragments, it is well to understand a background of the topics to be considered; the stock players or actors, stage conventions and character traits peculiar to the Greek and later to the Roman stage. Fragments of Menander and comments on his style are introduced in a general manner preliminary to the effects noted in Terence's works.

TYPES OF COMEDY

Comedies were of the three types: the palliatae, those of Greek customs; the togatae, considering in form those wearing the toga; and the atellanae, composed of witticisms, pranks and jokes. A single comedy was divided into four parts: the protasis, epitasis, catastrophe. The prologus, πρόλογος, which was antecedent to the real composition, could have been one of four different types: συστατικὸς, commentary in form and in which the story or the poet was commended; ἀναφορικός, related in form in which either the criticisms of adversaries were mentioned, or the delights of the populace; ὑποθετικός, argumentative in form expostulating the involved argument of the story; and μικτός, mixed in form of all the preceding three.

The prologus served as a preface, in which something might be addressed to the audience or about the poet; but the prologium
discussed the plot or argument of the play. The protasis is the first beginning action of the drama, in which only a part of the argument is unfolded, to retain suspense. The epitasis, or catastrophe, is the conclusion, the turning-point to a happy ending.

Plays could have been presented at four different types of public games, which the curule aediles offered at public expense: the Megalenses, consecrated to the great gods, the μεγάλειμονας; the Funebres, honoring some noble patrician; the Plebii, given in behalf of the safety (or health) of the plebeians; and the Apollinares, consecrated to Apollo. Two altars were accustomed to be placed on the scene, as for example, in the Andria Terence said: "ex ara hac sume verbenas."55

THE ACTORS

The old Attic Comedy employed in a single drama only three actors, the regular number for tragedy. After the chorus was abolished, the New Comedy exceeded this number. The Roman palliatae knew no restriction in the number of persons performing. Mute characters, called super-numeraries, were freely employed at all times, on both Greek and Roman stages. Roman Comedy performed with four or more characters. In Terence, five actors
took part in the Heauton Timorumenos, and also the Hecyra; six in the Adelphoe and the Phormio; the Andria and the Eunuchus found even this number insufficient. Actors at Rome were usually slaves, for the actor, histrio, and his art were looked down upon by the Romans. Free-born citizens seldom practiced the histrionic profession, although freedmen often were engaged in theatrical enterprises and did make public appearances as actors or managers of theatrical troupes. As a manager, the freedman was known as a dominus gregis, and if he acted at all, it was usually in the leading role. The poet or playwright seldom managed or acted in his plays. Livius Andronicus, however, as an exception, not only managed but acted in his plays.

The types of character selected for representation on stage were best fitted to afford amusement of the day to the large and mixed audiences for whose delight the drama was especially created. These types were often greatly exaggerated. At the same time, the literary form and taste of the plays of the New Comedy attained a high status of fine, delicate thought and polished wit. Fragments of the Greek give testimony of keen mastery of detail and technique, models for the Roman playwright to follow in pattern.

Terence does not cast his characters into new molds: they are typical, representative of the New Comedy, lacking definite personalities, but known by the audience from play to play. His principal figures include two old men, one severe, the other
mild and indulgent; two young men, one brazenly dissipated, the other exemplary and morally sound, or seemingly so, until the true characters were revealed; an hetaera; a leno; a parasite; a simple-minded and faithful slave, and another, intriguing and crafty. There are also the ancilla or maid-servant; the matrona or anxious mother; and the long-lost daughter, who usually appeared first as the hetaera, but later was discovered to be an Athenian citizen. The motive in each play involving these stock characters is love, ultimately marriage. The scenes are laid in Athens or in the very near neighborhood; the action lasted no longer than a day.

The New Comedy dropped traditional heroic names, and used fictitious ones instead. The word mask which typified the character means character itself. Enclosing the entire head, it had false hair attached to it. Persona was derived from personare, "to sound through", and the mask was so formed as to enlarge the voice, and convey it to a greater distance. Thus, "Dramatis Personae" strictly transliterated means "The masks needed in the performance." The stock character of a cross elderly uncle was unique in his mask, unlike the mask representing the kindly uncle. Each mask typified a character, either the Obstinate Male or the Flatterer, the Bragging Soldier or the Humble one. Each actor had his own special characterization, his own special motives for actions. "To construct a plot with such characters is a more delicate task, and one that calls for more skill than
merely avoiding a formal offence against common sense.\textsuperscript{56}

Characterization played a deep role in the plays of New Comedy. Delineations of courtesans afford one of the finest examples in this respect, since Menander and Terence did not depict these lovely creatures as lowly women, but bestowed upon them graciousness and kindness of heart. Thais in Terence's \textit{Eunuchus} loved Phaedria, but in order to get possession of Pamphila, who was freedborn, promised three days to the company of Thraso, whom she despised. Terence does not alter the prevailing practice of youth having its fling; indeed, we may say he approved to the degree of having the courtesan not only "get her man" but "keep him" as well. We may note that the "leading lady" of the \textit{Andria} was or was associated with the courtesan; the Chaerea sub-plot in the \textit{Eunuchus} involved a love-element with a beautiful slave-girl, who had been "sold" into slavery, though well-educated and not a courtesan; the Phaedria plot of the \textit{Eunuchus} involved a love affair for Thais, whom this thesis just mentioned. In the \textit{Adelphi} it is the scamp Aeschines who kidnapped the music-girl.

\textbf{MORAL QUESTION}

Is there an argument to be inferred from the question of morals? If there is, how did Menander treat the problem? There

\textsuperscript{56} Legrand, p. 323
are grounds for discussion of the treatment given by both Menander and Terence, especially in view of the fact that the courtesan of the plays herein reviewed was such an important character, and her trade one of prominence both in action and in conversation. Hellas of the fourth and third centuries B.C., after enjoying her climax to cultural achievements, became lax in her code of ethics. Becoming lax, the Athenians contented themselves with pleasurable aestheticism, the joys and elegance and beauty of existence. They accepted in mild application the Horatian precept of *ne quid nimis*, or the *μηδὲν ἄγαν* precept of former days. It was not an ethical motive which prompted them to moderation in all things, but rather the aesthetic appeal of avoiding extremes because they mar beauty, as Post inferred in his *Dramatic Art of Menander*.

Epicureanism was most readily followed and most popular at the time, but it was not a "reckless search for pleasure", for it was restricted in some measure to continence in respect to mental and physical health. This thesis does not intend to discuss the ethical values of the plays either Greek or Roman.

**DRAMATIS PERSONAE**

Brilliant dialogue, suited to each character, showed forth the genius of the playwright, whether it was the language of the *οἱ πολλοί*, crammed with colloquialisms, or that of the educated elite. The names of the characters themselves will
serve to indicate the type of role portrayed. Some include: Simo, σιμός, "flat-nosed"; Pamphilus, παμφίλος, "friend"; Sosia, σώσια, "to save" (in war); Chremes, χρέμποτομαι, "to clear one's throat"; Charinus, χαρίνος, "grace"; Crito, κριτής, a "judge"; Davus, from Dacia, his native country, the Davi and Daci being the same people; Dromo, δρόμος, "a race"; Mysis, from Mysia, her native country; Byrrhia, βυρρία, "red-haired"; Glycerium, γλυκερία, "sweet"; Lesbia, Lesbos, her native country. In each play, the characters are thus based upon some interpretive meaning of the word.

STAGE CONVENTIONS

The costumes used on the stage were Greek and copied from the dress of ordinary life. They consisted of a tunic and a mantle, the former being an under-garment called by the Greek people, chiton, χιτών; the latter, an outer-garment, called by the Romans pallium, a term corresponding to the Greek ἰμάτιον. As the pallium was a long garment which enveloped the entire figure, the short chlamys, χλαμύς, was often substituted for it, especially by soldiers and young men. An account of the dress used in the New Comedy is given by Pollux, as Ashmore tells us in The Comedies of Terence. From the description by Pollux, it appears that the typical or conventional character of the personage appearing on the stage was determined by the length of dress he wore: the tunic of the slave was short; that of the
freedmen was long and had sleeves. White typified old men; crimson, youth. Parasites wore black or grey; the leno wore a bright colored tunic, while his mantle varied in color. The courtesan generally was cloaked in a saffron hue. Young women were garbed in white; old women, in light blue or green. An old man was distinguished by his staff with a crooked handle; the rustic, by his wallet and staff and a tunic of leather. The heiress could afford fringing on her gowns. Though resembling tragedy, this garb of New Comedy was yet quite plain and unadorned. All characters wore the traditional sort of light slipper or scandal, untied, called ἐμβάς, and in Latin soccus, characteristic of comedy as the cothurnus or buskin was of tragedy.

The comedies, Menandorean and Terentian, were accompanied by the music of one of two instruments, the tibia, flute, or the fides, lyre. The tibia, originally made of the leg of some animal, a horse or dog, was frequently a hollow cane, perforated with holes in the proper places. Sometimes it was made of some kind of wood, especially boxwood, and was bored with a gimlet. Single pipes were sometimes used, but the more common use was that of the two pipes, distinct, with two separate mouth pieces. The fides or lyre was used to accompany the chorus; the pipes to accompany declamation or recitation. For this reason, Terence

57 Tibia, better translated as "clarinet" or "oboe", since these two instruments, according to Ashmore, resemble the tibia more accurately than the modern flute.
used only flutes. The tibia dextra, right-handed flute, accompanied comedy of a more serious tone, and usually introduced a piece of music; the sinistra, left-handed flute, a more pleasant tone, accompanied the dextra. Scenic modulation was achieved by an easy chant, accompanied by the flutes, which assisted the actors in throwing out the voice with force so as to fill the ample theatre.

Both the Menandorean and the Terentian plays though refined and of good taste, employed the typical mask, so necessary in the large open-air theatre, lacking the help of opera glasses. The strong lines of each mask were visible high along the tiers of seats, but nevertheless, those very lines did not detract from, but rather enhanced the type of person so characterized. These people so represented portrayed general types, any John or Henry or Thomas. It was not the purpose of New Comedy to satirize individuals. All plots revolved about the love affair, including the betrayed maiden, the foundling and recognition; the clever slave; the severe and the forgiving fathers or uncles.

SETTING

The titles of many plays are taken from a race or town or region: 'Ανδριά, Βοιωτία. Foreigners appear frequently on the stage: a pander recently arrived from abroad; a merchant summoned by his affairs; a soldier on leave; a bourgeois on a business trip; a person in search of a relative. The scene itself is
seldom laid in a foreign country. Usually it was at Athens. This choice of a foreign element was forced on the author by the audience, since it was disagreeable for an audience of self-respecting men to recognize pimps, procuresses, and courtesans, concubines and blustering soldiers as their fellow-men; these characters are all termed "foreigners". Some plays were laid outside Athens, as a compliment to the Athenians, who would not permit such "vile" people as slave-dealers or kidnappers to remain in their city. Seldom are exotic surroundings described; we are obliged to rely upon descriptions of individual types of foreigners. For the greater part the Roman Comedy localized its setting in or near Athens, leading on the spectators' right to the Forum; on the left, to the harbor. Two or three doors in the background represent entrances to the several residences. Since these scenes were in or near Athens, the actors were dressed in Grecian garments depicted Grecian customs, and used Grecian coins. "Terence, who imitated, rather than translated Menander, chose however to preserve the scenery and manners of his original."58

CHARACTER TRAITS

Ignorance of good manners at table, cooking, or conversation reveal the rustic for what he is. Rustics have the slovenly

58 Colman, preface, p. xxxix
dress of goatskins. Politeness is unknown to them. Vulgar speech, lack of appreciation of fineness and ignorance of city sights characterize this particular type on the stage. Theirs is a dull sensibility as well as a rude uncouthness. Lazy and narrow-minded describe their attributes. Their interests are few, seeking neither political gain nor glory. Intellect and culture to the rustic are "frivolous luxuries". Philosophers are good-for-nothings. Rustics experienced difficulty in expressing their thoughts. In the Adelphoe, Ctesipho lacked initiative, courage and cleverness. Demea lived in the country parce ac duriter.

The rich have no marks to distinguish them. They are not really rich, but have enough for bare existence and boast of what they have not. They are a "supreme blessing", as Menander was wont to term them. Out of the kindness of heart Micio in the Adelphoe gave of riches without much urging. Higio remains dignified and just, dealing with everyone equally. This play shows how relatives are suspicious and sensitive of the old man's riches. The poor are a few philosophers reconciled to their lot; poverty to most of them is "an untractable wild beast". Obligated to poverty, this type of character is cursed to work. The poor eagerly hope to become rich; they delight in dreams. Generally they are suspicious of the rich, especially of the fact

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59 Expressed in Menander, fragments 597, 14, 404, 405-406, 633
that the rich made laws too stringent for them.

The difference between the poor and rich led to the type of character known as the sycophant. Sycophants terrorized the rich. They fawned and cringed as parasites; their ideals were very low. Their pleasures were dreams - dreams of the stomach. Terence called them "parasiti edaces." They possessed an insatiable gluttony, "eating, eating well, above all, eating a great deal". To this last class belonged not only spongers of the poor but also some few who had lost their fortunes. Parasites were humiliated, tormented, treated like dogs. They murdered, broke down doors, intruded into houses, kidnapped, played into the hands of panders. Often they went on diplomatic missions to a cold or irritable woman, enduring her rebuffs or the threat of a successful rival. Sources of complaint by the parasite were the meagreness of their food supply, their extreme ill-usage, their excessive tedium. Now and again, they offered weak apology for their subserviency, for their equivocal conduct, for laying blame on necessity. Yet, the majority of them were at ease in their humiliation. Contentment registered with remnants of food and food even of inferior quality. Writers of comedy lauded the advantages, excellence and glory of the professional parasite. There was no real affection for the patron; no real gratitude. Occasionally they wished him long life, health and prosperity - but only thinking greedily of their own

60 Heauton Timorumenos, prologue, 38
61 Menander, fragment 563
desires. Visiting patrons often afforded an occasion for committing theft.

The attitude of the Roman citizen towards singing, dancing or playing instruments was one of disdain; such feats were inconsistent with that gravitas typical of Roman ideals. But slaves were often very accomplished, and employed in these social occupations, accomplishments which their masters would have been proud to have known. Slaves also portrayed these arts on the stage.

PLOT AND SUB-PLOT

The Greek genius in artistic sculpture, in tragedy and comedy refined and perfected a basic type of plot, rather than several types. Characters are not only types in Menandrean drama, but are quite unforgettable because of their vivid individual traits. Though Aristotle said that plot is "the first principle, and, as it were, the soul of tragedy", Menander has adapted plot to be the essence of comedy as well, as revealed on one occasion in his answer to a friend's remark that a dramatic contest was at hand and Menander's play was still unfinished. Menander replied that he had indeed composed the play: he had decided on the framework and had merely to add the music of the verses.

Athenians in Menander's day relished intriguing imbroglios. This intricacy of plot, at times leading to obscurity, was the
result of the mistaken identity in Menandrean drama, and of interlaced sub-plots in Terentian tales. Confusion is also instigated by the ceaseless prevarication of slaves - the truth is dubiously concealed. Yet, this utter confusion of entangled tales and complicated situation appealed to and delighted the audiences. We do not state that Menander lacked feeling or sentiment, for L. A. Post said "Menander is a man of feeling, but he keeps his eyes open and his head clear."

Farcical, comic effects find no lengthy scenes nor dialogues in this style of New Comedy. Serious in tone, profound in feeling, of practical philosophy, lacking sentiment, (sentiment of the superficial sense), Menander's plays naturally were not too popular in his own day. The plots concerned (1) incidents of domestic life, the frailties of husbands and wives before marriage and the troubles concerning supposititious children; (2) social romances in and among a population vagrant and migratory; (3) revelations in lawcourts; (4) strange experiences of ship-wrecked sailors; (5) studies of some vice of humor. The pivot of the plot is the love-story and, according to Ovid, "fabula jucundi nulla est sine amore Menandri", no play of Menander's existed in which love was not a primary element.

63 Tristia, II, 369
Menander treated sympathetically the theme of passionate love in his plays. Man is not degraded but exalted by his love. Youth regrets its harm and returns to love in lasting affection. A favorite theme in Menander is the loyal wife who wins back her husband through her constancy and tenderness. "In the New Comedy marriages and loves have the chief place. Rivalries abound; virgins are bought from panderers that they may be free, and those found free are bought with a ring, an amulet, or a garden-plot, of father, mother, lover, or brother; and invariably the panderer is discomfitted." 64

Though love is the basis of these plays, C.R. Post sums up the category of erotic bliss in New Comedy thus:

Love, to be sure, is the dominant motive of all New Comedy, but it is usually love which approaches mere sensual passion and from which are largely absent romance and poetry, or, in a word, that vague thing called sentiment, which elevates human love above that of the beasts which perish. 65

Affection is not shown between husband and wife, or among family members. Tenderness between the married couple has no place on the stage, but yet "The absence of feeling does not necessarily imply that Hellenic emotions were any less poignant than our own, ... it means only that they were not voiced in the literature." 66

The lover was usually the typical Athenian youth of the vast complexity of Athenian social life in the third and fourth

64 Frederick Morgan Padelford, Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics, (New York, Henry Hold and Co., 1905), p. 69
66 Ibid., p. 123
centuries. The beloved girl may have been born a free person, or a courtesan. Of the obstacles which stood in the way of happy love, separating the lovers, the most popular form is the mistaken identity, provoking jealousy in one of the couple. In the Ἐπιτρέπωντες, Charisius abandons his bride, believing her child is not his; in the Περίχειροµένη, Polemon evicts Glycera from his home, ignorant of the fact that she was embracing her own brother; in Terence's Adelphoe, Pamphila is roused to jealousy, misunderstanding her lover's flirtations with a music-girl, really the girl friend of the brother of Pamphila's lover. Or no jealousy may have induced the plot at all, as in the case of the Eunuchus, which may have been impregnated by Menander's lost γάμα, in both of which the youth is kept from the maiden, believing her to be the apparition of a goddess. Or social inequality may be withholding a wealthy young man from an hetaera or a virtuous maid of a lower caste. Parents may hinder unions of lovers; procurers may demand prices beyond the means of the aspiring lover; rivals may keep apart heartthrobs. The underlying motives of these love-torn characters both in Terence and Menander are sincere and humanly real. By no means pure in comedy, the plays of New Comedy are almost tragic in sorrowful separations.

The mainspring of action is chance, which became a clumsy device unless carefully employed. Curious coincidences were common to all extant comedies, but usually were not unfolded
until the end of the play, where they were used to extricate actors from desperate situations, when all other sources had failed. The audience was then glad to applaud. The Andria and Eunuchus display a normal expository technique in plot. Sufficient information is given before the beginning of the action in the Eunuchus and shortly after the action begins in the Andria to enable the developments to be easily understood. Each play contains a sub-plot, and the essential data of the sub-plot are revealed only when the sub-plot steps forth, rather than at the beginning of the play. Facts relating to the recognition are deferred until the recognition occurs. The audience is kept under a false impression for a time by the fact that Simo, in the Andria, imagines to be false what actually is true, and Davus does not feign to contradict him, realizing Simo would hold steadfast to his belief. The Andria's sub-plot did not occur in Menander's 'Avōpía. The Heauton Timorumenos differs in plot presentation from the Andria and the Eunuchus in that the facts connected with the sub-plot are given in the course of exposition of the main-plot. The Phormio has a more gradual type of exposition, according to Eugene Fields in his work The Technique of Exposition in Roman Comedy. Norwood has pointed out in The Art of Terence, pages thirty-one and thirty-two, that the secondary plot is loosely and more or less mechanically attached to the main action. Fields has also expressed this opinion

67 Dissertation published by University of Chicago, 1938
quite aptly:

We may, then, summarize the technique employed in the *Andria* by saying that the preliminary exposition is complete before the action gets at all underway, though the action is initiated slightly earlier. The information necessary for the secondary plot is introduced at the same time as the secondary action itself. The presuppositional facts not given in the early exposition are reserved until the recognition; preparation is made for the recognition by a broad hint early in the play.68

Though the sub-plot is structurally useless, yet it is amusingly combined with the main plot in such a way as to appear ironic, as for example, in the *Andria*, the problems of the two young men, Pamphilus and Charinus. The latter loves the very girl whom the former doesn't want to marry. Gilbert Norwood suggests the reason Terence introduced Charinus was particularly to have that girl, Philumena, protected and not left unwanted, an action of a tragic note. In the *Heauton Timorumenos*, again, the plot is double. As customary in comedy, the action is based upon trickery and recognition, by Terence's new feature in presenting the recognition in the middle of the play, and using it to complicate matters rather than to bring about the usual solution. This complexity of plot is unusual to Roman comedy, and for its structure must be attributed not to Greek originals but to Terence's creative skill. Unity of action is maintained despite the intricacies of plot. No tangents are introduced which are foreign to the development of the denouement of the

68 Donald Eugene Fields, *The Technique of Exposition in Roman Comedy*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Libraries, 1938), p. 66
plot. Unities of time and place are particularly observed.

Double plots involve a two fold danger: the one may appear stale and insignificant in comparison with the other, or it may be so slightly related as to destroy the unity of the play. Double plot technique bears suspense, as in the Adelphoe, where the question arises whether Syrus will succeed in deceiving Dmea to the very end, even after the young lover has his beloved. There are three ways of solving this labyrinth of plot imbricatio: by rectifying the mistake, by recognizing as a long-lost daughter the indigent miss, (or lowly courtesan), or by the clever scheming of a slave or parasite of the young master. The same series of characters, obstacles, plot incidents, and denouement that occur in one play may occur in several, to the point that the plays appear identical. As in Terence’s Andria, the author himself says “know one and you know the both of them”, referring to both the Ἀνδρία and the Πεπιγραφά of Menander, and Terence, in Norwood’s expression “used the New Comedy as a storehouse of plots.”

Post explains this usage of New Comedy as a source of subject matter by stating that

The ideal of the past has been to repeat again and again the same subject until it has achieved perfect expression. The sculptor carves the same deities as his predecessors, the tragic poet utilizes the well-worn myths, the comic writer the familiar intrigues, each impressing upon the old matter his own individuality in the hope that his interpretation may prove the ultimate. What originality antiquity demanded was only in treatment.

69 Writers of Greece, p. 12
70 C.R. Post, p. 116
Since the fourth and third century audiences demanded originality only in one or two details, the procedure of the comic poet was to take an old plot, superimpose upon it one or two striking but trifling novelties, suggesting what was new by the title. Post continued, "That this is an adequate definition of a New Comedy is proved by a review of the extant material." Waddell has aptly brought forth the safe argument for the "tedious iteration of the same plot and the same motives" in the simile involving standard elements of plot in comedy like standard elements of design in architecture or sculpture, "just as each Ionic temple has its own individuality, so each comedy, though almost identical with others in general design, may have its own peculiar physiognomy."  

MENANDER'S PLAYS

At the beginning of the century there were discovered rolls of papyrus in a large jar which was excavated, and in which household accounts had been kept. Covering the jar were many sheets of Menander. The importance of these fragments was stressed by an author in his book published in 1895.

71 ibid., p. 116
The loss indeed which the world has sustained in the destruction of the comedies of Menander is little less than the loss it would have sustained had Roman literature been robbed of Horace, had French literature been deprived of Moliere, had the Germans lost their Schiller, had a few fragments represented all that remained to Englishmen of As You Like It, Twelfth Night, and Much Ado About Nothing.  

Discoveries of Menander's fragments of 1898 and 1900 have brought forth more than half of two plays, the Ἐπιτρέποντες, Witnesses or By-Standers, and the Περικειρομένη, The Girl With Her Hair Cut Short. The Σμία and Ἐρως we possess from other authors. Waddell numbered the lines of the fragments according to the 1914 edition of Sudhaus, and also quoted from Koch's Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta, volume III, compiling the fragments in her book to make accessible the Greek dramas in simple form for the students of Roman Comedy. Her investigation employed Capp's Four Plays of Menander, 1910, Van Leeuwen's Menandri Fabularum Reliquiae, 1919, Allinson's Menander (Loeb Classical Library), 1921, and Wilamowitz' Das Schiedsgericht, 1925.

Though only few have come down to modern times, yet these fragments are important, for they testify abundantly to the truth of what others have said about Menander. Ninety titles of plays are known: five in the Cairo Papyrus, in sufficient text to compose a readable whole; eighty in amounts varying from a few words only to 123 lines of an individual play. Forty-eight titles

74 His enumeration agrees, for the most part, with Korte's Menandrea of 1912.
75 This thesis employs Allinson's text throughout.
are shared by other authors: 'Ἀδελφοί' by six comic poets, including Alexis, uncle of Menander, Philemon, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Hegesippus, and Euphron. Terence's Adelphoe, although ascribed in the didascalia wholly to Menander, was indebted in part at least to the "Companions in Death" by Diphilus. Several of these plays seem to deal with the fate of Women of captured cities: The Woman from Andros, The Woman from Perinthus, from Olynthus, from Thessaly, from Boeotia, from Leucas (though without a doubt The Woman from Leucas was based on the love-story of one who threw herself into the sea from the Leucadian cliff, according to Gilbert Murray), and the Woman from Thessaly, which involved witchcraft. These plays have also been referred to as plays of a geographical nature. The Man from Sicyon was apparently a sort of Tartarin, as the French call a Gascon, in type, a talker and planner and promiser of great things. The Man from Carthage we know was a barbarian, talking broken Greek, pitifully searching the world for his two sons who had been captured in war, and eventually finding them. The Περιπεμένη we have mentioned. Some titles are difficult to render in translation from the Greek, but are attempted, as in the 'Ἀνατιθεμένη, which is probably best translated as She Changes Her Mind. But Gilbert Murray puzzles over Ἄττον Πενεύω, asking if it could be rendered as Ηε Boxes Her Ears, though it may have been a theatrical term implying being "hissed off" stage. The Rustic, The Heiress, The Treasure, The Slanderer,
The Flatterer, The Woman-hater, The Sea Captain, The Recruiting Officer, The Widow seem fairly clear. So do False! Ἄμιστος, Bad Temper, and Twice Deceived, though in Greek the participle is active. The Imbrians, Gone to Imbros, was supposed to refer to the fact that that island was the nearest place in which to escape extradition for debt and small offences. A new fragment, however, throws doubt on this supposition, the Oxford number X, 1235. Thais and Phanion are named from their heroines, and the names are not the names of respectable citizens, Murray states. Other plays are almost impossible to translate in title: Κωνείαζόμεναι, describing women who for some reason threaten to drink hemlock; Συναριστόσα, Ladies Lunching Together; Συνέφησοι, Both were Young; Προγάμια, Before the Marriage. There seems to be an immense variety, and of course, only a few are represented in the past paragraph. Tradition says that Menander was a follower of Epicurus, and knowing some principles advanced by the comic playwright are Epicurean, we do not find it surprising that a group of the plays deals with superstition: The Superstitious Man, Trophonius, a reference to the famous and somewhat ridiculous oracle located in Boeotia; The Begging Priest, Inspired, The Priestess, and The Apparition. These titles form a slender foundation on which to base an opinion of the qualities of the plays in some small measure, and this opinion is strengthened by what little is known of the plots themselves.
Some fragments which are not used in the main discussion of this thesis are reviewed at this time. The Arbitration, *Επιτρέποντες*, presents a favorite theme of folklore. It is the story of the outcast babe, which by fate, gains a lofty place. Euripides in his Ion and in a slight difference, in his Andromache, portrayed the same theme, according to Oates and O'Neill in their Complete Greek Drama 76. These fragments read in English: "Affairs of mortal men are shaky all of them!" (Act II,36) "When men are in their cups no end of things like that are apt to come about". (289) "Now do you think that gods have leisure time to spare for parcelling the good and the ill, day in, day out, to each and all...?" (174) "'Tis Nature willed it, unto whom no law's bar, and just for this was woman born" (913) "For bree-born man to be mocked is more shameful by far, but suffering pain is common to mankind". (176-177) The Girl from Samos is a play of unselfishness and pathos. One fragment which bears mentioning is the "One must, haply, watch, look out for everything. Look and see if your roof's leaking". (247-248) The 'Oργή, or the Angry Man, fragment 363, is quarrelling with his wife, who wishes to restrict his luxuries. "The name of Ctesippus became a byword for effeminacy and prodigality: he actually sold the stones (verse 7) from the monument which the

Athenians reared at a cost of 1,000 drachmae in honour of his father Chabrias, the famous commander (d. 357 B.C.)."77

The Περίχειρολέγη, as Waddell translates the title, "The Rape of the Ringlets", is the play of love adventure, in which Polemo, finding his loved one conversing with Moschio, thinks Glycera is deceiving him. The reconciliation of Polemo and Glycera is one object of the plot; another is the recognition of Moschio, who was endangering himself and his supposed mother in an unfortunate situation.

διὰ γὰρ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ κακὸν εἰς ἁγαθὸν δέπει γινόμενον
For by help of God even the evil, has a tendency of becoming good!

ἦτις στρατιώτην ἐλαβεν ἄνδρα.
Unhappy she

who takes a soldier-man!

ἄπαντες, οὐδὲν πιστὸν
They're lawless,

all of them, no spark of honor.

τὴν δ' Ἀδράστειαν μάλιστα νῦν, ἄρ(ἐσοι), πρὸ(σχυν)ῶ.
But I now to Adrasteia--may it please her--make my bow.

"For the Greek formula 'Make obeisance to Adrasteia' (Nemesis), cf. (Knock on Wood', the similar superstition surviving in England, Adrasteia (the Inescapable) is Nemesis (Retribution)."78

77 Waddell, pp. 140-141
78 Allinson, note p. 221
From the *Peplos Bearer* or the *Flute Girl* we have the oft-repeated proverb, found in Terence also, ἀνδρὸς χαράτωρ ἐκ λόγου γνωρίζεται, "A man's character is revealed by his speech." 79

The *Bridal Manager*, ἄπιπλογός, has a bit of philosophizing:

μαχαριός, ὅστις οὐσίαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχει. χρήσται γὰρ οὗτος εἰς ἀμακαρίαν καλῶς, "Blessed is the man who has both mind and money, for he employs the latter well for what he should." 80 From the *Double Deceiver* comes the expression "He whom the gods love, dies young": δὴ ό θεοὶ φιλοσφιν ἀποθνῄσκει νέος. 81

The *Boeotian Girl* gives us in translation "Property covereth a multitude of woes": πλοῦτος δὲ πολλῶν ἐπικάλυμμ' ἔστι κακῶν. 82

The Farmer repeats the "Know Thyself" adage in:

οὗτος κράτιστος ἐστ' ἄνηρ, ὥ Γοργία
ὅστις ἄδιμειδεῖ πλεῖον ἐπίστιν ἐγκρατῶς
τὰ δ' ὀφθαλμον ὑπόπτῳ καὶ λίαν πικρῶν
καὶ ἔστιν ἐνθύμει αὐτοὶ μικροψυχίας

"That man, Gorgias, is most masterful who with self-mastery knows how to bear the greatest wrongs, but this, sharp-tempered, bitter spirit is forthwith to all a demonstration of pettiness of soul." 83

79 Fragment 72 K
80 Fragment 114 K
81 Fragment 125 K
82 Fragment 90 K
83 Fragment 95 K
STYLIUE OF MENANDER

Propertius and Quintilian have attested to the fact the Menander possesses a graceful and polished style. As translated, Quintilian’s criticism reads "It is Menander’s merit that he could treat special and hackneyed themes so as to portray the foibles and the virtues of other men remote in place and time."

Ashmore repeats Quintilian’s criticism in saying that

The Greek in which they (Greek comedies) were written was capable of expressing the finest shades of thought and of polished wit, and the general mastery of detail and of technique, to which their extant fragments bear witness—"the result of two centuries of dramatic activity—rendered them particularly useful and attractive as models to the inexperienced playwrights of Rome.

Plutarch especially mentions Menander, comparing the tone of his fragments with music, crafts, even the tailoring skill.

The style of Menander shows so uniform a polish, such a harmonious blend of manner, that while it traverses a wide range of emotion and character, adapting itself to all shades of personality, its unity is apparent, its individuality unimpaired amid diction normal, customary and inevitable. Yet if the subject happens to demand noisy bombast, all the stops are pulled out; after a moment, he pushes them back without jarring, and restores the normal pitch of his utterance.

Of the many renowned craftsmen,

no workmen ever made a shoe, no theatrical artist a mask, no customer a garment, that fitted equally well man and woman, child, elder, and slave; yet, Menander has so blent his diction that it suits every character, every rank, every age; and that though he was still a youth when he laid hand to the work and died at the zenith of his poetical and

84 4.21.28, 5.5.43
85 10.1.69
86 Ashmore, p. 7, introduction
theatrical skill, the very moment when (as Aristotle says), a writer's style makes its most notable and far-reaching progress.  

Plutarch climaxes his eulogy on Menander in the *Moralia*. It is taken from Norwood's translation:

Menander's charm makes him utterly satisfying, for in these works that present with universal appeal the splendours of Greece society finds its culture, the schools their study, the theatre its triumph. The nature and possibilities of literary elegance were by him revealed for the first time: he has invaded every quarter of the world with his invincible glamour, bringing all ears, all hearts, under the sway of the Greek language. What sound reason for entering theatre does the cultivated man ever find, except Menander?

Menander is said by Plutarch to have a style "more copious, ductile, and perspicuous" than Aristophanes. That this comic playwright followed the *via media* was expressed by Collins, who maintained that "Menander is cheerful because, in his views of life, he looks the facts of life steadily in the face. ... he teaches us at the same time, like Horace and Montaigne, to accept soberly and cheerfully the relative position in which Man and Fortune stand to each other." Good and evil, according to these views, are ever interwoven, and nothing is permanent. In Menander's art realism is a striking feature. In his "mirror of life" he shows us men and women of passions like ours; thus, attaining a universality of appeal for his plays. "Menander's characters are often men of passionate nature."

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88 John Churton Collins, p. 352
89 Waddell, p. 81, note on line 519
Skillful, delicate characterization is outstanding in his art. "Menander's fame," according to Allinson, "is due to the delicacy and the verity of his character-drawing and his spirited dialogue." Dramatis personae are both typical and individual. Humor depends either upon the situation as a whole or upon the character of the speaker; pathos and humor being closely linked together. Modern writers have passed favorable judgment on Menander's wit and refinement of diction and temper. After winning his audience first by dramatic dialogue, Menander used a postponed prologue. His vocabulary employed free use of asyndeton, a device suited to the spoken word; tragic coloring; "sententiousness". His source was Life itself--the daily life in Athens. Allinson says these plots taken from daily life in Athens were "reenforced and developed by side scenes and by well executed delays which led up to the denouement through an ingenious surrender of contributory details."

Norwood has expressed his own personal reactions to critical remarks about Terence's imitations of Menander in the following lines so picturesquely, that we cannot but follow the logic of his statements in his discussion of the discoveries of this century.

90 Allinson, p. xvii, general introduction
92 Allinson, p. xvi, general introduction
But this triumph of discovering literature unknown to the greatest scholars of the past, this half-illegitimate thrill in the perusal, have now and again influenced criticism untowardly. 93

We insist, he continues, on knowing more than is actually known or knowable.

Our good fortune goes to our heads like strong wine, and we talk as if we possessed the whole hundred odd comedies that Menander wrote. We insist that Terence is a mere translator, so that we may illustrate the work we do possess by quoting what 'Menander has said' in the Andria or the Adelphoe. 93

Believing that at times the passion to pretend that we know everything passes into downright hysteria, Norwood quotes from a French critic who was carried away by feeling and less fact. The French critic is Benoit, who made the following statement in his La Comedie de Menandre, page 224. "The remarks of Donatus on the play (Andria) succeed in proving this fidelity of imitation. But even where I cannot establish its exactitude I feel it, I divine it." This critic ventured so far as to translate the most famous line of Terence—homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto --into Greek and to insert the Greek upon his title-page. Though this practice has continued since the discoveries were made, we shall be less prone to such "unbalanced transports" as we become more familiar with the newly-found fragments. Post concludes his Dramatic Art of Menander by describing the style of Menander in these words.

93 Norwood, Greek Comedy, pp. 319-320
94 Heauton Timorumenos, verse 25
preeminently a Greek, he excels in those very qualities which always lend charm to the most insignificant literary products of Hellas, which were always less possible to the heavier Roman mind and the more cumbrous Latin tongue, and especially, despite the more advanced stylic art of Terence, to that mind and that tongue in their as yet inchoate condition of the second century before Christ.95

How this style is reflected upon Terence's writings, however, and to what degree Terence may be claimed the adaptor and not the translator of Menandrean feeling, thought and sentiment is the discussion of the ensuing chapters.

95 C.R. Post, pp. 111-145
CHAPTER IV

COMPARISON OF THE PLAYS OF TERENCE
AND THE FRAGMENTS OF MENANDER

TERENCE'S TASK

Terence was endeavoring to elevate Roman taste from plautine broad farce to more artistic models, to change "from the rude woodcuts as it were of popular fun and low life to the finished line engravings of classic dialogue."96 While improving public taste, Terence aimed to educate as well as to please. Obstacles to this titanic task were present in the amphitheatre itself: the Great Games of boxing, of gladiatorial contests and of tight-rope raillery were primary distractions from the poetry of comedy. In effect, Parry terms these games "ever the true poetry of the Roman people" rather than artistic appeals of literature. Ashmore says that Terence intended "...instead of aiming to secure the applause of the people, he ... directed his efforts especially toward the attainment of elegance and correctness of expression, and toward symmetry in the elaboration of his plots."97 To succeed in building up a national

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97 Ashmore, p. 25, introduction
literature, Terence set about reproduction faithfully the works of Greek genius, "...and by a close imitation of his Greek models he succeeded in combining with the better and purer Latin of the cultivated class much of the flexibility, delicacy and smoothness of Attic idiom."\textsuperscript{98} The elegance and purity of Terence's style and language are qualities which could reflect his excellent training and associations with the litterati of his time, but Ashmore adds further to this thought by maintaining that it is to Terence's credit that these qualities "appear to be most miraculous in view of his immature years and foreign extraction."\textsuperscript{99} Ashmore inadvertently brings forth an argument in favor of Terence's originality when, in the introduction, he is discussing contaminatio. This process of combining two or more Greek originals into one Latin play was condemned by enemies of Terence, enemies who were "ready to seize upon anything that might be criticized in the young poet as contrary to the artistic usage of the time. This usage enjoined the closest possible adherence to a single original."\textsuperscript{100} Friends and patrons of Terence, the Scipiones and the Laelii, who were leaders of the "young Rome" of their city and their day, advocated the adoption of Greek customs of diction and manners into

\textsuperscript{98} Ashmore, p. 25, introduction
\textsuperscript{99} ibid., p. 29, introduction
\textsuperscript{100} ibid., p. 31, introduction
Roman literature. "They would turn from the rugged language and rude jests of the Roman poets to the exquisite diction and polished wit of the Greeks."\(^{101}\) The humor of Terence, like Menander's was quiet and sparkling. "He had set himself to work carefully in a finished style, and to bring the Roman language into a more strict uniformity with the laws of rhythm than had been attained by any of his predecessors."\(^{102}\) To him, as to others among the literati, the Greek language was the perfection of elegance and refinement, a perfection which he endeavored to establish in the style of Roman comedy. In this attempt he would not only have to contend with the popular passion for excitement in the arena, and with the existing coarse taste, but he had also to overcome the opposition of a strong and numerous body.

THE PUBLISHING OF THE ANDRIA

The Andria of Terence was introduced at the Megalensian Games, or the Megalensia, which were instituted by the Phrygians in honor of Cybele\(^ {103}\), in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Gnaeus Sulpicius, on the fourth of April, 166 B.C. Much controversy has been advanced by critics whether or not the Andria was the first play Terence produced, or only the earliest

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101 Parry, p. xvii, introduction
102 ibid., p. xvii, introduction
103 Livy and Ovid both describe the "Idaean Mother's" coming to Rome; Ovid's Fasti, IV.187: Scaena sonat, ludique vocant.
among those which have come down to posterity. Donatus, the fourth century commentator, whose comments are both valuable and exegetical, says it is the first play of Terence, explaining that it was titled the Andria of Terence, not Terence's Andria. The order of the Latin words was Andria Terenti. It was customary to name the play first if the author were unknown. Since Terence was an unknown before the appearance of this production, the name of the play was mentioned first. It is a principle of modern advertising as well, to refer to Oklahoma of Oscar Hammerstein, II, since the author is not well-known. Referring to the play of Terence, George Colman says, "It is wholly Grecian;", et est tota Graecia, "That is, that species of Comedy, which was called Palliata; in which the Habits, Manners, and Arguments, were all Grecian." The very words prefixed to the Andria, in its title, "Tota Graeca Menandru", having the implication "it is entirely Grecian", refers to the fact that the scene is in Greece, of the type called palliata, portraying the manners of the Greeks, who wore the "pallium" or outer cloak—the Romans wore the toga. This problem of the Grecian impression has been discussed by H.T. Riley, in his translation of the Comedies of Terence, and also by W.G. Waddell, who said that "'Graeca Menandru' apparently implies no literal rendering, but merely a general similarity of plot or of certain scenes."
Sargeaunt's translation of the plays infers that *tota* is taken with *Andria* understood, implying in effect, "The play wholly from the original Greek of Menander", but meaning the same intention of depicting Greek mannerisms and places. Parry's commentary on Terence's six plays informs us that "The most important Manuscript (of the *Andria*) is that which goes by the name of 'Bembine', from its possessor, Pietro Bembo. It was corrected and illustrated by Politian. It finally passed into the hands of Fulvius Ursini, and by him was bequeathed to the Vatican Library." 106

**DIDASCALIAE IN TERENCE**

Marcus Terentius Varro, 116-27 B.C., Roman grammarian, furnished most of the *didascaliae* inserted in the manuscripts of *Terentius*, Terence. "They are given in the form of prefatory notices, whose purpose is to make known, as a sort of advertisement, the source or origin of each play, and the time and circumstances of its first representation." 107 *Didascaliae* or *tituli* prefixed to Terence's plays are the writings of Antonius Goveanus (Venice, 1567), in the *Emendationes*, which combine various readings of both the Bembine and the Callio- pian text. These latter two are based upon a collection of

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106 Parry, p. vi, preface
107 Ashmore, p. 1, explanatory notes
stage-copies edited by grammarians of the seventh century of
the founding of Rome. These grammarians without a doubt had
availed themselves of the commentarii magistratuum, in which
was kept an accurate account of all exhibitions staged by the
magistrates on annual festivals. The didascaliae of the
Andria are wanting in the best manuscripts, but have been pre-
served by Donatus in his preface to the play.

L. Ambivius Turpio, a celebrated actor mentioned by Cicero,
(in the De Sen. 14) and by Tacitus (in the Dial. de Or. 20),
managed all the plays of Terence. Modos fecit prefixing the
play, "he set the play to music", implied that each play had
its proper accompaniment. Flaccus Claudi, a servos, of whom
nothing is known, wrote the music to the plays of Terence.
Tibiis paribus, "adapted to the same mode", refers to the tone
of music employed. The principal modes were the Lydian, Dorian,
and the Phrygian, corresponding to the three species of tetra-
chord or system of four sounds, the fundamental system of ancient
music. Species depended upon the succession of certain intervals

PROLOGUS

"Prologus (πρό, λέγω). Est oratio quae ad spectantes, ante
fabulum habetur, vel ut argumentum fabulae narretur, vel ut

108 See Crowell, p. 140
poeta se suumque opus commendet. Saepius utrumque fit in eodem prologo." Lemaire tells that the prologue may have as its purpose either to narrate the plot involved in the play, or for the poet to commend himself or/and his work. Ashmore informs us that "The purpose of the prologue in the New Comedy of Menander and his brother poets was to explain whatever the audience needed to know about the play--its source, name, plot--and to bespeak for it the good-will of the spectators; yet, in no respect do Terence's prologues review the plot or contents of the play itself. They are devoted chiefly to the criticism of rival poets and detractors, by whom Terence seems to have been attacked often. In using the prologue as a weapon of defence against unfriendly critics, he differed radically from his predecessors. Among his detractors, the poet Luscius Lanuvinus (or Lavinius) seems to have been particularly prominent. He is referred to as poeta vetus (Phormio 1), and as malivolus vetus poeta, (Heauton Timorumenos 22; Andria 7), but never by name. To have departed from this custom of introducing the plot in the prologue was Terence's originality, but in addition to have spoken in foreign idiom might have been Terence's folly. The prologues of Terence are all genuine; their delivery usually assigned to one of the younger actors, (Heauton Timorumenos, Prologus 1-2), who was especially dressed for the purpose--

109 Lemaire, p. 7, footnote 1
110 Ashmore, p. 4, Notes on the Andria
ornatu prologi—and did not, for the time being, represent one of the regular characters of the play. Parry gives us this information about the actor who spoke the prologue.

The prologues were generally spoken in an appropriate dress (Prol. to Hecyrv.1) by one of the youngest actors (see Prol. to Heaut. v.1; alter Prolog. ad Hecyrv.3), the 'adolescentes', probably as an inferior part; or perhaps to give young actors an opportunity of showing their address. Sometimes, on a special occasion, a veteran actor took this part (locc.citt.), when it was necessary to make special interest with the audience.

Though Terence's prologues contain no explanation of plot, they are personal appeals to his audience, informing them honestly of the sources from which he borrowed his play, or of defending himself against some unfair charge brought against him by his rivals. In a footnote discussion on the verses five to twenty-one of the Andria Parry again says of Terence's prologues.

It is a peculiarity of the prologues of Terence that they are generally devoted to the vindication of his literary position, not to an explanation of his plot. In them we find Terence defending himself from the attacks of his rivals, or endeavoring to account for the ill ussuccess of a play or retorting upon his opponents their own delinquencies.112

The Andria must have been well known before its stage production for Terence to have written in the prologue, that he must answer charges pressed by his male suitors, who claim he

111 Parry, p. 7, footnote on verses 5-21
112 ibid., same footnote
had stolen materials of Naevius or Plautus. We are inclined to believe the incident of reading the Andria to Caecilius, who was at the time the chief comic poet of Rome. Caecilius died in 168 B.C., and the Andria must have been read and known in literary circles previous to its final editing by the consuls, for Terence defends the play against adverse criticisms in the opening lines (1-14) of the prologue. In these lines Terence requests a kind ear to this his first play and asks that his audience "weigh the facts of the case, that you may thoroughly examine if any hope remains: whether you will listen to new comedies which I may hereafter write, or to condemn without hearing them".

We may assume from these four lines, the last four of the prologue, that Terence realized his task of presenting to the multitude a play which if translated too literally would be so thoroughly Greek in idiom, thought and feeling that his audience would be furiously groping for plot structure. Let us, for example, refer to an incident which occurred recently at the Chicago Opera Building. Two plays, 3 Is a Family and Sons o' Fun, each of a different nature, were being presented in the opposite theatres of the Opera Building, in the Civic Theatre and the Civic Opera House respectively. After intermission, which some spectators spend in the cocktail lounge or in the vestibule at the orange-punch service, a few guests wandered
back into identically situated seats but in opposite theatres. Suddenly puzzled remarks of this nature are heard in the theatre of 3 Is a Family: "I wonder when Olsen and Johnsen (stars of the Sons o' Fun) are coming out?"...

Similarly, we may imagine a Roman audience, accustomed to plays of Plautus, and though acquainted with Greek customs in some manner, wondering vaguely about the plot or characters before them. If the Latin were merely translated Greek the audience would be more than vaguely concerned—they would be perplexed! Terence did not give even a hint in the prologue as to the plot involved, even though the prologue had always served as an introduction to the plot.

PERIOCHAE

The nearest approach to an explanatory prologue is Terence's Act I, Scene I, of the Andria, which, entirely narrative, explains the future course of the plot. Since Terence did not include summaries of his plots in his prologues, short, metrical plot summaries were prefixed during the second century A.D. in twelve iambic senarius verses, by Gaius Sulpicius Apollinaris of Carthage, frequently mentioned in the Noctes Atticae of Aulus Gellius. These summaries are known as periochae, (Περιοχαί) in the Bembine manuscripts, and in other codices as argumenta.
CONTAMINATIO

Terence added to the Greek models independently and by the process of contaminatio, the practice of inserting in a Latin translation of one Greek play a scene derived from another Greek play. "In order to enliven the plot, Terence has further introduced into some of his plays characters of his own creation by a process which Flickinger (Roy C.) suggests might be called auto-contamination."\(^{113}\) In the Andria Charinus and Byrria are Terence's own, either by original invention or by contaminatio, according to Donatus, 301. Though Terence says that Thraso and Gnatho in the Eunuchus are similar to the braggart soldier and parasite in Menander's Kóλας, we have no evidence that the scenes devoted to these two are taken bodily from the Kóλας as a scene from Περινεία was inserted into the Andria. Clifford also quotes Donatus' comment in verse 539, saying "Antipho is not even modelled after the type of characters in another play; he is an indisputably Terentian creation."\(^{114}\)

Terence may justly claim merit for his great art of inventive skill of blending plots of two or more Greek plays into one Latin production. This process of contaminatio required particular deftness of composition which had to be

\(^{113}\) Helen Rees Clifford, "The Dramatic Technique and the Originality of Terence", Classical Journal, 26, (1931), pp. 605-618; pp. 605-606

\(^{114}\) ibid., p. 612
consistent throughout in characterization as well as plot. Terence succeeds in his delineation of characters as well as in his grouping of them, according to Varro's judgment: "In ethesin Terentius poscit palman." Mommsen in the History of Rome said of Terence's characterization that though Plautus paints his characters with broad strokes, often after a stock model, Terence handles the psychological development of each character with a careful and often excellent miniature painting\footnote{115}{See Theodor Mommsen, History of Rome, tr. by William Purdie Dickson, volume III, pp. 129-209 and 224-229}.

Terence writes

\begin{quote}
qua convenere in Andriam ex Perinthia fatetur transtulisse atque usum pro suis.\footnote{116}{Andria, 13-14}
\end{quote}

admitting that he has transferred such passages as suited him from the \emph{Nepi\(\nu\)ea} to the \emph{Andria}, and used them both as his own. The playwright justifies this combination of two Greek originals by appealing to the procedure of his predecessors: Naevius, Plautus and Ennius. We cannot say, then, that Terence copied verbatim or in translation ferried into Latin whatever Menander expressed in Greek. Colman in commenting on the passage "Menander wrote the \emph{Andria} and the \emph{Perinthia}", says, From this account it is plain, that Terence did not in this play weave two different stories of Menander together in that vicious manner which is generally imputed to him: but that the argument of these two plays being nearly the same, Terence having pitched upon the \emph{Andrian} for the Groundwork of his Fable, enriched it with such parts of the \emph{Perinthian} as naturally fell in with that plan.\footnote{117}{Colman, pp. vii-viii}
Terence introduces a character, whom he has invented, and who takes no part in the action of the play itself, a persona extra argumentum arcessita, a mechanical device similar to the Greek creation πρόσωπον προτατίκον. "Sosiae persona protatica est, non enim usque ad finem perseuerat, ut est Davi in Phormione, in Hecyra Philotidis et Syrae."118 This person, by name Sosia, is a freedman, employed by Simo for his culinary art. Simo in his discourse with Sosia reveals the plot of the Andria, in which nowhere does the main character, Glycerium,—The Andrian—appear. Parry is quoting from Donatus, and commenting upon the commentary of Donatus.

Donatus in Prol. verse 13 asks: 'Quare se onerat Terentius, quum possit videri de una transtulisse?' Why does Terence mention the 'Perinthia' at all, when it was so similar to the 'Andria' that it would scarcely appear that he had copied from more than one play? 'Sic volvitur', answers Donatus; 'quia conscius sibi est primam scenam de Perinthia esse translatam, ubi senex Ita cum uxore loquitur ut apud Terentium cum liberto; at in Andria Menandri solus senex est.'119

Parry admits that the resemblance seems to be close between Terence's Andria and Menander's Περινθία, in the instance of using the old man's conversation with Sosia, as Menander's senex conversed with his wife, but in Menander's Αὐδωρία, the old man

119 Parry, p. 488
was made to soliloquize. After this formal introduction of Sosia, in a manner which leads us to expect that he will play a considerable part in the following scenes, we lose sight of him altogether. Parry continues,

This dialogue in the first scene is merely a substitute for a regular prologue, and was adopted, probably word for word, from the Perinthia. We do not know why Terence should have left the character of Sosia so otiose as it now is; but we may probably say that he took the scene as he found it in Menander, and let it stand as the prologue to his play, without troubling himself about the consistencies which his commentators are so anxious to observe for him.120

On the other hand, Fields121 has an explanation for the introduction of Sosia: "The presence of Sosia serves merely to prevent a monologue. Since Sosia is a protatic character and disappears at the end of the scene, Simo's request for assistance is purely an artificial motivation for the conveying of essential information to the audience."121 In a foot-note Fields further elucidates on such motivation which he attributes to the originality of Terence.

This motivation may, with considerable probability, be attributed to Terence himself, rather than to Menander, since according to Donatus...Terence substituted Sosia for the uxor in Menander's Perinthia. One may doubt whether the same motivation would be applicable there, especially since the uxor would be expected to be conversant, at least to a certain extent, with the situation. 122

120 Parry, pp. 17-18, footnote 140-144
121 Fields, footnote 1, p. 108
122 ibid., pp. 156-157
An immediate variation which we notice in form is the lack of expose of plot in the prologue, but Terence interposes after the prologue a lengthy interjection of plot circumstances in verses 28 to 171 of Act I. In this opening scene, Terence employs as his model the dialogue scene from Menander's Περιγεία, rather than the monologue from Menander's Αυδρία, realizing that the latter would have been too tiring and dull to the Roman hearers. "Donatus is authority for the statement that the whole of the first scene of Terence's Ανδρία was taken from the Περιγεία."123 The monologue, according to Donatus, is said by an old man, but in the Περιγεία, an elderly gentleman converses with his wife.

**PLOT AND STRUCTURE OF THE ANDRIA**

The Ανδρία takes its name124 from one of its characters, who is a native of "Αυδρία, an island in the Cyclades group. Hence ἡ Αυδρία, "The Andrian Woman". The story for this play is adapted from both the Αυδρία and the Περιγεία of Menander. The play seems to abound in love adventure. The origin of love is the setting in which Pamphilus finds himself when his friends drag him to Chrysis' house in search of pleasure for themselves.

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123 Ashmore, p. 7, notes
124 "This play, like that of our author, took its name from the Isle of Andros, one of the Cyclades in the Aegean Sea, where Glycerium is supposed to have been born", Henry Thomas Riley, *The Comedies of Terence*, (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1877), p. 7, footnote 2
While there, this young man falls in love with the young girl whom Chrysis is raising. Other love elements evidenced are found in the scenes wherein the father threatens both Pamphilus and his slave with immediate marriage, to test his son's feelings. At this very beginning, Terence introduces subtlety. Then, when Davus persuades Pamphilus to accept his father's proposal, not only does the plot thicken, but it becomes more subtle. Terence goes beyond the characterization of the unhappy father in Menander's version, in making Simo more sincerely grieved at the thought that his son is deceiving him. The very peak of subtlety is reached when Simo refuses to believe Glycerium has actually given birth to a child, but attributes the incident and disbelief to the fact that the courtesan and Davus must have "cooked" up the story. In the lines 9-10: "Menander fecit Andriam et Perinthiam. qui utramvis recte novit ambas noverit," we are told that Menander was the author of both the "Lady of Andros" and the "Lady of Perinthus." Know one play and you'll know both. Though they are not very different in plot, there is a difference in the sentiment and style.

Characters in the Andria are typical of stock players in New Comedy. They include: Simo, an old gentleman of Athens; Sosia, freedman of Simo; Davus, slave of Simo and Pamphilus; Mysis, maid of Glycerium; Pamphilus, son of Simo, in love with

125 Perinthus, a town of Thrace, from which the lady came
Glycerium; Charinus, friend of Pamphilus, in love with Philumen; Byrria, slave of Charinus; Lesbia, a midwife; Chremes, father of Philumen and Glycerium; Crito, an old gentleman of Andros; Dromo, slave of Simo. The Lady of Andros herself a "Muta Persona", is Glycerium.

These characters are scattered and woven into the plot, usual and peculiar to New Comedy, a plot of mistaken identity and recognition. Terence, however, has introduced into this old theme some "refreshingly new variations", as George E. Duckworth of Princeton has termed the expression in his two-volumed edition of The Complete Roman Drama, printed in 1942. This editor also states that "The better acquainted one is with the stock situations and characters of Roman Comedy, the more amusing these innovations are."126

The plot of the Andria is not original; like most of the Roman comedies, it is one of mistaken identity and recognition. Terence, however, introduces some variations: (1) it is the father, Simo, who attempts to trick his son and slave—usually, the father is the butt of the son's and his slave's jokes and treachery; (2) the plans and suggestion of Davus, the slave, merely get his master into further trouble; (3) Simo deceives himself by refusing to accept the truth. Terence in this

instance, makes use of characters speaking to those inside and off-stage. Simo again deceives himself in the last act, and punishes Davus for telling the truth. This role of Davus adds humor to the play. Two other innovations include (4) the arrival of Crito and the recognition of Glycerium, both actions unexpected. Davus had rejected the possibility earlier in the play that Glycerium might be a free-born Athenian; (5) Terence introduces for the first time an element of note, which makes the young lady in question, Philumena, a marriageable young Athenian woman of good family, the object of a young man's longing love. It was customary for the loved one to be foreign, a courtesan, or a girl reared in humble means.

In the light of these innovations, which were already evidenced in his first play, we may argue that Terence was striving to present the customary comic plot with new and interesting variations. In the Andria, the denouement of the plot turns upon the previous history of Glycerium. Chremes and Phania were brothers, two Athenian citizens. When Chremes voyaged to Asia at one time, he left his daughter Pasibula with Phania, who left Greece also during a war. Overtaken by storm and shipwrecked, Phania and Pasibula landed on Andros, and there became a client to a citizen, who adopted Pasibula and called her Glycerium when Phania died. This citizen also had a daughter Chrysis, who took Glycerium with her to Athens when the father died. There, Chrysis became a courtesan, making a better livelihood than at
simple living. Many young men congregated at the home of Chrysis, among whom was Pamphilus. He fell in love with Glycerium, promising her marriage. But Chremes planned with Simo, Pamphilus' father, to have Pamphilus marry his second daughter Philumenia. At the funeral of Chrysis, Pamphilus reveals his true self, when he grasps Glycerium from the funeral pyre; his reputation had been unscathed before this incident. Chremes breaks off the engagement to his other daughter, and Simo plans again to have his son marry. It is his intention to frighten Pamphilus into revealing his associations with Glycerium, by insisting the wedding be performed that very day. At this point in the plot, the action of the play commences. Davus decides that Pamphilus should accept, discovering the marriage was a pretence. After Mysis, servant of Blycerium, arrives on the stage, events occur including a by-plot which result in such an imbroglio, that the climax is soon reached.

Simo is startled to see that his son Pamphilus cares dearly for Glycerium, supposedly the sister of a professional courtesan, especially at a time when Chremes had offered his daughter Philumenia in marriage to Pamphilus. Though Chremes demands that the engagement be severed, when he learns of the actions of Pamphilus, Simo persists—indeed, he advances the day of the betrothal to test his son's compliance. Davus, the personal slave of Pamphilus, contrives to save the day, but contrary to the cunning artistry of his character role in previous plays, he
is capsized in his own canoe, and cast into chains. Again Chremes consents to the marriage at the earnest insistence of Simo, but breaks off the match at the news that Glycerium has given birth to a child. He later learns, much to his surprise, that Glycerium is his own daughter, and giving her a dowry, presents her with pleasure to Pamphilus. His other daughter he grants to Charinus.

OTHER VARIATIONS IN THE ANDRIA

Besides the variations which we noted—(1) Terence's neglect in previewing the plot in the prologue; (2) use of the slave instead of the man's wife in the opening discourse; (3) opening with a dialogue instead of a soliloquy, as in Menander's 'Avōpīg—there are other variations worthy of mention. Simo, unlike fathers in standard comedy type, is duped by his son's slave, but conversely attempts to trick both his son and the youth's slave by feigning an imminent marriage on that very day. We note, also, that Davus is not the clever slave of standard comedy: instead of assisting Pamphilus, he further complicates his master's life. Yet, Terence retains the intimation that Davus may cook up a scheme, which Simo expects may happen, in the lines 159-160:

simul sceleratus Davos si quid consili habet, ut consumat nunc quom nil obsint doli;

Again in lines 196-200 Simo, still suspecting some source of mischief, warns Davus: "If I find you today attempting any
trick in this marriage to prevent its coming off, or wanting to show how clever you are in the affair, I'll have you lashed and thrown into the mill until you die, on this condition and with this assurance that, if I let you out, I will grind in your place."127

127 si sensero hodie quicquam in his te nuptiis fallaciae conari quo fiant minus, aut velle in ea re ostendi quam sis callidus, verberibus caesum te in pistrinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem, ea lege atque omine ut, si te inde exemerim, ego pro te molam.
CHAPTER V

PARALLELS IN MENANDER

Donatus discusses the title of the Andria, as mentioned in the thesis previously, stating that the play was referred to as the Andria Terenti "ob incognitum adhuc nomen poetae et minoris apud populum auctoritatis ac menti." "The 'Perinthia' of Menander furnishes us with only two fragments capable of being identified with Terence. The first scene was transferred, almost word for word, to the Andria of Terence." Allinson, in a lengthy footnote, explains the similarity and non-similarity between Menander's Περίνθια and Terence's Andria, maintaining that in other details Terence's Andria followed more closely the 'Avōría of Menander. Thus, the preparations for torturing Davus by fire in the Περίνθια are much toned down in Terence, and the bibulous midwife in Menander's 'Avōría proved to be better than her reputation, as is the case with Terence's Lesbia in verses 228 and following and 481 and following.

But this may have been the same also in the missing sequel of the "Perinthia". The more recently discovered fragments (Ox.

128 Lemaire titles discussion of this chapter in words asserting the fact that Terence employed more than Menander as a background. Lemaire's title is "Loca Menandri et Apollo-

129 See pages 67-68
130 Wessner, p. 36
131 Parry, p. 491
vol. VI. p. 150 ff.) give a scene of some twenty lines, nearly intact, supplementing the nine short fragments previously known. Of these latter, three must certainly precede the longer fragment; the order of the others is uncertain. 132

Yet, in the lines preserved no mention is made of the girl from Perinthus, whose name, like that of the Samian girl, gives the title to the Comedy.

It may be inferred, however, that in Perinthus, the city on the Propontis, the girl had been left as a child and that her real Athenian provenance was ultimately discovered by some happy accident, as in the case of the girl from Andros, or in that of the Samian girl. 133

Allinson says that the vivid scene where the slave is threatened with burning throws rather a lurid light on the power of the master over the slaves, even though the actual burning is not consummated, but,

...even if it was the master's intent merely to frighten his erring slave, Davus gives no intimation that Laches is exceeding his rights. No parallel exists in Greek Comedy except the threatened holocaust of Mnesilochus—a free man!—in the "Thesmophoriazusae" of Aristophanes. Terence ("Andria", 860) tones this down to ordinary torture and fetters, probably following Menander's "Andria". 134

In verse 37

fecit ex servo ut esses libertus mihi

there is a similarity with the Greek words

'Εψώ σε δοῦλον ὄντ' ἔθηκ' ἐλεύθερον

meaning, "you were my slave and I made you my freedman". At

132 Allinson, pp. 420-422
133 ibid.
134 ibid.
Athens manumitted slaves were liable to prosecution by their former masters if they neglected their duties, duties to their owners, who became to those manumitted προστάται. Verses 43-44 continue this "slave" question in "Your recounting the circumstances looks like a reproach for ingratitude." 135 Riley explains this "reproach" by saying, "Among the Greeks (whose manners and sentiments are supposed to be depicted in this Play) it was a maxim that he who did a kindness should forget it, while he who received it, should keep it in memory." 136 Sosia in this passage feels uneasy and as if scolded by his master. Verse 88 has the expression symbolam dedit, "he paid the scot. 137 Συμβολή is that which the contributors paid at a feast, which was called in Greek δεῖπνον ἀπὸ συμβολῶν. In verses 106 and following, Terence makes Simo follow the corpse of the funeral. Usually, according to the Athenian custom, the men preceded the corpse, and the women followed it. The purpose of placing Simo near the women is an artful method of the possibility of Simo's noticing Pamphilus' actions toward Glycerium. This whole scene of the funeral connotes a translation from the Greek, in custom, style, idiomatic phraseology, and tone. Cicero used the scene as exemplary for his discussion on the meaning of brevity. He says, (De Oratore 2.326-329):

135 John Sargeaunt, ed. and tr. Terence, (London, W. Heinemann, 1912), Loeb Classical Library, p. 9
137 See Ashmore, p. 14, notes
...but if brevity means employing only the absolutely essential minimum of words, this is required occasionally, but often it is actually very detrimental in stating the facts of the case, not only because it causes obscurity but also because it does away with a quality that is the greatest merit in narrative, that of entertaining and convincing. Let people consider the passage beginning: 'For ever since the day he came of age...' what a long story it is! The young man's own character, the slave's inquiry, the death of Chrysis, her sister's face and figure and her mourning, and all the rest of it--all agreeably narrated in every variety of style! Whereas if he had really sought for brevity in this style: 'The funeral--we start, we reach the tomb. The corpse is placed upon the pyre--.' although the actual phrase 'The funeral--we start,' though very concise, nevertheless achieves not brevity but rather grace of style. Supposing it had merely run 'She was placed on the pyre', the whole of the facts could have been easily understood nevertheless; but the narrative gains liveliness when it brings in several characters and is broken up with speeches, and also one's statement of what took place is both more convincing when one explains how it was done and much clearer to understand if occasionally a halt is called and the story does not run right on with that curt brevity. 138

Colman makes reference to Cicero's favorable comments in his

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Commentary on Terence's works, in a footnote on pages 10-11.

Verse 136 flens quam familiariter, is possibly a verbal translation of Menander's fragment 543, which used ὀίχεῖως, familiariter, literally "like one of the household", or "intimately". Cicero's quotation from verse 185 (Ad. Att. 13.34):

de quo quae fama sit scribes:
Id populus curat scilicet!
Non me hercule arbitror.

portrays the ridicule of Davus, that scilicet, ironically, "the whole town is interested, no doubt!" Verses 217-218 bring out the force of frequent instances of paronomasia in the amantium

...amantium:

audireque eorum operae pretium audaci
nam inceptiost amantium, haud amantium:

A jingle is intended in the resemblance, both in pronunciation and meaning: "mad persons" being "lovers". This passage has a resemblance to fragment 48 K of Menander:

τὸ ὤφραν ἐπισκεῖ
ἀπασιν, ὦς ἔοικε, καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγως
καὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἔχουσιν.

"Love darkens counsel, as it seems for all—both for the reasonable and the ill-advised alike." Verse 297 "hanc mihi (or just mi) in manum dat" that she joined their hands, depicts the way Terence speaks at times, in general terms, rather than introducing a technical Roman law, which would not suit the Greek coloring in the play. Verse 309 has its bearing in many Greek authors, not Menander alone.
facile omnes quom valemus recta consilia aegrotis damus.

passages from other Greek authors include:

Sophocles' (Trach. 729):

τοιαῦτα δ' ἄν λέξεις ὦν ό τοῦ κακοῦ κοινωνός, ἀλλ' ὦ μὴ δὲν ἐστὶ' οἴκοις θαρύ.

Aeschylus' (Prom Vinct. 263-265):

εἰλαφρόν δοσίς πεμάτων εἷς πόδα
ἐξει παρανεῖν νουθετεῖν τε τὸν κακῶς πρασσοντ'.

Shakespeare's (Much Ado About Nothing, V.1):

...'tis all men's office to speak patience
To those that wring under the load of sorrow,
But no man's virtue nor sufficiency,
To be so moral when he shall endure
The like himself.

This passage from Ashmore, page 33 of the notes, brings out quite forcefully the Greek intention, as also expressed in Euripides' Alcestis, 1078 and Aeschulus' Prometheus, 263. A Latin expression is equivalent: "When you're well, it's easy to give sound advice to a sick man."

Terence's verses 228-229

audivi, Archylis, iamdudum: Lesbiam adduci iubes.
sane pol illa temulentast mulier et temeraria.

has a force in the Greek of Menander, (fragment 397 Κ):

οὔδεμίαν ἢ γραῦς ὠλως
χόλικα παρῆκεν, ἀλλ' πίνει τὴν χύλῳ.
"The old hag never misses a goblet but drinks as it circles round." This old servant of the Νερίγεια has its counterpart in Terence.

Mysis, the name for the corresponding speaker in Terence, suggests an imported maid more nearly suited, geographically, to Perinthus than to Andros. Mysis, however, as a proper name in Menander is only conjectural. Terence occasionally retained a name—Davus, for example, in this play—and changed others.139

After a quarter hour has elapsed, two characters enter, Charinus and Byrrha, who were not portrayed in Menander, but were added to Terence's play, lest Philumena be left without a husband when Pamphilus married Glycerium, as Donatus informs in saying: "has personas Terentius addidit fabulae,—nam non sunt apud Menandrum,—ne πατηνίχον fierat Philumenam spretam relinquere sine sponso, Pamphilo aliam ducente."140

The Andria, verses 368-369, has a direct content of a similar passage in Menander, fragment 398 K:

τὸ παιδίον ὁ ἐρωτάειν ἡμίτοις Ϝέρον
(ὀβολοῦ.)

"The slave went in, carrying two-pennyworth of small boiled fishes." The Latin play by the same token, has Davus suspecting that no wedding is really under way. Note, as suggestive of the Greek prototype, Terence's use of the word obolo, "an obol's worth". The obulus was the smallest Greek coin, purchasing

139 Allinson, pp. 422-423, footnote 2
140 Wessner, p. 118
in this passage, "little fish", food of the poorer classes; *mena*, common Roman food. The Latin reads:

...etiam puerum inde abiens conveni Chremi:

holera et piscicullos minutos ferre obolo in cenam seni.

"What's more, as I came away, I met a servant of Chremes; he was bringing a bare three half penny of greens and sprats for the old gentleman's dinner." Lemaire says concerning the *holera et piscicullos*: "Menandri verba e Perinthia huc pertinentia, quae ab Athenaeo libr. VII, Deipnosophist. referuntur:

τὸ παιδίον ὅ εἰσὶν ἐκεῖνον ἔμπιστος φέρον.

In verse 406 Terence depicts the "high-brows", as in Menander's "eyebrow-lifters", who claim that solitude ministers to invention (fragment 39 K):

εὐρετικὸν εἶναι φασι τὴν ἐρωμίαν

οἱ τὰς ὄρους αἱροῦτες.

Verses 407-409 follow out this thought of the Greek in:

venit meditatus alicunde ex solo loco:
orationem sperat invenisse se
qui differat te:

"He has been away in some lonely spot chewing it by himself and hopes he has concocted some tragedy speech to make tatters of you." Waddell refers this expression of solitude to J.A. Symonds' words: "The desert is the mother of discovery, say *superciliius* sages." Verse 427 carries a proverbial expression:

omnis sibi malle melius esse quam alteri,
a close imitation of Euripides Medea, 84:

\[ \text{ως πας αυτων τοο κελς μαλλον φιλει.} \]

As a part of Lesbia's description are verses 483-485:

\[ \text{nunc primum fac ista ut lavet; post deinde, quod iussi ei dare bibere et quantum imperavi, date;} \]

These verses are similar to those of Menander's fragments 41 K and 42 K:

\[ \ldots \lambdaωσατ' αυτην αυτικα \ldots \]
\[ \kappaαι τεττάρων ών μετα τουτο, μελέτη, το νεπτίον. \]

"give her a bath forthwith... ... ... and after that, my dear, the yolks of four eggs." Donatus' comments about these verses explains the custom of writers in using the words fac ista ut lavet:

'Nunc primum fac ista ut lavet' imperitiae notantes Menandrum aut Terentium ipsi ulter imperiti inveniuntur, nam et ille 'λωσατ' αυτην' dicens a consuetudine non recessit, cum lauisse se aut non lauisse a parte totum significantes, et Terentius proprius ad significationem accessit 'ista' dicendo, ne pudenda nominaret.\(^{141}\)

Verse 555:

amantium irae amoris integratiost

is expressed with the sentiment of Menander:

\[ \text{ὁργη χιλιοντων ολιγου ισχιει χρόνου.} \]

\(^{141}\) Wessner, p. 164
"But there is no necessity for imagining that Terence borrowed from any one. The idea is taken from common life, and Terence's expression has all the terseness of an original suggestion."\textsuperscript{142}

In verse 592, *quidnam audio*, Donatus suggests the verb should read: *audiam*; "Menander enim sic ait 'τι τοι' ἀκούσαμαι?"\textsuperscript{143}

In verses 804-805, in answer to the question of Crito:

*quid vos? quo pacto hic? satine recte?*

Mysis answers:

...nosne? sic:

ut quimus, aiunt, quando ut volumus non licet.

With this passage is justly compared the fragment of Menander:

*Ζῷεν γὰρ οὐχ ὡς θέλομεν ἄλλ' ὡς δύναμεν.* (50 K)

"We live, not as we want to, but as we can." Waddell refers this passage to "Proverbial philosophy older than Menander:

cf. Plat. *Hipp. Mai.* 301 C

*οὐχ οἷα βούλεται τις...*

*ἄλλ' οἷα δύναται:*

cf. also fr. 930, 325, Herodas II. 9

*καὶ ζῷεν, οὐχ ὡς βουλόμεθα ἄλλ' ὡς τιμέας*

*ὁ καὶ ροξ ἔλκει*.\textsuperscript{144}

Verse 919:

*sic, Crito, est hic; mitte*

\textsuperscript{142} Crowell, p. 164
\textsuperscript{143} Wessner, p. 184
\textsuperscript{144} Waddell, p. 126, note 2
Donatus says: *hic Chremes traducit illum ab iracundia dicendo sic eum esse, Menander 'οὕτως αὐτός ἐστιν.' Et recte, quia naturae ignoscitur, voluntati non.*

Verses 959-961 of the *Andria* Donatus says are entirely from Menander's Ἐὐνόοχος, lost.

> ego deorum vitam eapropter sempiternam esse arbitror quod voluptates eorum propriae sunt; nam mi immortalitas partast si nulla aegritudo huic gaudio intercesserit.

The Greek reads:

> οὐχ ἐκ ἰσοῦ τὰ πράγματ' οἱ θεοὶ σφίσιν
> αὐτοῖς τ' ἐνειμαν καὶ βροτοῖς. ἀλλ' αὐτίκα
> αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐνες θεάνατοι καὶ κύριοι
> ἀπαξαπάντων θεανάτως τὰς ἡδονὰς
> ἔχουσιν.

Not share and share alike the gods have parcelled out Men's circumstances and their own. For instance, they, Being themselves immortal, overlords of all And everything, have pleasures endless evermore.

Dreams reflect the zealous pursuits of the daytime in verse 971 of Terence's *Andria*:

> num ille somniat ea quae vigilans voluit?

Fragment 734 in the Greek:

> 'Α γάρ μεθ' ἡμέραν τις υπερεπούδασε, ταῦτ' εἶδε νύκτωρ.

145 Wessner, p. 250
146 Allinson, pp. 354-355
In addition to these more express quotations we have a number of less striking instances, consisting of short phrases or mere allusions, gathered from notes of Donatus and Eugraphius. Such are: verse 27, prius, similar to ἃττον, "sooner", "rather", Ἐπιτρέποντες of Menander, 154; verse 38, a parvolo, ἐκ παιδός, "from a child", and in English the abstract form "from boyhood". This phrase is used also in Adelphoe, verse 48 and verse 494 in the form a pueris; again in the Andria the form a parvis is used. Verse 38 has also the form servibas for serviebas, used in an expression found in Menander's fragments compiled by Meineke, in Frag. Com. Graec. IV, p. 293:

ἐλευθέρως δούλευε· δοῦλος οὐκ ἔσει.

Verse 51:

nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis,

has in Greek:

ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ ἐφήβων.

"As soon as my son is grown up, referring to the ἐφήβοι, the young men at Athens between eighteen and twenty years of age, who were employed at home in the military service as περίπολοι, and then sent into foreign service. Verse 55 has a colloquial expression, plerique omnes, found in the Greek πλείονες πάντες, "almost all", and used frequently in English also. This expression is found in Terence's Heauton Timorumenos and in the Phormio as well. The magister of verse 54 was well-known as the
παίδαγγώς, the slave in charge of the boy on the road to learning. Verse 61 has one of three proverbs inscribed in golden letters in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. This proverb here used is ut ne quid nimis, the μηδέν ἄγαν of Greek, and the rien de trop, of French version, ascribed by some to Pittacus, to Solon, Pythagoras, and by Aristotle to Chilon. Verse 71 uses cognatorum, not in the strict sense as applied by Roman law, but as a translation of the Greek ἄγγελετς, or nearest (unmarried) kinsman, whose duty it was, by Athenian law, either to marry an orphan girl or provide her with a dowry. Verse 86 uses teneo, like μανθάνω, understand. Verse 117, ecfertur, "the body was brought out", has a similarity in Aristophanes R. v. 170:

ἐκφέροσθι τούτοις νεκρὸν.

The illae lacrumae of verse 126 is a proverbial expression, used by Horace, in his Epistles, by Cicero in his Oratio pro Caelio, in the form of Illa ľst misericordia, and in the Greek as Ἡ γαθή for Ἡ γαθή. Peregrinam of verse 146 denoted a foreign woman, by whom was denoted a courtesan, by both the Greek and the Latin writers. The expression of verse 164, mala mens, malus animus is common to the Greek:

147 See Crowell, p. 147
and also in Aristophanes' *Pax*, 1068:

\[ \delta\nu \delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \psi\omicron\nu\chi\omicron\iota, \ \delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\lambda\iota \ \varphi\acute{e}v\epsilon. \]

Verse 188, "...hic dies aliam vitam defert", "today introduces a different life" is similar to the Greek:

\[ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \beta\omicron\omicron\varsigma \ , \ \alpha\lambda\lambda\iota \ \delta\iota\acute{a}i\tau\alpha. \]

Verse 204, *nil me fallis*, reads in Greek:

\[ \nu\nu\nu \ \delta\acute{e} \ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\upsilon \ \lambda\epsilon\lambda\eta\theta\acute{a} \ \mu\epsilon. \]

Verse 205, *ne temere facias*, "Don't do anything rash"; or *neque haud dicas*, "and be sure you do not say", are examples of litotes, of the force of two negatives strengthening each other as, for example: \( \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon \ \mu\acute{n}. \) Ashmore states that this expression was not only idiomatic to Greek; it was characteristic of the \( \kappa\omicron\iota\nu\varsigma \), yes, but also of the *sermo plebius*, and in turn, of the Romance languages. The *primum* of verse 211 has the force of the Greek \( \pi\varrho\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon \ \mu\acute{e} \nu. \) Verse 219, *tollere*, brings forth the custom prevalent to both the Greek and Romans of "raising" the child to signify acceptance on the part of the father; *liberos tollere*: "to bring up", "to rear", as in the Greek: \( \tau\acute{e}v\upsilon\alpha \ \lambda\nu\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{e}\acute{a} \). Verse 307, *id velis quod possit*, in the Greek is found in Epictetus' *Enchir.* caput 8:

149 Meineke Fragment *'Avôpīκa III*: \( \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\upsilon \ \mu\epsilon \ \mu\acute{a}v\theta\acute{a}\acute{a}v\omicron\upsilon\acute{e}c \ \acute{a}v
Hercule certo of verse 347 has in Greek, πάνυ σφόδρα, "I'm sure". Verse 382: dictum ac factum "no sooner said than done"; id est "straightway" or "without delay", the same as the Greek ἀμὴ ἔφυκ ἀμὴ ἔφυγον. Homer uses the phrase in: ἀνθέε ἔτεε ἀμὴ μνήθος ἕνω ἐτεύληστο ἐκ ἔφυγον. Verse 416, em serva, and also in the Adelphoe, verse 173 has in Greek σόκω. Sophocles uses the same expression in the words τοιγαρωθυν σόκων. Verse 423 Donatus commented "uxore excidit quod Graeci dicunt 'ἀπέτυχεν'. " The Greek for this passage is similar in Aeschylus' From. 756:

πρὶν ἄν ζεῦς ἔκτεσθ ς Τυραννίδος

Verse 426 has the word verbum, referring in meaning to the Greek "proverb", "saying" λόγος. This meaning is also present in the Eunuchus, 732, and the Adelphoe, 803. In verse 451 drachumis...decem we notice the use of the epenthetic vowel, which was necessitated in the Latin equivalent to certain Greek consonantal combinations which the Romans could not easily pronounce, as drachumis, drachuma from ὀραχυή; Alcumena from

150 Iliad, XIX, 242
151 Electra, 1257
152 Wessner, p. 148
The Attic drachma was a silver coin worth in value about 93/4 d. of English money. Verse 473 in the words Juno Lucina, there is reference to the Greek Artemis, we know that Greek comic writers as well as the Latin playwrights called upon their deities. Since the deity was so familiar to the audiences at large, Terence employs Roman proprieties of speech rather than the Greek. As customary after childbirth the lady was bathed: nunc primum fac ista ut lavet, as discussed previously\textsuperscript{153}, from Menander's 

\textit{λούσατ' γυνὴν τάξιστα.} Verse 538 is a typical example of idiomatic usage, \textit{per te deos oro, πρός σε τῶν θεῶν.} Euripides has it in his Phoenissae, 1666:

\begin{quote}
\textit{ναι πρός σε τήσθε υπτρόκ \textit{Τρακάτης κρέον},}
\end{quote}

and in the Medea, 325:

\begin{quote}
\textit{μὴ πρός σε γονάτων τῆς τε νεογαμου κόρης.}
\end{quote}

There are many other parallel passages in Latin poets similar to verse 538. Verse 555 we have noted before this discussion, and which is Menander's fragment 797 K. In Latin the words are \textit{amantium irae amoris integratio est.} "But there seems no necessity at all for imagining that Terence borrowed from any one. The idea is borrowed from ordinary life, and Terence's expression has all the terseness of an original

\textsuperscript{153} See p. 95.

\textsuperscript{154} ὅργῳ φιλούντων ὀλίγῳ ἰσχύει χρόνον.
suggestion." Verses 600 and following allude to judicial practice in Athens, requiring the condemned to fix their own punishment. But such a practice may be answerable by what may occur in real life. Verse 622, *sine paululum ad me redeam, "return to my senses", or "become myself again", is found in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, 1.5.17: ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔγένετο. "Ut malis gaudeant" is the ἐπίχαρε ἔχοι of the Greeks. Verse 658

Scio: tu coactus tua voluntate es

"Of course, you were forced into it by your own choice", has a similarity in Homer. Scio is used ironically, also in verse 838, as well as the word *audio* in verse 552.

The question asked in verse 582 "why isn't the bride sent for?" is discussed by Riley, when he describes the marriage customs of the Greeks.

Among the Greeks the bride was conducted by the bridegroom at nightfall from her father's house, in a chariot drawn by a pair of mules or oxen, and escorted by persons carrying the nuptial torches. Among the Romans, she proceeded in the evening to the bridegroom's house; preceded by a boy carrying a torch of white thorn, or, according to some, of pinewood. To this custom reference is indirectly made in the present passage.

Another question is asked in verse 622: "quid meritu's?"

"What do you deserve?" This question is taken from Athenian custom which never condemned a criminal without first asking

155 This quotation found elsewhere in this thesis, p. 96.
156 Iliad, IV. 43: ἐκὼν δέχοντι γε θυμῶ.
him what punishment he thought he deserved, is based on the answer, the sentence either being mitigated or increased in severity. Commentators quote this passage from the Frogs of Aristophanes. Verse 771 employs an expression which is quite revealing: "...vidi Cantharam suffarcinatum", meaning "I saw Canthara with a bundle under her cloak", a trick, common to Greeks, of nurses and midwives secretly bringing supposititious children. Also, in this same verse, aliquot...liberae explains the Roman Law which required at least five women of free birth to establish the legitimacy of the birth of a child. In a previous verse, 682, the words concrepuit...ostium are explained by Crowell: "The doors in Greece opened outwards, and those who were coming out rapped upon the door inside to warn passers-by. Those who knocked from without were said pultare."\textsuperscript{158}

Verse 716,

nilne esse proprium quoiquam!

expresses the thought "can we never feel sure that any thing will remain constant to us?" proprium taking on the meaning "constant" in this case. \textsuperscript{159} Menander's Monostichoi, 655 : 

\begin{verbatim}
βεβαίων οὐδὲν ἐν ἄλλῳ ὄντως πέλειν.
\end{verbatim}

Also, Horace, Epist., 2.2.172, tamquam sit proprium quicquam.

\textsuperscript{158} Crowell, p. 168
\textsuperscript{159} Meineke, volume IV, p. 359
Verse 726

ex ara hinc sume verbenas tibi

is evidenced in Menander's:

ex δ' ἐστίςς σοι μυρίνας ἔχεις. Δικτύγνης.

Verses 780-782 bring forcefully to the audience the laws of Athens, compelling one who seduced a free-born maiden to marry her. The law ran:

’Η βιαστεῖσα ἡ γάμον ἡ θάνατον
αἴρεισθε τοῦ βιασαγένου.160

Verse 796 shows the shortened vowel form in a word, platea, from ἡ πλατεῖα δότη, shortened because of a change in accent. Verse 803, perdidit, ἀπέλευσ, is the strongest word Mysis could have expressed to portray her grief caused by the death of Chrysis and the dire result of the meeting of Glycerium and Pamphilus. Verse 805, "we live as we can, since it is not permitted to do so as we wish," has been discussed in the opening views of this chapter, but now let us discuss the use of the word aiunt. "As they say" signifies "as the proverb goes," and this verse is an allusion to a line of Caecilius (which is itself imitated from an already existant Greek proverb.) The gentle expression of gratitude, on the part of Terence to Caecilius, for having recommended his play for exhibition, is noted in this greatest

160 Crowell, p. 170
of all compliments, namely, imitation. The word *sycophantam* of verse 815 and *sycophanta* of verse 919 (where it has the meaning of "swindler"), in general represents a knave, and was always thus used in Latin comedy. The original meaning is evidenced in Aristophanes, *Plut.* v. 31:

ἐξαλούντο σὺν συκοφάνται ὡς τὰ σῦξα φαίνοντες,

referring to prosecutions instituted against those who robbed fig-trees or exported figs, or probably only so-named as means of explanation. Also the Greek of Aristophanes' *Acharn.* 557-559 noting the words πτωχὸς and συκοφάντης:

'Αληθές, ὦ 'πίτριτε καὶ μιαρώτατε;

ταύτι σοὶ τολμᾷς πτωχὸς ὡν ἦμας λέγειν,

καὶ συκοφάντας εἰ τις ἦν, ὄνειδισας;

Also, in verse 919, "sic, Crito, hic est," "That's his way, Crito", as in the Ἀνέρία,ΧΙ:οὗτως αὐτός ἐστι.

Dromo, of verse 860, is the ἄρομων of Greek, strictly a messenger boy, but Terence makes him a lorarius, whose duty it is to punish unruly slaves. Verses 865-866, quadrupedem con-stringito, "bind the slave hand and foot", was usual among Athenians, as customary, to tie criminals, hand and feet to one another, like a calf. Verses 889-892 present a very touching family atmosphere, original in Terence. Pamphilus says: "But, my father!" Simo answers: "Now, my father! As if you wanted me for a father! Home, wife, child you've got against your
father's wishes! Even witnesses, to say that she's a citizen. Have it your way!" Verse 920 brings an interesting twist in

\[ \text{si mihi perget quae volt dicere,} \]
\[ \text{ea quae non volt audiet.} \]

"If he persists in saying just what he likes, he'll hear what he doesn't like." Alcaeus\(^1\): \[ \alpha' \epsilon^\prime \pi \epsilon^\prime \tau \delta \theta \varepsilon \varepsilon_{1} \iota \nu \eta \chi \varepsilon \nu \\alpha \kappa \omicron \omicron \sigma \alpha \varsigma \tau \kappa \chi \nu \omega \omicron \theta \epsilon \lambda \sigma \omicron \iota \varsigma \] This expression is familiar also in Euripides\(^2\). In the last act, verse 955, the slave is bound non recte, in a way stated as a pun, since if he is bound hand and foot, he's not upright, and Pamphilus says it is not a "right" punishment. This punning on the part of the old man as he laughs haud ita iussi, shows he has reconciled himself to the turn of events.

Verses 959-960

\[ \text{Ego Deorum vitam eapropter sempiternam esse arbitrator} \]
\[ \text{quod voluptates eorum propriae sunt} \]

"I think that the life of the gods is eternal, because their joys are their own." This doctrine is Epicurean, and the whole sentence, according to Donatus, is copied from the Eunuch of Menander. Donatus says, "...hanc sententiam totam Menandri de Eunucho transtulit."\(^3\) Verse 973 is a familiar expression:

salus es quem diligant di

"Rest easy about him; he is the happiest of all—whom the gods

\(^{1}\) Bergk. Anth. Lyr. ed. 2. p. 385
\(^{2}\) ALC. 704-705
\(^{3}\) Donatus shows that Terence knew more than one of Menander's plays in this quotation.
love", the favorite theme of showing heaven's "favorite son". Menander's: ον οι θεοι φιλοσφιν ἀποθνήσκει νέον.

SECOND ENDING

After verse 976 begins what has been known as the Second Ending to the Andria, but Ashmore does not believe the second ending possesses sufficient connection with the preceding verses. Even though it occurs in several manuscripts, the second ending still does not occupy a place in the best codices. Several works discuss the question of the authorship of this ending, namely: Ritschl, Dziatko, K. Braun, Sulpicius Apollinaris, Donatus, Eugraphius, and Fairclough. "The second ending which is supposed to begin after verse 976 was perhaps added later to provide more satisfactorily for the future of Charinus." 164

THE ADELPHOE

Last, and considered the finest play of Terence, the Adelphoe was adapted from Menander's second version of the 'Ἀδελφοί, with contaminatio from the Συμαποθνήσκοντες, "Comrades in Death", of Diphilus. "It is a thoroughly delightful comedy and deserves to rank as Terence's masterpiece." 165

165 ibid., p. 403
A study of human nature and misunderstandings, the Adelphoe becomes involved in plot not by trickery but by the virtues and failings of the characters themselves. Terence treats the subject of opposing educational views, dealing with the relation of father and son and the clash between father's and uncle's ideals of training. Praised as Terence's finest play, this one is a logical sequence of sound reasoning, and is most true to life. "There was a like-named play by six other comic poets: Alexis, the uncle of Menander, Philemon, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Hegesippus, and Euphron. Terence's play, although ascribed in the didascalia wholly to Menander, was indebted in part at least (see Prologue) to the 'Companions in Death' by Diphilus."166

The first scene of Act II is taken from Diphilus' play. Verse 6 mentions Diphilus' "Synapothescontes". Verse 12 uses the term novam, since the play was a new one, never before exhibited.

Verses 43-44

...quod fortunatum isti putant,
uxorem numquam habui.

"O happy me, in that I fail to take a wife!" has the expression found in fragment 1 K: ὥ μακάριον μ' οὗτος γυναῖκι, οὗ λαμβάνω.

Verses 57-58:

pudore et liberalitate liberos
retinere satius esse credo quam metu.

"One ought not to correct a child (merely) by vexing him, but

166 Allinson, p. 313
also by a certain persuasion", found in fragment 730 K:

... ... οὗ λαλοῦντα δεῖ
paideíron óréthun, ἀλλὰ καὶ πείθουντα τί.

Verses 72-73

ille quem beneficio adiungas ex animo facit, studet par referre, praesens absensque idem erit.

"When you link a son to you by kindness, there is sincerity in all his acts, he sets himself to make a return, and will be the same behind your back as to your face" is in Menander's fragment from the Άδέλφοι, fragment III:

Υἱὸς προέθυμως τάξιομένον ποιῶν
κηδεμόνι ἀληθῶς, οὐχ ἐςεδρον ἔξεις βίου

Verses 84-86,

quicquam nec metuit quemquam neque legem putat tenere se ullam

in Menander but found in Priscian's book VIII:

'Ος δ' οὐτ' ἐρυθρίαν οἶδεν, ὡδὲ δεδίεναι,
Τὰ πρῶτα πάσα τῆς ἀναιδείας ἔχει.

"Ashamed of nothing, afraid of nobody, holding himself above the check of the law!"

Verse 98

hominem imperito nunquam quicquam iniquiustus,

"There is nothing more unjust than a man without knowledge of the world", as

οὐχ ἐστι ἀνοίας οὐδέν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δολεῖ, τολμηρότερον
Verse 107, *si esses homo*, sums up Menander's philosophy of life, although its exact form and the attribution to Menander are both doubtful. Verse 197

*minume miror qui insanire occipiunt ex iniura,*

"I don't wonder that outrage drives men into Bedlam." Verse 259, *fratrem homini nemini esse primarum artium magis principem,*

"There isn't a man with a brother such a complete master in every good quality," is

*"Oκ ηδου γ' εν δ'εκληρικ στιν διονοιας έρως*

Fragment 3 K of the Greek:

*ει δ' στιν ουτος την κορην ὁ διεθνορως*

has its bearing on verses 296, 297, 308 of Terence:

296-297:

*quando vitium oblatumst, quod ad illum attinet potissimum, talem, tali ingenio atque animo, natum ex tanta familia."

"It's well the lover was a man like that, such a character and such a good heart, and of such a high family, too".

308:

*quoi miserae indigne per vim vitium obtulerat,"

"of the poor lady whom he had so shamefully and violently outraged".

167 Fragment 761: *"Oκ χαριεν est' ανθρωπος, οταν ανθρωπος η*

"What a charming creature is man when he remembers his humanity!"
Verse 330,
quid iam credas? aut quoi credas?
"What is one to believe any longer? whom can one trust?"
Μὴ πάντα πείρῃ πᾶσι πιστεῦειν ἢ ἕνεκ᾽.

Verse 441, ne is the vai of the Greek; also the Andria, verse 817, ne stands at the beginning of the line, considered as an affirmative particle. Verse 564, Adelphoe, patrissas, from πατρίζειν, "which is, however, mentioned by Priscian alone, and is not found in any Greek writer." 168

Verses 605-607:

omnes, quibus res sunt minus secundae, magis sunt nescio quo modo suspiciousi: ad contumeliam omnia accipiunt magis: propter suam inpotentiam se semper credunt ludier.

is that of Menander's fragment Αδέλφοι, IX:

... πρὸς ἰπαντα δειλὸν ὁ πένης ἐστὶν γὰρ,
καὶ πάντας αὐτὸς λαταφρονεῖν ὑπολαμβάνει.
δὲ γὰρ μετρίως πράττων περισχελέστερον ἰπαντα τάνιαρά, Λαμπρία, φέρει.

The Latin translated, "when people are not so prosperous as they might be, they are always somehow more inclined to take offense, to imagine that a slight is intended. Their want of means always makes them think that you are toying with them." The Greek reads, "for the poor man is craven in everything and has the suspicion that everybody looks down on him."

168 Crowell, p. 189
Verse 610, *animi*, is as old and original in Latin as it was in Greek. Verse 639, *tacet*, gives no answer, as does the Greek:

\[\textit{\text{πολλοῖς ὀπόκρισις ἢ σιωπὴ τυγχάνει.}}\]

Verse 643, *erubuit*: *salva res est*, "He blushed: all's well",

\[\textit{\text{Ἐνεβριῶν πᾶς χρυσός εἶναι, μοι δοκεῖ.}}\]

Verses 671-673:

... ... an sedeere oportuit
Domi virginem tam grandem, dum cognatus hoc illinc veniret exspectantem?

"Was a girl of marriageable age to sit at home and wait for a kinsman to turn up from (thence) Miletus?", is found among all these quotations in Lemaire's discussions of the parallels in Menander and Terence. The many quotations which are not in references of footnotes are those of Lemaire's work of 1827.

\[\textit{\text{Θυγάτηρ ἐπίγμος, κἂν ὄλως μηδὲν λαλῇ,}}\]
\[\textit{διὰ τοῦ σιωπῶν περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει.}}\]

Verse 691, "ten months have passed away". Verse 693:

...dormienti hác tibi confecturos deos?

"Did you think heaven would do your work while you slept?" has

\[\textit{\text{Αὐτόματα γὰρ τὰ πράγματ' ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον \'}}\]
\[\textit{\text{γέι, κἂν καθευδῆσῃ, πάλιν τάναντία.}}\]

Verse 781, *verbero*, has the effect of the *μαστιγία*, of the Greek. "You whip-scoundrel", as a term of abuse, was common to both the Greek and the Latin. The Greek expression is found in
verse 679 of the 'Επιτρέποντες.

Verse 804 has "The Greek proverb (κοινά τὰ τῶν φίλων of fragment 9 K) ... three times in Aristotle, and is quoted by Cicero, De. Off. I.16; De. Leg. I.12, and called illa Pythagorea vox." 169 The verse in Latin reads:

communicia esse amicorum inter se omnia.

"Friends have all things in common."

Verses 866-867:

ego ille agrestis, saevos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax,
duxi uxorem:

"But I, a country gawk, a working man, dour, sour, hot-headed, miserly, have married a wife!" of the fragment 10 K:

'Eγὼ δ' ἄγροιχος, ἐρυμᾶτος, σχυρός, πικρός, φειδωλός.

This statement is also in the Adelphoe as poignantly as in the Greek. Aristophanes expressed the like in the Clouds, 43. In this passage just quoted we have an example of Terence's changing the metre of the original, from which he adopted the Latin, for the trochaic tetrameter probably suited his audience. Latin comic writers preferred longer measures of the Old Comedy to the iambics of Menander.

THE EUNUCHUS

The Eunuchus, again, is a play of the double plot, in which are interwoven the love affairs of two young brothers,
phaedria and Chaerea. In addition to this double plot, Terence presents a more farcical under-plot including the boastful soldier Thraso and the parasite Gnatho, two typical stock characters. The use of this under-plot is criticized severely, since its sequence is unnecessary to the main plot, but it contributes richly in humor, and is another argument for Terence's originality. The author departed from some of the usual comic conventions in making Parmeno less of the rascally intriguing slave and more of the earnest helpful servant. Thraso does not boast of his military prowess, but prides himself upon his wit. Gnatho is not the joke-telling parasite who plagues clients, but rather of the flatterer kind, who is honey to the ears of the conceited soldier.

Gnatho is taken from Menander's character in the Κόλαξ. His methods are also those of the Gnatho in Menander's. The Κόλαξ had been imitated by Naevius and Plautus before Terence used it. Bentley, according to Parry, ejected the name of Naevius from verse 25, reading instead nempe. Bentley maintained that this play of Naevius did not exist, and that if it had been written, Plautus must have pilfered it from Naevius. If Plautus had employed plays of others authors, then, Terence may have used the excuse of employing plays of others, according to Bentley's

170 See Duckworth, op. cit., volume II, p. 252
171 Parry, p. 86, notes
reasoning. Terence clears himself of the charge that he had pilfered from Naevius and Plautus, by stating that if the two characters of Gnatho and Thraso are like those of Naevius and Plautus, they are so by accident. His play is really based upon Menander's Κόλαξ, and Terence was not aware that any Latin version existed. In verses 30 and following, Terence makes specific acknowledgement of his obligation to the play of Menander, especially for the characters of the flatterer-parasite and of the boastful soldier, though he changed the names of the original. In Terence's play, the flatterer is Gnatho, but there are two of them in Menander's: Gnatho and Struthias, both being stock-names of the type. In Terence, the boastful soldier, the braggadocio, is Thraso; in Menander, Bias. Also, for dramatic purposes, Terence introduces another character, Antipho.

Thraso and Gnatho differ from the stock idea of the Bully and the Toady. The grossness of the braggadocio is emphasized in this fragment taken from the Κόλαξ, fragment I:

... ... κοτίλας χωρούν δέκα
ἐν καταδόκια κόνδυ θυρυσοῦν, στρυφία,
τρίς ἐξέπλιον μεστὸν γ' (Στ) Ἀλεξάνδροι πλέον
τοῦ βασιλέως πέπωκας. (Β) οὔν ἔλιπτον, οὔ,
μᾶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶ (Στ) Μέγα χε.

Terence introduces novelty in his Eunuchus, when the master Chaereca himself and not the slave, as was customary, overcomes the hurdle leading to his lady-love: he, himself, becomes the eunuch in disguise to win over the fancy of the beautiful slave.
Fragments of Menander's Εὐνουχὸς are very few. The most lengthy one is found in Persius 172, where it appears that Chae-restratus, Chrysis, and Davus were the names of Terence's characters Phaedria, Thais, and Parmeno. The opening words of the Eunuchus, verse 1, quid igitur faciam? were attributed by Donatus to Menander's: εἴτε τί ποιήσω 173 and without a break in Terence these words should be read: non eam ne nunc quidem. Verse 6,
responsum, non dictum esse, quia laesit prior
is similar to the Olynthia of Menander:
'ὡς οὖχ' ὑπάρχων, ἄλλα τιμωρούμενος.
("If anyone thinks this response is spoken against him), the response is not an attack, but in self-defence, because he attacked first." In verse 33 Terence disclaims all acquaintance with the Latin plays mentioned by other authors of this plot, while he does acknowledge that he drew his characters from the Κόλαξ of Menander. Many a play, then, as now, had a short-loved reputation. Parry's footnote on verse 33 says, "No apology was required, and none is made, for the translation of the Greek originals. The Roman drama made no attempt at originality, and Terence kept closer perhaps than any other to his models." 174

172 Sat. V. 161
173 Meineke conjectures the fragment I of Εὐν: εἴτε τί ποιήσω μὴ προσέλεω μὴ δὲ κῦν, αὐτῆς καλούσιν
174 Parry, p. 86
In verses 24-26, Terence says that Luscius' version of the parasite is one pilfered from an old play of Naevius and Plautus called "The Flatterer". Legrand describes the parasite:

There are some men who wish to be first in everything, but who are not. To these men I attach myself. I do not come to them in order to make them laugh, but I laugh with them on my own accord, and at the same time I admire their cleverness. Whatever they say, I praise it; if they say just the opposite, I also praise it; if they say no, I say no; if they say yes, I say yes. In a word, I have made it a rule to praise everything. This is by far the most profitable business nowadays.

Terence concludes this prologue by claiming his right to use stock characters of drama, saying

...denique
nullumst iam dictum. quod non sit dictum prius
"in fact, nothing is said which was not said before." Verses 76-78:

...ne te adflictces. (Ph.) itane suades? (Pa)si sapis:
neque praeter quam quas ipse amor molestias
habet addas, et illas quas habet recte feras.
"Fight not against the gods nor add to the affair new tempests.
Endure the necessary ones", in fragment II of the Εὐνοῶχος:

Μὴ θεωμαχεῖ, ὑπὸ προούγου τῷ πράγματι
χειμῶνας ἐκέρουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀγαγλιοὺς φέρε

Verse 79, sed eccam ipse egressit, "behold, she's coming out of doors", and as the Greek implies, like a fierce but beautiful goddess, unjust:

175 Legrand, pp. 76-77
Going to the Kolax of Menander, we find two passages bearing traces of Terence: verse 238, a poor acquaintance of the parasite says:

quo redactus sum. omnes noti me atque amici deserunt.

"see what I'm reduced to: all my friends and acquaintances cut me off." Compare this Menandrian fragment VII, Kolax:

'Allo oôde tênntiôn dûnâmai eûreîn ouôdëva
ex tãoi toioÔtôi, kai ãpeîlhmâi ëómoç.

Meineke refers Eunuchus, 497-498:

...(Thr.) quid rides? (Gn.) istuc quod dixti modo;
et illud de Rhodio dictum quom in mentem venit.

"What are you laughing at? (Gn.) Your clencher for him and your repartee to the Rhodian, whenever I think of it." to Menander's fragment II: 176

'Xelôti pôôk tôn Kûprioûn ëkðanouûmeûôç.

Verse 253:

is quaestus nunc est multo uberrimus

according to Lemaire again, is in:

prátei õ' õ Kolax ãriôsta pánûw.

176 Parry refers Euv. 432, to the same Greek fragment: "risu omnes qui aderant emoriri", "The company died of laughter straight off"; and it is not improbably that we should read ëkðanouûmeûoi, "the guests were all ready to die with laughter at the Cyprian".
"That's the trade that pays best nowadays." Verse 278, ne sursum deorsum cursites neve usque ad lucem vigiles, "I promise you no more running up and down and being out of bed till daylight", according to Lemaire:

...στρέσσεθαι ἄνω κάτω:
"Ωμην ἐγὼ τοὺς πλουσίους, Ὡ Φανία,
οἶς μὴ το δανείασθαι πρὸσετίν, σὺ στένειν
Τὰς νύκτας, οὐδὲ στρεφομένους ἄνω κάτω,
Οἶμοι, λέγειν..."

"I was thinking of the rich, O Phania, who never take a moment's rest, nor slumber the nights but always dashing hither and yon". Verse 331:

liguet mihi deierare his mensibus sex
"for I swear I have not set eyes on the man in these (6) months"

Lemaire refers to:

"Ορκοὶ δὲ φεῦγε, κἀν δικαίως ὁμώνυς.
Verse 419, like the Greek in the'Επιτρέποντες, verse 630,
ἰερόσυμε χραὶ "you sacrilegious hag!", used vaguely as a term of abuse the same expression. Verse 421, numquam tibi dixi? "Didn't I ever tell you?" as in "...οὐχ ἐδόθκα σοι

Verse 426, lepus tute es, pulpamentum quaeris? "You a hare, and go hunting for game?", is a translation of the old Greek proverb: Δασύπους ὄν χρέως ἐπιθυμεῖς. Verse 452, ridiculum: non enim cogitaras, "it's ridiculous that you should be silent!" has no antecedent, an absence of which is common in an exclamatory phrase, as in: "...γελοῖον, ὡς ... σιωπᾶς."
Silence is sufficient, spoken praise. Test him in literature, in athletics, in the arts; I'll warrant him accomplished (a master) in everything which a young gentleman ought to know."

These elements constituted the rudiments of a good education among the Greeks, as Aristotle wrote in the Pol. VIII.2:

_ Αἶ μὴν οὖν καταβεβλημέναι γυν

μαθήσεις, καθάπερ ἐλέκηθη πρότερον ἐπαγωγεῖσθαι.

"Εστι δὲ τέταρτα σχέδον ἂ παιδεύειν εἰδέασιν,

γράμματα καὶ γυμναστικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ

τέταρτον ἐνὶ ὁ γραφικόν.

The first two were learned for utility; the third, for manly habits; and the last, for moral education, _Μουσικὴ_. A liberal education included _γράμματα_.

Verse 601, _ego limis specto_, "I look askance at her--so--through the fan", _oculis_ always understood with _limis_, has a similar phrase in Greek, particularly applied in an amatory sense:

...λοξόν ὄμμασι βλέπειν.
Verses 687-688:

hic est vietus vetus veternosus senex,  
colore mustelino.

"This is a worn-out, ancient, withered old man, in complexion like a weasel." Donatus refers to Menander's: οὗτός ἔστιν γαλεώτης γέρων, saying that Terence misunderstood Menander's meaning, and should have translated γαλεώτης by stellio. Bentley explains at length that the weasel could not have been meant, because it is not of any uniform color; and that we should read colore stellionino, "like a lizard in complexion", that is to say, spotted and blotched. Certain commentators show that Terence's word is more appropriate to the eunuchs of the East. However this may be, the manuscripts invariably have the reading of the text.

After the mocking repetition of τί δει Πασίν in verse 89 of the Greek Πάσιν, Parmeno is reluctant to approach his angry master, hence the impatient ζητή | μικρόν of Demeas; so in Latin Comedy, Terence uses the same impatience in the verses 706 and the following. An example of Latinized Greek noun, techinam from τέχνη, in verse 718, taking the first declension in Latin. Verse 729:

neque pes neque mens satis suum officium facit  
"neither leg nor mind does its duty properly"; Menander describes in similar sensations:

ἀνίσταμαι γούν τέσσαρας κεφαλὰς ἔχων.
In verse 16 of the Greek, Geta's first four words suggest love is due to overfeeding, as in the typsy Chremes of Terence's verse 732:

sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus.

Verse 761:

quod cavere possis, stultum admittere est.

"It is foolish to do what you can avoid. I had rather have prevention than cure" is a common idea Menander has also expressed in fragment 620:

εὐθείαμοι φαίνεται δημομένη
to νοεῖν μὲν ὄσα ἔσεi,
μὴ ὑμμάττεσθαι δ' ἀ ἔσεi.

Verse 1057:

quodvis donum praemium a me optato:

"If you succeed, ask any reward you want of me" is in:

ἢξει τί βούλει, πάντα σοι γενέσται.

THE HEAUTION TIMORUMENOS

In the opening of the Heauton Timorumenos, Menedemus is working in the fields. His neighbor Chremes reproves him for this laboring and Menedemus replies with his tale. Like Simo's story in the Andria, his is a long narrative, beginning with verse 97, and following. We find ourselves at a disadvantage for argument in this play, because of the ravages of time: Menander exists not even in fragment form for this play.
The prologue in verses 4-6:

ex integra Graeca integram comœdiam
hodie sum acturus Ἱεαυτὸν Τιμορομένον.
duplex quae ex argumento facta est simplici.

"We are about to produce a fresh comedy from a fresh Greek source, the **Self-Tortmentor**. It has been changed from a single into a double plot", or "I am to-day going to act the **Self-Tortmentor**, a fresh comedy from a fresh Greek source." Terence may have meant "now there are two plays on the same subject, a Greek and a Latin one". The word *integra* as used may mean fresh, intact, not having been translated into Latin previously. The probably original referred to is Menander's: Ἱεαυτὸν Τιμορομένον.

Verses 61-62:

nam pro deum atque hominum fidem quid vis tibi?
quid quaeris? annos sexaginta natus es.

"Heaven and earth, man, what's your meaning? What's your object? You are sixty years old...if not more," taken from fragment Ἱεαυτ. I:

πῶς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς σαμομάχης γεγονός ἦτη τοσαυτό'; ὅμοι γὰρ ἡστιν ἐξήκοντα σοι.

"How now, by Athena? Are you cracked, although so well along in years: For in round numbers you are sixty or even more." Menedemus, returning to the comforts of his home, after losing his son, describes his feelings in this next passage. Verses 63-64:
...in his regionibus
meliorem agrum neque preti maioris nemo habet;
"as for estate there is no one hereabouts has a better one or
one worth more", found in:

...καὶ τῶν ᾿Αλνηι χωρίων
χεκτημένοις, κάλλιστον εἶ, ὃς τῶν λίγο
ἐν τοῖς τρισίν γε καὶ, τὸ μακαριστατον,
οὐτίκον...

"And of the Halai folk you are the owner of a bit of land the
fairest, by Zeus, amongst the three at least, and best of all,
unmarked by mortgage stone"; the item concerning the Three Best
omitted in Terence. Greek mortgages were recorded in situ on
stelae, as Legrand tells us, when discussing Latin omissions.

Verses 128-130:

ubi video, haec coepi cogitare 'Hem, tot mea
soli solliciti sint causa ut me unum expleant?
ancillae tot me vestiant? sumptus domi
tantos ego solus faciam?'

"The sight set me thinking. What? Are all these men to be so
solicitous on my account only, for my sole satisfaction? Are
these maids to look to my clothes? All this vast household
expenditure to be for me only?" Fragment Ἐντ. II:

Διονυσί, θεωρωνας, ἀργυρωματα.

Probably here Menander describes at greater length the prepara-
tion his servants make for his comfort.

177 Legrand maintains Terence is colorless in this passage;
that there is no locality, no "three domains", no legal
custom-οὐτίκον.
Verse 204:

...illum insimulat durum id non est.

σχεδόν τρός υἱὸν ἐν τῷ νουθετεῖν.

"The son pretends his father's cruel, but that's not the case."

Verse 210:

scitumst periculum ex aliis facere tibi quod ex usu siet.

"It is a wise course to gain from others' experience, which may be useful to yourself", a maxim of Menander:

βλέπων παίδευ' εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κακά.

Verse 232:

concurrunt multa opinionem hanc quae mihi animo exaugeant: is almost a literal translation of verse 284 of Euripides' Medea:

ἐμβάλλεται δὲ πολλὰ τοῦτο δειματος.

which Menander may have adopted, and Terence found it in Menander. In Latin translation the verse reads: "many things occur to confirm this impression in my mind, (the opportunity, the place, her age, the wickedness of the mother under whose control she is and who has no palate for anything but cash)."

Verse 233, occasio, locus, "a small occasion or place suffices to act wickedly", is found in Lemaire's:

Μικρὰ πρόοσις ἐστὶ τοῦ πράξαι κακῶς.
Verse 285, texentem telam studiose, "busying herself at the loom", in Lemaire:
'Εξ ἵστασιον γάρ ἐκχέματο φιλοψόμως πάνυ.

Verses 291-294:

...anus
subtemen nebat praeterea una ancillula
erat; ea texebat una, pannis obsita,
neclecta, inmunda inluvie.

"An old woman was spinning thread, and there was one handmaiden; and she, covered with rags, neglected, unclean, was weaving with her." Allinson, referring to the verse of Greek quoted from Lemaire, adds two more Greek verses, and translates all three:

χρόκτην ἐνεὶ γραῦς καὶ θεραπαίγις ἤμια.
αὕτη συνυφαίνειν ῥυπαρός διακεκδεπενή.

"With utter devotion to her toil she (the mistress) clung to her loom. An old woman was spinning thread and there was one handmaiden. She, in squalid condition, was weaving with her."178

Verse 314, ...facinus magnum nec memorabile, "a big and brilliant task", in Lemaire:
Μέγα καὶ περιβόητον ἔργον.

Verse 342:
in aurem utramvis otiose ut dormias
"that you can sleep on either cheek", in Lemaire:

178 Allinson, p. 349, footnote 4
Sometimes τά ὀτρα, "the ears" are expressed in this phrase, which implies perfect ease of mind.

Verses 359-360:

...in eum iam res redit locum ut sit necessus.

"It's come to this that I can't help it."

Verse 382:

...formae ut mores consimiles forent

"to match your morals with your beauty". A proverbial line oft repeated is verse 384:

nam mihi quale ingenium haberes fuit indicio oratio:

"It is your conversation has let me into your character". found in fragment 143 K in Menander: (also taken from Ἀρρηφόρος ἡ Ἀυλητρίς, "The Mystery-Maiden", or "The Flute-Girl")

"A man's character is revealed in his speech" or "speech reveals character."
Verse 419:

nōs quoque senes est aequom senibus obsequi.
"we old fellows should gratify other old fellows."

Γέρων γέροντι γλῶσσαν ἴδιστην ἔχει
Paidai, kai μυναίκι πρόσωπον γυνή
Nosón t' ēgho nōsoúnti, kai δυσπραξία
Aρθείς ἐπιθέσθ ἐστι τῷ πειρωτένῳ.

Verse 440:

vehemens in utramque partem, " sending, es nimis.
"you are too impetuous both ways, my friend," and also verse 504
aliena ut melius videant et diiudicent.

"no one sees clearly all his own defects" are in Greek:

Οὐδεῖς ἐφ' αὑτοῦ τὰ κακὰ συνορᾶ, Πάμφιλε,
αἰφός, ἑτέρου δ' ἄσχημονοντας ὀψεται.

ἐφ' αὑτοῦ, in his own case; ἐπὶ τοῦτο, in this respect; "if
another man misbehaves", carrying in general this meaning.

Verse 521, aquilae senectus, "the eagle, they say, has
eternal youth", a rather obscure proverb "originating in a
theory about the eagle, that in old age it only drinks; and so
applied to old men who drink more than they eat. It was also
used more generally to signify a vigorous old age."179 The
Greek proverb:

...ἀντοῦ γῆρας ἄριστου γεότης
"The eagle's age is as fresh as the lark's youth."

179 Parry, p. 202
Verse 675:

nil tam difficilest quin quaerendo investigari possiet.
"nothing is too hard for a detective's industry", for which commentators quote Menander's:

'ἀλλα γίγνετ' ἑπιμελετά καὶ τὸν ἄπαντα
...πάντα τὰ χρησμενα σείζει μερίμνης
φασὶν οἱ σοφότεροι.

and Philemon's:

πᾶν τ' ἑρτίν ἐξουρεῖν εἶν μὴ τὸν πόνον
τεῦγη τὶς ὡς πρόσεχτι τοῖς χρησμένοις

Verse 796:

ius summum, saepe summast malitia.
"strictest law, worst mischief", taken from the Greek, according to Lemaire, as are the following Greek quotations:

...'Ο δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς νόμους
Λίαν αχριβῶς, συκοφάντης φαίνεται.

Verse 893, argentum ut dares, "clothes, trinkets, yes and maidservants, and money": Λουτρὸν, θεραπεινίδας, καὶ ἀργυρῷα.<

Verse 981: modo liceat vivere, est spes, "if one may only live, there's hope":

...Οὐδὲντο εἴδειν τὸν κακὸς
πράσσοντα, τὰ βελτίω δὲ πρὸσδοκᾶν ἂεί.

Verse 1053:

quid istic? Video non licere ut coeperam hoc pertendere.
"Oh, very well, I see I'm not allowed to carry my design out."
The Greek has the expression also, in Menander's:

\[ \text{"O xýlýmptatoc πρὸς μὲν ἔν τῷ νοοθετεῖν,}
\text{τοῖς μὲν λόγοις πικρὸς \varepsilon\tauι, τοῖς δ' ἔργος πατήρ."} \]

Verses 1061-1062:

...Rufamne illam virginem

Caesiam, sparso ore, adunco naso? non possum, pater.

"What, that red-haired girl, a green-eyed thing with a gaping mouth and a turned-up nose? Impossible, father", has:

\[ \text{"Δύς εἰσὲ τὸν γαμεῖν μέλλοντα δεί,}
\text{"Ητοι προσηνή ὤψιν, η χροστὸν τρόπον.}
\text{Tὴν διόνυσαι τῷ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιεῖ."} \]

THE HECYRA

"The Hecyra of Terence, with its inverted resemblances to the plot of the Arbitrants, ('Επιτρέποντες, by Menander), reproduces more directly the Hecyra of Apollodorus of Carystus which, in turn, we may assume, was a remodelling of Menander's play." The didascaliae attribute this play to Apollodorus of Carystus, also, rather than to Menander. However, Menander's 'Επιτρέποντες bears a strong resemblance to the Hecyra, so strong that, according to Parry, both plays, the Greek and the Latin, could be read together. The Hecyra opens with a discussion between Philotis, meretrix and Syra, anus, protatic characters. The topic
is the desertion of Bacchis by Pamphilus. When both depart from the stage, the action begins. It is this play which has the same purpose in business life as the *Andria*: Pamphilus is here obliged to go to Imbros to take over his inheritance, as Crito was in the *Andria*.

The foregoing parallels between Terence and the Greek originals were offered as clues to the originality of Terence. "A close comparison will show that he did not at all events servilely imitate his master; that if he copied from a Greek original, he drew with a Roman pencil, and kept in view his own theory of dramatic excellence as well as the necessity of suiting a very different audience to that which listened to Menander." 181 If he followed the originals too closely, his play met with disfavor, as is noted for example, in the presentation of the *Hecyra*. Produced in 165 B.C., a year later than the *Andria*, the *Hecyra* met with an unfavorable reception, if we may lay credence to the second prologue, in which the noted actor Lucius Ambivius Turpio is endeavoring to interest the audience. *Calamitas* prevented any previous successful presentation of the play, *calamitas* in the sense applied to "blight" or curse of agricultural pursuits, to thunder of rain, and to other elements in this instance. The *calamitas* here was the

181 Colman, p. 502; Mommsen also refers to Terence's "painting" of his style.
fact that the play never had a hearing because on each occasion of its performance, some show or other distracted the audience. Tight-rope dancers, boxers, or gladiators clamored for and claimed their attention. Thus, it became necessary for Terence to write a script more amusing than the Greek original, to catch the ears of the hearers. Menander's plots were too simple to captivate the audience; they could not compete with the Circus. To compete with and counteract these distractions, Terence united plots of more than one play of Menander's, and combining sub-plots to the whole, he not only received but kept the attention of the audience, as in the Andria and the Eunuchus.

The ring used in the ἀπίπτέοντες is found in Terence's use in the Hecyra. In verse 117:

et haec communia omnium quae sunt patrum,
the hackneyed appeals to a son, are associated the Greek words:
καὶ οὗτος ἦν ἡ κοινά, "the usual endearments", "Those words, you know, that all women say." Verse 200:

neque declinatum quicquam ab aliarum ingenio,
"Not one woman can you find an inch different from the bent of the rest", as in: Γυνῇ γυναικὸς πώποτ' οὓδεν διαφέρει. Verse 208:

meque abs te inmerito esse accusatam post modo rescisces.
"and some day you'll find out that you've accused me without a reason", as: ταῦθ' ὅστερο λάβοις ἄν ἡμαρτημένα. Verse 214, lapidem, non hominem, "A Ctesipus, not a man!" is a common
omnibus nobis ut res dant sese, ita magni atque humiles sumus.

"The fact is, I think, that we are all proud and humble according to our circumstances" is similar to the Greek of Apollodorus:

\[ \text{O\deltaις ε\acute{x}αστος διὰ τα πράγματα σεμνὸς ἐν ἅλυ καὶ ταπεινὸς}. \]

Verse 457, salvam atque validum, "in perfect health", like the Greek: Εὐτυγχάνεται καὶ σεαμερένον. Verses 595-596:

ut ne quoi mea longinquitas aetatis obstet mortemve exspectet meam.

"that no one should feel my length of days to be a bar to him or look forward for my death", as Lemaire has the Greek reference:

\[ \text{πικρὸν ἐστὶ θέμα γέων ἐν οἰκίᾳ μένων} \]

Verse 823 has a repetition of the Latin expression found in the Adelphoe, verse 695, the abhinc mensis decem fere, "about ten months ago."

THE PHORMIO

One of Terence's two most successful comedies, the Phormio is a play packed with brilliant dialogue and neat construction. Phormio is not the hungry parasite typical to previous Roman comedy, but he is the impudent rogue who cleverly engineers the trickery and solves the difficulties of the play. He is termed
"one of the most engaging scoundrels in the rich annals of the stage." 182 The Phormio is taken from the \textquotesingle\textquotesingle Επίδικαςδύσνοσ of Apollodorus and Menander's Heiress. One of six plays praised by Quintilian, Terence's play may, perhaps, give suggestions for the reconstructing Menander's plot. Menander wrote two editions of this play. Friedrich Leo says this is the only play of Terence's in which the prologue and the conclusion were pointed out formally and explicitly in the end. "Die Conflicte der terenzischen Stucke auszer Phormio losen sich samtlich durch \textquotesingle\textquotesingle ἀναγνώρισις.\textquotesingle\textquotesingle 183 The conflicts of Terence's fragments of Phormio unlink themselves through the ἀναγνώρισις, the recognition.

Verse 37, pauxillulum nummorum, has the force of the diminutive "petty cash" in the Greek: κερμάτιον, also κέρμα, "slice" or "small coin". Chremes, in verse 66, visits Lemnos, which like Imbros and Scyros, was an Athenian colony, forming part of Attica, and closely connected with Athens in business. Verse 138:

\textit{quod fors feret feremus aequo animo.}

"come what will, I shall bear it philosophically" as:

\textit{"Ενεγλ' ἀνυχίαν καὶ θλᾶθυν εὐσχημόνως.}

182 Duckworth, p. 309
183 Friedrich Leo, \textit{Plautinische Forschungen}, (Berlin, 1912), p. 140
Verse 139, ..*istuc virist officium,* "there's a man for you!"

Τούτ' ἔστιν ἁνδρός. Verse 145:

quid rei gerit? sic, tenuiter.

οὗτως, "in this way," I'll tell you", the words ἡσυχὴ and τρόποντινα explaining οὗτως. Verse 201 has the title expressed, as in the Greek, in the name of the woman ἑταίρα.

Verse 203, ..fortis fortuna adiuvat, "fortune favors the brave" is a famous expression used since the Greek:

Πόλυς δίκαιος καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.

Verse 247, incredible quantum, may have the effect of the adverbia form of the Greek in line 649 of the Ἐπιτρέποντες, where the form ἐπαυμαστὸν is used. Verse 329:

..iniuriarum audisti mihi scriptam dicam?

"have you ever heard of an action against me for assault and battery?" as:

...".albumi soi τον Ἑλιον

η μὴν τοιχεῖν soi γράφη τακάσσαι.

The ἐργαστήριον of line 149, Ἐπιτρέποντες of Menander, is a term of abuse like "quarry-slave", "galley-slave" or "work-house slave", a euphemism for lupanar: carcer is used in Phormio 373, describing the man, like the word ergastula. Verse 344:

...quom rationem ineas quam sint suavia et quam cara sint.

"When you start reckoning how delightful and how costly it all is": Τὸ γὰρ τρέφον με τούτ' ἐγὼ κρίνω θεόν.
A formal announcement at the end of a speech, "I've said my say" is found both in the Greek, line 75 of the Επιτρέποντες, and in the Phormio, verse 437. Effective repetition of the word vendidit in verses 510 and 511 are similar to the Greek repetition of ἔρωντι, ἔρως, ἔρω of the Ἡμωκ. Verse 562, solus est homo amico amicus, is like the Greek of Apollodorus: Μόνος γε τοὺς φίλους ἐπίσταται φιλεῖν.

"Man is the only friend that is a friend." Verse 575:

senectus ipsast morbus.

"Old age is an illness in itself", as: Τὸ γῆρας ἐστὶν αὐτὸ νόσημα. Verse 587, ...ego meorum solus sum meus, "I'm the only thing I can call my own" is also in Apollodorus, according to Lemaire: Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμί ἐμὸν τῶν ἐμὸς μόνος. Verse 698, ...

dicis quod malist, as:

... ... ... Δέγεις

'Αἰ τὸ λυποῦν, μηδὲν ἀντιπαραθεῖς

τῶν προσλεγομένων.

"What you do is cut out the good and mention the bad."
As far as possible in the consideration of the fragments we have noted the variations between Menander and Terence, seeing that they extend not only to minor differences of name and incident, but in some instances to a new conception of plot and delineation of characters.

Imitation was no bugbear to the Roman play writer. It was to a great extent what he considered his legitimate field of action. But to give a new turn to the incidents and the characters of the drama, and to invest the whole with an original form—this was, we conceive, the mark of the writer of genius; and to this kind of originality we may feel sure that Terence at all events has a solid claim. 184

In addition to contaminatio of plots, Terence deviated from the originals in points of minor importance. In the Andria Terence not only adapted portions of the Ἱππάλβα which suited his plot, but added the whole sub-plot of Charinus and his love for the betrothed Philumena, together with her slave Byrrhia. Donatus, according to Parry, asserts that Terence added these characters of Charinus and Byrrhia lest, Philumena being left without a spouse, the play become tragic in tone. The Latin of Donatus says: "Has personas Terentius addidit fabulae (nam non sunt apud Menandrum) ἰτραγίχωτεσον fieret, Philumena spretam"

184 Colman, p. 507
185 Since varied opinions are preferred by critics of note concerning the addition of this sub-plot of Charinus, let us examine the situation a bit more thoroughly. George Colman in the middle of the nineteenth century, quoting in translation this same passage of Donatus, noted in the preceding paragraph, expressed the opinion that the additional characters rather than adding "life and vigour" to the plot, "dampen its spirit, and stop the activity of its progress". In Colman's footnote of pages 27 and 28 in his Comedies of Terence, volume I, we find opinions expressed not only of himself, but of Diderot, a French critic admired by Colman. Referring to Donatus' quotation, given above, Colman says:

Important as this Dramatick Arcanum may be, it were to be wished that Terence had never found it out, or at least that he had not availed himself of it in the construction of the Andrian. It is plain that the duplicity of Intrigue did not proceed from the imitation of Menander, since these characters, on which the double plot is founded, were not drawn from the Greek poet. Charinus and Byrrhia are indeed but poor counterparts, of faint shadows of Pamphilus and Davus; and instead of adding life and vigour to the Fable, rather damp its spirit, and stop the activity of its progress.

The last sentence of this quotation Parry quotes on page 503, Terentii Comoediae, in his "Excursus" appended to the volume, in which he carefully examines the extent of Terence's

185 This same passage quoted on page 93 of this thesis.
obligation to "enander and Apollodorus, seeking to establish the originality of Terence. Colman continues, quoting from Diderot, whose opinions he values as critical criteria of the plays:

...I am much more inclined to the opinion of an ingenious French Critick, whom I have already cited more than once, than to that of Donatus or Madame Dacier (from whose works Colman often quotes). His comment on this under-plot is as follows. 'It is almost impossible to conduct two intrigues at a time, without weakening the interest of both. With what address has Terence interwoven the Amours of Pamphilus and Charinus in the Andria! But has he done it without inconvenience? At the beginning of the second Act, do we not seem to be entering upon a new piece? and does the fifth conclude in a very interesting manner?'

Regarding both of these opinions, Colman's and Diderot's, Parry maintains that this issue is one "on which every reader may fairly hold his own opinion. To my mind, indeed," he continues:

the double set of characters is a great addition to the force of the various situations of the play, to say nothing of the scenic convenience of a confidant such as Charinus is to Pamphilus. The despair of both Charinus and Pamphilus, their cross purposes, and their common indignation against Davus, or admiration of him, as circumstances favour the one feeling or the other, could not well be spared from the 'Andria'.

Realizing the obstacles which Terence had to subdue in order to capture the attention of an audience craving action, we are inclined to believe that the addition of a sub-plot is justifiable; indeed, it affords greater intrigue to the play. Moreover, the very fact that Terence is so thoroughly criticized for having varied his plot from the original, shows positive

186 Colman, p. 28, footnote
187 Parry, p. 503
invention of the author. Terence could not be accused of too literal an imitation of Menander in this case. We do not believe that Menander's style was so free as to permit two new characters to enter the plot without disturbing the order of dialogue or the sequence of events. In reiterating Parry's views approvingly we conclude the discussion of this sub-plot in the Andria with Parry's closing words on the topic:

...and I should certainly claim for Terence in this particular case something more than the originality of a compiler. He cannot simply have dovetailed his new matter into the existing plot. He must to a great extent have recast the whole. 188

FORM AND STRUCTURE

In addition to these direct parallels found in the preceding chapter between Menander and Terence, let us consider the influence of form and structure of the Greek over the Latin—if an influence it became or remained a similarity. Menander chose some means of indicating entrance and exit of the actors as had Aristophanes, who used statements of the actors themselves to indicate their movements, saying that they were departing or entering the stage. In Latin departure was noted by "ibo", into or "eo ad...forum"; and entrance, by "eccum video" or "fores crepuerunt". Terence was a conscientious observer of the technique of re-entry, instances in which the characters retire from

188 Parry, p. 503
the stage after announcing their destination, and re-entering
the stage from the same destination. If their itinerary had
been altered, characters mentioned the changes, in order not to
bewilder the spectators. Another device is that in which two
characters enter together, having both come from the same place,
and having just met in the wings. Instances of search are evi-
dent in the Adelphoe, and in Menander's 'Επίτρέποντες and
Σαυία. "The summons is not utilized to the fullest extent, how-
ever, as in several instances a character on the stage announces
that he is going to summon someone, but before he can carry out
his intention the desired character appears before the house."189
As examples, there are the Phormio, in the first act, in which
Davus intends to summon Geta, and the Περικεφαλαίαν of Menander,
verses 431-432. Unmotivated appearances occur in cases of dual
entrance, but very few are noticeable.

XOPOY AND DIVISIONS INTO ACTS

In the Heauton Timorumenos, verses 168-170, Θρήνες leaves
the stage empty. In the Greek, at this time occurred the χορός.
Since there were four stops for the χορός, the plays in Greek
were divided into five acts. In verse 409 of the Heauton Timor-
umenos the stage was again empty, and in verse 410, the time
changed from the middle of the afternoon to early morning. There

189 Fields, p. 184
must have been intermission; at least a pause. Between Acts IV and V, there is a pause in the Greek. Verse 874, of this same play, again has the stage empty; therefore, Terence did not modify movements of his characters to meet the conditions of continuous action. In the Adelphoe verse 854 seems to have Demea leaving the stage, but he is again present in the following verse 855. Verse 855 also shows a complete change in philosophy of life, a change not possible in the interim between two verses. There was no special basis for the act divisions: at each act the stage is vacant for the plot has reached a decisive point in development, and there is a general preparation for the next act. This so-called division was made by scholars of the sixteenth century, who were perhaps influenced by Donatus. Although the division into acts may have been known to the writers of the fabulae palliatae, it was not recognized by them as a practical expedient. Terence, for example, even if he divided his plays into acts in writing them, would not have ventured to keep his audience waiting after the play had begun; their attention at the public games was too easily diverted by other attractions, such as the gladiators, pugilists, or tightrope dancers. But it is probable that neither Plautus or Terence, according to Ashmore, thought of any system of division into acts, such as we have mentioned. In their time the action of the play was continuous; or if pauses were needed here and there for technical reasons, their place and number were
determined, not by the poet, but by the stage manager—the audience being entertained in the interval by a flute-player. Moreover, the plays and manuscripts of Plautus and Terence contain only slight traces of a separation into acts, and the Greek originals undoubtedly were performed without any regular break or pause in the action of the play. The expression *primo actu placeo*, in the prologue to the *Hecyra*, although it contains an apparent allusion to a division into acts, is certainly nothing more than an equivalent for *in prima fabula*, as Ashmore maintains. In Menandran comedies, there was a general absence of chorus, which was prevalent with Aristophanes. If filled at all in later comedy, it was taken by performances of the *aúntiēs*.

Divisions into acts in Old Comedy or Greek Tragedy referred to the separation from one another of parts of the dialogue, by means of choral songs. In Aristotle's *Poetics*, xii, are discussed the several parts of a tragedy, though nothing is said of divisions into acts; and yet it is possible to see, in what he affirms, exactly where the principle of the fivefold division is to be found. The acted parts of a tragedy, says Aristotle, were three: the *πρόλογος*, or introduction; the *ἐπεισόδιον*, or plot; the *ἐξοδος*, or denouement. They were separated from one another by choral songs. But the *ἐπεισόδιον* was subsequently broken into parts, also separated by choral songs, and this division of the *ἐπεισόδιον*, which was generally (though not always) a triple
one, combined with the πρόλογος and ἔξοδος, constituted the normal structure of a Greek tragedy. This arrangement of parts seems to have given rise to a tradition which the Alexandrians made the basis of their canon that five was the proper number of acts for a drama. Thus, not only divisions of a Greek comedy, but also parts of a Latin comedy, which might be distinguished by pauses in action, came to be loosely regarded as acts, the rule of five being the norm for all. The division into acts of a Plautine or Terentian drama, whenever it took place, was somewhat assisted by the division of each play into diverbia (or deverbia) and Cantica, the latter being a reflection of the choral songs of the earlier comedy of Athens.

Although Plautus and Terence did not recognize a division into acts, they did regard the division into scenes as a necessary characteristic of comedy, and this division is regularly found in all the manuscripts of the two Roman comic poets, the headings prefixed to each scene giving the names of the interlocutors for the scene. There was no necessary interruption of the action at these points, however, since the distinguishing mark of a new scene merely became the exit or entrance of one or more characters. But even the exit of one or more personage of the drama was not sufficient to create a new scene, technically speaking, if the subsequent dialogue or soliloquy consisted of but a few verses. In that event, the entrance of another character was required before the new scene was regarded as having begun.
CHARGES AGAINST TERENCE'S ORIGINALITY

The charges against Terence may be classified into three groups: first, plagiarism from Greek copies both in subject and in the characters of the plays, as evidenced in the prologues of the Andria, Eunuchus, and Heauton Timorumenos; secondly, the aid of distinguished friends, as evidenced in the prologues of the Adelphoe and the Heauton Timorumenos; and lastly, the want of spirit and incident in his plays, which were said to owe their success entirely to the merits of the actor, as evidenced in the prologue to the Phormio.

PLAGIARISM

The first charge against Terence was furtum, which Ashmore roughly translates as "plagiarism", a wrong according to the Romans of copying some already Latinized version of a Greek play. This charge of plagiarism constitutes the most important indictment which could have been hurled against Terence in a few instances only. This thesis is discussing the bearing Menander may have had upon Terence, and the possibility of Terence's having plagiarized some Latinized form of Menander. The writing of the Adelphoe could be stated as an instance of this attack. Terence answers the accusations in a manner showing he considers the attack seriously, and in his defense in the prologue of the Adelphoe, Terence explained that he incorporated in the play only that part of the Ξυπνησθεννικουτες of Diphilus which
Plautus had left untouched. The Roman playwright also protects the *Eunuchus* against accusations in the same manner. Plays of Greek writers had always been considered common property of Roman playwrights, as modern movie-makers consider the stage and novelists their playground for stories. Terence says Naevius, Plautus and Ennius had done the same and he was content "to err in such good company".

Lanuvinus, opponent of Terence, was convicted of using more than one of Menander's plays. Yet, Terence makes no secret of the fact that he used Greek materials, adapted to his own purpose.

It does not follow from this that he was a servile translator. His faithful adherence in the main to his originals, without any introduction of Roman wit and manners, was...the effect of his principles of composition. To civilize Roman taste by Greek literature, he must avoid the mixture of ordinary Roman style.

We do not doubt that the works of Greek dramatists were known and had become popular at Rome in the time of Terence. The fact that the literary public looked to Greece as its mistress in literature as well as philosophy was generally admitted. Many Greek originals were probably well known before Terence's plays were introduced in Latin. The fact that Cicero and other authors quote freely from Greek plays produces evidence of their knowledge and acquaintance. Among the litterati, therefore, Terence did not have to create a taste for Greek drama. It had

190 Parry, p. xix, introduction
acquired adolescence before he shaved his stubble. This vast mass of Greek literature of not only Menander, but also of Philemon, of Diphilus, of Apollodorus, probably in their integrity, was at the command of the playwright. It had become so much a part of him, that Terence could not have written any more originally than Shakespeare, who having imbibed the written knowledge of many authors, wrote his "Comedy of Manners" based upon varied compositions. We do not believe any man living or dead could have been so totally original, that his works had not even the dust of his era lightly covering them. For Terence to have been totally original, we would have had to isolate him entirely from his background and training, to have placed him in an environment perhaps among the Huns, and then wondered what comedy he would have wrought! Bereft of its sap and climatic grounds, the bark of any tree collapses. Mere words do not make a comedy; nor does mere translation appeal for long. Terence tapped his sources of general available knowledge, not only of Menander, but of other Greek authors as well, to have concluded a comedy capturing the interest of the multitude, who pulsated to the excitement of boxing and tight-rope walking and the Circus. In language, Terence was doubtless original. His diction is refined; his idiom polished. Characters and situations of his drama were those usual to New Comedy, but his treatment of characters and situations was original. We cannot allow Terence originality in the general subject of his
comedies, knowing how few even of the fragments of Menander reveal; nor could this tribute of originality be possible, unless we possessed the originals firmer and in more quantity.

Accused also of imitating his Roman predecessors, Terence disclaims the charges in verses 27 and 28 of the Eunuchus: "Si id est peccatum..." After stating his obligations were really due to the Κόλαξ of Menander, Terence adds:

...eas fabulas factas prius
Latinas scisse sese id vero pernegat.

How great was Terence's debt to Menander can best be answered in the fact that Terence himself admittedly confessed that the Andria was taken from the Αὐδσία and the Περίγενεια of Menander, in verses 9 to 14 of the prologue to his Andria:

Menander fecit Andriam et Perinthiam.
qui utramvis recte norit ambas noverit:
ita non sunt dissimili argumento sed tamen
dissimili oratione sunt factae ac stilo.
quae convenere in Andriam ex Perinthia
fatetur transtulisse atque usum pro suis.

From these verses we may observe that (1) these two plays of Menander were much alike in plot, but differed in language and style; and (2) Terence borrowed from the Περίγενεια of Menander certain passages which suited his play, and inserted them into the Andria. Parry explains the need for this contaminatio of both Αὐδσία and Περίγενεια, by: "The plots of Menander were very simple, and Terence was probably obliged, in order to suit the taste of Roman audience, to eke out the Andria by supplying some incident from the Perinthia." 191

191 Parry, p. 488
Overwhelming evidence against Terence's originality arose from varied sources. Didascaliae definitely asserted the expression Graeca Menandru, as well as Terence's own prologues; in addition to the fact that Cicero praised Terence's "translations" in verses preserved by Suetonius:

tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti, conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum in medium nobis sedatis motibus effers, quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia miscens.

Donatus even stated: "duae ab Apollodoro translatae esse dicuntur comico, Phormio et Hecyra; quattuor reliquae a Menandro."

Arguments against these charges of the didascaliae, of Cicero's use of the word "translations" and of Donatus' expression "translatae esse dicuntur" above, the very fact that the fragments of Menander are still too scanty for more thorough criticism, even considering the discoveries in Egypt, could be brought forth at this time. (1) Why the steady advance in technical excellence in the six plays, if they were only mere translations? If Terence desired to translate Greek works, would it not have been more logical to translate the best found in the Greek, rather than selecting the weakest first? (2) Terence's use of contaminatio (to be discussed more fully on page 152) reveals original artistry in the dramatist; (3) An argument may be advanced on the difference between Plautus, his predecessor who used exactly the same models, and Terence; the strong literary likeness between the two Latin writers is lacking; neither can be simple translating, but both must be
innovating. (4) Julius Caesar's six lines, in which he spoke of
Terence as a "Half-Menander":

tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,
poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.
lenibus atque utinam scriptis Adiuncta foret vis,
comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore
cum Graecis neve hac despectus parte iaceres!
unum hoc macerer ac doleo tibi desse, Terenti.

Caesar's judgment is two-fold, implying that (a) Terence is a
"half-Menander", or that (b) Terence has no particular indepen-
dent value, as Norwood explains the statement. Caesar complains
that the grace of style in Terence lacks vis, falling short
of the Greek in one half of the excellence of a comic play-
wright. Thus, Caesar's criticism proves beyond a doubt that
Terence was no mere copyist or translator. Allinson maintained
the question "whether Caesar meant Terence lacked inventiveness
or not" but stated "that Caesar was not implying a lack in
Terence of ὑπὸ τὸν θεττικόν seems evident." 193

This lack of vis comica may involve two elements, accor-
ding to Norwood: power, forcefulness or dramatic pungency, or
the "comic" force of racy, Plautine humor. If Caesar implied
that Terence did not possess the vis of Menander's type, then,
can Terence be called the translator? Norwood elucidates upon

192 vis is not found with the word comica, but Norwood suggests
in footnote 2, p. 140, The Art of Terence, that vis
should be understood with comica for clearness' sake.
193 Allinson, p. xxi, footnote 3
Caesar's criticism by developing Caesar's statement into an inevitable dilemma of meaning. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, page 212, infers the expression *dimidiate Menander* to mean "a Roman only in his language". Leo and Legrand both discuss the subject.

Aulus Gellius, III, xiv, implies that *dimidiius Menander* should mean not "a half-Menander" (that would be *dimidium Menandri*) but "a Menander in two sections." "Terence is, accordingly, in substance and form, a 'dimidiius Menander',--a Roman only in his language." The fifth argument Donatus gives us as evidence against the charges hurled upon Terence, lies in the very words he prefixes to certain passages of Terence: "This is a translation of the following words by Menander." Donatus brought forth the difference in the *Andria* of Terence's use of Simo and a freedman Sosia, rather than conversation of the senex and his wife, as in Menander's *Repulsa*. The sixth argument against the charges is

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194 See Norwood, *The Art of Terence*, p. 141
195 Friedrich Leo, p. 253
196 Legrand, p. 515
197 Norwood, *The Art of Terence*, pp. 141-142, footnote 2
that Terence's own prologues depict a boldness of statement, referring to their author as an innovator, an exponent of the new dramatic school. They challenge the hoi-polloi world and its out-of-date writers--Terence's rivals. In the Hecyra's prologue, verse 5, Terence calls the play entirely new, *planest pro nova*. Norwood says that though Terence translates at times several consecutive lines or a whole scene, yet "the architecture of each play is his own."

**CONTAMINATIO**

John Sargeaunt's translation of the prologue of the Andria brings out quite forcefully Terence's defense against the accusation of using contaminiatio. In the Latin, verses 13-21:

*quae convenere in Andriam ex Perinthia
fatetur translulisse atque usum pro suis,
id isti vituperant factum atque in eo disputant
contaminari non decere fabulas.
faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant?
qui quom hunc accusant, Naevium Plautum Ennium accusant, quos hic noster auctores habet,
quorum æmulari exoptat neclegentiam
potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam.*

and into the translated version:

Anything that he (the playwright, *poeta*, namely, himself Terence) found suitable in the latter (Perinthia) he owns that he has transferred to the former, making free use of it. For doing this his critics assail him and maintain that two plays ought

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200 Norwood, The Art of Terence, p. 13, introduction
not thus to be combined into one. Does not this use of their critical faculty show that they are no critics? In censuring the present playwright they censure Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius, on whose authority our dramatist may rely, and whose freedom he is far more earnest to imitate than the murky accuracy of his critics. 201

On the other hand, enemies attacking Terence with the charge of contaminatio may have referred to a connotation of contaminare like the one which Ashmore gave in the notes of his Comedies of Terence. He translated contaminari of verse 16, Andria, as "be mingled," "be mixed," and continued by stating that since contaminare is connected with the root of tag- of tango, it merely suggests the meaning of contact. "Through contact comes often defilement; hence the meaning 'pollute', 'spoil',--the usual signification of the word." 202 If the contemporaries, Cicero in the Cat. 1.12, Caesar, B.G. 7.43, Horace, Od. 1.37.9, had in mind the meaning of "pollute" or "spoil", they were justified in criticizing and attacking Terence, for he "spoiled" the Greek plays individually, by combining them collectively into a single Latin play. May we not, then, accept this accusation of Terence's contemporaries as evidence that Terence did not strictly transliterate Menander into Latin, but by contaminatio produced plays original and different in tone from the Greek?

201 Sargeaunt, pp. 6-7
202 Ashmore, p. 7, notes
This practice of *contaminatio* was condemned by enemies of Terence, who seized upon anything to criticize the young poet, anything "contrary to artistic usage of the time". This usage demanded adherence to a single original. Terence held aloof from imitating too closely the Greek models, and followed a method independently to which others were opposed; thus, he was denounced as an upstart and an innovator. It did not matter that others had done the same before Terence endeavored to justify himself in his prologues. "A certain freedom in verbal rendering and plot-construction was necessary to the success of his art."\(^{203}\) Lucidity of thought and variety in the action such as a Roman audience would be sure to demand, were indispensable. Accordingly, Terence refrained from anything that would resemble mere translation. He did not wish, by following the example of Lanuvinus, whose works were a literal dependence on his models in respect to the language and the plots alike, to make poor Latin plays out of good Greek ones, as he says in the *Eunuchus*, verses 7-8. He desired to present to the Roman public, in the purest Latin at his command, a true picture of Greek life and manners as given in the writings of the later Greek comedians; avoiding the licence and the Romanizing tendencies of Plautus, on the one hand, and the weakness and obscurity resulting from extreme literalness, on the other.

\(^{203}\) Ashmore, p. 32
AID OF DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS

The second major charge hurled against Terence, as presented on page 146 of this thesis, was the aid of distinguished friends. Cicero and Quintilian state, without, however, endorsing these reports concerning the aid of the Scipionic circle, that they were generally supposed to refer to Scipio and Laelius; while Santra, a grammarian and contemporary of Cicero, is quoted as remarking that, if the poet had needed aid, he would not have applied to those noblemen, on account of their youth, but to such men as Q. Fabius Labeo, M. Popillius Laevas, or L. Sulpicius Galus, who were already distinguished for their learning. This entire supposition, however, is a mere conjecture, unsupported by a particle of proof. The argument against it, from internal evidence, is thus stated by Parry: "a careful consideration of Terence's plays leads us to the conclusion that they are the production of a writer not only thoroughly educated but having a consistent theory of dramatic composition." 206

Crowell continues in this discussion of Terence's plays:

Add to this the remarkable purity of the language, and we cannot, without a violent inconsistency, suppose that this was the result of the patchwork contributions of two or three dilettanti noblemen. These plays are so even and consistent throughout, individually and with one another, having the same neatness of language, the same attention to metre, the same quiet tone of

204 Ad. Att. VII.3  
205 X.1.100  
206 Crowell, pp. 136-137
good-natured humor and practical knowledge of the world, that we might well defy any critic to show where Terence left off and his friends began.207

Crowell believes this charge of plagiarism had arisen in the seething heat of literary jealousy and hostility of Cato's conservatives and the Fabii, who were averse to prominent writers in the opposite party. The Romans were greatly prejudiced against foreigners and freedmen: Terence was both. The ergo of these two statements may have been another cause for accusing Terence with plagiarism. In the prologues of the Heauton Timorumenos and the Adelphoe, Terence does not deny the accusations, but in the Heauton Timorumenos leaves the problem to his hearers; and in the Adelphoe, maintaining that, if the charges were true, he ought to feel proud rather than ashamed. To deny the charges would have been improper, for Terence did read his plays to the grouped litterati and must have availed himself of their valuable criticisms.

THE WANT OF SPIRIT IN THE PLAYS

The third charge against Terence's originality was the want of spirit in his plays. Madame Dacier in "Traduction De Terence", says, "Plaute a plus d'esprit que Terence, ...au lieu que Terence fait plus parler qu'agir."208 "Plautus has more

207 Crowell, p. 137
208 Lemaire, p. clix, preface
spirit than Terence, ...on the other hand, Terence does more by speaking than by acting." Plautus may have excited more laughter from among his throngs of hearers, but Terence produced a greater consistency of plot and character, a finer detailed delineation of character, a deeper pathos, a subtler wit, and a via media between the comic and the reality. Caesar in his six verses which Suetonius preserved for posterity and which we have quoted on page 151, expresses his appreciation of Terence's purity of diction and elegance of style.

\[\text{tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander, poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.}\]

Quintilian makes use of the word elegantissima in speaking of Terence's plays, though that critic's general estimate of Roman comedy was anything but favorable. Quintilian's statement reads: Terenti scripta sunt in hoc genere elegantissima. But the elegantia, or refinement and grace of idiom, which characterized Terence's writings was undoubtedly secured at the expense of vigor, spontaneity, and the power to express passion and depth of feeling. The absence of these qualities was noted by Caesar, who nevertheless greatly admired Terence's style.

Though the language of Terence has present an abundance of speech of every-day life, the colloquial element in his plays is less of the common people, and more of the refined society. The sermo plebeius or rusticus, the vulgar speech, is not characteristic of his diction.
So it resulted that the very choice diction and high art of Terence were less in favor than the drollery of many comic poets... I think it is clear that each of the poets satisfied his own times as respects the art of speaking, but that, taking into account the subject-matter, Terence is clearly lacking in spirit. Why then do we make more of him than of Plautus? For the reason that to-day we are most intent on the art of good-speaking. 210

Sellar adds to this discussion of the fine style of Terence:

...by assimilating the literary grace of the Athenian Comedy and the familiar manner of a friendly, courteous, and active-minded society, he gave to Latin,... a style which gives dignity and urbanity to conversation, and freedom and simplicity to literary expression. 211

Sellar holds that Terence in his own plays shows that "he was however not a pure translator but rather an adaptor from the Greek;" and his purpose was to portray "a true picture of Greek life and manners in the purest Latin style." 212 Terence's high rank among Latin authors, Sellar maintained, should be as the "puri sermonis amator".

Though Norwood has said that the architecture of each play belongs to Terence, independent of the Greek originals, and... all the specifically dramatic qualities that place him among the great playwrights is "Terence and nothing but Terence", credit- ing Terence with considerable originality independent of his use

210 Padelford, pp. 68-69
211 Sellar, p. 204
212 ibid., p. 208
of contamination, Helen Rees Clifford says, "Of course the crux of the whole matter (the originality of Terence) is whether this quality (Terence's architecture of the plays) was actually developed independently by the Latin playwright or was inherent in the Greek originals." If it were inherent within the Greek originals, we may question why Terence should have been so attacked for having deviated from or changed the originals. Terence's productions do not claim originality in the strict sense of the word. Following the literary bent of the playwrights of his day, Terence aimed to reproduce in Latin the best works of Attic Comedy, and to fashion Latin plays out of the common Greek materials, basing four plays upon Menander's writings and two upon Apollodorus of Carystus. Terence fully acknowledges in his prologues his indebtedness and gratitude to these authors. That some passages should follow the Greek for beauty and excellence, rather than merely be interpreted in Latin, is an argument advanced by Hieronymus in his discussion on de Optimo Genere Interpretandi: Terentius Menandrum, Flautus et Caecilius veteres comicos interpretati sunt: numquid haerent in verbis? ac non decorem magis et elegantiam in translatione conservant, quam veritatem interpretationis?"

213 Clifford, p. 605
In obedience to an ordinance contained in the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, the Westminster Scholars present every year, on three nights just before Christmas, a Latin play. The performance which takes place in the Dormitory of the College, with appropriate scenery and costume, is perfectly unique of its kind, and is the only relic of an ancient custom to all our great schools. Although, as has already been noticed, a comedy of Plautus has occasionally been selected, Terence has always been the favourite. Four of his comedies—"The Maid of Andros", "The Ethiopian Slave", "Phormio", and "The Brothers"—are usually taken in rotation; and a Queen's Scholar who shows any dramatic talent is not infrequently an actor in two or three of these plays successively. The performance is preceded by a Latin prologue, in which such events of the year as have affected the school are briefly touched upon: and followed by an epilogue in elegiac verse, which of late years has assumed almost the dimensions of a farce, in which the current topics of follies of the day are satirized under an assuming disguise of classical names and associations.\[214\]
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PERIODICALS


The thesis submitted by Marian Petrakis has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Classical Languages.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

December 15, 1944
Date

A. Herbert Able, Ph.D.
Signature of Adviser