VI TERENCE

Publius Terentius Afer is a remarkably well-documented figure about whom we nevertheless know next to nothing with any certainty. We have a reasonably secure documentary core in the *didascaliae*, the production notices attached to the plays in the manuscript tradition, whose information on original performances has survived the occasional sceptical attempts at unpicking;[116] these give not only date, festival, producer, and aediles or other commissioning magistrates, but Greek source, and even the name and owner of the slave who composed the music and which type of reed-pipes it was played on. There is also Donatus' commentary, though frustratingly shredded and reconstituted in the form in which we have it, which also preserves invaluable, if sometimes puzzling, information about the Greek source plays and their adaptation. But Terence himself remains an enigma. Suetonius' biography of Terence, one of only four survivors from his *Lives of the Poets*, is a rich and still underinvestigated document, but it tells us less about Terence's life than it does about the biographical tradition that grew up around him a century after his death.

If Suetonius' sources are to be trusted, the poet was born in Carthage and arrived in Rome as a senator's slave. The suspicion persists that the tradition of African birth is a biographical fiction from his cognomen Afer – though no alternative origin was canvassed in antiquity, and it may after all be that the man who, in later ages, became the most widely read ancient poet after Virgil was indeed a second- or third-language writer, a Conrad or Nabokov of the Roman world. It was also universally believed that Terence's career was owed to the patronage of a group of young aristocrats centred on the teenage Scipio Aemilianus, son of the conqueror of Macedon and himself the future destroyer of Carthage. The old idea of such a 'Scipionic circle' has in recent years been seen as largely a piece of Ciceronian historical fiction,[117] but this may be too sceptical. Scipio and his brother Fabius did commission Terence to produce at the funeral games for their father Aemilius Paullus; it remains possible that the entire tradition of a more extended relationship derives from

[116] Notably by Mattingly 1959, 1963; but see Klose 1966.
[117] Strasburger 1966; Zetzel 1972; Goldberg 1986; Parker 1996.

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this single documented fact but, despite their youth, Scipio and his friend Laelius were already emerging in the years after Pydna as important literary patrons, most notably of the historian Polybius, and within at most a generation or two of Terence's death their relationship with the poet was being scurrilously interpreted as sexual.[118]

Whatever the personal background, Terence's career was a product of one of the most tumultuous decades in Roman cultural history, the years following the final Roman conquest of Greece with Aemilius Paullus' victory over the last king of Macedon at Pydna in 168. Greek spoils flooded into Rome on an unprecedented scale, including highly educated slaves and hostage aristocrats (Polybius among them) as well as the contents of the Macedonian royal library, first pick from which Paullus granted to his sons, who would be Terence's future patrons. The years that followed offer tantalizing glimpses of intensely fought culture wars over a perceived threat to Roman traditions and values from the aristocracy's influx of Greek-tinged wealth, played out in a series of triumphal shows and cultural exchanges and, by the end of the decade, provoking a backlash of reactionary legislation in the form of sumptuary laws on aristocratic displays of wealth and a remarkable decree banning Greek philosophers from the city.

It is against this background that Terence's career developed from a hesitant start to an extraordinary year and a half of unprecedented success, only for him to disappear at the height of his fame so abruptly and mysteriously that, even in antiquity, there was no agreement as to what became of him. The tradition seems to have agreed that Terence did not die or retire, but left Rome for Greece; two first-century versions claimed that he died on the homeward journey in some connection with a loss of luggage at sea, while another has him die as late as 156 in Stymphalus in Arcadia (intriguingly close to Polybius' home). It is obviously tempting to speculate that the legislative backlash of 161–160, together with Terence's newfound wealth after the success of the *Eunuch*, made a career break attractive, though the tradition also suggests that there may at this time have been a shortage of suitable untranslated Greek plays available in Rome, and that Terence's mission was in part one of professional research.

[118] Suetonius is able to document the story with an extended quotation from the second-century poet Porcius Licinus; see Courtney 1993: 87–90.

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184 Suetonius' date for Terence's birth; Cicero's date for Plautus' death

169 death of Ennius

168 Crates of Mallos in Rome
battle of Pydna June
death of Caecilius Statius

167 Polybius deported to Rome
Macedonian royal library brought to Rome
triumph of Aemilius Paullus, November
Anicius Gallus' triumphal show

166 *Andria* ('The Girl from Andros'), April (Megalensia)

165 *Hecyra*[1] ('The Mother in Law'), April (Megalensia, aborted)

163 *Heautontimorumenos* ('The Self-Tormentor')

161 *Eunuchus* ('The Eunuch'), April (Megalensia, twice)
sumptuary law on *ludi*
Pomponius' expulsion of the philosophers
Phormio, September (Ludi Romani)

160 *Adelphoe* ('The Brothers'); *Hecyra*[2] (*ludi funebres* for Aemilius Paullus)
Hecyra[3], probably September (Ludi Romani)
Terence leaves Rome

156 death of Terence (according to Cosconius)
Pergamene–Bithynian war

Terence and the palliata

Terence seems to have been as different from Plautus as it was possible to get within their common generic tradition. Where Plautus had been a professional man of the theatre, Terence came to the stage as a product of the new aristocratic patronage that had taken hold in tragedy a generation earlier but that was evidently still viewed with hostility and suspicion by comic professionals such as Luscius. Terence's distance from his peers can only have been magnified by the fact that he worked exclusively with a single production company, the troupe (*grex*) of the veteran actor-manager L. Ambivius Turpio. Indeed, this close relationship with Ambivius' team may be one reason why the plays survived as a corpus generally free from the kind of interpolation by later hands that we find in the texts of Plautus, no doubt arising out of revival productions.

What is clear is that what Terence was doing with the *palliata* differed radically not just from Plautus but from the whole Roman

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comic tradition, including that of his contemporaries.[119] Terence's theatre was a product of the world of the 160s, and responded to the Hellenizing vogue in aristocratic culture by drastically reconstructing the relationship between Latin comedy and its Greek models as one of assimilation rather than appropriation. Where Plautus had gleefully asserted his creative dominance over the dramatic and ethical values of his Greek material, Terence was obsessed with trying to make the qualities of Menandrean comedy speak meaningfully to a Roman popular audience, while still exercising his own creative freedom to improve liberally on the texts in the process of adaptation. Though no more faithful to the letter of the text than Plautus had been, Terence nevertheless worked hard at making the text feel like a Greek play – in plot, in characterization, in ethics, and above all in language, where he forged an extraordinarily beautiful, well-spoken conversational Latin that would ensure his classic status in schoolrooms right through the middle ages. No wonder Luscius felt threatened by the forces of patronage lined up behind this enigmatic young revolutionary *arriviste*.

As an adapter of Greek New Comedy into Latin *palliatae*, Terence inherited certain theatrical givens from the existing *palliata* tradition. He did not reinstate a chorus, and he accepted the anti-naturalistic convention of making up for the lost musical element by setting large quantities of the dialogue to musical accompaniment – although the element of lyric *canticum* is now close to non-existent, largely replaced by a much higher proportion of recitative passages. We cannot tell whether this was Terence's innovation or merely a change in fashion in the twenty years since Plautus' day; the former is perhaps suggested by the record-breaking proportion of *canticum* in the surviving text of *Casina*, even though our version is that of a revival production from around this time and has been updated to suit changing taste in other respects. But it meant that Terence, like Plautus before him, was faced with the challenge of successfully eliminating and camouflaging the four choral breaks in the action of his Greek model; and in practice he seems to have been every bit as free as Plautus with the structure and plotting of his adaptations, though in different directions.

Although it is hard to catch either completely red-handed, the overwhelming impression of Plautus' structural changes is of a tendency to simplify the plot, cast, and stage movement of his Greek source where Terence seems, if anything, to like to complicate it further.

[119] The classic study here remains Wright 1974, amplified now by Karakasis 2005.

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Plautus will move onstage scenes offstage, strip scenes down, and delete entire characters and subplots (most notoriously in *Casina*, whose prologue cheerfully announces the wholesale removal of the title character, her lover, and the resolution of their story in a final recognition and betrothal). Any space thus freed up will generally be absorbed by more extended comic business of a verbal or knockabout kind. Terence, on the other hand, likes to bring additional subplots into the action, whether from offstage scenes in the Greek original, from his own invention, or, in at least three astonishing cases, by pasting in additional characters and scenes from a *second Greek source play*: the practice his rival Luscius stigmatized as *contaminatio*, 'messing'. Despite Terence's own protestations in the prologue to *Andria* (see below), no convincing evidence of such a practice in his predecessors has yet come to light; and it seems to be specifically associated with a marked Terentian preference (in five of the six plays) for what have come to be called 'double plots', intertwining the contrasting affairs, problems, characters, and fates of two pairs of lovers in an intricate dramatic dialogism. Yet at the same time these busy plays are comparatively short on the kind of flamboyant stage action associated with Plautus; in the *Hecyra* prologue, Ambivius classes the comedy as a 'standing-still' play (*stataria*; opposed by later critics to *fabula motoria*, a 'running-around play'). For Terence, the key action takes place not in the field of the visible but inside the characters' heads.

Four of the six plays are adapted from originals by Menander, and the other two from comedies by Apollodorus of Carystus, Menander's closest disciple in New Comedy's second generation; Menander is also the source for two of the three plays raided for additional material in the process of *contaminatio*. Of Plautus' twenty-one plays, in contrast, three are known to be from Menander, three from Diphilus, two from Philemon, one each from Alexis (probably) and the obscure Demophilus; other Menandrean adaptations may be hiding among the eleven plays without an attested source, but Plautus clearly felt no special predilection for Menander's comedies and, in the case of *Stichus*, he seems virtually to have excised Menander's entire plot. In contrast, Terence's regard for Menander goes deeper than mere choice of source, and deeper even than the attempt to capture in Latin dialogue the unsurpassed richness and naturalism of Menander's distillation of Athenian conversational speech. The texture of the comedy is Menandrean, with the expansive Plautine repartee reined severely in, and consistency and complexity of characterization restored. The lowlife leads, the clever slaves and parasites, are still

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there but have been largely displaced from their Plautine position at the centre of the action; the focus is now back on the citizen characters, and the one play to rely on a *Curculio*-style parasite hero, *Phormio*, presents the least generic instance of the type in extant New Comedy. For Terence, as for Menander, comedy is ultimately about the affirmation of citizen values, not about their subversion by figures of the demi-monde; citizen love, leading to marriage and the propagation of the *oikos*, displaces the purchased love that seeks to undermine it. Most of the plays involve a stark opposition on stage between the house of citizen duty and the house of pleasure of the kind we saw in Plautus' *Menaechmi*; but, where in the end Menaechmus abandoned his citizen place entirely, Terence's characters in the end choose well and fulfil their citizen obligations to family and state in the process.

Terence's plays proclaim themselves as Greek from their very titles, which, in all cases but one, are straight transliterations of the original Greek title, in contrast to Plautus' overwhelming preference for retitling as well as giving his play names in Latin. (The exception is *Phormio*, where Terence has substituted his hero's name Plautus-style for the obscurely technical Greek legal title *Epidikazomenos* – sensing, no doubt, that 'The Man Who Brought a Suit of Compulsory Uxoriation of Residuary Issue' lacked a certain ring to Roman ears.) Something similar is observable in the naming of characters, where both Plautus and Terence freely reassign names to the Menandrean named mask-characters; however, where Plautus coins absurd Greek polysyllables and speaking names, Terence simply draws at random from the New Comic repertory of everyday character names.

Above all, Terence delights in plotting: in convolutions of mistaken identity, bluffs and counter-bluffs, backfiring intrigues, and the audience's competence to work out what has to happen from genre rules alone, without needing to have the whole solution tiresomely announced in advance. Here his most radical move was the complete elimination of the divine prologue, strongly suspected to have explained all to the audience in some or all of his Greek source plays (as is the norm in the extant Greek Menander), leaving the audience to deduce the true situation from their familiarity with genre situations and conventions. In its place, Terence's comedies have a prologue of a quite different kind, separating out the extra-dramatic elements in Plautus' prologues from the expository material with which they there mingle, and devoting the formal prologue to a direct address to the audience by Ambivius or an anonymous member of his company, dealing with background information about the play and

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sparring with critics for the audience's favour, but giving away nothing at all about the storyline.[120]

The prologues

These fascinating, problematic prologues have, perhaps unfortunately, occasioned if anything more discussion than the plays to which they are attached, and are best considered as a group. All seem to be the composition of Terence himself but, like the parabatic anapaests of Aristophanes with which they are sometimes compared, are delivered not in the poet's own voice but by his players on his behalf, speaking of the dramatist in the third person and the audience in the second. Each is tied to the occasion of the play's first production or, in the case of *Hecyra*, to its final production in 160, with some lines preserved from the earlier unsuccessful production that year; the 165 prologue does not survive, but may have been recycled in part in the extant version. The remaining five prologues centre on responses to criticism of Terence's literary and professional practice. In four of the five, the criticism is specifically credited to an unnamed 'old poet', identified by Donatus as Luscius of Lanuvium, a minor comedian of the older generation.[121] *Adelphoe* does not specify the source, for reasons discussed below, but, since the points repeated are ones earlier credited to Luscius, he is clearly the target of rebuttal here as well.

The tone of these prologues is extremely hard to read – harder, for example, than that of Aristophanes' *parabases*. We should probably be wary of taking them too solemnly: these prologues were part of a scripted entertainment, and build a relationship with the audience through a mixture of jokes, badinage, and extra-dramatic comment of a kind already present in Plautus' prologues – albeit without the close argumentative engagement with a single identified critic. The opening lines of the *Andria* prologue imply that it was still normal practice in Terence's day to set out the plot in such speeches, though here, as

[120] Plautus has divine prologues in *Rudens* (Arcturus), *Aulularia* (the Lar), *Trinummus* (Luxuria), *Cistellaria* (Auxilium, delayed), and the somewhat different case of Mercury in *Amphitruo*. An anonymous *prologus* introduces *Asinaria*, *Captivi*, *Casina*, *Menaechmi*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, *Truculentus*, and probably *Vidularia*; *Mercator* and *Miles Gloriosus* have prologues spoken by characters from the play, and five plays (*Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Mostellaria*, *Persa*, *Stichus*) have no prologue (but may have had one at some stage in either or both of their Greek and Latin incarnations). *Bacchides* has lost its opening, but the fragments of the lost portion suggest either a postponed character prologue or none.

[121] What little we know of Luscius and his work is fleshed out, in perhaps optimistic detail, by Garton 1972.

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throughout, it is dangerous to take Terence's words at face value: even the non-polemical prologue of *Hecyra*, which deals not with Luscius' complaints but with the play's own disaster-ridden production history, shows no interest at all in telling the audience what is going to happen, and Terence may be opportunistically repackaging a distaste for exposition as a response to pre-emptive bad-mouthing by Luscius.

Three kinds of charge are ascribed to Luscius, two of them surfacing repeatedly; and Terence's responses to the charges are masterpieces of obfuscation, disingenuousness, and evasion.

(i) ***Contaminatio***. From his very first play, Terence is accused of the practice that Luscius calls by the verb *fabulas contaminare*, 'messing plays up'; Terence fastens on the term and quotes it back at *Andria* 16, *HT* 17. How Luscius was able to accuse Terence of this in his debut production is unclear, although the *Eunuchus* prologue reveals that there were preview performances for the aediles in charge of the festival, at one of which Luscius managed to wangle a place and promptly started to heckle. It is also not quite clear exactly what is being messed up; the *HT* prologue speaks of 'contaminating many Greek plays in making few Latin ones', which may mean simply that the integrity of the Greek plays is violated by recombination and excerption, or that the plays cherrypicked in this way become rapidly used up and unavailable for future translators in what was evidently a climate of professional hyperattentiveness to intellectual property rights. Terence cheerfully admits the charge on three occasions, and even names the second Greek play used as a source; but the three cases all seem different, and Terence's responses to the charge raise further questions that at least cast doubt on his frankness.

The first question is what Terence has actually done. *Adelphoe*'s single scene from Diphilus' *Commorientes* ('Death Pact') is easily identified, and indeed the prologue challenges the audience to spot the joins; but the other cases are more complex. The *Eunuchus* prologue admits, following exposure by Luscius, that the colourful soldier-parasite double-act of Thraso and Gnatho were not from Menander's *Eunuchos*, but from his *Kolax* or 'Toady'; evidently these characters, and dialogue scenes from the *Kolax* featuring them, have been grafted in to replace someone entirely different in the four scenes in which these characters appear, apparently with significant consequences for the ending. The earlier plays are more problematic still. In *Andria* 9–14, Terence states that 'Menander wrote *Andria* and *Perinthia*; who knows the one play knows the pair, for their plots are more or less the same, although dialogue and tone are different. The poet admits he

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has transferred material that fitted from the *Andria* to the *Perinthia*, and freely reused it'. This was a matter of some puzzlement to Donatus, who trawled through either a full text of *Perinthia* or the discussions of earlier scholars who had, and found only the idea of turning the opening monologue into a dialogue (but with a wife in Menander, a male freedman in Terence) and a couple of other brief passages; 'the rest is different', an impression now confirmed by a papyrus containing a scene of *Perinthia* where a slave takes refuge at an altar, something that does not happen in Terence at all. On 301 and 977, Donatus makes it clear that the figures of Charinus and Byrria were not in Menander's *Andria* – but the wording of both notes implies that they were not in *Perinthia* either, though many scholars remain nervous of the implication that they were therefore Terence's wholesale invention. As for *Heautontimorumenos*, the prologue's statement that the play has been 'made double from a single plot' has never been satisfactorily explained,[122] nor the reference to 'ruining many Greek plays to make a few Latin ones'; on the usual view, neither this play nor the earlier *Hecyra* are 'contaminated', but the remark is a strange one to find here of the lone offence, already three years past, of the three brief *Perinthia* borrowings in the *Andria*.

Terence's responses to the charge grow more sophisticated over time. The *Andria* prologue makes the mischievous claim that Terence is merely emulating the *neglegentia*, 'carelessness', of Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius, the classics of the previous generation – a remark which has sent modern scholars hunting for instances of *contaminatio*-style play-splicing in the extant plays of Plautus, though Terence carefully does not claim that Plautus' insouciance manifested in this exact form. The *HT* prologue repeats a version of this defence, this time boldly promising to repeat the offence with the precedent of classic authors before him. By the time of *Eunuchus* the charge has escalated from contamination to actual plagiarism (*furtum*, 'burglary'), on the interesting grounds that, in this case, the material taken from the second source, *Kolax*, had already been translated into Latin; Terence argues in response that he was unaware of the earlier Latin version (credited, intriguingly, to 'Naevius and Plautus' – in collaboration?)

[122] Interpretations include: a double plot from a single Greek source; a play spanning two days from a source spanning one; a plot into which a second deception has been grafted; a complicated, clever, or deceptive play from a single source; or a play in which additional speaking roles have been created by the promotion of Bacchis and Antiphila from offstage to onstage roles (so Brothers 1980: *q.v.* for a survey). This last founders on the impossible requirement that the transfer of Bacchis from Chremes' house to Menedemus could have been 'covered' in the Greek by a choral break.

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and so could not have plagiarized the earlier translation, and he goes on to argue with artful irrelevance that the whole genre is formulaic anyway, so that everything is a reuse of something. Needless to say, this dances elegantly around the nature of the charge here, which is the reuse *not* of stock characters and situations but of particular lines spoken by particular characters in a particular play that should be out of bounds. By the time of the masterly *Adelphoe* prologue, Terence has a dazzling defence prepared: Diphilus' play, from which the abduction scene has been taken, has indeed already been translated into Latin by Plautus – but *minus the scene* that Terence has now translated for the first time into Latin. In a particularly brilliant touch, he invites the audience to judge whether he has committed plagiarism or unearthed a lost classic, neither of which is the real issue here – but Terence has used the narrower charge of plagiarism to distract from the original accusation of cross-breeding mutant plays from multiple sources.

(ii) ***Collaboration***. The second recurrent charge is more tantalizing still. By the time of *HT*, at least, Terence is having to defend himself against rumours (which he significantly never attributes to Luscius) that he is not the author of his own plays, but is instead a front for unnamed patrons in positions of power, identified by Donatus as Scipio Aemilianus and his brother, who three years later were the sponsors of the games at which *Adelphoe* was produced but whose association with Terence beyond and before that may be entirely inferred. Whoever Terence's patrons were, the charge would have been a difficult one to wriggle away from without deprecating the patronage on which he depended; in the event, he moves by an artful non sequitur to a counter-attack on Luscius' stagecraft without either confirming or denying the accusation. When the issue is recalled in the *Adelphoe* prologue, however, Terence is at his nimblest. That play was produced at the funeral games for Aemilius Paullus, sponsored by Paullus' two surviving sons; and whether or not those sons were the 'noble persons' (*homines nobiles*, *Ad.* 15) rumoured to have had a hand in the plays, Terence brilliantly points out that the whole festival is precisely a celebration of the achievements of the Roman nobility, so that the involvement of *nobiles* in his career is surely high praise and warmly to be welcomed.

(iii) ***Style***. An issue mentioned in the prologue of *Phormio* only is Terence's conscious retreat from the full-blooded comic style of Plautine dialogue towards a radical naturalism of speech on the Menandrean model; here, where an actual defence could have been tedious, Terence spots that a stronger (and more amusing) tactic will

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be to launch a counter-attack on Luscius' own attempts to create Plautine imagery and emotion for an audience whose taste has presumably moved on.

Terence: individual plays

Andria.[123] Young Pamphilus has secretly fathered a child by the foundling Glycerium, and now has not only to trace her parents following the death of her fosterer, Chrysis of Andros, but to find a way out of the marriage arranged for him by his father, to the very bride his best friend Charinus seeks for his own. After a giddy series of bluffs and counter-bluffs over the on-again, off-again wedding, Glycerium is discovered to be the bride's long-lost sister, so that the two families can be united in marriage after all but with a different sister as the bride (Figure 9).

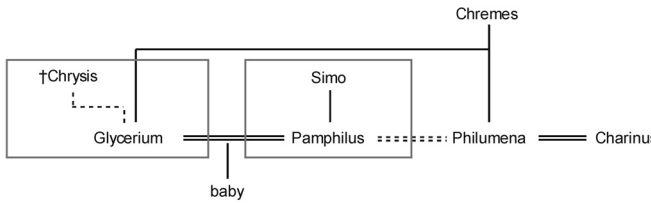


Figure 9

Terence's first production is an uncompromising showcase for the qualities that set him in opposition to the mainstream of Roman comedy: the intricate psychological plotting of motive and second-guessing; the obsession with symmetries and doublings (especially ironic and/or contrastive) in character, scene, and situation; the Menandrean return to the citizen characters and their emotional and ethical seriousness; the thematic opposition of *amor* and *pietas*, centred in the young lover and his conflicting sense of obligation.

Hecyra.[124] In a situation similar to that of Menander's *Epitrepontes*, Pamphilus has raped his bride-to-be with neither aware of the other's identity, and, during his absence abroad, she attempts to conceal the resulting pregnancy by moving back in with her mother; when

[123] McGarrity 1978; Goldberg 1981–2a; Richardson 1997; W. S. Anderson 2004.

[124] Sewart 1974; Gilula 1978, 1979–80, 1981; McGarrity 1980–81; Sandbach 1982; Konstan 1983: 130–41; Slater 1988a; Ireland 1990; Parker 1996; James 1998; Cabrillana 2000; Lada-Richards 2004; Penwill 2004.

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Pamphilus returns to find she has borne another man's child, he tries to find pretexts of filial piety to explain his reluctance to take her back without exposing the fact of her rape. The couple's fathers wrongly blame, in turn, his mother for alienating her daughter-in-law; *her* mother for hostility to her son-in-law; and Pamphilus himself for continuing relations with his former mistress Bacchis, who turns out to hold the key to the recognition of rapist and victim and thus to the child's paternity (Figure 10).

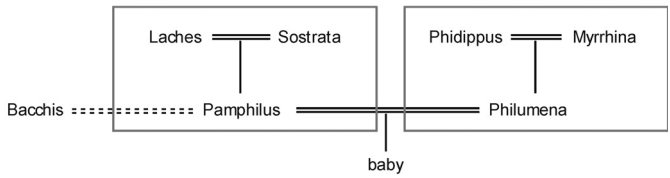


Figure 10

Terence's second play, but his last production, this complex psychological *stataria* was the play that took five years and three attempts simply to get to the end of a performance. Although it is his only play with a 'single' plot, in the sense that only one young couple is involved, the symmetries are if anything still more pronounced, as the ripples from Pamphilus' disintegrating marriage propagate to encompass relations between the two sets of in-laws in the two stage houses, and each mother-in-law in turn is mistakenly charged with attempting to sabotage the marriage out of stereotypical hostility to her child's spouse. Unlike in *Epitrepontes*, but in keeping with Terence's taste and practice, there is no omniscient prologue, at least in Terence's version; the audience is made to work hard to collate clues in the text with its general knowledge of genre situations to work out what is really going on. Even at Aemilius' funeral games, against a background of past and present success and the patronage of Aemilius' sons, the play seems to have been too much for its audience's patience.

Heautontimorumenos.[125] The self-tormentor of the title is Menedemus, who blames himself for his son Clinia's estrangement as a result of Menedemus' stern line on Clinia's relationship with the orphan Antiphila. His neighbour Chremes lectures him on tolerance, but is unaware that his own son Clitopho is embroiled in a far more extravagant affair with the courtesan Bacchis – allowing him to be

[125] Brothers 1980, 1988; Maltby 1984; Bond 1991; Konstan 1993b; Knorr 1995; J. C. B. Lowe 1998a; Dunsch 1999; Mauger-Plichon 2000; John Henderson 2004; Richardson 2006.

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duped into installing Bacchis in his own house with Clitipho in the belief that she is Clinia's mistress, while his real mistress, Antiphila, poses as Bacchis' maid – but is ultimately recognized as Chremes' lost daughter, and allowed to marry Clinia (Figure 11).

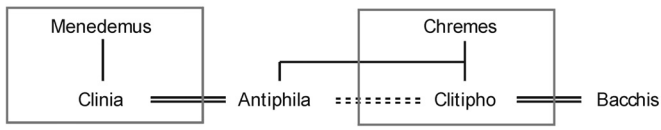


Figure 11

Terence's remaining plays now fall into a consistent pattern: two young men collude in the pursuit of their two intertwined liaisons – one a pecuniary *meretrix* affair held back by parental or financial obstructions, the other a recognition or rape affair ending in citizen marriage. Here, however, the real dramatic centre is Chremes, whose famous motto *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto* ('I'm human, so any human business is my business') is a heavily ironic marker of Chremes' willingness to weigh in with judgments on others' affairs while blind to the lessons for his own. It is another play with a passion for paradox, multiple irony, and audacious inversions of reality, sustained by sometimes unintelligible lapses in exposition, motivation, and connection.

Eunuchus.[126] The courtesan Thais entertains the braggart soldier Thraso in preference to her lover Phaedria because she needs him to gift her the foundling slave Pamphila, who was sold to him by Thais' brother on their mother's death, and whom she is trying to reunite with her family. Phaedria's brother, Chaerea, infiltrates Thais' house in the guise of a eunuch and rapes Pamphila, but marries her when her living brother Chremes is tracked down, while Phaedria has to be content with sharing Thais with Thraso (Figure 12).

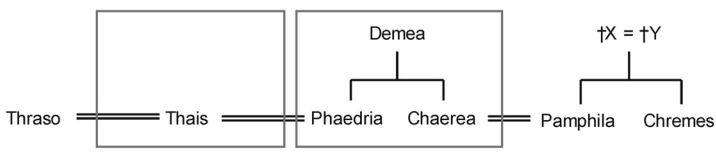


Figure 12

[126] Saylor 1975; Gilmartin 1975–6; J. C. B. Lowe 1983; Konstan 1986; Barsby 1993a, 1999; Frangoulidis 1993, 1994a, 1994b; L. P. Smith 1994; Dessen 1995; R. H. Martin 1995; Philippides 1995; Brothers 2000; M. Stein 2003.

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This was the play that turned Terence's career around: Suetonius tells us that the play was awarded a record fee of 8,000 sesterces and a repeat performance (presumably at the same festival), and his output now shifts from three productions in six years to five productions in the space of eighteen months. The soldier-parasite double-act (specially imported from a play that had already worked for Plautus) and big visual set pieces suggest an attempt to accommodate the traditional tastes of Roman audiences while still retaining the Terentian focus on citizen relationships and ethics. The ending is a notorious problem: it is not clear whom Thraso has replaced in Menander's original or what kind of accommodation was reached at the end of Menander's play, but Phaedria's failure to win Thais for his exclusive own seems an odd reversion to the more cynical world of Plautus' *Truculentus*.

Phormio.[127] While their respective fathers Chremes and Demipho are away in Lemnos, cousins Phaedria and Antipho fall in love, Phaedria with the slave Pamphila and Antipho with the penniless orphan Phanium, whom he marries after engaging the professional freeloader Phormio to bring a bogus suit of *epidikasia*, the Athenian procedure under which an orphaned heiress is assigned in marriage to her nearest eligible male relative. When Demipho and Chremes return, they pay Phormio to dissolve the marriage; but he gives the cash to Phaedria to buy Pamphila, and, when it emerges that Phanium is Chremes' daughter by a bigamous marriage in Lemnos, Phormio enlists Chremes' Athenian wife, Nausistrata (whose dowry has financed Chremes' double life), to sanction his use of what is ultimately her money in the interests of her own children rather than her two-timing husband's (Figure 13).

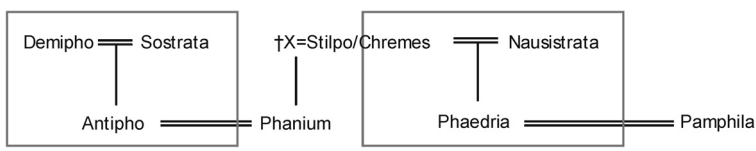


Figure 13

Like *Hecyra*, Terence's other adaptation from Apollodorus, *Phormio* engages its audience in a complex recognition puzzle without the

[127] R. H. Martin 1959; Arnott 1970; Büchner 1974: 484–97; Sewart 1974; Lefèvre et al. 1978; E. Segal and Moulton 1978; Konstan 1983: 115–29; Barsby 1993b; Frangoulidis 1996c, 1997: 77–132; J. A. Smith 2004.

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assistance of an omniscient prologue. Phormio himself is a unique and impressive creation, Terence's only parasite hero in the mould of Curculio, and a fascinating recreation in citizen form of the mastery of improvisation and intrigue that characterizes the more usual slave incarnations of the comic hero, with access now to the full civic resources of law, dowries, betrothal, and marriage, while unencumbered by the rootedness in family and duty that ties down conventional citizen leads. Yet his unlikely alliance with Chremes' home wife, Nausistrata, against Chremes and his culpably complicit brother Demipho has the effect of actually reasserting and enforcing the familial responsibility that Chremes has spent the last fifteen years evading.

Adelphoe.[128] The brothers Micio and Demea conduct an intriguing social experiment on Demea's two sons: Demea raises Ctesipho in the country in austerity and strict discipline, while Aeschinus is given to the liberal bachelor Micio to raise his own way in the city. But Ctesipho, for all his father's efforts, falls for the slave prostitute Bacchis, while Aeschinus rapes and then promises to marry the fatherless Pamphila. To help Ctesipho keep his affair a secret from Demea, Aeschinus abducts Bacchis himself and pays off the pimp; and when Demea, always the last to the truth, finally catches up with what everyone else has been up to, he executes an extraordinary volte-face, bulldozes his brother into marriage with Pamphila's mother Sostrata, and showers alarming largesse on everyone in sight, before confiding in the final moments that his repentance has been less than total (we have certainly been fooled) and his aim to show by *reductio ad absurdum* that Micio's system alone is unworkable (Figure 14).

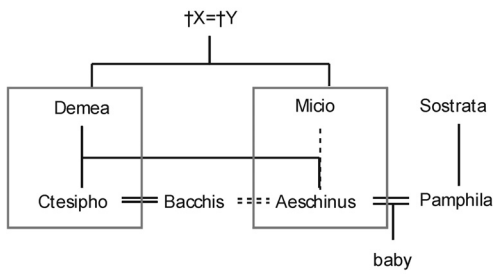


Figure 14

[128] Carruba 1968; Fantham 1968b, 1971; Johnson 1968; Grant 1971; Lloyd-Jones 1973; Goldberg 1975, 1980; R. H. Martin 1976; C. Lord 1977; Sandbach 1978; Greenberg 1979–80; Grant 1980; John Henderson 1988; Damen 1990; Gratwick 1992, 1999; J. C. B. Lowe 1998b; Leigh 2004: 158–91.

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Some of this is not Menandrean (we know from Donatus that Micio did not raise objections to his own wedding as he does in Terence); how much, is the single most notorious crux in Terentian criticism.[129] Few would now endorse the old view of this play as showing the triumph of modern, Hellenizing, liberal attitudes to paternal authority and moral education over a more traditional and austere 'Catonian' stance, notwithstanding the parallels between Cato and Terence's Demea (and the fact that the name Micio seems to pun on Paullus). Nevertheless, Terence seems aware that Menander's play cannot be presented innocent of Hellenistic philosophical, ideological, and political baggage inconceivable to a fourth-century Greek. The antagonism of Epicurean and Stoic systems of practice, and the cultural gap between Greek and Roman consensus on paternal authority, both create an irresistible lobby for Demea against the dramatic grain of Menander's plot; and, as Terence goes out of his way to remind us in the prologue, the play was historically produced, and presumably selected for the purpose, by a pair of wealthy *adulescentes*, adopted into different families, in celebration of their blood father and the Roman aristocratic *familia*. Nobody in the audience could have failed to be struck by the invitation to draw connections, however bizarre or even tasteless the Aemiliani's choice of play may seem to us; but its celebration of Paullus is probably to be read in the dialectic between two sides of his complex public character, rather than in any simplistic identification with one or other figure.

After Terence

The most important writer of *palliatae* after Terence was the similarly Menandrophile **Turpilius** (d. 103), who ranks just below him in Volcacius' top ten and whose plays were still being performed in Cicero's day by his client, the great comic actor Roscius.[130] Plautus, too, was still in the repertoire at this late date; Cicero mentions the pimp Ballio from *Pseudolus* as another role in the Roscian canon. The age of Turpilius also saw the flowering of a new kind of literary comedy, the so-called *fabula togata* or plays in Roman dress, which took the conventions and situations of Greco-Roman New Comedy and adapted them to the composition of original Latin plays with

[129] Goldberg 1981–2b: 96–100 is a useful point of entry to the labyrinth.
[130] Cicero, *Pro Roscio comoedo* 7.20.

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Italian characters and settings.[131] The master of this tradition was **L. Afranius**, who claimed to draw on both Menander and Terence; forty-four titles are attested, and the fragments amount to more than four hundred lines. Two other poets of *togatae* are attested: **C. Quinctius Atta**, who died in 77, and the more elusive **Titinius**, who may have been the earliest, even the pioneer, in the form, and whose titles include a majority referring to female characters, several in or from provincial Italian settings. This repotting of New Comedy in Italian soil had some interesting consequences: it was apparently not done for Roman slaves to be cleverer than their masters,[132] however willing the Roman audiences had been to laugh at such situations in a Greek setting; while Afranius, at least, allowed homosexual as well as heterosexual love-plots.

By the time of Cicero's letters, new literary comedies for the stage seem to have dried up, unless the **Quintipor Clodius** dismissed by Varro as 'talentless' (*sine ulla musa*) was writing for performance. Horace's friends **Fundanius** and **Aristius Fuscus** were still writing *palliatae* in the Augustan era, but there is no sign that they were ever intended for staging, let alone actually performed. Homegrown and subliterary genres survived longer: the Atellana continued into the empire; mime flourished in both Greek and Latin; and the shadowy genres of mimetic dance, such as the mysterious *ludus talarius*, were eventually to flower in the solo dance form known as pantomime, which under the empire was to become the queen of the dramatic genres.[133] But Greek and Latin comedies were now the property of readers rather than spectators. It was the resilient and flexible mime that provided actual continuity of ancient performance tradition into the middle ages and beyond, while the job of literary comedy under the empire was increasingly delegated to the non-theatrical genres of prose and verse satire and the various experiments in humorous prose that for us are visible primarily in the Roman novels and in the narrative and dialogue sketches of Lucian – themselves, of course, strongly influenced by the Aristophanic revival of the early centuries AD.

[131] Beare 1964: 128–36; on the cultural implications, see Leigh 2004: 9–12.
[132] Donatus on Terence, *Eun.* 57.
[133] On pantomime, see now Lada-Richards 2007; Hall and Wyles 2008.

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Bibliographic note

There are comprehensive bibliographies of Terence in Cupaiuolo 1984, 1992 and Lentano 1997, 1998. A new Budé edition is in preparation, but no immediate replacement is in prospect for the Oxford Text of Kauer and Lindsay 1926 (of which Reeve wrote a quarter-century ago, even before the major work of Grant 1986b, that 'a new edition, properly constituted and more critical than the OCT, is badly needed'[134]). Barsby's helpful Loeb edition (2001–2) replaces the badly dated earlier Loeb by Sargeaunt (1912). Radice's vintage Penguin translation (1965–7) now has a worthy competitor in Brown's version for World's Classics (2006), which is better annotated, though only Radice includes Suetonius' *Life*; note also Clayton's posthumously published verse translation (2006). There are outstanding Aris & Phillips editions of *Hecyra* (Ireland 1990), *HT*, *Eunuchus* (both by Brothers, 1988 and 2000), and *Adelphoe* (Gratwick 1999), with *Phormio* (Maltby) forthcoming, and the Cambridge green-and-yellow editions of *Adelphoe* (R. H. Martin 1976) and *Eunuchus* (Barsby 1999) are invaluable; the latter includes metrical markup, using Gratwick's system of underdots. For other plays, the student editions by R. H. Martin (*Phormio*, 1959) and Shipp (*Andria*, 1960) are still very useful. Barsby's *Companion* to the last three plays (1991) is one of the most helpful volumes of its kind on any classical author.

In comparison with Plautus, Terence remains a victim of quite serious critical neglect in English, where there is no counterpart to the classic study of Büchner 1974 or even to the excellent introduction by Kruschwitz 2004. But Goldberg 1986 is a useful general study, and Barsby 2002 a wonderfully crisp round-up of the state of the question on Terence's use of his Greek originals; Leigh's introduction to Clayton 2006 is also outstanding as a short overview. The most adventurous recent works have been collections of essays: particularly the special Terence issue of *Ramus* (2004, including articles by William Anderson, Boyle, John Henderson, Penwill, and Joseph Smith) and Kruschwitz et al. 2007. Terence's language has seen a series of substantial studies from Müller (1997), Bagordo (2001), and Karakasis (2005).

[134] Reeve 1983: 420.

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