Moral standards and attitudes in the comedies of Plautus, Terence, and Menander

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MORAL STANDARDS
and
ATTITUDES
in the Comedies of
PLAUTUS, TERENCE, and MENANDER

by

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PREFACE

In matters of orthography, punctuation, line numbering and the like in the quotations from Plautus, Terence, and Menander which I have incorporated in this paper I have used the following editions as my guides:


At the end of each chapter is to be found an Appendix, containing translations of all Latin and Greek quoted in the chapter. In some cases the translations are my own, while in others I have employed the Loeb Classical Library translations of Paul Nixon (Plautus), John Sargeaunt, and Francis G. Allinson. When the translations are not my own I have, in each case, given the name of the translator at the end of the passage. In all cases in which I have
employed footnotes to elucidate the quotations I have inserted the numbers of such notes in their proper places in the translations, although the notes themselves have not been repeated in the Appendices. Notes having to do with the translations themselves have been designated by lower case letters.

I wish to hereby acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. W. P. Clark for inspiration and helpful suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

J.W.G., Jr.
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I

INTRODUCTION

This paper is most certainly not an exhaustive treatment of the subject with which it deals. Such an exhaustive treatment would require years of intensive study not only in Plautus, Terence, and Menander, but also in the whole Greek drama, Plato and Aristotle, the orators, inscriptions, all the remains of early Latin literature and, in short, anything that would throw light on Athenian and early Roman society. Here all I have attempted is to discuss in rather hasty fashion a few of the more interesting aspects of the morality of the Roman comedy and the extant plays of Menander. Incidentally, all conclusions concerning Menander are based on the fragments. I have not attempted to judge him through his somewhat uncertain reflection in Terence, even though I myself feel that as far as ideas are concerned the reflection is a fairly accurate one.

I have devoted myself mainly to sexual morality. My reasons for so doing are twofold. In the first place, in the minds of most people, the words "moral" and "immoral" have a definitely sexual connotation, and it is certain that there are more vital and interesting problems connected with sexual morality than with other aspects of morality, however broadly we extend the term. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the literature which we are considering deals primarily with the relations
of the sexes.

In this investigation I have found that Menander, considering the lamentably small portion of his works which we possess, is the most fruitful of the three writers I have investigated. Plautus, on the other hand, if we consider the large number of plays we have from his hand, supplies the least material. In my opinion the probable reason for this is that Menander had a genuine, serious interest in problems of human relationships, while Plautus' essential purpose was to put on an effective show. Terence, since he adapted and worked in the spirit of Menander, is also more fruitful than Plautus, and will be found to be mentioned disproportionately often in the pages that follow.
II
SEXUAL TABUS AND THEIR VIOLATION

The social behavior of a people is, in general, regulated by rules of behavior more or less universally accepted by the group. These rules may be grouped into two more or less definite classes according to their stringency and the importance placed on their observance, tabus and what I shall term "standards of good taste."

Tabus are those prohibitive rules observation of which is considered of essential importance to the welfare of the community, and the violation of which is considered a matter of grave consequence. It is probably true that a majority of tabus are concerned either with man's relations with the supernatural, and are hence of religious nature, or with the relationships of people of opposite sex. It is with sexual tabus that this chapter will deal. "Standards of good taste" are, of course, those often hazily defined rules of behavior the observance of which, though not mandatory, is of importance if the individual is to be highly regarded by the community as a whole, or at least by the dominant group in the community. Such standards as observed in comedy will constitute the subject of a later chapter.

If one tries to judge sexual behavior as shown in Greco-Roman comedy by modern standards, the impression

1. See New English Dictionary, s.v. Taboo, B, 1, b.
one is liable to get is that of uncontrolled licentiousness. In actual fact, as I shall try to show, the sexual tabus of the time were just as definite and were probably just as closely observed as ours are. But they were quite different from ours, a fact which scholars do always seem to completely realize. O. Navarre, the author of the article *Meretrices in Darmenberg et Saglio*, writes: "Les seules personnes qui généralement prenaient au tragique ces amours [amores meretriciui], c'étaient les pères (paterseveri). A la vérité, ces qu'ils reprochaient à leurs fils, c'était beaucoup moins l'immoralité de leur conduite que leur folles dépenses, leur dettes, et les suites fâcheuses de ces liaisons." This writer does not seem to realize entirely—I would not say that he does not realize at all—that "l'immoralité de leur conduite" exists only in relation to modern standards, and was a foreign concept to the *paterseveri*. He seems to be just a trifle influenced by the notion that certain acts possess a quality of immorality, and does not entirely comprehend, it seems, that the association of immorality with a given type of behavior is a mere matter of custom, as an anthropologist would quickly assure him. To condemn the young men of fourth century Athens of being immoral because of their unrestrained relations with courtesans is about as foolish as to damn polynesian maidens.

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because they have unrestrained sexual intercourse before marriage.

The standards of sexual morality which we find in comedy derive those peculiarities which from our standpoint are most notable from two special features of the Greek social and political system. One is its highly patriaschal character without any outstandingly idealizing attitude toward womankind. In this respect it is probably a little more like Mohammedan than Christian society. The other is the extreme emphasis placed on citizenship accompanied by far-reaching curtailment of alien rights which prevailed in the Greek city-states. These two factors tended to make a complex moral code.

First, let us consider the case of the female citizen, the _matrona_ and _virgo_ of the comedies. Here the requirements are essentially the same as ours: prenuptial chastity and, of course, strict avoidance of intercourse with any save her husband after marriage.

The importance of prenuptial chastity is amply shown in Menander's _Epitrepontes_ and Terence's _Eocyra_, in each of which we find a young husband segregating himself from a wife whom he truly loves because he has found that she has had intercourse before marriage and is giving birth to a child as a result of that intercourse. It is worthwhile to quote the whole of Pamphilus' soliloquy (_Eocyra_, 361 et seq.), in which he expresses his feelings on learning of his wife's condition:

5.
"Nequeo mearum rerum initium ulla inuenire idoneum, unde exordiari narrasse, quae necopinanti accidunt; partim quae perspexi hisce oculis, partim percipi
auribus:
qua me propter examinatum citius eduxi foras.
nam modo intro me ut corripiui timidus, alici suspicatus
morbo meuisurn affectam ac sensi uxorem: ei mihi!
postquam me aspexere ancilla, aduenisse omnes illico
simul exclamant laetae, id quod me drepente aspexerat.
se nd continua uoltum earum sensi immutari omnium,
quia tam incommode illis fors obtulerat aduentum meum.
una illarum interea propere praecurririt nuntians
me uenisse: ege eius uidendi cupidus recta consequer.
postquam intro adueni, extemplo eius morbum cognoni
miser;
nam neque ut celari posset tempus spatium ulla dabat,
neque uoce alia ac res monebat ipsa poterat conqueri.
postquam aspexi, 'o facinus indignum' inquam et corripui
illico
me inde lacruman, incredbili re atque atroci per-
mater consequitur; iam ut limen exieram, ad genua
accidit
lacrumans misera; miseritumst. profecta hoc sic est,
ut puto:
omnibus modis ut res dant esse, ita magni
illuminor
atque humiles sum
hanc habere orationem mecum principio institit:
'o mi Pamphile, abs te quam ob rem haec abierit causam
uideres;
nam uitiumst oblatum virgini olim ab nescio quo in-
probo.
nunc hac confugit, te atque alios partum ut celaret
sum.'
sed quom orata huius reminiscor, nequeo quin lacruman
miser.
quaeque fors fortunast' inquit 'nobis quae te hodie
obtulit,
per eam te obscuramus ambae, si ius, si fas est, uti
aduorsa eius per te terim quatuaque apud omnis sient.
si unquam erga te esse amico amico sensisti eam, mi
Pamphile,
sine labore hanc gratiam te ut sibi des pro illa
nunc rogat.
ceterum de reddeenda id facias quod in rem sit
tuan.
parturire eam nec gruaidam esse ex te solus conscius:
nam alunt tecum post duoibus concubuisse mensibus.
tum, postquam ad te semit agetur hic iam septimus:
quod tu scire ipsa indicat res. .nunc si potis est,
Pamphile,
maxumue uabo doque operam ut clam euenuiat partus patrem
atque adeo omnis; sed si id fieri non potest quin
sentiant,
dicam abortum esse: scio nemini aliter suspectum fore
quin, quod ueri similest, ex te recte eum natura pu-
ten.
continuo exponetur: hic tibi est nil quicquam incommodi,
et illi miserum indigne factam iniuriam contrexeris.'
pollitius sum et servare in eo certum est quod dixi
pidem.
nam de reducenda, id uero ne utiquum honestum esse
arbitror,
nee faciam, etsi amor me grauiter consuetudoque eius
tenet.
lacrumo, quae posthac futurast uita quom in mentem
uenit
solitudoque, e fortuna, ut numquam perpetuum es bona!
sed iam prior amor me ad hunc rem exercitatum reddidit,
quam ego tum consilio missum feci: idem hunc operam
dabo.
adem Parmenone cum puere: hunc minum opus
in haec re adesse; nam clam soli credidi,
ea me abstinuisse in principio, quam datast.
uereor, si clamorem eius hic crebro audiat,
ne parturire intellegat. aliquo mist
hine ablegandus, dum parit Philumena."

Nowhere does Pamphilus express the slightest re-
proach toward Philumena. He does not seem to regard what
has happened as in any way cause for blaming her. The point
plainly is that custom demands that he cast her off. To do
otherwise would not be respectable: "id uero ne utiquum
honestum esse arbitror." The mother suggests his taking
her back in connection with the possibility of keeping
the irregularity of Philumena's pregnancy secret. It is
interesting to see Pamphilus showing such complete, fun-
damental respect for moral standards that he will not
secretly commit an immoral act, even though the stimuli
are strong: "etsi amor me grauiter consuetudoque eius tenet."

3. His love for the courtesan Bacchis, because of which he
refused to have intercourse with Philumena when forced to
marry her.
4. His confidential slave.
He is perfectly willing to do everything in his power to
shield the girl from public disgrace as a result of her
involuntary sin, but will not be a party to that sin. The
girl bears the stigma of sin, yet she is not a sinner in
an active sense. The responsible sinner is the man who
violated her, the "nescio quis improbus." There is in-
tense irony in the situation since Pamphilus, although
he does not realize it, is that person.

It is important to note that although the injustice of
the moral code as it here affects Philumena must have been
keenly felt by all, yet there is not the slightest tendency
to call into question the justice of that code. Perhaps
the strongest move in that direction in comedy is to be
found in Plautus' Mercator where Syra, the maid
servant of a woman who, so it is thought, has been so bold as to
to bring his paramour into the home, utters this pro-
test against the double standard:

"Ecator lege dura uiuont muliies
multoque iniquiore miserae quam uiri.
nam si uir scortum duxit clam uxorem suam,
id si resciuit uxor, inpunest uiro;
uxor uirum si clam domo egressa est foras,
uiro fit causa, exiguit matrimonio.
utinam lex esset eadem quae uxor est uiro;
nam uxor contenta est quae bona est uno uiro;
qui minu' uir una uxore contentus sit?
ecator faxim, si itidem placentur uiri,
si quis clam uxor duxerit scortum suam,
ut illae exiguntur quae in se culpam commerent,
plures uiri sint uidui quam nunc mulieres." (Mercator, 817-829)

It is important to observe, though, that Syra does not
protest the justice of the rules prescribing chastity.
All that she asks is that the rule be extended to apply to men in the same way it applied to women.

As Syra's speech shows, there is a sharp contrast in the rules governing the behavior of male and female citizens in comedy. This contrast is brought out quite sharply in the case of the same Pamphilus and Philumena whom we were considering. Pamphilus has, apparently, such profound respect for the moral code that he will not continue with a wife who has had prenuptial intercourse, even against her will, even though the fact can be easily kept from being publicly known. Yet, he himself had had, before his marriage which was consummated against his will under paternal compulsion, intimate relationships with a courtesan; and, furthermore, he continued to have such relations with her for some two months after his marriage and, for that reason, abstained from intercourse with his wife. Nowhere in the play is there any hint that there is anything shocking or immoral about such behavior. The evidence from this as well as other comedies is that there is no concept of anything in the way of "masculine chastity," either pre- or post-nuptial. Apparently the only absolute restriction is that a man must not trespass another citizen's rights by commission of adultery or by raping or seducing a maiden of the citizen class.

The objections of some fathers to their sons' relations with courtesans might lead one to conclude that such behavior was regarded as immoral. Closer consideration
shows one that such conclusion is unjustified.
In the first place, many plays contain examples of sons
who, with the help of confidential slaves, succeed in
circumventing paternal wishes and find ways of carrying
out their own desires, either through the discovery that
the supposed 

meretrix
is really a citizen, so that marriage
may take place, or even be legally necessary,
if the girl has given or is about to give birth to a child;
or, if the girl is a slave in the hands of a 

brother-keeper, by tricking his father or some other per-
son out of the money for her purchase, which is usually
followed by her manumission. As will be noted in a later
chapter, the comic writers may be a trifle morally in-
different at times. Even so, a morally most indifferent
playwright would not dare repeatedly show on the stage
action of a sort generally regarded as immoral being
carried on and, what is more, being carried on with suc-
cess and without unhappy consequences for its prac
cisers. A second bit of evidence that no moral importance was
placed on masculine chastity as such is the fact that in
Athens prostitution was not only permitted, but that
brothels were actually operated by the government. This
latter is not of course conclusive evidence, since the

5. This is the situation in Terence's Andria, Adelphoe; Plautus' Aulularia; Menander's Heros, Samia, and
Georgos.
6. This happens in the following plays: Terence: Phormio, Hecyra, Pseudolus.
7. See Darmberg et Saglio, s.v. Meretrices, vol. III, p. 1825

10.
motive might have been the same one which has prompted the licensing of prostitution in many countries, and, to take a more familiar example, the making of the liquor trade a state monopoly, namely, the theory that since such acknowledged evils cannot be eradicated by prohibitive legislation it is better to permit them, submit them to some state regulation to see that they are conducted as honorably as possible, and, incidentally, make them a source of revenue. The writer in Darenberg et Saglio suggests that this is the motive behind the establishment, by Solon, of the state-owned brothels at Athens. However, consideration of modern practice shows, I believe, that governments do not often if ever engage directly in types of business which are under strong disrepute as being intensely immoral, like prostitution, but limit themselves to activities which, like liquor or gambling, are condemned more because of their possibly physically and economically damaging effect on the individual who extensively indulges in them than for their sinful implications. So, it would seem to be the likely conclusion that the patres seueri objected to their sons' amores meretricii on the same grounds that most present day parents object to excessive drinking on the part of their sons and daughters.

It is quite possible that the period of Athenian history reflected by the Perini New Comedy and the Roman

comedy may have been characterized by a greater degree of sexual excess, as well as excess in all types of sensual enjoyment, on the part of young men than were earlier epochs. It does not follow that this change involved any breakdown of any previously existing rigid moral standards. It was more likely due to two factors. One was the increase in leisure to be devoted to pleasure which resulted from the greater degree of wealth and prosperity which came with the city’s position of dominance which it acquired after the Persian wars. The loss of political freedom probably worked in the same direction. Formerly the male citizen devoted a considerable amount of his energy to politics. With that field of activity cut off he would naturally give the time which he had formerly consumed in that way to pleasure. The second factor was the increase in the non-citizen population which took place at the same time, thus providing a greater number of women with whom the Athenian male might have legally unrestrained relations.

A little consideration will make it plain that the rules governing the sexual behavior of citizens which we find operating in comedy are exactly what one would naturally expect in an intensely patriarchal society in which no particularly idealizing attitude toward women was prevalent, as had been true of the Christian world. It is important to remember that the Greco-Roman religion did not place anything like the emphasis on
chastity that Christianity does. This is quite obvious from the familiar myths. It is hardly to be expected that, without some strong provocation, the dominant men of a patriarchal system would impose any sweeping injunction of chastity on themselves. Prohibition of promiscuous relations with female citizens and, of course, severe condemnation of any infidelity on the part of wives is exactly what one would expect. It would be a mere protection of property rights. The same applies to female prenuptial chastity. Its preservation would be necessary to guard a girl's marriageability. This motive would have been even stronger under a system of wife-buying than under the system prevailing in historical times. We have the testimony of Aristotle⁹ and hints in Homer¹⁰ that marriage by purchase did actually prevail at an early period in Greece. As far as foreign women are concerned, it is easy to see that, provided little recognition were given the property and other civil rights of aliens, that the male citizen would not feel bound by the same restraints that he observed in the case of the wives and daughters of his fellow citizens. Perhaps one should add, by way of justice to the Athenians, that at the time represented by the comedy the commission of rape was doubtlessly regarded as a crime against the maiden in question, not

⁹ Politics, II, 8. P. 1268b.
¹⁰ Iliad, II, 144 et seq. Perhaps also Odyssey, II, 52 et seq.
as a mere trespassing of her father's property rights, although that the latter idea was not entirely absent is indicated by language of this sort (Aulularia, 740): "Quid id ausus facere ut id quod non tuum esset tangere?"

On the other hand, we find both notions introduced in the following (Aulularia, 791):

"Nunc te obstestor, Euelio, ut si quid ego erga te impudens feceris aut guatam tuam, ut si ignoscas camque ex cere mihi des, ut leges iubent."

Before going on to the more specific treatment of violation of sexual tabus in comedy, a subject already extensively alluded to, it may perhaps be advisable to pause in order to note a situation which, in the light of modern standards, is much more strikingly unusual than is the degree of sexual liberty allowed men. This is the lack of objection to marriage on the part of half-brothers and half-sisters who had the same father but different mothers.11 Such a relation figures in Menander's Georgos. There is also, of course, no objection to marriage between first cousins related through their grandfather. This is shown in the Phormio of Terence and Plautus' Poenulus. In the Phormio we have reference to an odd statute which would seem to indicate a general lack of objection to marriage between the closely related.11

Phormio, a clever parasite, intends to use the law to bring about a marriage, in the face of paternal objections, and between a young man an impecunious orphan girl with whom

11. See Dar. et Sag., s.v. Incestum, vol III1, p. (Note con.)
he has fallen in love. This is the way Phormio stated the law and explained his intentions:

"Lex est ut orbae, qui sint genere proxumi
eis nubant, et illos ducere esse haec lex iubet.
egesta cognatum dicam et tibi scriptam dicam;
paternum amicum me adsimulabo virginis:
ad iudices ueniamus: qui fuerit pater,
qua mater, qui cognata tibi sit, omnia haec
confingam: quod erit mihi benum atque commodum,
quom tu horum nil fecelles, uncam scilicet."

(Theorinio, 126-122)

The Greeks were not, however, without a profound horror of incest. This is plainly brought out in Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus. Apparently, they simply had a much less inclusive conception of incest than we do.

Sufficient notice has already been taken of the subject of violation of the female chastity tabu earlier in this chapter. We shall now turn our attention to the violation of the tabu prohibiting a man's having intercourse with a female citizen other than his wife. Out and out adultery, in sense of the violation of a married woman, with the exception of the divinely committed adultery of the Amphitryon, is not to be found in the comedies; but cases of rape are frequent, being found in the following plays: Terence: Bocra, Adelphoe, and Bucchus; Menander: Epitrepontes, Eunuchus, Heros, and

Il. (Continued) 449. See also Gilbert Norwood, "Greek Comedy" (Boston, 1882), page 324, Note 3. He is refering to the Georgos: "She is ομομητήρα [of the same father], therefore there was no objection on principle. Α ομομητήρα [of the same mother] was out of the question."
Georgos; Plautus: Aulularia and Truculentus. The plot of the Heros, according to the metrical hypothesis in the Cairo Papyrus, involves two such cases.

The case of rape in the Eunuchus is committed as a result of misunderstanding. Antipho, who has entered the house of the courtesan, Thais, disguised as an Eunuch, violates the maiden, Pamphila, under the perfectly natural assumption that she is not a citizen, under which condition there would be nothing wrong in his act. Our meagre fragments of the Heros do not reveal the circumstance under which Flagon was violated; the hypothesis (lines 6 and 8) merely says:

"νείτων δὲ τις
προσκήνεικε μετὰ βίοις Τυρνίσσακον."

and the mutilated condition of the text renders the conclusion that the other case of rape which figures in the play, that of Myrrhine, took place at the festival of Alea Athena a bit conjectural. As for the case in the Georgos, we have no way of determining its circumstances; our remains of the play are too scant. Otherwise, with these exceptions, we always find that the crime has been committed by an intoxicated youth, generally at night and frequently at some festival occasion. We generally find a very liberal attitude being taken toward this delinquency. Provided that the guilty youth is willing to make amends.

by marrying the girl, as was required by law, those interested, including the girl's parents, are generally willing to excuse the incident. The seducer is, incidentally, always represented as willing to make such restitution, indeed even anxious to do so, although, as in the Adelphoe, he may be misunderstood and wrongly accused of attempting to escape his responsibility. It is worth noticing that in the Adelphoe we actually find Hegio, the patron of the assaulted girl whose assailant is believed to be repudiating his obligations toward her, censoring Demea, the youth's father, for too sweepingly condemning his son's act:

"HEGIO. oh, te quaerebam ipsum: salve, Demea.
DEMEA. quid autem? HE. maior filius tuos Aeschinus, quem fratri adoptandum dedisti, neque boni neque liberalis functus officiunst uiri.
DE. quid istue est? HE. nostrum amicum noras Simulum sequalum? DE. quid ni? HE. filiam eius uirginem utiuit. DE. hem! HE. mane: nondumandiisti, Demea, quod est grauissimum. DE. an quiquam est etiam amplius? HE. uero amplius; nam hoc quidem ferendum aliquo modest:
persusit nox amor uinum adulascencia:
humanumst."  
(Adelphoe, 462-471)

It is also interesting to note how closely the opinions of the boy's uncle and father by adoption, Micio, and those of the girl's mother, Sostrata, and her slave, Canthara, coincide with those of Hegio:

"MICIO... uirginem utiasti quam te non ius fuerat tangere.
iam id peccatum primum magnum, magnum, at humanum tamen: 
feiere alii saepe item boni."
(Adelphoe, 686-688)

"CANTHARA. Pol is [Aeschinus] quidem iam hic aderit; nam numquam unum intermittit di
We cannot help but agree that the attitudes expressed in the above are in one respect at least exceedingly sound: although the act is admittedly culpable, they do not waste time either in bitter condemnation or effusive expression or effusive expression of regret, but proceed, instead, to adjust themselves to an unalterable situation as best they can. On the other hand, we may be just a little disgusted at their placid acceptance of rape as a necessary evil. We may even go so far as to indict the Athenians for "moral weakness," citing the relative infrequency (so at least we think) of this offense among us as evidence. Yet, as is always true, this judging of a people by the standards of another place and period is certainly a little unjust. We should consider the radical differences in the relationships of young people of opposite sex among ourselves and at ancient Athens. It must be remembered that, with the exception of occasional festivals, the respectable Athenian maiden rarely appeared in public; and that the only girls with whom young men came in frequent contact, with the exception of their own sisters, were slaves or non-citizen courtesans, toward whom no restraint no restraint was either expected or practiced. Therefore,
it is not surprising that on the infrequent occasions
when respectable girls were at large young men, particularly
when somewhat intoxicated, would not infrequently tem-
porarily forget and treat them as they would the girls
with whom they ordinarily associated.

The tabus which have been discussed in this chapter
are not the only types of control of sexual behavior
which is found operating in the comedies. In addition to
them we find considerations of "good taste" playing
a very important role. That will be discussed in the next
chapter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

Page 6: Hoeyle, 361-414

"What a catastrophe! How to start upon it? How
to begin the story of this miserable surprise? Part
of it my eyes told me, part of it my ears. Oh, it
made me rush wildly out of the house. When just now
I hurried in so anxiously, expecting to find my wife
suffering from a far different complaint from what,
alsm! I found, the maidservants catching sight of me
at once cried out joyfully, every one of them together,
"He is come," the very moment they saw me. The moment
after I saw a change in the looks of all of them,
because chance had timed my arrival so unopportune.
Presently one of them hurried away to report that I
was come. Eager to see my wife I followed at her
heels. When I came into the room I instantly recog-
nized her complaint to my utter misery. They had had
no time to conceal it, and she could find voice
only for involuntary cries. When I saw it 'Oh mon-
strous! monstrous!' I cried and hurried away in
tears, overwhelmed by such an incredible, such a
dreadful, fact. Her mother came after me. I had got to
the door when she threw herself on her knees, poor
woman. I was touched. The fact is, I think, that we
are all proud and humble according to our circumstances. Then she began addressing me in this strain: *O my dear Pamphilus, you see the reason why she left your house. Yes, an outrage has offered some time ago to my virgin daughter by some reprobate: now she has fled hither to hide these consequences from you and the world.' Remembering her words I cannot help breaking into tears. 'Whatever chance,' she went on, 'has brought you here today, by that chance we conjure you, if the laws of man and God allow it, to keep her misfortune an absolute secret before all. If you have ever been conscious of any affection for you in her heart, my dear Pamphilus, she begs you not to grudge her this return of it. As to taking her back or not, you must be guided by your own interests. No one else knows that she is with child and not with you. *For, they say, she slept with you for a period of two months following the marriage, and it is now the seventh month of your marriage, as of course you know.* Now, if possible, Pamphilus, I am greatly desirous and I am doing my best to keep the birth secret from her father and from everybody. If they can't be prevented from becoming aware of it, I shall say there has been a miscarriage. I am sure no one will have any suspicion, since it looks so like it, but that the child is yours. It shall be at once exposed: it will cause you no inconvenience, and you will have concealed the shameful wrong done to my unhappy child.' I gave the promise and am resolved to keep my word. As to taking her back, I don't think that would look at all well*, and I shan't do it, though my love and the time we spent together makes a strong bond upon me. It makes me weep to think of her life in the future and the loneliness of it. Oh Fortune, Fortune, so fickle in your smiles! But to this I have been schooled by my former passion which at the time I deliberately got rid of: I will try to do the same now with this.

"Here comes Parmenon with the servants. He certainly must have no hand in the matter *for he is the only one I told that I had no intercourse with her in the beginning, when I married her. I am afraid

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a. The point that the rest do not know is that for these two months he had no intercourse with her, for the reason given in note 3. After the end of two months he went away on a trip from which he has just returned.

b. In the portion between the asterisks the translator vitiated the sense for the sake of euphemism.

(Continued)
that he may hear her outcry any time now and know that she is in labor. I will have to send him off somewhere until after so as to get him away while Philumena is having her child."

(Tr. Sargeaunt)

Page 8: Mercator, 817-829.

"It's indeed stern, this law that these unfortunate woman live under, and not any way near so fair as the one thag governs men. Now, if a man, without his wife's knowing it, has relations with a whore, and his wife finds it out, there's nothing she can do about it; but if a wife leaves the house secretly, without her husband knowing it, why, he has grounds for divorce. I only wish that the same law that applies to wives applied to husbands! A wife, if she is a good one, is satisfied with one husband: why shouldn't a husband be satisfied with one wife? You can be sure I'd see to it, if only husbands that call on whores were treated like guilty wives, that there'd be a lot more single men than there are single women now."

Page 14: Aulularia, 791-794.

"Now I beg of you, Euclio, that if I, in my recklessness, have done any wrong to you or to your daughter that you pardon me and let me marry her as the law requires."

Aulularia, 740

"How did you dare touch that which you had no right to?"

Page 15: Phormio, 126-122.

"There is a law providing that orphan girls shall marry their nearest of kin, and also compelling their closest male kinsman to wed them. Now I will say that you are a kinsman of this girl and will bring suit against you. I'll pretend I am a friend of her father. We'll come before the magistrates; I'll tell who her father was and her mother, how she is related to you, fixing up a story covering all these points. It will be clear sailing for me because you won't give any opposition; I'm sure to win."

b. (Continued) I have substituted my own rendering.
c. A better rendering would be "it wouldn't be at all respectable" of "proper." F. is not concerned with mere appearance as "look well" might imply.
d. Latin ambiguous. Could as well be "my life."
Page 16: Heron, metrical hypothesis, lines 6 and 7.

"A neighbor had previously violently wronged the girl."

Page 17: Adelphoe, 462-471.

"HEGO. You're the very man I was hunting for. How do you do, Demea. DEMEA. What was it you wanted? HE. Your elder son Aeschinus, the one your brother adopted, has behaved in a way most unbecoming of a good man and a gentleman. DE. Why, what did he do? HE. You knew our friend and fellow Simulus? DE. Of course. HE. The boy violated his daughter. DE. What's that you say? HE. Easy now; you haven't heard the worst part of it. DE. Could anything be worse? HE. Certainly. The night, wine, his youth all conspired to make him do it: it's only human."

Adelphoe, 686-688.

"MISIA... You have wrung a girl to whom you had no right. That's a serious offense; yes, a serious one, but it's natural. Many another good man has done the same."

Adelphoe, 232-237.

"CANTHARA. He (Aeschinus) certainly ought to be here any time now, for he never passes up a day without coming. SOSTRATA. He's the one solace in my troubles. CA. As things are we couldn't expect anything much better, Mistress. Since the girl has been violated, it is fortunate that he was the man, being of such character, of such good heart, and of such a good family."
In the preceding chapter attention was given to the more important tabus which we find operating in the comedies of Plautus, Terence, and Menander as restrainers of sexual behavior. In this chapter attention will be given to the more indefinite, less mandatory, but equally important rules of behavior which I have termed "standards of good taste." This subject is in two ways broader in scope than that of the preceding chapter. In the first place, we will be more concerned with indications of individual attitudes on the part of the comic poets. That this is the result of the less definite, less static character of the concept of "good taste" does not require explanation. As a result, whereas in the last chapter evidence from the plays of Plautus, Terence, and Menander was used essentially indiscriminately, here we will have to make distinctions, particularly between Plautus on one hand and Terence and Menander on the other.

"Ne quid nimis."

In spite of the fact that Terence, in the Andria (line 61), puts this well-known expression in the mouth of an incidental character, the freedman Sosia, it expresses, never-the-less, a moral idea which was obviously of preeminent importance in the minds of the poets of the
New Comedy, namely, a temperance consisting not of the 
austere avoidance of possibly deleterious pleasurable 
indulgence, but in a careful balancing of such indulgence 
with the necessary amount of attention to the serious 
aspects of life in such a way as to obtain the greatest 
degree of healthy enjoyment. Dissolute prodigality and 
abstemious austerity are equally rebuked in the comedian's 
good natured though effective way: by showing them up as 
ridiculous and making them the subject of laughter.

Terence's Adelphoe may most conveniently be used 
to exemplify this condemnation of both extremes. There 
we meet two brothers, Micio and Demea. The former is 
a bachelor living in Athens, while the latter, who lives 
on a farm outside the city, has married and has two sons, 
Stesipho and Aeschimus. The former he has reared himself, 
while the latter has been adopted by Micio. The two men 
have, as a result of sharp differences in their characters, 
followed radically different procedures in rearing the boys.

Micio outlines these differences as follows:

"Atque ex me me his natus non est, sed ex fratre. is

meo
dissimili studiost iam inde ab adolescentia:
ego hanc clementem uiam urbanam atque otium
secutus sum et, quod fortunatum isti putant,
uxorem numquam habeui. ille contra haec omnia:
ruri agere uiam; semper paxce ac duriter
se habere; uxorom duxit; nati filii
do: inde ego hunc maiores adoptae mihi;
eduxi a paruolo, habui, amavi pro meo;
in eo me objecto: solum id est carum mihi.
ille ut item contra me habeat facio sedulo:
do, maximim praetermitte, non necesse habeo omnia
pro meo iure agere; postremo, alii clanculum
There is much that is right in what Micio says. His contentions are certainly much sounder than those of his brother, Demea. Therefore, in the first part of the play especially, Demea is humorously "shown up." His "good boy" turns out just as Micio has predicted. Aeschinus, it is true, does not quite measure up to all his uncle's expectations, but he does not fall down with the dismalness of his brother. Demea does not fail to realize the faultiness of his ways. 1 "After taking counsel with himself concerning the agreeable results of Micio's easy and indulgent mode of life, and comparing his brother's way with his own, he resolves to imitate Micio and thus

1. Adelphoe, 855-881.
make friends for himself. By adopting an extreme course, however, he shows that his brother's behavior is in the excess of true liberality and therefore in error. The upshot of the play thus is that each brother is wrong. Neither of them has adhered to the proverb ne quid nimis."²

**Sexual Moderation**

We have just been observing the subtle exposition in Terence of the doctrine of moderation in the matter of parental discipline. Now we shall take notice of how moderation or "good taste" acted as a supplement to the sexual tabus. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that as far as the male citizen was concerned the only sort of sexual activity which was actually forbidden was intercourse with the wife or daughter of another citizen.³ As far as his relationships with the numerous women of foreign origin who dwelt in Athens and other Greek cities were concerned, there were no real restrictions. However, promiscuity was plainly frowned upon as a distinct breach of good taste: ungentlemanly and ludicrous. Perhaps the phrase "frowned upon" is inappropriate in this case, as the author of comedy did not frown; they laughed instead.

The outstanding example of promiscuity is to be found

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³ Chapter II, page 9.
in Plautus' Míles Glóríosus. Pyrgopolynices, whom we find described thus:

"Illest miles meus erus, qui hinc ad forum abívit, gloriosus, impudens, stercoreus, plenus peiiuri etque adulteri. Sit sese ultro omnis mulieres sectarier: is deridicolost quaqua incedit omnibus;"

(Míles Glóríosus, 88-92)

who likes to hear this sort of flattery from a parasite:

"Mulieréas! regitabant! 'hicine Achilles est? inquit mihi. 'immo eius frater' inquam 'est.' ibi illarum altera 'ergo mecaétor mulcher est' inquit mihi 'et liberalis uide eaeeries quam décert. ne illae sunt fortunatae quae cum isto cubant!'

(Míles Glóríosus, 61-65)

and who enjoys being commented on in this fashion:

"Audia tu, mulier? dixi hoc tibi dudum et nunc dico: nisi uerri adfertur merces; non hic suo seminio quamquam proculenam imperaturust"

(Míles, 1057-1060)

is easily tricked into dismissing his concubine, whom he had kidnapped at Athens, in favor of a girl who he is led to think is literally "pining away" for his "services" and is thus caught and subjected to coarse but effective ridicule in one of those rough and tumble final scenes which are so common in Plautus.

Sewing of Wild Oats

An important correlary to the concept of temperance which was followed by the comic writers (summarized on pages 23 and 24) and which is epitomized by the proverb, "ne quid nimis," is the approval or even recommendation

4. Cf. Mercator, 962-1026; Mostellaria, 1122-1181; Persa, 753-888; Pseudolus, 1285-1314; Stichus, 673-775.
of that sort of behavior which we term "sowing of wild oats."
Specifically, that is the leading sin the part of a man, at
during a limited period in his youth, of an indulgent, irre-
sponsible, even wanton and dissolute existence, at the conclu-
sion of which period the young man is expected to assume
the duties and responsibilities of an adult citizen and
settle down to an orderly life. In English literature,
without much question, the best example of this sort of
life is Shakespeare's story of King Henry V. As Prince
Hal we find him mentioned in King Richard II and exten-
sively in the First and Second Parts of Henry IV
leading a dissolute, lawless life in the company of Fal-
staff and his other low companions; but after his father's
death he becomes in King Henry V a wise and temperate mon-
arch. In comedy something of that sort is regarded as the
natural course in life. Indeed, it seems to be the notion
that a man has certain wanton tendencies which he is obliged
to satisfy sometime, to "get out of his system," as it were:

"Non est flagitium, mihi crede, adulescentulum
scortari neque potari: non est; neque forae
eccringerere. Hac si neque ego neque tu fecimus,
non silt egestas facere nos. tu nunc tibi
id laudis duos quad tum fecisti inopha?
inuriumet: nam si esset unde id fieret,
faceremus. et tu illum tuum, si esses homo,
sineres nunc facere, dum per aetatem licet,
poetius quam, ubi te expectatum siccisset foras,
alienore aetate post faceret temen."
(Adelphoe, 101-110)

Of similar import is the following fragment from Menandar:

κείνου μεν άντί όπλος ευρεσιν έχω
καὶ τιμωρίας καὶ των πάντων τόλμην;
οομείνυ καινούργιον ὡς γιατρικές ἁρδέα
ὔρωτος οὖν οὖν οὔτε οὔτε ἔχων οὔτε τρόπους,
δε οὖν τῶν διερεύνας των θεῶν νέμει
καὶ ὅτι καὶ πολλά μέν οὖν πρώτων ἐκεῖνοι.

28 28.
Here we find more definitely stated the idea which also figures in the quotation from the Adelphoe ("si esses home, sineres nunc facere, dum per aetatem licet, potius quam ... alienere aetate post faceret tamen"): the time for a man to sow his wild oats is in his youth; such behavior is both improper and unprofitable in an older man. This notion, we shall see a little later, is brought out forcibly in Plautus' Mercator.

The pater securus is an important character in Plautus and Terence. Some of the more outstanding are the following: Chremes and (to a lesser extent) Menecras in the Heauton Timorumenos, from what we see of him the unnamed Senex in the Bunuchus, Demipho and Chremes in the Phormio, Laches in the Hecyra, Demea in the Adelphoe, Theopropides in the Mostelalaria, Simo in the Pseudolus, and Demipho in the Mercator. The general character of these men is summed up by Clitiphe in the Heauton Timorumenos (214-216):

"...qui sequam censest nos a peris illico nasce senes neque illarum adfinis esse rerum quasi fert adhescentia. lubidine ex sua moderantur quae nunc est, non quae eplim fuit." These fathers mean to deny their sons this more or less natural and essential 'wild' period and make them settle down immediately. In the plays we always find them essentially at the losing end of the struggle; the son always gets to enjoy his "right." Furthermore, there is a tendency to
show them up as being not quite "on the level." It may be that they simply expect their sons to be different from what they themselves were. This is true in the case of Sime in the Pseudolus. In the quotation that follows Callipho is a good natured old fellow interceding in the son's behalf, and Pseudolus is the son's confidential slave:

"Call... sed si sint ea uera, ut nunc mos est, maxume, quid mirum fecit? quid nouem, adulescens home si amat, si amicum liberat? Ps. lepidum senem! SING. uetu' nolo faciat. CALL. at enim nequiquam nauis;

uel tu ne faceres tale in adulescentia. probum patrem esse opertet qui natum suum esse probiorem quam ipsus fuerit postulet. nam tu quod damni et quod fecisti flagiti populo uiritim petuit dispersiter. idne tu mirare, si patrissat filius?"

(Pseudolus, 433-442)

Demipho and Chremes in the Phormio are guilty of something worse than preaching what they don't practice: they practice such harshness toward the former's son, Antipho, because they want to use him in covering up the consequences of Chremes' double life. In addition to his home and family at Athens he has maintained, under the name of Stilpo, a second establishment on the island of Lemnos, and has financed it with the 'grafted' proceeds of his Athenian wife's Lemnian property. There has been a daughter born to the Lemnian wife, who has now reached marriageable age; and the two old men, Chremes and Demipho, conceive the brilliant scheme of marrying her off to Antipho, thus avoiding the embarrassing revelations which might result
if she were given to a stranger. Hence they were truly incensed when Antipho has himself forced, through the machinations of the parasite, Phormio, to marry the poor orphan girl with whom he has fallen in love. Happily the poor girl turns out to be the Lemnian daughter who has come to Athens with her mother to look up "Stilpe" who has stayed away unduly long on his "business trip." The mother has since died leaving the daughter alone in the "big city." As a final touch, the shameless old sinner is given an exquisite touch of pieces niceness. He meets his Lemnian daughter's maid servant in front of his brother's house. His wife is inside. He has an uncomfortable time trying to keep the maid from giving anything away and in explaining that he isn't Stilpe. Then the maid explains what she has done with the girl: "I, poor old woman that I was," she says, "did the best I could and found the girl a husband, the young master of this house here." "Antipho?" Chremes asks in surprise. "Yes, he's the one." Then comes the fine stroke: "What do you mean?" he asks in innocent surprise, "has he two wives?" Then he learns that the orphan whose marriage with Antipho he and his brother have been trying to break up is none other than his own daughter. This same streak breaks out again near the end of the play. When--and bear in mind that he has already been thoroughly exposed--he finds out that his boy has bought a mistress from a leco and freed her, he starts to express indignation: "Eh, what's that you say?" But his wife (Athenian) puts him in his place: "I suppose it seems terrible to you"

5. Phormio, 751-754.
that your son, a young man at that, has one mistress when you have two wives? Have you no shame? How will you dare upbraid him? Answer me that?" Chremes simply replies, "He'll do what you want."

Chremes is a capital specimen of his type, a type which, it is doubtless trite to mention, is omnipresent. Another good exhibit is Demipho in the Mercator. His 'lines' about "what I did when I was a boy" ought to end all such 'lines'. The following is from the prologue, spoken by Charinus, the son:

"(Dixit) sese extemplo mi ex ephelis postquam exscerserit, memem ad, amori neque desidiae in otio operam dedisse neque potestatem sibi suisse; adeo arte exhibitum esse se a patre: multo opere in mundo rustico seexecitum neque nisi quinto anno quoque solitum usere urbem atque extemplo inde, ut spectauisset peplum, rursus confestim exigi solitum a patre. ibi multo primum sese familiarium laborauisset, quom habe pater sibi dicet: 'tibi aras, tibi occas, tibi seris, tibi item metis, tibi denique iste pater laetitiam labos.' postquam recessit uita patricio corpore, agrum se mendisse atque ea pecunia natim, metretas quae trescentas tolleret, parasce atque ea se mercis uscatum undique, adeo cum, quae tum haberet, peperisset bona; me idem decere, si ut secetar me forem." (Mercator, 61-78)

Finally in desperation Charinus decides to follow this extravagant example. His father fits him out with a ship, he renounces his love and sets sail. But, as the old man might have expected, he falls for a slave girl on the

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32.
island of Rhodes, buys her and brings her back to Athens. Charinus is, of course, in fear lest this affair come to his father's attention. When the old man unexpectedly appears on board Maximum the ship soon after arrival Charinus' slave, Acanthic, makes up a desperate alibi for the girl's presence: the son intends her as a present for his mother, as a maid. Neither the young man nor the slave have the slightest idea Demipho will believe the story, and think that they are lost. But they are wrong indeed. What the old kill-joy does is to fall desperately in love with the girl himself. Space does not permit, nor the purpose of this paper allow that I give a detailed account of how the old man contrives to steal his son's mistress by telling him that she would not do as a maid and then forcing through a fake sale to his friend and next door neighbor, Lysimachus, in whose house she is quartered; how the latter gets into trouble with his own wife as a result, with the consequence that he turns against Demipho; and how Lysimachus' son, Eutychus, helps Antipho find out what his father's 'game' really is. The play, like the Miles Gloriosus, ends with a boisterous, abusive scene in which Demipho is scathingly ridiculed and rebuked by Lysimachus and Eutychus. The following quotations is from the scene in which Demipho makes his first appearance, soon after discovering the girl:

"Ad portum hinc abii mane cum luci semel; postquam id quod uolui transagi, atque ego conspicer

7. See page 27.
naeim ex Rhodo quete heri aduectus filius; oonlibitumest illuc mihi nesciequi uhere: inscendo in lembum; atque ad naeim deuehor. atque ego illi aspicio forma eximio mulierem, filiu' quam aduexit me' matri ancillam suae. quam ego postquam aspexi, non ita amo ut sanei solent homines sed eodem pacto ut insanei solent. amani hercle equidem ego olim in aulescentia, uerum ad hoe exemplum numquam ut nune insanio." (Mercator, 255-265)

His bland admission that he had his due share of love when he was young, "amani hercle equidem ego olim in aulescentia," does not fit in very well with the tale of toil and prayer which he handed out to Antipho. We shall now skip over to the final scene where the old fool— and he certainly illustrated the adage, "There's no fool like an old fool"— is rebuked and ridiculed by Lysimachus and Eutychus:

"DE. ille quidem illam esse ancillam matri emisse dixerat.
EV. propterea agitur tu mercatu's, nomos amator, uetu' puere?
LY. optume herche, perge, ego adsistam hinc altrinsecus. quibus est dictis dignus usque enereus ambo. DE. nulli' sum.
LY. filio sue qui innocenti fecit tantam iniuriam....
DE. fateor, deliqui prefecto. EV. etiam lequere, larue?
uacuem esse istae ted aetate his decebat moxieis. itidem ut tempus anni, aetate alia alia factum conuenit;
nam si istuc ius est, senecta aetate scortari senus, ubi locist res summa nostra puplicia? DE. ei, perii miser!
LY. aulescentes rei agendae isti magi' solent operam dare.
DE. iam opsebro herel' uobis habete cum porsis, cum fiscina.
EV. reddo illi. DE. sibi habeat, iam ut uolit per me sibi habeat licet.
EV. temperi edepol, quoniam ut aliter facias non est copias.
DE. supplicii sibi sumat quid uolt ipse ob hans iniuri-
modo pacem faciatis oro, ut ne mihi iratus sint....
LY. ora ut ignoscat delictis tuis atque adolescentiae."
(Mercator, 535-536, 982-992, 997)

This passage provides a very good general summary of the
attitudes involved: the standards of moderation vary with
age; a young man has the right to lead a rather wild life,
and so Charinus is described as *innocens*; a man of more
advanced age is expected to lead a temperate existence
and for him to go into competition with his son is doing
the boy a great injustice (*magna iniuria*); and, furthermore,
that the older man lead such an orderly life is necessary
for the welfare of the state: "si istuc ius est, senecta
aestate scortari senes,/ ubi locist res summa nostra puplica?"
"If that's permissible, for our old men to go in for
whoring in their old age; what's going to happen to our
great state?"

It is well worth noting that the *ne quid nimis* idea
is not neglected by the comic writers in their champion-
ing of the rights of the *adolescentes* against the *patres
seneri*. Therefore, we find that not infrequently a father
puts an end forcibly to his son's too wild life by forcing
him to marry. In the *Andria*, Simo's idea in trying to
get his son, Pamphilus, to marry is apparently something
of this sort: he wants the boy to "have his fun," but he
does not want him to go too far:

"dum tempus ad eam rem tuit, siue, animam ut explorret
suom;"
Simo is, though, a trifle strict in that he considers that it is going too far for Pamphilus to get involved in a love affair.

Laches in the Hecyra, really a beastly character, did a similar thing when he forced his Pamphilus, who was rather deeply involved in an affair with Bacchis, a courtesan, to marry against the lad's will. It turns out that this action was really well advised, as, despite the temporary complication with which the play is concerned, the ultimate result is very satisfactory.

Chremes of the Heauton Timorumenos finally puts an end to Clitipho's having any more affairs like the one he has had with Bacchis by making him marry.

Lesbemicus in Plautus' Trinummus is handled in a similar way by his father, Charmides, to that in which Chremes handled Clitipho.

Finally, Menander, in the Perikeiromene, introduces a similar conclusion to that of the Heauton Timorumenes. Moschion is of a rather rash, unrestrained sort. The goddess Agnoia, in the prologue, describes him as πλούτωντα καὶ μεθύντ' κεί', rich and always drinking. It is through

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8. Hecyra, 124 et seq.
9. Heauton Timorumenes, 1045 to end.
10. Trinummus, 1181 to end.
his rather impetuous action in kissing Glycera, concubine of his soldier neighbor, Polemon, that the dramatic action of the play is set in motion. It so happens that the result is for the good of all concerned. Apparently, though, his father, Pataecus, thinks it wise to prevent him from starting anything of the sort again, since the extent remains of the play end in this way:

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ἐπέησεν τὸν Ἐρώτησιν

τὸ γάμον μόι τῷ γὰρ ἱππῶ λαμβάνειν

Τὸν τοῦ φιλίου θυγατέρα

ΜΟΧΙΑΝ

ὡς τῷ καὶ θεῷ

(Perikeiromene, 905-908)

It might be worth remarking parenthetically that comparison with the Neauton Timorumenos would lead one to strongly suspect that our manuscript breaks off within a dozen lines of the actual end of the play.

**Linguistic Propriety**

Ideas as to what subjects may be discussed with propriety and what sorts of language may be used are exceedingly complex and rather unstable. For the most part, ideas and words which it is considered proper to avoid, and which we term "indecent" or "obscene," have to do with certain aspects of the anatomy and the physiology of man and the other animals, generally those concerned with reproduction and excretion. The place where the "line" is to be drawn seems to be determined in a rather arbitrary fashion. For example, we freely mention and elaborately
commemorate the anniversary of our birth, but the assem-
blage at the average birthday party would be shocked in-
deed if anyone should dare mention the merest physical
detail of the event they are celebrating. Likewise, the
line is differently drawn under different circumstances:
a small group of men will throw off nearly all restrictions
of subject and vocabulary; mixed groups, the press, the
radio, and the stage observe fairly close restrictions on
both; while in scientific discussions, as far as subject is
concerned, nothing is excluded, but, in the matter of vo-
cabulary, the natural, but indecent, Anglo-Saxon terms
are cast aside in favor of originally less familiar Greek
and Latin derivatives which bear less stigma. It is, of
course, familiar to all that these standards differ at dif-
ferent periods. An example is afforded by Shakespeare's,
or even more strikingly Chaucer's, relative freedom from
such limitations in contrast to the "niceness" of nineteenth
century and, to a diminishing extent, of contemporary
literature.

Plautus on one hand, and Terence and Menander on the
other observed rather different standards of propriety.
Neither, seemingly, recognized any particular limitation
as to subject: they knew no great "unmentionables." 11
One need only cite the extensive use of sexual irregularities
such as rape in the plots and the birth scenes in which a
woman, backstage, is heard to cry out in travail. 12 Where

11. I do not mean to imply that there were not sub-
(Note cont'd.)
Where the critics differ most strikingly is in the greater
degree of delicacy shown by Terence and Menander in avoid-
ing reference to the grosser physical details of the sex-
ual matters they are treating. A fairly good illustration
of this difference is to be found in the way they handle
the childbirth outcry:

Plautus, Aulularia, 691-692:

PHAEDRIA. peri, mea nutrix, opsecoro te uterum dolet.
Iuno Lucina, tuae fidem!

Terence, Andria, 473:

GLYGERIVM. Iuno Lucina, fer opem, serva me obscecro.

Note how Plautus introduces the physical detail, uterum
dolet, which Terence omits.

Anyone who has read the plays of Plautus and Terence
and the Menander fragments knows how, in contrast to the
other two, Plautus, generally for the sake of humor, intro-
duces a considerable degree of coarseness. A few examples
will suffice:

"summa olefectora oportet vestimentum muliebre,
nam ex istoe loco spurgatur nasum odor inlutilii."
(Menasmchmi, 167-168)

The following joke is of some interest for its "barnyard"
ring. The speaker is refering to a closely written letter:

"ut opinor, quaerant litterae hae sibi liberos:
alia aliam scandit."
(Pseudolus, 23-25)

II. (Continued) Jests which were avoided. This was true
of politics, but that was doubtlessly due to fear of re-
prisals rather than to an idea that polities were indecent!

12. Aulularia, 691; Andria 473.

39.
This next quotation, from the letter mentioned above, written by a courtesan to her beloved, illustrates profuse physical reference:

"nume nostri amores, moreas, consustudines, ioco, ludus, sermo, suasaniosis, compressiones artae amantum corporum, tenereis labellis molles mersiunciulae, nostre [erum ergorum s -iunculae, papillarem heridularum oppressiunculae, harana succuptatum si omnium atque ibidem tibi distractio, discidium, wasitiae usit."

(Propertius, 68-70)

Passages like these are practically non-existent in Menander and Terence. Indeed, Terence is noteworthy for his frank but delicate treatment of sexual problems. An excellent example of this is the passage in the Eunuchus in which Chaerea tells how, disguised as an eunuch, he raped the maiden Pamphila. It is true that there is a trace of "suggestiveness" in this passage, a feature to which Plautus' blunt coarseness is perhaps preferable. However, Terence does not often employ the device, and in this instance it was perhaps unavoidable. At any rate, in using it he is quite in accord with modern practice. Other passages which may be cited as examples of frank yet delicate treatment of problems of sexual irregularity are Hecyra, 114-175, and, in Menander, Epistrepentes, 225-239, the passage in which the harp-girl Abrotemon, the slave, Onesimus, and, for a short time at the beginning of the scene,

the charcoal burner, Syricus, discuss ways and means of

13. 549-606, more especially, 599-608.

establishing the identity of a foundling which is in the
possession of Syriscus as the child of Onesimus' master,
Charisius, and an unidentified maiden whom Abraētanēn
knew to have been violated during the night festival of
the Teurepolia. A considerable portion of this passage,
lines 247-279, XXX is quoted in Chapter V.

A rather noteworthy instance of difference in purely
linguistic standards to be found between Plautus and
Terence is to be found in the comparative frequency with
which the term *scortum* is used in reference to a prostitute.
Terence, as far as I have been able to determine, uses
the noun only twice, *Adelphoe*, 965, and *Eunuchus*, 424.
The verb, *scortari*, is likewise found twice, *Hesston
Timocrates*, 206, and *Adelphoe*, 102. Plautus, on the
other hand, uses the words with great frequency. This
difference is not due to the words' passing out of use
in the language, as *scortum* occurs in writings of the
Augustan age (Horace and Tibullus)\textsuperscript{15} and *scortari*
even in the Vulgate.\textsuperscript{16} The probable, or at least a likely reason
is that *scortum* with its basic meaning of *hide* was felt
to be somewhat coarser and more indecent than *seretrix,*
"she who earns money," with the result that Terence avoided
it.

The question now to be considered is this: what im-
lications may we draw from this rather sharp difference in

\textsuperscript{15} See *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, s.v.
\textsuperscript{16} Op. cit. s.v.
Plautine and Terentian standards of linguistic propriety? May we assume that this difference is due to a change in popular standards of good taste as a result of which the coarseness of Plautus had fallen from favor? This would be an easy explanation, but, unfortunately, it is untenable. In the first place many of Plautus' plays were revived and produced after Terence's death, and, indeed, our text of Plautus is based not on the plays as originally shown but on the more or less modified form in which they were presented at that later time.\(^1\) Secondly, we find in later examples of more or less informal poetry such as Catullus' and Martial's epigrams passages which, according to our standards, are many times more indecent and downright obscene than anything in Plautus. Indeed, Plautus is 'nice' by comparison. Roman ideas would have to have gone through strange gymnastics to have accepted Plautus in B.C.200, required Terentian propriety fifty years later, accepted Plautus in another ten or twenty years, and, by 50 B.C., allowed the publication of Catullus 32 or 56. If popular standards changed at all they changed so as to tolerate Terence, not so as to condemn Plautus.

The real explanation of why Terence observed stricter standards of propriety than Plautus is furnished by a consideration of the men themselves. Plautus, though not a Roman by birth, was at any rate Italian, and after

\(^1\) See Tenney Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, Calif. 1920), page 122.
his arrival in the city at an early age he became involved in the everyday toil and business of the city and was associated mainly with the common people of the lower and middle ranks of society. His standards were their standards. It has been remarked that in his plays Plautus shows himself slightly at a loss in portraying the 'gentleman,' as if that type or person were rather beyond his range of acquaintance. Terence, on the other hand, led a distinctly different life. An African by birth, brought to Rome as a slave, presumably as a mere child, he was reared in the home of the senator, Terentius Lucanus, who, attracted by the boy's handsomeness and intelligence, gave him a liberal education and freed him. Starting in this way he fell into the company of and became the intimate associate of the leading young aristocrats of the day, especially the younger Scipio Africanus and C. Iulius Sapiens, the younger. How this Scipionic circle were leaders in the trend toward adoption of Greek ideas, mannerisms, and literary standards. They would tend to favor not the rowdy, coarse, but probably truly Italian 'barnyard' humor of Plautus, but the urbane Hellenistic wit of Menander. Since Terence had never been closely associated with the ordinary, common people and probably was not entirely

18. See Aulus Gallus, Noctes Atticae III, iii, 14 for various occupations held by Plautus.
21. It is important to distinguish this Hellenistic manner and spirit, as represented by Menander from the (Note cont'd)
at ease among them, but was instead closely familiar with
the ways of the Scipionic circle, it is but natural that in
writing comedies he should adhere to their more urbane
standards of propriety. Plautus would feel the need for
more spice in his Greek originals, while Terence would
find the tone of his Menander quite to his liking and
would see no reason whatsoever for altering it.

21. (Continued) rowdier manner of earlier Athens
as represented in Aristophanes.

Appendix to Chapter III

Pages 24 and 25: Adelphoe, 40-77:

"And this lad isn't my own son but my brother's.
My brother's bent has differed from mine right away
from boyhood. I have led this easy life of town with-
out a calling and, a thing which men at the clubs
call a blessing, without even taking a wife. His
career has been the opposite. He has passed his days
in the country, always lived a hard and sparing life,
made, and had two sons. The elder of them I have
adopted. I have brought him up from childhood, regarded
him and loved him as my own son. In that is the
joy of my life, the one thing I hold dear. I am
jealous that he should share the same spirit towards
me. I give him money, overlook his pessadilloes, don't
feel compelled to exercise full authority over him.
In fact, whereas other sons hide their youthful
pranks from their fathers, I have trained my son not
to keep his a secret from me; for if a lad has got
accustomed or brings himself to meet his father with
falsehoods or tricks, all the more will he so meet others.

"In my view honour and gentlemanly feeling are
better curbs on a gentleman's son than fear. My
brother and I disagree in this, he is quite against
this view. He comes to me perpetually, crying 'What
are you about, Micio? Why are you bringing this boy to
ruin on our hands? Why this license? Why these drink-
ing parties? Why do you pile up the guineas for such
a life and let him spend so much at the tailors'?
It's extremely silly of you.' He himself is extremely hard, past right and sense, and in my opinion it's a great mistake to suppose that the authority which is founded on force has more weight and stability than that which hangs by the the kink of friendship. My system, my theory, is this: he who does his duty under the lash of punishment has no dread except in the thought of detection; if he thinks he won't be found out, back he goes to his natural bent. 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. That's the spirit of a true father, to accustom his son to do right rather by his own inclination than by fear of another, and that's the difference between the parent of sons and the owner of slaves. A man who can't do this should own many that he doesn't know how to rule a gentleman's sons."

(Tr. Sargeaunt)

Miles Gloriosus, 63-92:

"That soldier who left here for the forum is my master, a bragging, brazen, stercoraceous fellow, full of lies and lechery. He says that all the women insist in running after him. The fact is, wherever he struts, he is the laughing-stock of them all."

(Tr. Nixon)

Miles Gloriosus, 61-65:

"They (the women) started asking me questions: 'Is this fellow Achilles?' one of them said. 'No,' I answered, 'but he's his brother.' Then another one of them spoke up, 'He's surely handsome,' she said to me, 'and a gentleman. Look how pretty his hair is, I surely envy the women that get to sleep with him!'

Miles Gloriosus, 1057-1060:

"Woman, I told you before and I tell you again: This boar won't serve just any old sow unless he's given compensation."

a. The translator has here, as he frequently does, marred his otherwise excellent rendering by what I believe to be uncalled for euphemism. Of course, the sensible way to translate stercoraceous is "stinking."
Adelphoe, 101-110:

"It's no sin, believe me, for a young fellow to whore or to drink. No, it's no sin; and the same applies to breaking down a door. If you and I didn't do any of these things the reason was that we were too poor. I suppose you think it's to your credit that you behaved as you did then because you were to poor to do otherwise. It's unjust; if we had had the means to do what he's doing we'd have done it too. And if you were a man, you'd let that boy of yours do it too, now, when he's at the right age, rather than have him put it off until after the long-awaked day when he's kicked your corpse out of doors, and then run wild at a time of life much less fitting than now."

G 0vra6, 235K. Pages 358-360, Allinson:

"Is not, then, Eros greatest of the gods and anyhow by far the most esteemed of all? For no man is so very niggardly as not to share with this god a part of his property. All events Eros orders those towards whom he is gentle to do this while they are still young, whereas those who make postponement till old age pay interest in addition for the lapse of time."

(Tr. Allinson)

Page 29: Beauteon Timorumens, 214-216:

"... who think it proper that we turn from children straight into old men, and not have anything to do with those things that are natural to young people. They govern us in accordance with the kind of desires they have now, in their old age, not the kind they had when they were young."

Page 30: Pseudolus, 433-442:

CALL "But supposing they're true, has he done anything surprising, especially when moral standards are what they are today? If a lad's in love and sets his lady

\[b\]. The young man in question had broken into the house of a [lens] and stolen a girl.
free, it that a new thing? PS. Delightful old gentle-
mend SIMO. I object to his doing an old thing. CALL.
Ah, but your objections don't count; or else you
shouldn't have done the same thing in your own youth.
It behoves a father to be blameless, if he expects
his son to be more blameless than himself. As for
you, your extravagances and enormities were numerous
enough to go around the city, one splice. And You're
surprised if he's his father's son?"
(Tr. Nixon.)

Page 35: Mercator, 61-78:

"Why, here he was—he had not turned to love affairs
and lolling about in idleness like me the moment
he came of age, nor did he have a chance—to tightly
was he held in check by his father. Work on the
farm, dirty work and plenty of it, that was his
training, and there was no visiting the city for him,
except once every four years, and just as soon as
he had set eyes on the sacred robe his father used
to pack him off post haste to the farm again. And
there he was the best labourer of them all by far,
and his father would say: 'It is for yourself that
you plough, for yourself you harrow, for yourself
you mow, yes, and for yourself you reap,
and for yourself, finally that labour will engender
joy.' After life had left his father's body, he had
sold the farm and with the money bought a ship of
fifteen tons burden and marketed his cargoes of mer-
chandise everywhere, till he had at length acquired
the wealth which he then possessed. I ought to do
the same, if I were what I ought to be."
(Tr. Nixon)

Page 33: Mercator, 255-265:

down
"I went to the harbour this morning at daybreak;
after transacting the business I had in hand I suddenly
spied the ship that brought my son from Rhodes yester-

day, and for some unknown reason took emotion to go
and look it over. Climbing into a boat, I was
carried to the ship. And then I beheld a girl, a per-
fect beauty of a girl, brought here by my son to be
his mother's maid! The minute I set eyes in her I
fell in love—not as sane men do, but like a madman.
Lord, Lord! I've been in love before, of course, when
I was young, but never in any such mad way as this."
(Tr. Nixon)

e. "For the Panathenain festival." (Nixon's note)
d. "Presented to Athena." (Nixon's note)
"DE. But he said he bought her as a maid for his mother! EU. So that was why you purchased her, young lover? Eh, old boy? LY. A good point, by Jove! Keep it up, lad, I'll station myself on the other side of him! Let's both give him a good load of the language he deserves! DE. It's all over with me! LY. To have done such injury to EXHIBIT his own innocent son!... DE. I admit it, yes, yes, I did wrong! EU. Silence, you scarecrow! A man of your years ought to keep away from such vices. Men's seasons, like the year's, should have their different uses; why, if that's the proper thing—for oldsters to occupy their old age with affairs of gallantry—what'll become of our affairs of state? DE. Oh dear me! This is awful! LY. That sort of thing is more commonly attended to by the young fellows. DE. Oh, now for God's sake, take her for yourselves, litter, food-basket and all! EU. Give her back to him. DE. Let him have her, he can have her now to his hearts content, for all I care! EU. Timely of you, I must say, now that you have no chance to do otherwise. DE. He can punish me just as he pleases for this injury, only do make my peace with him, I beg you, and don't let him be angry with me!... LY. Beg him to overlook the vagaries of your hot young blood."

(Tr. Nixon)

"While it was the proper time for that sort of thing, I let him get his fill of it. But now he is entering a new phase in life which demands that he change his ways."

"PATAECUS. I have to arrange another marriage. I'm taking Philinus' daughter for my son. "MISENION. Heaven and Earth!"

"AULULARIA. "Oh! Help, nurse, please! My belly hurts. June Lucina, stand by me!"

Euphemistic. Instead of "to occupy... gallantry" read "go go in for whoring in their old age."
Andria, 473:

"GLYCERIUM. June Lucina, help me, guard me, I pray thee."

Menæchmi, 167-167:

"When you smell of a woman's garment you ought small the upper part of it. Down there (The speaker probably pointed to the bottom of the garment) you liable to get a nasty stench in your nose."

Pseudolus, 23-24:

"It looks to me as if these letters want offspring; one's climbing on top of the other."

Page 40: Pseudolus, 64-70:

"Now all our days and ways of love and dear familiarity, mirth and merriment, cooing, squeezing of breasts—all these delights of mine and yours, and yours, will be torn asunder, ended for eternaldom."

(Tm Nixon)

The effect which Plautus has obtained in this passage by profuse use of diminutives is not entirely reproducible in English.

f. "The ... orgies" is omitted in the Nixon translation, because of the line's being omitted in the text he has followed. The thing is meaningless anyway do to the mutilated word amunculæ which doubtlessly carried the point.
IV

MARRIAGE AND QUASI-MATRIMONIAL RELATIONSHIPS

It is customary to use the English term marriage as if it were essentially synonymous with the Latin matrimonium and the Greek γάμος. Although the assumption is not an entirely true one, and although such usage is somewhat dangerous in that it may lead to a mis impression, I shall never the less, for the sake of convenience, arbitrarily employ in this chapter the term marriage as an equivalent as an equivalent of matrimonium or γάμος, with the understanding that the types of relationship from which the term will be excluded and which will be described by such expressions as concubinage or quasi-matrimonial union would, in many cases, be marriages among us.

The Greek type of marriage with which we are dealing and American in Comedy differs from modern European marriage in a number of very definite ways. A quotation will immediately suggest some of these differences. This passage (Eukleidomene, 894-896) shows us the formal consummation of the marriage contract (ἐγγύτης 1) between Patacus, the father of Glycera, and Polemon:

**ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ**
.........

\[\tau\acute{a} \tau\prime \eta \nu \gamma\tilde{n}σι\omega\nu\]  
\[\pi\acute{a} \acute{d}\omega\nu \acute{e}p \acute{i} \acute{d}\acute{r}\acute{a}\acute{t}\omega \sigma\acute{o}i \delta\acute{d}\acute{o}\mu\acute{i}\]

**ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ**

\[\lambda\acute{m}b\acute{a}\acute{n}ω\nu\]

We note three striking features in this ceremony. First, the future wife takes no part. The agreement is entirely between the bridegroom and the bride's father or other guardian (κύριος). Secondly, the only mentioned purpose of the marriage is the procreation of legitimate offspring, no notice being taken of such things as love and fidelity. Thirdly, we notice the rather large size of the dowry involved. Of this feature more will be said later.

A fourth peculiarity of Greek marriage, which is not directly revealed by the passage which I have quoted but which is probably the most important of them all is the citizenship restriction. That is, a legal marriage, or union for the procreation of legitimate children could be consummated only between persons both citizens of the same city-state. Since the scene of most of the plays is Athens, it is usually Athenian citizenship that is involved, although the play from which the above play is taken, the Perikeiromene, has its scene in Corinth and the question is one of Corinthian citizenship.

We shall now give attention to the consequence of each of these peculiarities of Greek marriage as we find them illustrated in comedy. The first feature which we noted, the fact that the ceremony is strictly a deal between the bride's father and the bridegroom, the bride...
taking no part, is but a manifestation of a fundamental characteristic of the Athenian social organization, that is, its strongly patriarchal nature combined with the absence of any particularly idealizing attitude toward women.\(^2\) The wife is, according to the basic concept at least, subject to, almost a possession of her husband, as, formerly, she had been a possession of her father to be disposed of as he thought fit.

We have also seen that the fundamental purpose of the marriage, as defined in the ceremony which was quoted above, was the procreation of legitimate children, capable of taking their places as members of the state. It is this feature which distinguishes marriage from concubinage. It is worth observing that there is nothing which even implies that the husband, after having taken a wife, is not to have sexual relations with other women, or have other children than his legitimate ones.\(^3\)

It is quite plain, from our quotation, that Athenian marriage was arranged marriage. Even the bridegroom, although he did act as one of the principals in the betrothal, had actually but little to say in the matter; the whole affair was arranged by his father. When the latter decided that it was time for his son to marry the lad could do little, barring some kind of trickery, to prevent it. This is of course repeatedly illustrated in the comedies.

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2. See Chapter I, page 12 et seq.
One need only cite the desperate predicaments of the Pamphilus of the Andria and Pamphilus of the Beogra when the former is threatened with marriage by his father and the latter actually forced into marriage. We may also recall how the reckless behavior of Clitipho in the Beaoton timorum- menos and Moschion in the Perikeiromene is at the ends of the plays put to a stop by their being forced by their fathers to marry against their wills.

Being arranged, Athenian marriages, in especial contrast to modern American marriages, were not the culmination of love affairs. Indeed, it would have been difficult for an Athenian youth to have a love affair with a respectable Athenian girl because of the extent to which women were secluded in the Athenian household.\(^4\) Love in the comedies is a hindrance to not a forerunner of marriage: "Cames qui amant grauitert sibi dari uxorem fermen," Hall who are in love are annoyed at being given wives.\(^5\)

We can most definitely say that from a legal and historical standpoint Athenian marriage was not as fundamentally humane institution as is present day marriage in countries whose institutions have their basis in Christian tradition. The question to which we may now address ourselves is this: How, as it is revealed to us in comedy, did it compare with modern marriage? It is true that the wife holds a distinctly subordinate position, that

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4. See chapter II, page 18 for the possible effect of this seclusion of women on the sexual behavior of young men.

5. Andria, 191.
that she is kept rather in seclusion, and that she is not, in any very broad sense, her husband's companion. But, on the other hand, the wife was not without means not only of seeing that she herself received fair treatment but also, in some cases, of actually controlling her husband. She exercised this power in the following way: although a husband could divorce his wife at will, and although a wife could obtain a divorce, provided she had grounds, through the Archen, the husband was required to return her dowry and all property and effects which she brought at the time of her marriage. When we consider the fact that the dowry might amount to as much as sixteen talents we can readily see that a husband might prefer to yield to his wife rather than face the possibility of divorce.

"Henpecked" husbands are not common in comedy. Consider for example this complaint of Simo in the Mostellaria:

"Melius qamme hoc mihi non fuit domi
meq quod una esca me iuuerit magis.
prandium mihi uxor perbonum dedit,
nunc dormitum imset me ire: minime.
non mihi forte uisum illico fuit,
melius quam prandium quam solet dedit:
uoluit in cubiculum abducere me anus.
non bonust somus de prandio. apage.
clanculum ex sedibus me edidi foras.
tota turget mihi uxor, seio, domi."
(Mostellaria, 690-699)

This passage resembles, perhaps more than anything else, one of Jiggs's complaints against Maggie in the comic strip "Bringing up Father." One thing is certain: the

6. See Stichus, 201-204 for the holding of auctions to raise money to return dowries.
7. See Menander's Plokion, Fragment 420K, line 11; page 428, Allinson.
husband was not omnipotent in the household. Similar is
the implication concerning the important position held by
the wife in the household to be drawn from the passage in
the Miles Gloriosus in which Periplectomenus explains why
he has never married:

PERIPLECTOMENUS.... nam mihi, deum uirtute dicam,
propter diuitias meas
licuit uxorem dotatam genere summo ducere;
sed nolo mi oblatratricem in aedias intro mittere.
BELASTRIO. quer non uis? nam procreare liberis lepidumst
opus.
PE. hercle uero liberum esse tete, id multo lepidiust.
PA. tu homo et alteri sapienter potis es consulere
et tibi.
PE. nam bona uxor suave ductust, si sit usquam gentium
ubi ea possit inueniri; uerum egone eam ducam domum
qua mihi numquam hoc dicat 'esse, mi uir, lanam, und'
tibi pallium
malacum et callidum conficatur tunisaeque hibernae
bohiae,
ne alegas bac hiem' (hoc numquam uerbum ex uxor
audias),
uerum priu' quam galli cantent quae me e somno suscitet.
dicat 'da, mi uir, calendis meam qui matrem moenerem,
da qui faciam condimenta, da quod dem quinquarubus
praesantricii, consiectiraei, hariacas atque haruspicas;
flagitiumst si nihil mittetur quae supercilio spicit;
tum plicatricem clementer non potest quin moenerem;
iam pridem, quia nihil apstulerit, suscenset ceriaria;
tum opstetris europatulit mecum, parum missum sibi;
qui nutrici non missur'a quiquam quae uermes alit?'
hase atque huius similia alia dama multa multierum
me uxor prohibent, mihi quae huius similis sermones
sera n t.'
(Miles Gloriosus, 679-700)

This complaint about wives running up bills also sounds
modern: it too reminds us of the comic strips. Among the
Menandrian fragments there are remarks about the evils of
marriage, especially marriage to a rich woman. This frag­
ment from the Ploktion will serve as an example:

(A)

55.
In the extant comedies perhaps the best example of the power a wealthy wife could wield over her husband is to be found in Terence's Phormio. I have already, in the preceding chapter, outlined the essentials of the plot of this play. In the lines which I shall quote Chremes expresses his anxiety over the thwarting of the scheme to dispose of his daughter by his Lemnian marriage by giving her to Antipho, son of his brother, Demipho. It is this thwarting of his plans which is referred to as quod ...  

factum in the quotation:

"quod me equidem factum consili incertum facit: nam hanc conditionem si qui tulero extrario, quo pacto aut unde mihi sit dicundum ordine est. te mihi fidelem esse aequae atque egomet sum mihi sciam: ille si me alienus adfinem uolat, tacebit, dum intercedet familiaritas; sine spreuerit me, plus quam opus est seito sciet. uereorque me uxor aliqua hoc resciscat mea: quod si fit, ut me executam atque egrediar domo, id restat; nam ego meorum solus sum meus."

(Phormio, 578-587)

The last line of this quotation contains the explanation for Chremes plight: he has nothing save his own person which he call his own; the home and all the property are

8. See pp. 30-32.
9. An offer of his Lemnian daughter in marriage.
10. Te: the brother, Demiphe, to whom he is speaking.
his wife's. Hence, if she so desires, she can take re-
prisals against him by casting him out penniless. Luckily
for him she is good enough natured not to do so.

Another passage from the Phormio will when joined
with the one above give us a fair idea both of the limitations
and of the extent of the power which a woman could wield.
It is a complaint by Chremes' wife on the way her husband
is managing her property: "... mei patria gene parte in-
diligenter/ tutatur: nam ex praediiis talenta argenti bina/
statim capiebat: .../ ac rebus uilioribus modo talenta
bina./ ... udrum me natum uellem:/ ego ostenderem..."11
This woman is enabled by her possession of property to
exercise strong dominance over her husband. Yet, at the
same time, the customs of the land have decreed that her
place shall be in the home, and the law of the land has
burdened her with civil disabilities so that she is obliged
to entrust the administration of her property to her double-
dealing husband. As far as domestic affairs were concerned
the Athenian woman as we see her in comedy apparently en-
joyed an amount of liberty approaching that of the modern
woman, but she was to a large extent excluded from public
or civic activity.

The fact that Athenian marriage was arranged marriage
may make it appear rather harsh to us twentieth century
Americans. It does seem like a serious abridgement of
personal liberty for young people to be denied the privi-

lege of choosing their own life companions, and none of us would find such a system to our liking. Yet, there are strong considerations in its favor. Under our arrangement marriages are all too often hastily consummated under the strong emotional drive of infatuation with little consideration of the qualities of the parties for fulfilling the duties of husband and wife in harmony with one another. Parents, provided they are not moved by selfish motives, are much more likely to be able to give sound consideration to such matters in arranging marriages than the children can for themselves. We find an illustration of this in the Hecyra. Laches, though not a particularly kind or broad-minded man, acts with much more wisdom than his son, Pamphilus, who desires to continue his relationship with the courtesan Bacchis, with whom he is deeply in love, when he forces the boy, against his will, to marry. Although Pamphilus at first refuses to have any relations with his bride he is gradually attracted by the girl's noble character, which stands in such contrast to that of the petulant Bacchis, so that in the end he develops a deep-seated affection for the former, whose character is much more compatible with his own:

"Haeo, ita uti liberali esse ingenio dedet, pudens modesta, incommoda atque injurias uiri omnis ferre et tegere contumelias. hic animi partim uxoris misericordia deuinctus, partim uictus huius injuriis"

12. See, for example, Hecyra, 198 et seq. for his treatment of his wife.
There is also no evidence, as far as I know, that arranged marriage as practiced in ancient Greece or elsewhere was more productive of domestic discord than modern American free marriage.

Dowries in the comedies are really enormous as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Play</th>
<th>Amt. of Dowry</th>
<th>Approximate Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Menander</td>
<td>Epitrepontes</td>
<td>4 talents</td>
<td>$7,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perikeronome</td>
<td>2 talents</td>
<td>$5,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plokon</td>
<td>16 talents</td>
<td>$31,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence</td>
<td>Andria</td>
<td>10 talents</td>
<td>$19,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heauton Tim.</td>
<td>2 talents</td>
<td>$3,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td>Trinumus</td>
<td>1,000 Philip-</td>
<td>$6,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pi aurei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Custom prescribed the dowry as an essential part of a proper marriage. We find this illustrated in the Trinumus. Lysiteles seeks to aid his friend, Lesbonious, who has squandered his resources, by taking the latter's sister in marriage without a dowry. But Lesbonious insists in giving his last remaining bit of property, a piece of land, to his friend as dowry, even though he will then be completely impoverished. He says that he would prefer that

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13. Harper's Dictionary of Classical Antiquities (New York, 1897) gives the value of the talent as $1180. I have adjusted that figure to take into account the devaluation of the dollar in 1934 to 59.06% of its former value, giving $1998, the value used in these calculations.
His friend gave thought toward saving him from dishonor rather from destitution:

"nolo ego mihi te tam prospâcre que miem egestatem leues, sed ut inops infâmas ne sim, ne mi han famam differant, me germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi, si sine doct <dem>, dedisse magi' quam in matrimonium." (Trinummaus, 688-691)

The interesting thing to note is that a marriage without dowry is thought of as so dishonorable that people would tend to brand it as not marriage but concubinage.

That this emphasis on large dowries was bound to have rather undesirable results is self-evident. It is worthwhile to quote the passage from the Aulularia in which the rich Megadorus, who has offered to take the daughter of the supposed pauper—he was really a miser—Eucleio in marriage without dowry, comments on the evils of the dowry system and recommends its abandonment in the interest of concord:

"Sarracui amicos multis consilium meum de condicione hac. Eucloiamis filiam laudant, sapienter factum et consilium bono. nam meo quidem animo si idem faciant ceteri opulentiores, pauperiorum filias ut indotatas duant uxoros domum, et multo fiat diuitias concordior, et inuidia nos minore utamus quam utimur, et illae malam rem metuant quam metuunt magis, et nos minore summari simus quam sumus. in maxumam illuc populi partem est optimum: in pauciores auidos altercatio est, quorum amiciis anidis atque insatiatibus neque lex neque sutor capere est qui possit modum. namque hoc qui dicat 'quo illae nubant diuites detatae, si istuc ius pauperibus ponitur?' quo lubente nubant, dum dos ne fiat comes. hoc si fiat, mores meliores sibi parent, pro doce quos ferant, quam nunc ferunt.... nulla igitur dicat 'equidem doleam ad te attuli
maiores multo quam tibi erat pecunia;
enim mihi quidem sequomat purpuram atque aurum dari,
ancillas, mulos, muliones, pedisseos,
salutagignos pueros, uelisula qui uelhar."

(Aulularia, 475-493, 498-502)

Megadorus' proposed reform is, it is perhaps superfluous to remark, rather one-sided, being almost entirely to the man's rather than the woman's advantage. It is true that women may have used their dowries as levers in prying extravagant benefits from their husbands. But, on the other hand, to do away with the dowry would be to deprive them of their chief substitute for civil rights and to make them the complete subjects of their husbands. What we have is a case of two rather unfair situations compensating one another.

The emphasis on dowry had a more serious consequence than that of making husbands subject to their wives. In the first place it made female children an enormous burden to parents. Indeed, we find evidence that parents, particularly fathers, even went so far as to categorically refuse, before the birth of a child, to rear it in case it were female. At least that is what Chremes in the Hesont Timorumenes did. This was undoubtedly a strong force in encouraging the practice of that half-hearted sort of infanticide which we find in exposure of children. How common this practice was in real life is of course open to question. It may be true, as Capps has said,

15. Capps, Four Plays of Menander (Boston, 1910), note on Perikeiromene, 279, page 207.
that exposure was mainly resorted to in cases where the
parentage of the child was irregular. On the other hand,
we must take care lest we indulge in that type of "wish-
ful thinking" in which we let ourselves assume that the
Greeks, whom we take to be generally admirable people,
must be guided by the same standards of humaneness that
we are and therefore, without definite evidence, conclude
that they naturally would not indulge extensively in a
practice, to our way of thinking, so barbaric as infanticide,
and conclude that the dramatists exaggerated the frequency
of the practice of exposure for the sake of convenient plot
complications. Capps has a note which illustrates this
process fairly well: 16 "The exposure of children was not
forbidden by law in Athens ..., but the extent of the
practice is by no means to be inferred from the use made
of the motive, with its romantic possibilities, by the
dramatic poets. There was little public sentiment," he
admits, "against the exposure of deformed children
(Arist. Pol. 1335 B 20), though the practical custom
was peculiarly Spartan. The reasons for exposure in the
poets are: to conceal the mother's shame (Heco, Epitr.);
the father's refusal to recognize the child as his own;
poverty (Perio.); the fact that the child was a girl
(Ter. Heaut, 627). A girl was regarded as a heavy burden,
Men. 18 K. Χαλεπόν γε θυγάτηρ κτήμα και δυσδίθετον.

This last quotation would certainly seem to prove, if it can be taken to prove anything, that the practice of exposing girl babies was very common; that is precisely what it says. Capps is actually quoting evidence against his own statement, mentioned above, that exposure usually implied irregularity of parentage. His remarks about exposure of deformed children are doubtlessly true. It is but natural that the practice should be peculiarly Spartan, since the make-up of Spartan society was such that a malformed child would be more undesirable there than perhaps in any other Greek city. But Capps' remark, as it stands, is likely, though he may not have intended it so, to convey the impression to the hasty reader that exposure was to some extent a matter of Spartan brutality in contrast to Athenian humanity. He also leaves it open for us to suppose that exposure for reasons other than deformity may have been the object of public censure. G. Glotz, the writer in Daremberg et Saglio, makes this sweeping observation on the subject: "... partout où l'on peut observer les moeurs grecques et tant que la vie grecque a eu ses manifestations propres, nos documents nous permettent de retrouver cet usage meurtrier. Mais où il paraît surtout en vigueur, c'est à Athènes." 17 He goes on to show by means of citations.

to the literature that the practice was viewed as as the
most matter-of-fact occurrence. For our purpose
perhaps the best such illustration is provided by Pataecus
in the Perikeirmonae. The man, as we see him in the play
is at least an ordinarily honorable, humane citizen; but
he relates, as if it were nothing unusual, how he, after
his wife had died giving birth to twins, a boy and a girl,
and he had at the same time heard of his own financial
ruin by shipwreck, simply exposed the children rather
than attempt to rear them when he was not in a convenient
position to do so.\(^{18}\)

These remarks, originally on the role of large dowry
custom in promoting infanticide, have developed into an
extensive digression, may a discussion, on the subject
of infant exposure in general. Never-the less, I ask that
I be excused for this breaking the logical structure of my
chapter and be allowed to add a few more remarks on the
subject in question. The first is this: before the advent
of really effective medicine, which has developed largely
within the last century, with the resulting astounding cut
in the infant mortality rate it would have been but natural
that the lives of children would have been held as much
less precious than the lives of adults and much less precious
than children's lives are now, since the death rate among
them has been slashed. It is interesting to note, for
example, that the Fort Ancient mound builders in Ohio,
among whom an enormous infant mortality rate prevailed, sometimes threw the bodies of infants into refuse pits, while older individuals were ceremoniously buried. This of course indicates that infants were not regarded as due the same consideration as adults. The easy attitude of the Chinese toward infanticide, especially when girl babies are involved, is well known. After all, if one gives the matter a little consideration I believe he will arrive at the realization that a baby is not an individual person in the sense an adult is, but is rather a potentiality, a basis on which such an individual may be developed. Infanticide is therefore not the destructive process that ordinary murder is, as it does not involve the destruction, with its consequences, of a functioning, integral unit in society.

Of course this easy attitude toward infanticide would be more likely to be accepted by men than women, to whom reproduction is such a laborious process. But Athenian society was patriarchal and masculine attitudes prevailed.

An interesting reflection of the burden associated with providing a daughter with a dowry is found in the fact that in three plays, Menander's *Georgos*\(^\text{19}\) and Plautus' *Aulularia*\(^\text{20}\) and *Trinummus*\(^\text{21}\), we find men offering as a good turn to take the daughters of poor men in marriage, thus relieving them of the financial burden which they would

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20. *Aulularia*, 182 et seq; 475 et seq., quoted on page 60.
otherwise have to face.

It is easy for us to imagine the desperate straits in which an orphan girl would find herself, left alone without money or dowry. We have a glimpse of such a situation in the Phormio. A group of young men with their slaves are loitering in a barber shop. Among the group, with his young master, is the slave Geta who is telling Davus, another slave, of what happened there:

"GETA.... interea dum sedemus illi, interuenit
adulescens quidam lacrumans. nos mirarier;
rogamus quid sit. 'numquam aeque' inquit 'ac modo
paupertas mihi onus uisum et miserum et graue.
modo quandam uidi uirginem hic uicinae
miseram suam matrem lamentari mortuam.
ea sita erat exaduorsum neque illi beniuolus
neque notus neque cognatus extra unam aniculam
quisquam aderat qui adiutaret funus: miserrum.
uirgo ipsa facie egregia.' quid uerbis opust?
commorat omnis nos. ibi continuo Antipho
'voltisae eamus uisere?' alius 'censeo:
emus: duc nos sodes.' imus, uenimus,
uidemus. uirgo pulchra, et quo magis diceres,
il aderat adiumenti ad pulchritudinem:
capillus passus, nudus pes, ipsa horrida,
lacrumae, uestitus turpis; ut, ni uis boni

22. The cousin of Geta's young master.
in ipsa inesset forma, haec formam extinguerent.
ille qui illum amabat fidicinam Statum mode
'satis' inquit 'scitast'; noster vero. DA\NOS. iam scio:
amare sospit. CE. scim quam? quo cuadat aude.
postridie ad anum recta pergit: obscurat
sibi ut eius faciat copiam, illa enim se negat
neque eum sequam facere ait: illum eum esse Atticam,
bonam bonis progrmatam: si uxorem uelit,
lege id licere facere; sin aliter, negat."
(Phormio, 91-116)
The picture we get here is indeed a pitiful one. We can easily imagine that the girl's and the old serving woman's haughty assertions of respectability would have soon broken down and that her course would have been proclive ad lu-bidinem, if lucky circumstances had not saved her.24 For what chance would she have had of obtaining a husband in her impoverished state?

The peculiarity of Greek marriage which seems strangest to us and which produced, probably, the most far reaching consequences was the requirement that both parties to the marriage be citizens of the same city-state. A marriage could apparently be consummated between citizens of the same city residing abroad. At least that is what happens in the Rodens: there Plesidippus, an Athenian youth, and Palaestra, daughter of the Athenian Daemones, are married while both are residing at Cyrene.

This citizenship restriction on marriage is but an aspect of a paradoxical situation which existed in ancient Greece. The Hellenic people, possessing on one hand that haughty feeling of national unity which led them to class

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23. Qui illum amabat fidicinam: Phaedria, cousin of Antipho, Geta's young master, referred to as noster.
24. For the fate of this girl, the Lemnian daughter of Chremes, see page 30 et seqq

67.
all mankind in two categories, Ἕλληνες and ἑβραῖοι, in their individual city-states went farther than any modern nation does in restricting the rights of aliens, even though such aliens might be brother Hellenes. In early times when populations of the Greek states were perhaps more stable this restriction on marriage may have inconvenienced comparatively few people. But in the period with which we are concerned, when cities like Athens and Corinth had become commercial and intellectual centers for the eastern Mediterranean, and such cities had acquired, as a result, large, heterogeneous non-citizen populations, the situation became a complicated one. Not only could these non-citizens not contract legal marriages among themselves unless like Blesidippus and Palaestra in the Ῥώμες, they were citizens of the same city, but an Athenian (or Corinthian or whatever the case might be) could not marry one of them. The result was, of course, that quasi-matrimonial union between couples who were unable to contract real marriages became exceedingly common.

Quasi-matrimonial union or concubinage of the type referred to here must not be confused with extra-marital cohabitation in modern society. It bore no legal basis of any kind whatsoever. It placed no stigma on those who were party to it.²⁵,²⁶ Indeed some of the most outstanding men of

²⁵. See Daremberg et Saglio s.v. Concubinatus, vol II p.1435.
²⁶. This is perhaps not entirely true in the case of women. See Daremberg et Saglio, l.c. It was not considered entirely respectable for a citizen to give (Note cont'd)
Athens took themselves \textit{παλλακτινες} rather than wives, including Pericles and Menander himself. Indeed, this \textit{concubinatus} was simply a somewhat inferior type of marriage, differing from \textit{matrimonium} only in that it was not a union for the procreation of legitimate children. It was even recognized in the adultery laws, which granted a man whose \textit{παλλακτινες} the right was guilty of adultery to take vengeance on the adulterer.

Of the plays under consideration, without question those giving us the best opportunity to observe the \textit{concubinatus} are Menander's \textit{Perikeiromene} and \textit{Samia}. Both plays are built around cases in concubinate households. The "husband" (that is the best English term I can find, since we, unfortunately, cannot do as the French can when they set \textit{concubine} against \textit{concubina}) is, in the former case, Polemon, a Corinthian soldier, making his home in his native city; in the latter, a respectable Athenian citizen, Demeas. In the \textit{Perikeiromene} the concubine, Glycera, is a Corinthian by birth, but her identity has been obscured by the fact that she was exposed at birth, found by a poor woman, reared by her, and given in concubinage to Polemon\textsuperscript{27}. Chrysis, the concubine in the \textit{Samia}, a woman of supposedly\textsuperscript{28} Samian origin, had been in the depths of poverty when met by Demeas.

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\textsuperscript{26.} (Continued) his daughter as a \textit{παλλακτινες}. Cf. \textit{Trinumus}, 688-691, quoted on page 60.

\textsuperscript{27.} See Agnoia's speech, \textit{Perikeiromene}, 1 et seq. Also 678-691 in the recognition scene.

\textsuperscript{28.} Undoubtedly at the end of the play, which has been lost, she was found to be Athenian and so legally married to Demeas. See Capps, \textit{Four Plays}, pp. 229-230, and Allinson, page 193.
He had taken her as his concubine and raised her from her formerly humble position. It is interesting to note that their union was formed in essentially the same way as modern American marriages: the persons concerned met, apparently, by chance, acquired an affection for one another, then were "married." The main difference is that, of course, the formation of a union like that of Demeas and Chrysis involved no ceremony. The union of Polemon and Glycera was, perhaps, a little more like a regular Athenian marriage; it was arranged in part at least by the woman who was responsible for the girl, although, like the union of Chrysis and Demeas, it was primarily the culmination of a love affair.

As for the organization of the households of Polemon and Demeas, before the crises with which the dramas are concerned arise, we see no evidence of anything peculiar or unusual. Both seem to be quite permanent establishments: the former, we learn, had purchased the house in which he was living; in the latter case we get a fair impression of the elaborate arrangement, retinue of slaves, etc., which must have been characteristic of the well-to-do Athenian home, in the passage in which Demeas tells of the things which he has seen and heard leading him to suspect Chrysis of infidelity, that the supposed foundling she is rearing is really her own child by his adopted son, Moschion. Chrysis, 30

29. These statements about the past of Chrysis and Demeas are inferred from Samia, 163-168.
30. Periiskeiromene, 8-11.
32. Samia, 1 et seq.

70.
we note, is regarded as mistress of the house, since a slave woman says in reference to her, "μετ' ἡμέρας";
"ipsa te uocat," in English, perhaps—we do not have a corresponding idiom—"Madame wants you." Apparently these women led the secluded life of the gynaeceum which was characteristic of the mistress of a Greek household. At least some such seclusion of the women from the men would be necessary for Demeas not to be certain about the baby in the house, whether it was a foundling or had been borne by Chrysis. Also, in the Perikeiromene, it is interesting that it was as Glycera came to the door to dispatch her maid that Moschion, a youth living next door and who was actually her brother, a fact known to her only, caught sight of her and kissed her, which act, witnessed by Polemon, threw the impulsive soldier into such a fit of jealous rage that he did the violent act, the shearing off of Glycera's locks, from which the comedy derives its title, and caused the girl to flee from his house and seek refuge next door. My point here is that Glycera must have led a secluded life, confining her activities to the house and seldom showing herself out of doors, for, unless this had been the case, it hardly seems likely that Moschion would have had no previous, better opportunity of seeing her. It is true that Polemon had but recently (ὥς ἀμφότερος) purchased the house in which they were dwelling. Still, this expression probably implies that a certain length of time had expired, at least more than

33. Perikeiromene, 33-36.
just a few days. In addition we are told that Moschion
was always hanging around the house. This would make him
likely to see her whenever she did appear in public. So,
I think we are safe in concluding that such appearances
on her part were exceedingly rare, as was of course true of
the Athenian gentlewoman. To recapitulate, the ἡμεῖς, to
judge from these two cases, apparently led essentially
the same kind of domestic life as did the wife in households
where master and mistress were united by regular marriage.
These unions were, in fact, simply the nearest thing to
real marriage available to the people concerned. In the
case of Polemon we learn that he thought of his relation-
ship with Glycera as marriage; for, when his neighbor
Pataecus, the adoptive father of Moschion and, as it turns
out later, the real father of both Moschion and Glycera, re-
marks, "If what has happened were, Polemon, something like
what you say, and it was your wife—" Polemon breaks in and
protests: "What do you mean, Pataecus? I've regarded her
as my wife."35

In comparison with actual marriage we find that this

35. Perikeiromene, 563-566:

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ
εἶ μὲν τιτοιοῦτ' ἐξ, Πολέμων, οἶδ' φρεῖ
ὑμεῖς, τῷ γενόσε, καὶ γαμετὰν γυναικίαν—

ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ
ἄων λέγεις, Παταϊκέ, διαφέρει; ὡς τί;
ἐγὼ γαμετὴν γενόμικα ταύτην.
type of quasi-matrimonial union which we see illustrated in the Perikeiromene and the Samia has two rather serious deficiencies. One is its instability. There was no compelling force, legal or financial, such as operated in the case of real marriage or operates in modern marriage, which would hold the partners together and would act as a damper on their tendency to commit, under emotional stress, violent acts of one sort or another leading to irreparable disruption of the union. For example, a husband would be rather unlikely to treat violently or expel from his house a wife on suspicion of infidelity, in the manner of Polemon or Demeas, when he knew he would have at the same time to return his wife's dowry. Under modern conditions the alimony which such a husband would have to pay if sued for divorce by his misused wife acts in a similar fashion.

The other of the two disadvantages of the concubinatus in comparison with regular marriage was, perhaps, more serious. It grew out of the fact that children from such a union were not, regardless of what the father's financial status was, granted the rights of citizenship. It is this difficulty which is probably at the root of the trouble in the Samia, for, as it appears at least, Demeas was adverse to rearing a child, thus causing Chrysis to keep secret the fact that she had borne a child, which fact caused Demeas to suspect her of infidelity when he saw her nursing a baby, whether the baby was actually her own

73.
or the one which a neighbor girl, Plangon, had borne to Demeas adopted son, Moschion. It is most likely that Demeas' objection to rearing a child was based on the fact that such a child would not have had citizenship rights, as he, for all the harshness he exhibits toward Chrysis, hardly looks like the type of man who would refuse to rear a child out of stinginess. It is easy to conceive that difficulties of this sort may have caused serious discord in more than one concubinate household.

It is worth noting that Polemon was, probably, blessed with an unique bit of good fortune in being able to contract a legal marriage with a girl of as good family as Glyceria. He is, indeed, the only soldier in the comedies who is shown to have entered into a marriage with any kind of woman. The reputation which the professional soldier bore for gross sensuality and rashness of temperament, a characteristic which Polemon, though free from most of the objectionable traits of his profession, also possessed, would have made it exceedingly unlikely that Pataseus would have given his daughter to him under normal conditions.

The type of quasi-matrimonial union which we find in the Perikeiromene and the Samia is of the highest, being the next thing to marriage. Not all such unions were of this sort. There were lower grades of concubinage, varying from that in which we have to do with a young man sowing his wild oats or a soldier and a slave-courtesan purchased, generally, from a leno for the purpose of temporary

36. See Capps' and Allinson's Introductions to this play.
gratification until, in the former case, the young man would have to marry and settle down® or, probably, in the latter case, until the soldier spent his "stake" and went off to serve another term in the army of one of the Hellenistic kingdoms® on up through the voluntary, more or less temporary cohabitation of a free courtesan with some man, most likely a soldier, to the rather elevated type of union which we have been discussing in the last few paragraphs. It is perhaps worthwhile to quote a passage which illustrates the temporary association of a courtesan and a soldier. The slave Parmeno is greeting Philotis, a courtesan who has been away from Athens. Syra, an old woman, is also present in the scene:


(Hecyra, 81-95)

We note that this union was moderately durable, lasting

36. See page 29 et seq.
37. See Eunuchus, 397-417, where Thraso tells in what favor he stood with his rex. The mention of Indian elephants would, perhaps, put the kingdom on the Asiatic mainland. See also Miles Gloriosus, 75-76, where Pyrgopolynices says: "rex Seleucus me operae oravit maxumo/ ut sibi latrones cogerem et conscriberem." This identifies the place of the braggarts service as Syria.
two years, but that, in contrast to the Pelemon-Glycera and Demeas-Chrysis quasi-marriages, it was not based on any degree of mutual love. The unnamed soldier, apparently, regarded Philoctis as merely a tool for the gratification of his desires; she him as a source of livelihood.

We might well be prompted by curiosity to ask the question what kind of quasi-matrimonial relationships existed among slaves. The comedies examined provide but little information on the subject. The male slave is generally quite busy attending to his master's love interests, perhaps too busy to have much time for such things himself. When, in the Persa, Teolitus informs his fellow slave, Sagaristic, that he has received a wound in Venus' battle and that Cupid has sent an arrow through his heart, Sagaristic comes back in surprise, "Iam servii hic amant?" "Are slaves having love affairs here now?" The whole of the Persa is a somewhat ludicrous exhibition of slaves, in the absence of their young masters, exercising their liberty by imitating their younger masters' type of love-life. In the Stichus we have the feast of the slaves Stichus and Sangarimnas with their joint amica, Stephanium, a sequence of scenes which was, I suppose, quite funny in a coarse way when played, but is rather boresome to read. The only passage I have found which gives evidence of a sort of permanent concubinate union among slaves is in Menander's Heros, where in the opening

38. Stichus, 649 to end of play.
and only surviving scene of the play Daes tells Getas of his love for Plangon, and when Getas asks him,

\[ \text{Ti oivvov: Ti} \]

πράττεις ὑπὲρ σουτου;

he replies,

χόθρα μέν, Ἡράκλεις,

\[ \text{δός εὐγενείᾳ, ἂλλα} \]

τῷ μῷ δειπνέται

:`~~` εἴποντι ὑπὲρτατος Ἑμοὶ συνοικιζομού τὸν οὐρανόν...

(Heros, 40-46)

This would point to the establishment in some cases at least, with the permission of the master, of more or less permanent quasi-marriages among slaves.

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Appendix to Chapter IV

Page 50: Poriskoiromene, 694-696:

"PATAECUS ... I give you this woman that she may bear you legitimate children.

"POLEMON I accept.

"PATAECUS And the dowry is three talents.

"POLEMON I agree to that also."

Page 54: Mostallaria, 690-699:

"I haven't been better treated this year—at home—nor, consequently, had a single meal I enjoyed more. That was a luscious lunch my wife gave me! And now she tells me to go and take a nap! Not a bit of it! I soon surmised it was by no accident that she gave me a better lunch than usual. She wanted to get me off to bed, the old jade! An after-luncheon snooze is no good. Lord deliver me! I sneaked away and slipped out. She's in there all boiling over at me, I know that."

(Tr. Nixon)
PAGE 55: Miles Gloriosus, 679-700:

"PERIPLECTOMENUS. Why—thank God I may say so—I'm a rich man and could have taken a wife of wealth and station; but I have no desire to admit a she-yapper into my house.

Palamestrion. Why not, sir? Getting children is a delightful duty, you know. PA. I'll take an oath that getting the joys of freedom is much more delightful. PA. You, sir, are a man who can give good counsel to another, and to yourself, as well. PA. Yes, yes, it's all very pleasant to marry a good wife—if there were any spot on earth where you could find one; but am I to bring a woman who'd say to me: 'Husband mine, do buy me some wool to make a soft, warm cloak for you, and some nice, heavy tunics so that you won't be cold this winter.' Nothing like this would you ever hear from a wife, but before cockcrow she'd wake me up with: 'Husband mine, give me some money for a present for my mother at the Matrons' Festival; give me some money to make preserves; give me some money to give the sorceress at the festival of Minerva, and to the dream interpreter, and the clairvoyant and the soothsayer. It's a shame if I don't send something to that woman that tells your fortune from your eyebrows. And then the modest— I must tip her, in common decency. And, oh, for ever at being the cateress has been angry at getting nothing. The midwife, too—she protested to me for sending her so little. What? Will you send nothing to the nurse that cares for the slaves born under your own roof? These ruinous practices of the women, and a lot more like them, keep me from taking a wife to torment me with talk like that."

(Tr. Nixon)

PAGE 56: Menander, Flokton, 503 K; pp. 428-430, Allinson:

"A. I've got myself an heiress, a master of a woman. I told you about this, didn't I? Well, we have her. She's boss of the house, the fields, everything. And in the name of Apollo she's the meanest thing possible, not only to me, for she's even harder on my son, and on my daughter.

"B. From what you say you're sewed up in a bag.

"A. You're telling me?"

PAGE 56: Phormio, 578-587:

"Now that things have turned out this way, I don't know what I will do. If I offer the girl to someone on the outside, I'll have to explain how I came to have her. I knew that I could trust you as far as I
can trust myself. If a stranger desires this connection, he'll keep the secret as long as we get along all right, but if he gets mad at me he'll know more than he ought to know. What I'm afraid of is that my wife will find out about this somehow. If she does, well, there's nothing left for me to do but turn myself out of the house, for I'm the only thing I can call my own."

Page 57: Phormio, 788-793:

"... he's so **exceedingly** careless in looking after my father's honest savings. My father got two talents in silver from the farms regularly... and things were a lot cheaper then, too. Still he got the two talents,... I'd like to have been born a man: I'd show them...."

Page 58: Hecyra, 164-170:

"In the true spirit of a gentlewoman, retiring and modest, his wife put up with all her husband's unpleasantnesses and outrages and concealed his affronts. Thereupon, in part constrained by compassion for his wife and in part worn out by the other's outrages, little by little he slipped away from Bacchis and transferred his love to one in whom he found a nature like his own."

(Tr. Sargeaunt)

Page 60:

Trinummus, 688-691:

"I don't want you to give so much attention to easing my destitution. Instead, keep me from being poor and dishonored at the same time. Don't let them circulate the story that I'm giving you my own sister as a concubine instead of as a wife; and that's what they will say if I give her to you without dowry."

Aulularia, 475-493, 498-502:

"Well, I've told a number of my friends of my intentions regarding this match. They are full of praise for Eulio's daughter. Say it's the sensible thing to do, a fine idea. Yes, for my part I'm convinced that if the rest of our well-to-do citizens would follow my example and marry poor men's daughters and let the dowries go, there would be a great deal more unity in our city, and people would be less bitter against us men of means than they are, and our wives would stand in greater awe of marital authority than they do, and the cost of living would be lower for us than it is. It's just the
thing for the vast majority of the people; the fight comes with a handful of greedy fellows so stingy and grasping that neither law nor cobbler can take their measure. And now supposing some one should ask: 'Who are the rich girls with dowries going to marry, if you make this rule for the poor ones?' Why, any one they please, let 'em marry, provided their dowry doesn't go along with 'em. In that case, instead of bringing their husbands money, they would bring them better behaved wives than they do at present. Then you wouldn't hear them saying: 'Well, sir, you never had anything like the money I brought you, and you know it. Fine clothes and jewellery, indeed! and maids and mules and coachmen and footmen and pages and private carriages—well, if I haven't a right to them!' (Tn Nixon)

Page 62: Menander, Fragment 18 K.

"A daughter is a troublesome piece of property and a hard one to dispose of,"

Page 63: Poseidippus, Fragment 11 K.

"Everyone rears a son, even if he happen to be poor, and exposes a daughter, even if he be rich."

Page 66: Phormio, 91-116:

Geta. Why One day, as we were sitting there, in comes a young man in tears. We fell a-wondering and asked what's the matter. 'Never,' says he, 'so much as just now have I felt what a crushing load poverty is. I have just seen an unhappy girl round the corner here weeping for her dead mother. The body was laid out in the hall, and there wasn't a wellwisher or acquaintance or a kinsman, nothing but one old crone, on the spot to help with the funeral. It wrung my heart; and the girl a real beauty too!' In short his story touched us all. Then at once, cries Antiphoen, 'Shall we go and visit her?' Says another, 'I vote we go, come along, show us the way, please.' We start, we're there, we see her, a lovely girl and you might have said so the more from her loveliness having nothing to set it off; hair dishevelled, no shoes on; person unkempt, miserable clothes; in fact but for the soul of beauty in her face all this would have quenched it. The eithern-girl's lover said no more than 'She's pretty enough,' but our young man—DAVUS. I know, fell in love with her. Geta. Rather! Mark what follows. Next day he goes to the old woman and begs admission. 'No,' says she,
and tells him he hasn't acted rightly. The girl is an Athenian, honest and of honest parents; if he wants to marry her, he may do it the lawful way; if something else, then no."

(Tr. Sargeaunt)

Page 75: Hecyra, 81-95:

"PA.... Isn't that little Philotis? where is she come from? Philotis, a very good day to you. PH. Good day, Parmeno. SY. Glad to see you, Parmeno. PA. And very glad to see you, Syra. Well, Philotis, where have you been enjoying yourself all this time. PH. Mighty little enjoyment I've had going away to Corinth with a regular brute of a captain. Two years I had exit there with him, unbroken misery. PA. Jove, yes, I expect, Philotium, you've often been seized with a longing for Athens and cursed yourself for going away. PH. Words won't express my eagerness to return, to get away from the Captain and see you all again and keep up my old life of free and easy revelry among you. At Corinth wasn't allowed it except with instructions beforehand to say nothing but what might please him."

(Tr. Sargeaunt)

Miles Gloriosus 75-76:

"King Seleucus has asked me very especially to asked me to get together some mercenaries and enroll them for him."

Page 77: Heros, 40-44:

"GETAS. But what of you? What are you doing for yourself in your affair?"

"DAOS. Clandestinely, good Heracles, I've made her no advances, but have said my say to master and he's promised she shall be my mate...."

(Tr. Allinson)
V

THE MEROETRIX

General Remarks

As anyone who has read many plays of Plautus or Terence knows, the meretrix is one of the most frequent of their stock characters. This condition is the unavoidable result of the love-interest plots, since, due to the seclusion of respectable women, love affairs at Athens ordinarily involved courtesans. Respectable girls came into no contact with young men, hence had no chance to become involved in love.

The courtesans of comedy fall into two classes: those under the power of a lepto or lena, and those who are free, though of course non-citizens, and are in business for themselves. Girls apparently passed frequently from the servile to the free class. At least, we have frequent instances of young men purchasing these girls and then emancipating them. We may assume that after their benefactors became tired of them and settled down in marriage they sought their livelihood as free-lance courtesans.

The lowest, most miserable types of Greek prostitutes do not figure in comedy.¹ Of the inmates of the cheap, state-owned brothels there is no mention. As for the lesser of the demizens of the private establishments, the less attractive girls, the prostituées, who were given over to the

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¹. For the various categories of Greek courtesans, see Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Meretrices, vol. III², p. 1825 et seq.
amusement of the rabble, our nearest approach is the threat of Ballico, the leno of the Pseudolus, to degrade a group of his girls to that class unless they make themselves more profitable.\(^2\) The *meretrices* we actually find on the pages of Plautus and Terence belong to the same general rank as the girls whom Ballico addresses in this fashion:

"uos quae in munditiis, mollitiis deliciisque affectulam agitis, uiris cum summis, includae amicae...."

*(Pseudolus, 173-174)*

It is perhaps unfair to pass them off as *meretrices* simply prostitutes. They are better described as professional companions. The houses of the *lenones* were somewhat on the order of cabarets or of hostelries. It is worthwhile to quote the denunciatory description given by Syncrastus, a slave of Lycus, the *leno* of the Poenulus, of his master's establishment:

"ita me di ament, uel in lautomis uel in pistrino manalem agere aetatem praepeditus latere forti ferreo quam apud his lenones hunc seruitatem colere. quid illus est genus, quae ills heminum corruptelae fiunt! di uenstra fidem! quoduis genus ibi hominum uideos quasi Accheruntum ueneris, equitem, peditem, libertinum, furem an fugitinius uelis, uerberatum, uinctum, additum: qui habet quod det, utut homo est, omnia genera recipiantur; itaque in totis addibus tenebrae, latebrae, bibitur, estur quasi in popina, hau secus."

*(Poenulus, 837-835)*

Actually, in the plays about the only persons we

\(^2\)Pseudolus, 177 et seq.
As she goes back and forth to music school, she treats

bedtime music practice, for whom she becomes interested.

Messrs. Of Greene the musical maestro. In the program

Certain members were made more available to their

to decrease the strain.

number of features only which those relatively

the majority accord Sympathetic deserts could accord those

penetrate, attentively. Girte, Penitio's mom's culture, where

disposal, would beside their attention to the more ex-

two groups having both a fair amount of money at their

immediately cease their attention. Furthermore, these

attention, and hence the one on which the prevalent would

attract, and hence the one on which the prevalent

of these houses, and the two most interesting groups claim-

were the two most numerous classes among the frequen-

situation is that the soldier and the well-to-do youth

in the place, to two classes of persons. Probably the real

noted, of the confectioner's patrons, as they actually appear

master's establishment and this restriction, which I have

sympathetic dessertion of the heterogeneous crowd in the

these would appear to be some contradiction between

Reference, Phoebe and Pheonie; and Reading's,Robinson.

Planting, Penhole, Peculation, Hughes, and Trenches;

Reigns in the place of a large number of plays. Examples

and so forth for the possession of the favors of a master).

men from fairly well-to-do families. The concert of youth

really see frequent these places are solders and young
entertainers rented for handsome prices. Charisius in *Epitrepontes* pays twelve drachmæs per day for Abrotonon, who serves as an entertainer at the revellings in which Charisius engages after he learns that his wife, Pamphile, has borne a child as a result of a premarital indiscretion. She was, apparently, also employed to supply music at the night festival, the Tauropelia, at which Pamphile was violated. The impression one gets of Abrotonon is that she is primarily a ψαλτὴριός, and incidentally a παράγωγος. Incidentally, if one reads C. B. Glasscock's description of the Comique "theatre" in early-day Butte, Montana, he will find that the duties of the "circulating girls" and "actresses" of that establishment were not essentially different from those of Abrotonon and her like.

The Meretrix's Attitude toward her Lovers

The most interesting question to be asked in connection with the *meretrix* is concerning her attitude toward her admirers. To what extent is she motivated in dealing with her lovers by feelings of genuine affection? Is she possessed of broadly humane, altruistic sympathies? Or

4. She says (*Epitrepontes*, 260-261):

\[ \pi\rho\iota\iota\iota \gamma\kappa\rho \epsilon\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron \kappa\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\iota \tau\omicron\iota \delta\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon \sigma\omicron\nu\epsilon\theta\omicron \zeta\omicron\omicron \nu. \]

It hardly seems likely that a girl of her servile status would be present simply as one of the group, as *δινέ* ... σωφρόνει*ν* might suggest.

is she really as bad as the writer in Daremberg et Saglio would have us believe when he writes,

"Enfin nous avons vu que maintes courtisanes étaient des jeunes filles, de naissance libre, volées à leurs parents: celles-là avaient parfois conservé de leur origine et de leur éducation première des sentiments au-dessus de l'abjection involontaire où elles étaient tombées. Toutefois ce sont là sûrement de rares exceptions. Toute autre est le type ordinaire de courtisane. L'intérêt est son unique mobile; l'amour qu'elle témoigne n'est que faux semblant et mensonge; elle n'a ni cœur, ni pudeur, ni bonne foi."?

The answer is that there are, distributed through the pages of comedy, courtisanes of widely varying character. On one hand we have Menander's Abrotonon (Epitrepontes) and Terence's Bacchis (Hecyra) and Thais (Eunuchus), who show outstanding altruism, in the former two cases by restoring disrupted families, and in the latter case by restoring a free maiden who has been kidnapped and sold into slavery to her family, to Plautus' Phronesium (Truculentus), whose chief accomplishment is to bleed three admirers at the same time.

There is a noticeable difference to be noted in the type of character displayed by the meretrixes of the different writers. In the extant portions of Menander we get to observe only one, the Abrotonon of the Epitrepontes, whom I have mentioned frequently in the previous pages. She is a most interesting type of heroine, characterized by a naive delicacy and spontaneous charity in the absence of any trace of innocent helplessness and combined with able, courageous initiative. A quotation will bring this

out. She has just been listening to a conversation between
the charcoal burner Syriscus and Charisius' slave, Onesimus,
concerning a ring which was found with a foundling child
in Syriscus' possession. The child is the one borne and
exposed by Charisius' wife, Pamphile, as a result of her
having been violated at the Tauropolia, as has been mentioned
before, by a youth who, though neither realizes it, was Charis-
ius himself. In the struggle she tore a ring from his
hand and exposed it with the child as a token of identity,
Onesimus has recognized the ring. I now quote the con-
versation between Onesimus and Abrotonon:

ABROTONON

kai to tuon

Onchos

ONHCIMOC

apotelese de, phj,6

Tauropolios yuov;

ONHCIMOC

parosthun y, ws emoi

to evthron efi, akolouthos,

86.
ABPOTONON

ἐστὶν: γινόμεν τοις παννυχιώτευτοις μοροις ἐνέπετε καὶ μόνον ἄρ μα άροφης ἐγένετο ποιῶν νεκρον.

ONHCIMOC

σοφον παρουσίασ.

ABPOTONON

πέρυς, ναι.

Ταυταπρονίοισ πασιν για τις ἀλλοις θόρις,
αὐτὴν ἀντομον πάνε παῖς, αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ τῆς
οὖν γαρ καθὼς ἔστιν ἰδίον, καὶ μικρά,
καὶ τόν ἀφροδίτην.

ONHCIMOC

τὴν δὲ πιείδησιν πολύν φιλῶν
φιλῶνας;

ABPOTONON

πυθαιμνίκαιν παροίσις γαρ οὐν ἐν
γυναῖξιν. Τούτων τὶς φίλην.

ONHCIMOC

παπος τίνος

καταφάνας;

ABPOTONON

οὐδὲν οἰκεῖ πλὴν ἑκουσάς ὑπερατέειν ἑν
τετημένων ὑποτεθήσεις τίς, ὡς θεοὶ,
καὶ πλασίδευ θερατά τίνος.

ONHCIMOC

αὖτις ἐστιν τυχόν.

ABPOTONON

ὑμός οὖν ἐπιλεξάθη γαρ ἡμῖν ἔρθεν ὁ ἄρτι ἐκεῖ,
ἐντετιγμένος ἀλλοι οὕτος προστρέχει μόνη
τίποτε ἐπιτής τε τροχαίας, καλοὶ πάντως
καὶ λεπτομ. ὡς θεοὶ, ταραγώνον τρέφοντο,
ἀνολεκτά χήρον γαρ ἐγενότει ρίκος.

ONHCIMOC

καὶ τοῦτον εἰρήν;

ABPOTONON

εἰ καὶ οὐσ. ηλι αὐτοῦ ἐμοὶ
ἐδέσικεν. οὐ μη πειθομαι.

ONHCIMOC

ἐμὲ νῦν;

Το χωΐ ποιέων
ABPOTONON

They then proceed to work out their plan or approach, with Abrotonon taking the initiative.

One should note, perhaps first of all, this girl's frank, unpretentious, sincere manner. She is hiding nothing, not trying to put over anything. There is a delicate touch of spontaneous femininity about her, which is brought out in her remarks about the torn dress. But most outstanding is her fervid interest in the child. She views with horror the possibility of a free-born baby being reared as a slave, and is downright disgusted, positively angry, at Onesimus because, as it seems to her, he is not sufficiently interested in doing something about it.

One must bear in mind that she is a slave herself, and, so far as we have any way of knowing, was born a slave; her nobleness of character is not to be accounted for on the basis of naissance libre. It is noteworthy that she holds no apparent bitterness or resentment toward her free masters because of her own servitude, such as would lead her to get revenge by helping keep the free-born child a slave.

This she conceives as a great injustice, but her own servitude, apparently, is not thought of as unjust; as a result of her birth, under the rules of Athenian society, she is entitled to nothing else.  

7. For the broad application of this concept of justice in comedy, see Chapter VI, page 117 et seq.
Abrotonon’s character is partly to be accounted for on the basis of her youth. She had been a courtesan for less than a year, since we learn that she was yet a virgin at the time of the Tauropolia, when Pamphilus was violated. I would hazard the guess that she is, at the outside, not over sixteen years of age. Plainly she has not had time to be spoiled by the sordid occupation in which she is engaged. Therefore her nobleness of character is perfectly plausible. What we should especially note is Menander’s outstandingly democratic viewpoint; he seems so thoroughly impressed with the fact that human excellency is not necessarily related to social position that he is determined to drive home the idea by forcible illustration.

Excluding those women whom we only hear about and who never appear on the stage, and excluding Philotis of the Hecyra, who is a mere προτέτατος προστάτης, Terence’s three courtesans are Bacchis of the Hecyra, Thais of the Menuchus, and Bacchis of the Haecoton Timorumesos. The former two have been mentioned before (page 86) in connection with Abrotonon as showing conspicuous altruism. Bacchis’ generosity is perhaps more noteworthy than that of Abrotonon, for she had reason to be downright mad at Pamphilus, because he, after promising that he would remain eternally faithful to her, never marrying as long as she should live, broke his promise under paternal compulsion, and,

8. Epitrepontes, 261-263.
after marriage, severed his relations with her.\textsuperscript{10} Breaking up his marriage might be of advantage to her; there would be a strong chance that she would renew his old relationship with her. But she does not choose to act in any such mercenary fashion. I shall quote her own comment on her action in reconciling Pamphilus and his wife, in which she sets down what might be called her "code of business ethics:"

"Haec tot me propter gaudia illi contigisse laetor: etsi hoc meretrices aliae molunt, neque enim in rem nostram, ut quisquam amator nuptiis laetetur. Uerum ecasor nunquam animum quaesti gratia ad malas adducam partis. Ego illo dum licitumst usa sum benigno et lepido et comi. Incommode mihi nuptiis evenit, factum fateror: at pol me fecisse arbitror, ne id merito mi eveniret. Multa ex quo fuerint commoda, eius incommoda aequomst ferre."

(\textit{Hecyra}, 833-840)

We have an interesting sympathetic touch which looks almost like a definite rebuke directed by the writer\textsuperscript{11} against harsh, categorical denunciation of courtesans in the bit which I shall quote presently. Bacchis had been suspected by the parents of Pamphilus and of his wife, Philumena, of having been accused of so doing by Laches, Pamphilus' father. She has acquitted herself to his satisfaction when Phidippus, Philumena's father, arrives on the scene:

\textit{LA... Phidippe, Bacchis deierat persanote. PH. haecine eeat?}

\textit{La. haec est. PH. nec pol istae metuont deos neque eas respicere deos opinor.}

\textit{BA. ancillas dedo: quolubet cruciatu per me exquire.}

\textit{10.\textit{Hecyra}, 156-170}

\textit{11. I mean not Terence but the author of the original play, Apollodorus of Carystrus. See Ashmore, page 31.}
haec res his agitur: Pamphile me facere ut redeat
uxor
opertet: quod si perficie, non paenitet me fame,
solam fecisse id quod aliae meretrices facere fugiant."
(Hecyra, 771-776)

If Philippus has any sensitivity about him he will be a little more careful when he makes that sweeping statement again. There is no attempt to put halos on all courtesans. Bacchis is frankly an exception. The emphasis would seem to be on recognizing that goods and bads exist among them as among the rest of mankind.

As I have said, Thais in the *Eunuchus* shows an altruism like that of Abrotonon and Bacchis. Having devoted so much space to those two I will pass her up without special comment. It is worthwhile to remark in passing that in the cases of Bacchis and Thais, unlike that of Abrotonon, their generosity cannot be accounted for on the basis of their having only recently entered the business, and hence being yet unspoiled. The impression one gathers is that they have been at it for some considerable time. Abrotonon might be passed off as a case simply of the ingenuous generosity of maidenhood. These two, however, show that quality in confirmed and established courtesans.

Bacchis of the *Heauton Timorumenos* is scarcely the admirable character that her namesake in the *Hecyra* is. She is probably essentially what the latter has in mind when she speaks of aliae meretrices. She is plainly engaged in the business primarily for gain. She continually takes from her admirer all he can give and asks for more.¹²

When, after she has come to the home of young Clitipho on the promise of a gift, the gift is slow in materializing she angrily threatens to leave Clitipho and go to the house of a soldier. We are given a rather vivid and none too savory picture of her extravagant eating and drinking which accords well with her enormous retinue of slaves and her grasping ways as regards money, already mentioned. Yet, she is given a chance to justify herself. Let us look at her justification. The Antiphiila to whom she speaks is the faithful mistresse of Clitipho's friend, Clinia. Because she is supposed to be of foreign (Corinthian) extraction he has not been able to marry her. In the end she turns out to be Clitipho's sister. Bacchis' speech goes thus:

"Edepol te, mea Antiphila, laudo et fortunatam indico, id quod studiasti, isti formae ut mores consimiles forent; minumeque, ita me di ament, miror ei te sibi quisque expetit. nam mihi quale ingenium haberes fuit indicio oratio: et quon egomet nunc mecum in animo uitam tuei considero omniumque adeo nostrarum uolvis quae ab se segregant, et nos esse istius modi et nos non esse hanc mirabilis: nam expedit bohas esse nobis; nos, quibuscum est res, non sinunt: quippe forma impulsi nostra nos amatores colunt; haec ubi inimutast, illi suam animam alio conferunt: nisi prospectum interea aliquid est, desetum uiuimus. uobis cum uno semel ubi setatem agere decretum utro, quocius nos maxime maxumet consimilis uostrum, ei se ad uos adligant. hoc beneficio utrique ab utrisque noea deuincinini, ut numquam ullu amorii nostro incidere possit salamitas." (Beauton Timorumenos, 381-395)

13. Beauton Timorumenos, 223-278
14. Ibid., 445 et seq.
15. Ibid., 245 et seq.
We will probably have to agree that, in accordance with
cold, matter-of-fact considerations, Bacchis is right.
Once having entered the profession of courtesan her course
is the logical one for her to pursue. Here again we find
sympathetic understanding on the part of the writer. The
original of this play was, incidentally, written by
Menaecher. It was the first one he produced.\footnote{16}

Plautus' \textit{meretrices} are definitely less attractive
than those of Terence. In the first place, there is none
with the singular generosity of Abrotonon or the Bacchis
of the \textit{Hecyra}. Still, there are downright sincere characters,
girls who, in their relations with their lovers, are governed
by real love, not by desire for gain. We have \textit{Philematium}
of the \textit{Mostellaria} who insists in believing, in the face of
attempts by
the cynical, disillusioned—and her disillusionment was the
result of bitter personal experience\footnote{17}—old serving woman,
Scapha, to dissuade her, that Philolaches, the lover who
has purchased and freed her, will remain consistently faith-
ful.\footnote{18} There is also \textit{Philaenium} in the \textit{Asinaria}, who in-
sists, in the face of the prohibitions of her mother, the
\textit{lerna} or "Madam" Clearata, in continuing her relations with
the 'man she loves' despite the fact that he is impeccunious.\footnote{19}

One of the most unsavory courtesans in Plautus is
\textit{Phronesium} of the \textit{Truculentus}. Her accomplishment, as I
have already said, is to keep on the string at the same  \textit{e}.

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item[16.] See Allinson's edition, General Introduction, page xv.
\item[17.] \textit{Mostellaria}, 197-203.
\item[18.] Ibid., 181 et seq.
\item[19.] \textit{Asinaria}, 504 et seq.
\end{itemize}}
and bleed three admirers. Especially noteworthy is her colossal unassailable audacity in pretending that she has borne a child by the soldier Stratophanes so as to get money out of him for its support. As Stratophanes is, for his type, a better than average person the effect on the reader is one of unsavory cruelty. Still, Phronesium is perhaps not so much worse than Bacchis of the Heauton Timorumenos. The difference is that we see her at work more than we do Bacchis, and that Bacchis is made to justify herself, while Phronesium is not.

It is interesting to speculate a bit as to what may be the reason for this difference in the meretrices of Plautus from those of Terence and, in so far as we can directly observe, those of Menander. Why, in the twenty essentially complete plays that have come down to us from Plautus' hand do we not find at least one character on the order of Abrotonon or of Bacchis of the Eocyra? Professor Tenney Frank claims that Plautus did not dare to; that it would have offended the puritanical sentiments of the Roman audience of Plautus' day; that it would have been a slight to the matrons of Rome; and that Terence was able to present such characters because the Rome of his day was more tolerant. This hypothesis may be correct, but at best it is only an hypothesis; and the phenomenon can be explained otherwise.

20. Truculentus, 523.
21. Tenney Frank, Life and Literature in the Roman Republic (Berkeley, California, 1930), pp. 81-82.
First of all, I shall start with the assumption that Menander had a definite sympathetic interest in the courtesans of his day. His treatment of Abrotonon and even of Bacchis of the Heauton, assuming that Terence reproduced the original fairly closely, makes such an assumption at least plausible. Secondly, I shall assume that Plautus was a man of very ordinary ideas, not particularly interested in moral or philosophical questions, an extremely vigorous person, outstandingly clever, and quite in sympathy with the every-day people of Rome and thoroughly steeped in their variety of humor; and that his chief interest as a playwright was to put on a good show. This concept of Plautus is to a considerable extent hypothetical, but it enables one to explain several peculiarities in his work, as is shown elsewhere.\(^{22}\) Therefore, he would not be particularly attracted toward the rather calm, somewhat serious comedy of Menander, but would hunt plays with exciting plots, clever intrigue, and humorous characters; and even when he did use Menander he would not be particularly interested in reproducing the sympathetic touches, and would pay more attention to the fun-making elements. Terence, on the other hand, because of differences in temperament and environment was more in sympathy with the spirit and ideas of Menander and similar writers than was Plautus, and so made a special attempt at reproducing them.\(^{23}\)

\(^{22}\) See Chapter III, p. 42 et seq. and Ch. VI, p. 43 et seq.

\(^{23}\) See page 43.
The Lerno

The lerno or ἄρνοβαρκός is the stock villain of comedy. Indeed, his vices are made so manifold that they exceed the limits of possibility, creating a humorous effect. Witness this characterization from the Rudens:

"DAEMONES. quis istic est qui deset tam parvum pendit? TRACHALIO. 'uis dicam tibi?

fraudis, sceleris, parriciodi, peiuri plenissimus,
legerupta in pudens, inpurus, inmercundissimus,
umo uerbo apsolutam, lenost."

(Rudens, 650-653)

Probably if Trachalio had thought of any more deadly sins he would have added them to the list.

A thing that keeps the lernones of comedy from being too unsavory to the reader is this very completeness of their villainy, and their frankness in acknowledging it. They make no pretense at possessing any admirable or humane qualities. Sannio in the Adelphoe says, "lerno sum,

parniciés communis, fatior adulescentium."24 Ballio of the Pseudolus, who is perhaps the extreme example of the type, is especially effusive in the way he confesses his avariciousness:

"PSEUDOLUS. potin ut semel modo,

Ballio, hoc sum lucro respicias?

BÁLLO. respicionem istoe pretio; nam si sacrifícium

summo Ioui
atque in manibus exst teneam ut porciam, interea loci
si lucrui quid detur, potius rem divinam deseram."

(Pseudolus, 263-267)

Ballio is also frank in admitting that he is dependent on depravity for his livelihood, and that, indeed, what is

damaging to the wellfare of the state is of profit to him:

"boni me uiri pauperant, improbi aestent; popule strenui, mi improbi uspi sunt."
(Pseudolus, 1128-1129)

The leno is generally regarded, especially by the young men and their confidential slaves as a sort of public enemy, a person who was the legitimate object of any kind of abuse or deceit. Whole plays like the Pseudolus, the Persa, and, although there is in each case another important element in the plot, the Pseudolus and the Rudens are built around the swindling of lenones. The leno is cursed and ill-treated, but yet he is tolerated: one can do no better than quote Pseudolus' remark on this point:

"huncine hic hominem pati
colere iumentum Atticam?
ubi sunt, ubi latent, quibus aetas integra est, qui
amant a lenone?
quin conveniunt? quin una omnes peste has populum
hunc liberant?

sed uah!
nimum stultus, nimum fui
indoctus: illine audeant
id facere quibus ut serviant
suos amor cogit? simul prohibet faciant aduorsum eos
quod nolint."
(Pseudolus, 202-206)

The position of the leno would seem to be somewhat analogous to that of the Jews during the middle ages who, though persecuted and maligned, were allowed to exist by rulers who found it exceedingly convenient to borrow money from them.

We have a certain amount of sympathy for the lenones of comedy. They are as much sinned against as sinning. After all, their behavior is to be, for the most part,
justified in the same way that Bacchis of the Meauton Timorumenos justified hers. If one is going to engage in the business he has to be harsh if he is to succeed. As Balio puts it, "misereat, si minime familiam alere possim misericordia:" "I'd show mercy if I could support my household on mercy."

**Two Interesting Features of Greek Prostitution**

If one stops to think of it as he reads, it is bound to strike him as strange that the home of an independant courtesan or the establishment of a leno is so often found next door to the residence of some well-to-do citizen. Undoubtedly the frequency of such cases has been exaggerated by the playwrights for dramatic purposes. The arrangement is, in fact, a dramatic convention. But it hardly seems likely to me that the convention could have even got started, let alone persisted, if it were completely against the actual practices of real life. Apparently there was not only no legal curtailment of prostitution, but also not much of that sort of sentiment about it which gives rise to segregation and creation of red light districts.

Another thing which is bound to surprise us is that there is no mention of venereal disease in the comedies. Why did not the patres seueri use the danger of such disease as an argument against their sons having relations with courtesans? It certainly is not due to any squeamishness that the writers might have had about mentioning venereal
disease. It would seem likely that venereal disease was at least not recognized and probably much less common than among us.

Appendix to Chapter V

Page 83:

Pseudolus, 173-174:

"... you that bask away your soft young years in elegance, ease and delights, you celebrated sweeties with your high class gentlemen friends...."

(Tr. Nixon)

Poenulus, 827-835:

"So help me heaven, I'd prefer to pass my days in a stone quarry or mill, fastened to a big iron brick, than keep on slaving at this pimp's. What a breed they are! How men--debauched in those resorts! Lord preserve us! Any kind of person can be seen there the same as if you went to Hades! Citizens of every class, freedmen, slaves, slaves of all kinds—robbers or runaways, beaten, bound, or debtor slaves! Anyone that has the price, no matter who, all sorts are welcome. Dark little nooks, then, all over the place, eating, drinking, the same as a pot-house, no difference!"

(Tr. Nixon)

Page 85: Epitrepontes, 290-291:

"I was supplying the music for the maidens; and I played along with them myself."

Page 87: Epitrepontes, 247-279:

"ABBREVIATI. That baby that the woman inside there is nursing, did this charcoal-burner find it, Onesimus?
"ONESIMUS. According to what he says.

"ABROTONON. It's cute, isn't it? Poor little thing!

"ONESIMUS. And this ring was with it, a ring of my master's.

"ABROTONON. What lucklessness! Now then, if it really is your master's child, do intend to watch it be brought up as a slave? Why, you ought to die for that!

"ONESIMUS. It's like I say. Nobody knows who its mother is.

"ABROTONON. And he lost this ring, you say, during the festival of the Tauropolia?

"ONESIMUS. Yes, and he was drunk, according to what the slave boy that was with him told me.

"ABROTONON. It's plain. He came on the women alone when they were holding their all-night celebration. Another incident like this happened when I was present.

"ONESIMUS. When you were present?

"ABROTONON. Why yes, last year, at the Tauropolia. I was supplying the music for the maidens; and I played along with them myself. At that time, that is, not yet, I didn't know what a man was. That's the truth, by Aphrodite.

"ONESIMUS. and do you know who the girl was?

"ABROTONON. I could ask. She was a friend of the women I was with.

"ONESIMUS. Did you hear who her father was?

"ABROTONON. All I know is that if I saw her I would know her. She was good looking, by God; and rich, so they said.

"ONESIMUS. It's possible that she's the one (i.e. the girl Charisius violated).

"ABROTONON. I don't know. It was like this: while she was there with us she wandered off. Then, all of sudden, she came running back, alone, screaming, tearing her hair. And the Tarentine dress she had on—
ye gods it was pretty, and sheer—was simply ruined! There was nothin, but a rag left!

"ONESIMUS. And she had this ring?

"ABROTONON. She might have, but she didn't let me see; I won't try to pretend.

"ONESIMUS. Well, What should I do now?

"ABROTONON. Look here: if you're bright, and will do as I say, you'll tell your master about this. For if the baby's born of a free girl, why should he be kept in the dark about it?"

Page 91: Hecyra, 833-840:

"I am glad to have been the occasion of all this happiness befalling them. It is not what others of my class would like, for it is not to our interest to have marriages happy. For my part I vow I will never let mercenary motives induce me to play a wicked part. So long as I fairly might I found him liberal, charming and good-humored. The marriage was inconvenient for me, I admit, but I think that I have so acted as not to deserve the inconvenience. When a thing brings many advantages it is only fair to put up with the disadvantages which it involves."

(Tr. Sargeaunt)

Hecyra, 771-776:

"LACHES.... Phidippus, Bacchis takes a solemn oath that she didn't do it. PHIDIPPUS. Is this she? LACHES. Yes. PHIDIPPUS. Hell, those women don't have any fear of the gods, and I don't think the gods pay any attention to them. BACCHIS. I'll give you my maid-servants. You may use any kind of torture you please on them in finding out what you want to know. The business at hand is this: I have to make Pamphilus' wife return to him. If I succeed, I'm not ashamed of having the reputation of having done what other courtesans try to keep from doing."

Page 92: Heauton Timorumenos, 381-395:

"Upon my word, my dear Antipha, I commend you. In my view you are heaven-blessed in having set yourself to match your morals to your beauty, and, as I

a. Sargeaunt regularly uses this circumlocution to avoid openly translating meretrices.
hope to be saved, I don't at all wonder at the competition for your hand. It is your conversation has led me into your character. When I reflect on the life led by you and those like you who keep the herd at a distance, I am not surprised that you are of that stamp and we are not. Why, you profit by your goodness: we cannot be good, the men we have to do with won't let us. It is our beauty attracts lovers to court us: when that's faded, they switch off their inclinations, and, if we have made no provision in the meantime, we live in neglect. With you, when once you have determined to pass your days with a husband, with the man whose turn of mind agrees nearest with your own, he links himself to you. By this mutual favor you are so closely bound together that your love cannot be dissolved by any catastrophe."

(Tr. Sargeaunt)

Page 97: Rudeus, 650-653:

"DAEMORES. Who is that man that so scorces the gods? Make it short! TRAGALLO. A cheat and villain, a perjured, parricidal monster, lawless, impudent, impure, impious past all telling— in one word, a pimp."

(Tr. Nixon)

Pseudolus, 263-267:

PS. "Can't you give us just one friendly look, Baldio, to your own profit. BA. I can, at that price. Why, if I was sacrificing to Jove supreme, ay, with organs in my hands to put on the altar, and a chance for profits suddenly appeared, my offering would be off."

(Tr. Nixon)

Page 98:

Pseudolus, 1128-1129:

"Good men make me poor, the worthless fat; your brisk fellows have their public use, but it's the worthless I find useful."

(Tr. Nixon)

Pseudolus, 202-206:

"The idea of our young Athenians letting this fellow flourish here! Where are they, where are they

b. A trifle euphemistic. "sibi expetit" does not necessarily presuppose the formation of a permanent union, matrimonial or concubinate, although it could be used in that sense.

c. As a non-citizen she could not enter into a (Note cont'}
hiding, the lusty young lads that go to the pimp for their girls? Why don't they get together? Why don't they all combine and rid the public of this pest? But what an ass, what a ninny I am! They dare do that to the fellows their passions make 'em slaves of?" (Tr. Nixon)

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o. (Continued) regular marriage, but only into a concubinate union. "Husband" is likely to be a trifle misleading here.
VI

MORAL ATTITUDES OF COMEDY AND THE COMIC POETS

The previous chapters of this paper have, in the main, been devoted to an exposition of the moral standards, or, shall we say, standards of proper behavior, which we find exhibited in Roman comedy and the Athenian New Comedy as represented by the extant remains of Menander. These standards have been regarded as mainly a reflection of the ideas of propriety held by the people for whose entertainment the plays were presented, and, to a limited extent, of the ideas of the writers as distinct from the populace in general. It will be the main purpose of this chapter to investigate what attitudes toward, or methods of dealing with, moral standards and moral questions are revealed by the plays as being characteristic of these comedies as a literary type and as being characteristic of individual writers. Also, partly for the reason that it has certain logical relations to the before-mentioned main topic, and partly for the very good reason that it is important and has not been found satisfactory for inclusion anywhere else, some paragraphs will be devoted to that serious problem which raises itself in connection with an adaptive or imitative literature like the Roman comedy: to what extent do the ideas we find expressed in such literature belong to people among whom it originated and to what extent to those who adapted it? In
other words, are the moral ideas of Roman comedy mostly Greek or mostly Roman?

The Comedy and Immorality

In contrast to tragedy the Old Comedy was not limited by any sort of restriction or obligation requiring that it avoid the immoral or improper and present only the moral or seemly in human behavior. This contrast is brought out clearly by Aristophanes' criticism of immoralities in Euripides which are much milder than those in his own comedies. The tragedian was expected to be something of a moral preceptor, the comedian essentially an entertainer.

Furthermore, comedy, in contrast to some more serious types of literature conscientiously moral literature, has its own good natured way of dealing with immorality. This point was aptly stated by Lessing in his article, "Von dem Leben und den Werken des Plautus," from which I now quote:

"Der h. Hieronymus ergänzte sich daran, wenn er in vielen Nachtwachen aus Reue über seine begangenen Sünden herzliche und busfertige Tränen vergossen hatte. Man mag hierüber scheißen oder spotten, wie man will, ich sehe weder was unbegreifliches, noch vielweniger was verdammliches darinnen. Darf denn ein Christ keine Erholung geniessen? Ist es denn ein so groszer Widerspruch das Laster verlachen, und das Laster beweinen? Ich sollte vielmehr glauben, dass man beydes zugleich sehe wohl thun könne. Entweder man betrachtet das Laster als etwas das unserer unanständig ist, das uns geringer macht, das uns in unzählige widerstimmische Vergehungen lässt: oder man betrachtet es, als etwas, das wider unsere Pflicht ist, das den Zorn Gottes erregt, und uns also nothwendig unglücklich machen.

2. daran, i.e. by reading Plautus.
Lessing forgot to mention a type of behavior which is particularly characteristic of his second way of looking at immorality, that of ignoring its existence, which seems to be what Aristophanes wanted the Tragedians to do, and which has been practiced, as I think, all too much by writers and educators in the English-speaking world. It is probably safe to say that throughout the whole of the writings of the authors we are considering the concept of immorality involved, to any degree at least, is that which Lessing has set down as characteristic of comedy, "something that is unbecoming to us, something that debases us, that causes us to make countless absurd mistakes." Indeed, when the writer in Daresberg et Saglio, quoted elsewhere, says that the patres senesi who objected to their sons' relations with courtesans were objecting "less to the immorality of their conduct than to their extravagant expenditures, their debts, and the troublesome consequences of these relationships," he is failing, in part at least, to recognize this comedian's concept of immorality: he sees it, for he really defines it in part, but he does not acknowledge it as a concept of immorality, which to him is apparently something absolute and, shall we say, sacred, for which the patres senesi did not have an adequate regard.


If we accept the foregoing generalizations we can readily see that we need not be surprised if the comic poets sometimes present immoral or indecorous behavior in their plays, without such behavior being specifically condemned or its practitioner being meted out any particular punishment as a result of his improprious action. Furthermore, we should expect that when such punishment was meted out that it would consist of the personis being made the butt of ridicule. We have already seen how this type of criticism is leveled against those who do not observe the limitations of "good taste."

**Plautus and the Morality of his Plays**

As one goes through the Plauteine corpus he finds very considerable variation in the kinds of sentiments expressed or implied. There are plays like the *Pseudolus*, concerning which Sellar remarks, "though the result accomplished cannot be called the triumph of virtue over vice, it is at least the triumph of a more amiable over a more detestable form of depravity." The interest is almost solely in the intrigue. In the *Truculentus* and the *Bacchides* there is not even the triumph of lesser over greater depravity. In the *Mercator*, however, we are given a lesson in good taste: the gray-beard lover is made the object of ridicule. In the *Stichus* we see two excellent examples of triumphant wifely fidelity. Finally, in the *Rudens*, we are ushered into the romantic

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6. Page 32 et seq.
atmosphere of an ideal world where heaven-sent justice prevails, where the maiden Palaestra, the long-lost daughter of an Athenian citizen, is, though providential storm and shipwreck, freed from the power of Labrax, a cruel leto, and restored to her father and enabled to marry her lover. We may be not a little surprised particularly at the contrast between Jupiter, the just god of the Rudens, and Jupiter, the adulterer of the Amphitruus, as well as at the other differences in the moral tone of this one author. What is the explanation for this situation?

We may, I believe, arrive at a quite satisfactory understanding of Plautus' relation to the morality of his plays by examination of two passages, the epilogues, or closing words spoken by the ceteruae, of the Captivi and the Bacchides. Both are explanatory statements concerning the plays that precede them, the former being commendatory and the latter apologetic. The epilogue of the Captivi reads thus:

"Spectatores, ad pudicos mores facta hae fabula est, neque in haec subigitationes sunt neque ualla amatio nec pueri suppositie nec argenti carsumductio, neque ubi amans adolescens scortum liberet clam suum patrem. huius modi paucas poetae reperient comedias, ubi boni meliores fiant. nunc uos, si uobis placet et si placuimus neque odio fuimus, signum hes mittite: qui pudicitiae esse uoltis praeium, plausum date." (Captivi, 1029-1036)

There is, incidentally, no question as to whether this passage was original with Plautus or taken over by him from his Greek original. It is most certainly original with him as a Greek playwright would hardly be likely to talk about poets being able to find (reperire) few plays like the
Captivi. Such is the language of an adapter, not of an original writer. Following are the closing lines of the Bacchides, which provide an excuse for the unseemly behavior of two elderly gentlemen who figure in the play:

"Hi senes nisi fuissent nihilam inde ab adolescentia, non hodie hoc tantum flagitium facerent canis capitibus; neque adeo haec faceremus, ni antehac uidessemus fieri ut apud leones riuales fillis fierent patres. spectatores, uos malere uolumus, et clare adplaudere."

(Bacchides, 1208-1211)

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these two passages is that Plautus did not necessarily consider the sort of behavior which he presented in his plays to be proper or commendable, and would have, according to his own declaration, liked to present more plays of a morally uplifting character (ubi boni meliores fiant, "wherein good people may be made better"), but could find but few plays of that sort among the stock of Greek comedies on which he was obliged by the tradition of his craft, and perhaps by personal limitation, to base all his productions.

We should not, of course, attribute to Plautus any particularly ardent moral sentiments, any overly zealous ambition for what he calls pudice morese. Indeed, he portrays with all too much gusto the sorts of things for the absence of which he commends the Captivi—witness especially the argenti circumducitio in the Pseudolus! Probably we can say that he was a more or less ordinary and typical individual in that he held, so far as his thoughts on the subject went, a set of thoroughly conventional ideas on the subject of pudicitia, which he regarded as something that, if convenient.
and not too much trouble, ought to be promoted. But his feelings were not so strong but that he was quite willing, if he thought it would serve his purpose of amusing the populace, to adapt a Greek play which contained a fair portion of impudicitia, and, doubtless, quite able to get a considerable amount of fun out of doing it. The diversity in moral tone to be found in Plautus' plays is, therefore, to be explained on the basis of the poet's ability to recognize good dramatic material of diverse character and his willingness to make use of such dramatic material, of whatever character it might be. 7

The Greek vs. the Roman in Roman Comedy

This is perhaps the most logical point to approach the problem of determining to what extent the Roman comedy of Plautus and Terence embodies Greek and to what extent Roman moral standards. As far as Terence is concerned, there is, I think, little doubt that his plays represent essentially reproductions of his originals as far as their essential character is concerned. This statement cannot, of course, be proved, since none of his originals have survived. We do, of course, know from Terence's own statements in his prologues 8 that he practiced contaminatio, the combining of elements from two or more Greek plays to make a Latin play, or, to more accurately describe what Terence apparently actually did, the using of materials

7. Cf. p. 42 et seq. and p. 96 et seq.
8. Andria, 9-24; Eunuchus, 19-41; Adelphoe, 6-11.
from another play to enrich the plot of the particular play he was adapting. It is almost certain that he dropped the expository prologues which were doubtlessly present in his originals, thus injecting an element of suspense into his plots. But none of this implies Romanization. Indeed, he says, in the prologue to the Adelphoe, in reference to the passages which he introduced into the Menandrian play from Diphilus' Synapothescones: "sum hic locum sumpsit sibi/ in Adelphoe, uerbum de uerbumexpressum extulit."

"This writer (in the prologues he refers to himself in the third person) borrowed that passage from Diphilus' Synapothescones, taking it over word for word." We are scarcely justified in taking this to mean literal translation in the modern sense, but it certainly does indicate quite close adaptation. Furthermore, Terence's consistency in giving his plays and his characters Greek names and, in contrast to Plautus, his avoidance of inconsistent Roman references all go to indicate that he aimed, as far as was consistent with his basic purpose of turning out successful plays for the Roman stage, in preserving the Greek character of his plays. This statement is not to any important degree contradicted by the statement that he altered the closing scenes of the Adelphoe, by introducing the slight rebuke against Micio, in order not to offend the sentiments of his audience. This, we might note, is perhaps no more severe an alteration than the expurgations employed in our school texts for the same purpose, to

10.Frank, op. cit. page 117.
avoid offending the reader, or, as I am tempted to cynically put it, to avoid embarrassing the teacher! Furthermore, we can contrast this slight bit of modification of sentiment with Terence's bold use, in his plot construction, of a moral concept totally foreign to Rome. I refer to the law, in the Phormio, requiring that the nearest male relative of an orphan girl marry her. Such marriages were regarded as outrageously incestuous by the Romans. Yet Terence was able to employ it in his play, with the understanding that the whole thing was Greek and not Roman. All in all, I believe we are safe in saying that the moral standards exhibited in Terence's comedies are typical of Athens during the latter part of the fourth century B.C., with the possibility of a very meagre trace here and there of Roman influence.

When we approach the problem of determining where the Greek ends and the Roman begins in Plautus, our task is not any way nearly so easy as it was for Terence. Whereas the latter's plays, despite modifications in structure which we know or are fairly certain he introduced, are essentially Greek in character, Plautus' comedies abound in evidence of recasting. This strikingly brought out by passages like *Miles Gloriosus*, 209-212, where he alludes to the imprisonment of the playwright Naevius—yet he keeps

11. Phormio, 126-128.
a semblance of Roman viewpoint by calling him *posta barbarus*—
or, perhaps, even more, by Captivi, 382-385, where the
parasite Ergasilus Hellenizes the names of the Italian towns
Prænesta, Signia, and Frusine and swears by them in Greek
as if they were Greek divinities—indeed, he has just used
the oaths *μιτὼν Ἀπόλλων* , *νεῖταν Κόρας* 14—and when asked
by Hegio, from whom he has been trying to extract a dinner
invitation, why he swore by those barbarian towns he answers
that is because they are as harsh as Hegio has just been
telling him his food was. Similar is the the remark, Mos-
tellaria, 928, made in reference to a well built pair of
door posts, "*non enim haec pultipaghs opifex opera fecit
barbarus,* " *These aren't the work of any porridge-eating
barbarian (i.e. Roman) craftsman!" In both these jokes
we find Plautus turning the supposedly Greek character of
his plays to ludicrous purposes, and thus getting in a sly
dig at the haughty Hellenes who thought themselves so much
superior to the "barbarian" Romans. All this indicates
that Plautus had no compunction about adding new humorous
material to the plays he was adapting whenever he saw fit.
It is indeed my personal impression from reading Plautus

14. It is worthwhile to note that these oaths have a Doric
cast (e.g. τὰ νόσ for τὰ νόσ, ἀρραν for ἀρραν). This accords
with Dr. Frank's plausible theory the Greek of Plautus' plays is
based on a considerable smutting of colloquial (Doric)
Greek which the Roman soldiers had picked up during their
extensive campaigns in Southern Italy and Sicily, and is not
a carry-over from the Attic drama. See Frank, op. cit., pp.
67-73.
that he probably read over the Greek play he was using quite thoroughly, put the book aside, and then wrote his Latin comedy, although, of course, I cannot supply proof for this.

Yet, for all the Roman element in Plautus, it does not follow that his plays exhibit a Roman rather than a Greek morality. Any such conclusion is contradicted by the epilogue of the Captivi. We are first told that that play is written in accordance with sound morals ("Spectatores, ad pudicos mores facta haece fabula est." and then given a list of conventional and assumedly immoral elements lacking in the play. These are seductions (subigationes), love (amatic), acquisition of money by fraud (argenti circumductio), and incidents of a young man in love with a slave—courtesan freeing her without his father's knowledge of it (ubi amans adolescentes mortum libaret clam suam patrem). Yet these are all exceedingly important elements in the structure of most of Plautus' comedies.

Let us consider these immoralities in the light of the attitudes toward them which we find revealed in the plays. Seductions, we have seen, are always viewed as improper, but are excused when they occur as they practically always do in the comedies under the extenuating circumstances of a dark night and over-much wine, provided that the youth is willing to make amends by marrying the girl. Love affairs,

15. See page 15 et seq.
including the buying and freeing of slave girls, are, as we have also noted, provided they are not carried to an excess, part of that certain amount of sowing of wild oats which was regarded as the youth's right.\textsuperscript{16} Neither is the tricking of a harsh father\textsuperscript{17} or a leno\textsuperscript{18} shown up in the plays as anything particularly reprehensible. It is well to recall that the statements in this paragraph have all been arrived at by study of the comedies of the three dramatists we are considering and that each of them is corroborated by at least one illustration from Plautus.

What is the explanation of this inconsistency in the ideas of immorality embodied in the plays and in this statement on the part of Plautus himself? It must most certainly lie in the fact that the morality of the plays is essentially Greek while our little epilogue embodies Roman ideas. For all the Roman coloring that the adapter has introduced into his plays the plots and ideas involved are still Greek. This does not mean that the situations in his plays may not have close parallels in Roman situations\textsuperscript{19} and have a direct, intimate appeal to the audience. But in the large the morality of Plautus' plays is Greek, and when the moral standards found embodied in Plautus are also found in Terence or Menander we may be quite sure that it is late fifth century Athenian.

\textsuperscript{16} See page 27 et seq.
\textsuperscript{17} Exemplified in Bacchides, Pseudolus.
\textsuperscript{18} " Persa, Poenus, Pseudolus.
\textsuperscript{19} See Sellar, op. cit., page 175, also pp. 170-171.
It is worthwhile to note that whereas Terence altered the conclusion of the *Adelphoe*, introducing the rebuke of Mácio, for the purpose, according to Dr. Frank, of making his play more agreeable to his audience, Plautus seemingly left the ending which he found in the original of his Bacchides intact, letting the two old men, Nicobulus and Philoxenus, become rivals with their sons, for the affections of the twin courtesans, the Bacchides, and then simply adding his little explanatory epilogue, quoted on page 110, in which he says that the old men would not have acted thus "if they hadn't been worthless ever since boyhood," and if he didn't have ample precedent for presenting that sort of thing on the stage. Here we seem to have a case of Terence being more careful to Romanize than Plautus: it would not have been a great task for the latter to have changed the ending of the Bacchides.

"Poetic Justice"

Under this rather inadequate heading I wish to take notice of a process which plays a part in the writings of all three writers we are considering, but is especially important in the plays of Terence and Menander. The writers of the New Comedy do not, to any extent at least, call into question the established morality or, for that matter, part of the current social organization. It is this fact that accounts for a certain number of what look to us like cases of unfairness or injustice in the outcomes of the

plays. In Terence's *Hecyra*, for example, it would certainly appear that the courtesan Bacchis were given sorry credit for the service she renders. The youth Pamphilus had repeatedly promised undying fidelity to her, saying that, as long as she lived, he would never marry. Then, under patern-al compulsion, he broke his promise, took a wife and deserted Bacchis. Then, when the marriage is about to be broken up due to the wife's bearing a child by a pre-nuptial union, this same Bacchis comes to the rescue and willingly and un-selfishly establishes the identification of Pamphilus with the unknown youth who had violated the girl during a night festival, thus restoring harmony to the marriage, saving the girl from disgrace and the unfortunate baby from being doomed to exposure. What *meretrix* does she get for pains? Thanks. Abrotonon, who performs a similar service in Menander's *Epistreponetes*, may get a somewhat better reward, although the mutilated condition of the text prevents this from being more than a surmise: she may be freed from slavery. The reason for these apparent injustices is that, under the established ways of Athenian society, Bacchis was doomed because, doubtlessly, of her non-Attic birth or ancestry, to the social position of *meretrix*. To raise her out of that position would have been most certainly shockingly improper in the eyes of the audience before whom the original play was presented. Abrotonon could of course be purchased from her owner and then set free to pass into the same social

22. See pp. 5-8.
class as Bacchis; she could rise no higher. To say that she ought to be able to rise higher was outside the province of the New Comedy.

Although the comic writers we are considering could not pursue any abstract ideal of justice, they could and did present a type of justice which consisted of giving their characters that to which their proper social position entitled them. This gives us the oft-used general type of play in which a person or persons living in a manner less elevated than that to which their birthright entitles them are restored to their proper status. Plautus made some use of this type, as in the Captivi, the Rudens, and the Poenulus, but he does not appear to have had any particular predilection for it. He probably just happened to find material for good shows in some plays of that type and adapted them without particular reference to the fact that they were of this plot-type. But when we come to Menander and Terence we find that the type is an obsession. In fact, five of Terence's plays are of this kind, and all the Menandrian comedies, except the Kitharetia and the Kolax, the remains of which are sufficient to tell us anything about the plot are or are suspected of being of Whilt on this general theme.

These plays employ a number of different kinds of subjects. Most frequently a girl, supposedly non-citizen, on the verge of becoming a courtesan, is discovered to be the long-lost daughter of a respectable citizen, is restored to her proper position in society, and, generally, enabled to
marry the young man who is in love with her. This type of plot is employed in Terence’s Andria, Hasauton Timorumenos, and Eunuchus. Plautus used it in the Rudens and the Poemulus. In those two plays the girl is rescued from the position of slave in the hands of a leno. In the Eunuchus she is also a slave. In that play, incidentally, her identification is brought about through the agency of a beneficent courtesan, Thisis.

The surviving Menandrian plays do not provide examples of exactly the type we have been considering in the last paragraph, but they do present close parallels in which the girl, though not threatened with the career of meretrix, is in a position humbler than her rightful one. In the Perikeiromene, as we have seen, because of the supposition that she is a non-citizen, Glycera is living with Polemon in the capacity of concubine; her identification as the daughter of the well-to-do Pataecus enables her to assume her rightful status as Polemon’s legal wife. The same thing probably happens to Chrysis in the Samia. In the metrical hypothesis to the Heros in the Cairo manuscript we find that the girl in question was in a semi-servile condition, working off a debt in the house of her own father. The difficulties are ironed out in the recognition scene. This play has the additional complication of the girl having been violated.

23. Page 69 et seq.
In Plautus' Captivi we find a plot closely analogous to those which I have enumerated in the past two paragraphs, with the vast difference that it is entirely free from love-interest, and the freeborn person who is restored to his proper status is a man.

In Terence's Hecyra and Menander's Epitrepontes we have cases of infants which because of irregularity and obscurity of paternity are doomed, in the former case to exposure, and in the latter to being reared in a servile position. In each case, through the good offices of beneficent courtesans, their fathers are identified and they are restored to the positions which are rightfully theirs.

Finally, we may note the type of plot in which persons who are living in other than their rightful relationship toward one another are restored to their proper relationship. This happens in three of the plays which we have already considered above: the Perikeiromene, the Captivi and the Poenulus. In the first of these plays we find Pataecus and Moschion dwelling in the same household, ignorant of their father and son relationship. In addition, we have Moschion conceiving a passion for Glyceria without suspecting that she is his own sister. By the end of the play these persons are all restored to their normal interrelationship. In the Captivi we have a situation that threatens to be tragic, that of Hegio having in his possession his long-lost son, Tyndarus in the position of a slave. He even goes so far as to subject Tyndarus to severe chastisement. Luckily
the misunderstanding is cleared up and father and son are restored to one another. The situation in the Poenulus is similar to that of the Perikles. A young man, Agorastos, has fallen in love with his own sister, Adelphasium, who is in the possession of the lec, Lyces, and is attempting to get possession of her. Clearing up the identities of the two prevents unnatural relationships between them.

The reader may disapprove of my applying the term "poetic justice" to these plots. He may say that the whole notion is fanciful, and that they be best regarded as simply cases of mistaken identity. Such they are, it is true. But there are plays the mainsprings of whose plots are mistaken identity which most certainly cannot be said to involve poetic justice. Such are Plautus' two twin-plays, the Menaschmi and the Bacchides. Such also is even the Amphi-truo. In none of these plays does the mistaken identity involve loss of status. Even though the most uncomfortable and painful misunderstanding may result from the confusion, there is not the potential tragedy such as is involved in the case of a free-born girl becoming the tool of a hateful creature like Labrax of the Rudens. It is this raising of people from a less desirable status to which their birth does not entitle them to the better status which is rightfully theirs which I have termed "poetic justice."
Conclusion: An Estimate of the Moral Quality of the
Comedy of Plautus, Terence, and Menander

In the previous chapters of this paper I have discussed some of the more interesting aspects of the system of morality embodied in the Athenian New Comedy and the Roman comedy, as represented, in the former case, by Menander, in the latter, by Plautus and Terence. In conclusion I shall attempt, briefly, to make an estimate of what might be termed the "moral quality" of the writings I have been considering.

Such terms as "morally uplifting," "morally sound," "immoral," and the like are frequently used in reference to literature by people who do not make any great effort to make clear either to their hearers or to themselves precisely what they mean. I will attempt, for my present purposes, to set down a definition of "moral soundness" in literature, and attempt to judge the works of Plautus, Terence, and Menander in the light of that definition, a definition which, I hope, will not lend itself too readily to reductio ad absurdum. This is my definition: Any piece of literature may be considered morally sound which, when fairly and properly interpreted, is found to be compatible with some scheme of orderly human social behavior.

I shall make my estimate first and then justify it: I say that the comedy of Plautus, Terence, and Menander is morally sound. Although its essential purpose was to entertain, and although it is not in any save a mild and indirect way didactic, its influence, in so far as it has an influence,
is in the direction of orderly behavior. It accepts, essentially without question, the current moral code of late fourth century Athens. That code, itself, has, in our eyes at least, some rather glaring faults, the chief of which is probably its curtailment of the rights of women and aliens. There is also—and this may be either a fault or a superiority—an absence of any strong attitude of condemnation toward sensual indulgence as such, or emphasis on sobriety, such as prevails more or less throughout the Christian world. The comedy, as we have seen in Chapter III, definitely exemplifies and, by ridiculing the contrary, demands a considerable degree of moderation in sensual indulgence, even though the result may still seem unsatisfactory to the more strait-laced among us.

Violations of the moral, in the form of sexual offenses, figure frequently in the comedies. This is in such sharp contrast to our movies and popular stage plays that it may strike us as "immoral." As a matter of fact, sexual delinquency is always represented as something improper, even though it may be excused. In addition, a good example is set: the offender is always represented as willing to make amends by marrying the girl he has violated. This method of frankly facing the problems of sexual delinquency is, in my opinion, more in the interest of sound social behavior than our own conspiracy of silence, the evil consequences of which are exemplified in the tremendous hold we have

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26. See page 12, page 52 et seq.
27. Page 67 et seq.
allowed venereal diseases to acquire among us without realizing, until recently, their extent, and with the medical means for their control in our hands the while!

We may also note that the comedy actually avoided some of the more offensive aspects of contemporary sexual behavior. Homosexuality does not actively figure in any play. It is only passingly alluded to in the Truculentus. Actual cases of adultery, save the divinely committed adultery of the Amphitruo, do not occur in the plays. Even the more sordid aspects of Athenian prostitution are passed over, for, as we have seen, the meretrix of comedy is not to be passed off as a mere prostitute. She is a professional companion, willing, of course, to oblige in a physical way if required. As far as the less fortunate inmates of the state and private brothels are concerned, the nearest approach we make to them is Ballio's threat to degrade (prostituire) his meretrices to that level.

In conclusion I shall say that the comedy of Plautus, Terence, and Menander, when considered in relation to the customs of the people for whose entertainment it was presented, is morally sound.

30. Page 83 et seq.
31. See pp. 82-83.

125.
Appendix to Chapter VI

Page 109: Captivi, 1029-1036:

"Spectators, this play has been written in accordance with good morals. In it there are no seductions, and no love element. There is no suppositional child and no swindling anybody out of money, and there's no incident of a young fellow in love with a whore freeing her without his father's knowing it. Dramatists find few plays like this one, which may make good men better. Now, if you please, and if we have pleased you and haven't been boresome, let us know about it: all of you that want virtue to have its reward, give us a hand."

Page 110: Bacchides, 1208-1211:

"If these old men hadn't been worthless ever since they were boys they wouldn't have committed such a sin as this now that they are gray-headed; and we wouldn't have presented this sort of thing unless we had seen before presentations of how fathers become their sons' rivals at the whore-mongers'."
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