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THE CHARACTER OF BACCHIS
IN TERENCE'S *HEAUTONTIMORUMENOS*

SY. Pessima est haec meretrix. CH. ita videtur. SY. immo si scias.
(Ter. *Ht.* 599)

Most readers of Terence have viewed the hetaera Bacchis in *Heautontimorumenos* as a stereotypical wicked prostitute, a greedy, hardnosed businesswoman, in short, "Terence's only mercenary courtesan."¹ Yet at least one passage in the play, namely Bacchis' speech in lines 381-95, does not quite fit into this negative picture of her character.² Scholars who have noticed this, most recently Lefèvre and Brothers, usually evaluate this alleged inconsistency in her portrayal as a dramaturgical flaw on the part of Terence. Moreover, they assume that the Roman playwright inserted this scene into the original Greek plot.³

In this essay I suggest that Bacchis is not the money-grabbing, hardnosed hooker she is usually seen as, although she is clearly a prostitute struggling to make a living. She might even be subsumed under the term "good hetaerae," as defined in a much-discussed passage in Plutarch's *Table Talks* which deals with the suitability of Menander's comedies for recital at symposia:

¹Duckworth, *Roman Comedy* 239. For similarly unfavorable evaluations of her see, e.g., Gilula, "Concept" 152; Fantham, "Women in New Comedy" 72; and now Gruen, *Role of the Courtesan* 30 and passim.

²Now questioned by Gruen, *Role of the Courtesan* 138-58.

³There is, however, no consensus about how and to what extent Terence might have changed the original. Lefèvre (*Heautontimorumenos* 455) assumes that Terence incompletely transformed the *ἑταῖρα χορηστῆ* of Menander's play into a *mala meretrix*, leaving untouched lines 381-95. Bianco (*Terenzio* 127) assumes the exact opposite, namely that Menander's Bacchis was the traditional wicked hetaera. In his opinion the "risalto humano" she shows in lines 381-95 is due to Terence's altering an original dialogue between the courtesan and Antiphila into a long speech by the former. Brothers ("Construction" 108-17), on the other hand, considers lines 381-95 and 723-48 as being invented by Terence to enlarge the formerly silent role of Bacchis. Lana ("Movimento" 73-75) is the only one to perceive Bacchis' portrayal in both "rappresentazioni diretti" of her as positive. He too regards them as alterations of the plot by the Roman writer, whereby he attributes the unfavorable indirect representations of the courtesan to Terence's Greek model(s). Henry (*Menander's Courtesans* 120) calls Bacchis "bona" without substantiating this claim. See also Brown, "Plots and Prostitutes" 246-47.

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The Printers' devices appearing on the front cover of *AJP* have been selected from among the ones especially created in stained glass for the Hutzler Undergraduate Reading Room on the Homewood Campus of The Johns Hopkins University. They represent the devices by the sons of Aldus Manutius (Spring), Robert Estienne (Summer), Joannes Frobenius (Fall), and Christopher Plantin (Winter).

There is no pederasty in all these plays, and the rapes of virgins end decently in marriage. Relationships with prostitutes (ἑταίραι), if they are insolent and bold, are broken off by the young men's coming to their senses or changes of heart, whereas for (prostitutes) who are good and love in return, either a legitimate father [who is a citizen] is discovered [which allows them to marry their lover] or out of a humane sense of consideration [for the girls] some extra time is added to their love-affair.⁴ (*Quaest. Conv.* 7.8.712C)

In applying Plutarch's notion of "good" and "bad" courtesans to Bacchis and her colleagues in New Comedy, caution seems appropriate for several reasons. One has to be aware that "good" and "bad" in the context of hetaerae do not so much indicate moral qualities as categories defined by the economic needs of their male paying customers. Accordingly, a hetaera is "good" when she loves her customer in return and "bad" when she drives a hard bargain.⁵ In addition, both Menander and Terence often undermine traditional stereotypes, so that we are unlikely to find in their plays pure examples of "good" and "bad" prostitutes.⁶ I therefore do not try to prove that Terence's Bacchis in *Heautontimorumenos* is a *bona meretrix*. Instead, I hope to demonstrate that he portrays her consistently throughout the whole play as a good-hearted hetaera, not as a ruthless gold-digger. To do so, I reexamine all

⁴My tentative translation is heavily influenced by Gilula's ("Menander's Comedies" 512-13) and Brown's ("Plots and Prostitutes" 246). My deepest respect to Brown for admitting (246 n. 21) the problems he had in translating the passage. Minar's Loeb translation of the last four words still seems to be the most literal, though it is hardly understandable: "an accommodation of conscience that is but charitable."

⁵Cf. Gilula, "Menander's Comedies" 514.

⁶I do not, however, agree with Gilula ("Concept" 145), who maintains that "a hetaera, by virtue of her profession . . . cannot be 'good,'" regardless of whether she honestly loves her customers or not. Despite Gilula's claim that χρηστή denotes social status rather than moral value ("Concept" 146), a "good" hetaera, according to the standard Plutarch applies in the passage quoted here, is defined by her sympathetic response to her lover's feelings and not by her social status. To support her interpretation Gilula separates the words χρησταίς καὶ ἀντρούσσαις, although they belong as closely together as another pair of near-synonyms, λαμαὶ καὶ θρασεῖαι, which are furthermore put in antithesis to each other by μέν and δέ, another indication that they are to be understood as pairs of synonyms. As Gruen correctly remarks (*Role of the Courtesan* 21), Gilula's version "would require a second definite article ταῖς before ἀντρούσσαις." For further discussions of Gilula's article see Anderson, "Love Plots" 124 n. 2; Gilula, "Menander's Comedies"; and Brown, "Plots and Prostitutes" 247, 251-53.

of the passages in *Heautontimorumenos* that allow us to infer from them the nature of Bacchis' character.

During the first two acts, until she enters the stage in person, Bacchis indeed seems to be the flagrantly mercenary courtesan most scholars perceive her to be. When Clitipho reveals in his soliloquy (223-29) that he, like his friend Clinia, has been involved with a hetaera for some time without his father's knowledge, he himself calls this liaison a *malum*. He is less concerned, however, about the ethical implications of his conduct than about the inadequacy of his financial means. Full of self-pity, he declares his situation to be far worse than that of his friend Clinia.⁷ For Clinia's girl, Antiphila, has been chastely brought up and is still unfamiliar with the tricks of the trade,⁸ whereas his own mistress constantly demands gifts and money. Clitipho resorts to empty promises, because he does not dare to confess to her his meager resources lest he lose her. On the other hand, neither does he want to ask his father, Chremes, for financial support for his erotic adventures. It is thus not surprising that the young man in his despair for money describes his girlfriend rather unfavorably as *potens, procax, magnifica, sumptuosa, nobilis* (227), that is, "imperious, exacting, showy, expensive, and notorious."⁹

This description of a greedy professional who has trapped poor Clitipho with her charms soon gains credibility when Bacchis' entourage is described by Syrus and Dromo, the slaves who lead her to the

⁷Monologues full of self-pity are characteristic of young men in New Comedy. In Terence's plays, see Pamphilus in *Hec.* 280-87, 293-365; Aeschinus in *Ad.* 610-35; Pamphilus, who is overheard by Mysis, in *Andr.* 236-64; and the dialogical lamentations of Antipho and Phaedria in *Phor.* 153-70.

⁸Nevertheless, Antiphila is a hetaera, too, though of the sort that is usually called a pseudo-hetaera, because they stay true to their first customers and will marry them in due course as soon as they are recognized as freeborn citizen girls; see Brown, "Plots and Prostitutes" 252 and n. 46. Only by failing to notice the illegitimate nature of Antiphila's relationship with Clinia could earlier scholars like Hauschild call her "Bürgermädchen" (*Gestalt der Hetäre* 34) or speak of her as "die unschuldige Antiphila, die noch gar nichts in ihrem Leben von einer meretrix gehört hat" (Schlee, quoted by Köhler, *De Compositione* 13 n. 3). Antiphila's profession is further indicated by the information that she and her alleged mother came from Corinth, a city notorious for prostitution in antiquity (see, e.g., Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* 155-56). Accordingly, Clinia speaks of Antiphila's assumed mother as if she urges her daughter to prostitute herself (233). Syrus' report that the old Corinthian woman was only Antiphila's foster mother (269-70) does not change her status as long as her citizen-birth is not firmly established.

⁹The translation is from Parry, *Terentius* ad 227.

dinner party at Chremes' home (245–55). The courtesan approaches his house accompanied by a large number of maidservants burdened with her jewelry and dresses, and Syrus gloats about how much it will cost his stingy master to entertain this crowd (254–55).¹⁰

Bacchis' "bad" character is further emphasized in Syrus' report to his young master Clitipho (364–68). The young man is surprised that the fastidious hetaera so readily agreed to follow his servant. The slave explains that Clitipho's invitation came just in the nick of time for her, allowing her to reject the offer of a soldier, apparently a new customer, to celebrate the Dionysia with him. Thus she would at the same time enhance the soldier's desire for her and make Clitipho feel especially obliged to her.¹¹ Syrus consciously neglects to tell his master that he has also offered Bacchis ten minae if she would follow him (723–24). This information would have upset Clitipho, who has not been able to contrive a way to pay for Bacchis' favors at all, not to mention a considerable sum like ten minae (223–29). Thus Syrus' biased representation of the facts confirms the impression of Bacchis the audience has won from Clitipho's speech. The clever scheming the slave attributes to the courtesan lets her appear as an experienced professional who plans far in advance and is able to play two customers off against each other in order to keep both of them.

Up to this point in the play, Bacchis looks just like another of the stereotypical avaricious and cold-hearted hetaerae of Greek and Roman New Comedy, whose promiscuity and success is reflected by their wealth and splendid appearance. We have not heard a single nice word about her, and we might even speculate that it is her very viciousness that attracts Clitipho to her, were it not usual in New Comedy that hetaerae are endowed with beauty and sometimes esprit.¹² Hence the

¹⁰The usual number of maidens in the entourage of a hetaera was two (see Fantam, "Women in New Comedy" 65 n. 48). So it is no wonder that both Clinia and Clitipho (246, 250–54, 256–63) and later on Chremes (451–53) take this especially large retinue as a sign of the extraordinarily mercenary character of its prostitute owner.

¹¹It should be kept in mind (against Gruen, *Role of the Courtesan* 151) that this is no more than Syrus' subjective interpretation of the facts, and slaves are notorious for being even more biased against hetaerae than the other characters of comedy. See Fantam, "Women in New Comedy" 72 n. 58. When Bacchis herself mentions in lines 723–24 that Syrus offered her ten minae if she would accept Clitipho's invitation, her motives appear much more simple. It then also becomes much clearer why the allegedly cunning prostitute falls again for Syrus' empty promises in line 748.

¹²See Neumann, *Poetische Gerechtigkeit* 15, 136. Later (389) Bacchis herself notes that it is only her beauty that her lovers are interested in. Later on, Syrus explicitly

next scene (381–409) comes as a surprise, for it displays a Bacchis quite different from the one we have learned about thus far.¹³

In this scene Bacchis and Antiphila are approaching old Chremes' house, followed by the courtesan's *grex ancillarum*. We, like Clinia and Clitipho, overhear the end of their conversation, just as Bacchis is praising Antiphila for striving to have her character match her beauty (381–82). At the same time she tries to justify her own lifestyle, which is much more open to criticism (387–91). She blames her lovers who force her to drive a hard bargain, since they are only interested in her beauty and will abandon her once it withers.¹⁴ If she does not provide for the future in time, she will suffer a lonely old age in poverty. In contrast, she claims, it pays off for girls like Antiphila to be "good" and to devote themselves to a single customer.¹⁵ For once a man with a similar character chooses them, they will grow old together in lasting mutual love (392–95).¹⁶

Bacchis' view of life, as expressed in her conversation with Antiphila, seems on the surface less concerned with her reputation in society than determined by practical considerations.¹⁷ However, she clearly acknowledges the moral superiority of the other girl's conduct and, thus, feels the need to defend her own behavior. That her words are to be taken seriously and are a sincere expression of her feelings is clear from the context of the conversation. First of all, the women do not realize that they are overheard by the waiting young men. Secondly, they are professional colleagues,¹⁸ so that there is no need for Bacchis to conceal her true thoughts from Antiphila and to pretend to have a

attributes a *forma luculenta* (522) to her and talks of her as a *mulier commoda et faceta* (521–22).

¹³Brothers accordingly remarks, "the character of Bacchis as revealed by the speech [381–95] is not at all what we have been led to expect" ("Construction" 110).

¹⁴Wagner (*Hauton Timorumenos* on 389) neatly observes that *colunt* is less than *amant*.

¹⁵This is what *volgus ab se segregare* (386) means, namely "to keep the common public at a distance from oneself." Cf. *victum volgo quaerere* (447) in contrast.

¹⁶Bacchis is not talking about legal marriage, as that cannot be an option for Antiphila as long as she has not sufficiently established her citizenship (see note 8 above) and therefore can only aspire to become Clinia's steady concubine (*παλλακή*). Gruen (*Role of the Courtesan* 141) incorrectly assumes that Bacchis is praising Antiphila "for being one of those virtuous maidens who retain their virginity until they marry [!] a man of kindred spirit." If that were true, Menedemus would not have described Clinia's relationship to her with the term *pro uxore habere* (46).

¹⁷Gilula ("Concept" 152) seems to overemphasize Bacchis' professional attitude.

¹⁸As explained in note 8 above, Antiphila counts as a hetaera, too.

sense of morality which no one expects her to possess.¹⁹ Consequently, Bacchis emerges as a prostitute who has not lost her sense of good and evil. There might even be an undertone of regret in the way she describes the final reward for being a "good," namely, monogamous girl, for she has lost this chance of a long-term relationship long ago.²⁰

If we interpret Bacchis' speech in this fashion, it has several important effects on the further development of the plot and our understanding of it. First, the apparently unobserved conversation between the girls removes Clinia's last doubts about the flawlessness of Antiphila's character, as his reaction shows (397-400). Secondly, Bacchis' words also serve to correct the unfavorable picture that Clitipho and Syrus have drawn of her earlier. The audience now might view her more sympathetically, realizing that fastidiousness and driving a hard bargain are the only ways for Bacchis to provide for financial security in her old age.

My thesis here, that Terence deliberately uses Bacchis' speech not only to exonerate Antiphila but also to correct the negative portrait of Bacchis herself that other characters of the play have created before, is supported by the fact that the dramaturgical technique applied in this instance is not unique to *Heautontimorumenos*. In several plays by Terence, most often in their expositions, one or two characters pass on their limited personal knowledge of past events to the audience. Necessarily, their characterization of the persons involved in those reported events is often twisted by personal bias and misinterpretation. The audience, however, usually "buys into" these half-reliable representations of the actual background of the comedy's plot, because they very often confirm prejudices the audience shares (for example, about prostitutes and mothers-in-law). Later in the play, the author supplies additional information which contradicts those initial accounts of the facts, thus introducing dramatic irony. Most frequently, this new information is given in a monologue which marks it as trustworthy according to the conventions of New Comedy (see, e.g., Schadewaldt, "*Hecyra*" 12).

¹⁹Marouzeau (*Térence* II 43 n. 1) regards her words as moralizing and pretentious (similarly Gruen, *Role of the Courtesan* 153), and he consequently considers these verses in line with Bacchis' allegedly bad character as Clitipho depicts it in line 227.

²⁰Köhler (*De Compositione* 14) likewise feels that Bacchis speaks "cum dolore quōdam."

These soliloquies are often delivered by a character who has been previously misrepresented.²¹

One example of this technique of character presentation is Thais, another hetaera, in *Eunuchus*, who assures the spectators of her genuine love for Phaedria (197-206) after her lover himself had expressed doubts. Similarly, Sostrata in *Hecyra* asserts her innocence in a monologue (274-80) after her husband has informed her about his suspicion that she has harassed her daughter-in-law until the girl left her in-laws' house. Not much later in the same play, Myrrina is attacked by her husband, Phidippus, because she concealed from him that her daughter was pregnant by Pamphilus (529-31). Phidippus suspects that she wanted to expose the baby secretly right after its birth, as otherwise it would consolidate the marriage of Philumena and Pamphilus (532-34), which his wife has always opposed because of Pamphilus' liaison with the hetaera Bacchis (536-39). But Myrrina's monologue (566-76) soon makes it clear that Phidippus' allegations are completely false; she had preferred to leave him ignorant because the truth (that Philumena was raped by an unknown offender) is even worse.²² Micio's soliloquy in *Adelphoe* (141-54) is also comparable, for it shows that he is not as self-confident concerning his pedagogic principles as he pretended to be in the previous scenes.²³ And in *Heautontimorumenos* Clitipho's monologue (213-29) contradicts the positive self-representation of his father, Chremes, in the presence of Menedemus. Clitipho reveals his father as a hypocrite (220-21) who himself should be the first to listen to the advice he gives his neighbor (151-56).

Bacchis' speech in *Heautontimorumenos* (381-95) is exceptional only in that it is directed toward another character, and hence is not a

²¹Brown ("Plots and Prostitutes" 258) seems to hint at the same technique of character presentation as described here.

²²There are already some indications of the truth in her asides during Phidippus' fit of anger (528, *perit!* shows that her husband's question *ex qui?* hit a nerve; 540, that he is completely mistaken). Schadewaldt's striking argument against the unity of Myrrina's monologue reveals instead precisely how New Comedy functions: "In dem nämlichen Augenblick, in dem den Hörer die Stimmung der Hoffnungslosigkeit ergreifen soll . . . , lässt . . . Myrrina die Möglichkeit der Lösung durchblicken, durch die sich alles zum Guten fügen wird" ("*Hecyra*" 19). Cf. *Andr.* 220-24 or Onesimos' apprehensions due to the ring, which will finally bring the solution to his master's marital troubles (*Men. Epit.* 419-29, 445-50).

²³Micio's soliloquy, too, "recovers for [him] some of the sympathy of the audience which he had lost in the preceding scene" (Grant, "The Ending of *Adelphoe*" 47 n. 12).

pure soliloquy. It comes very close to monologue, however: the courtesan speaks for fifteen lines before her companion, a mere interlocutor, utters a brief reply of two lines to close the scene.²⁴

Terence did not invent the dramatic technique of building up the audience's expectations and then thwarting them by revising earlier representations with a monologue.²⁵ From the fragments of the first act of Menander's *Epitrepontes* we can still infer that both the conversation between the cook, Karion, and the slave, Onesimos (fr. 1 Sandbach), and Smikrines' speech (134–37) suggest that Charisius, though recently married, is cheating on his wife with the hetaera Habrotonon. In line 430, however, this hetaera angrily rushes out of the house where Charisius is momentarily staying, and reveals in a soliloquy that her customer has not even allowed her to lie on the same couch with him.²⁶ Another passage which functions somewhat similarly is a short aside by Sostratos in *Dyscolus* (135–39). In this scene the young man suddenly discloses that right from the beginning he has distrusted Chaireas, who up until then appeared to be his confidant. There are many other instances in Menander's plays where later developments shed new light on earlier scenes and the actors' real characters. As Treu puts it: "spätere Szenen [fügen] zu dem Charakterbilde immer neue Züge hinzu und der Zuschauer [sieht] also ständig seine Eindrücke ergänzt und korrigiert."²⁷

The question that arises next is what effect Bacchis' speech (381–95) has on the rest of the play, if it is to be understood as Bacchis' sincere disclosure of her thoughts to Antiphila. It seems to me that the

²⁴Bickford, *Soliloquy in Ancient Comedy 2*: "Between many soliloquies and many speeches in dialogue addressed to a mere interlocutor there is of course no essential difference." After line 397, Brothers ("Construction" 111) correctly observes a change of the meter, and indeed something new begins with line 398, where Clinia expresses his delight about what he has just overheard. See discussion below.

²⁵If we classify these speeches within Leo's terminology (*Monolog* 48), there are one "Übergangsmolog" (*Ht.* 213–29) and four "Abgangsmolog" (*Eu.* 197–206; *Hec.* 274–80, 566–76; *Ad.* 141–54). Bacchis' speech (*Ht.* 381–95) would not count as monologue at all, as she addresses her words to somebody else, but it resembles one of his "Zutrittsmonologe," as does *Men. Epit.* 430–41, mentioned below. These categories are not, however, very helpful in understanding the similarity in the dramatic function of all these passages.

²⁶Habrotonon's monologue is particularly interesting from a technical point of view, for it alternates with another soliloquy by Onesimos. Blundell (*Menander and the Monologue* 29) calls this unusual technique an "interlacing" of monologues.

²⁷Treu, *Dyskolos* 104.

playwright thus grants the audience a knowledge of the facts which is superior to that among the characters onstage, enabling the audience not only to see the previous scenes differently but also to appreciate the dramatic irony of the succeeding scenes.

In lines 439–64 Chremes warns Menedemus about the dangers of overindulging his son Clinia. He maintains that the character of the boy's mistress has substantially deteriorated. Chremes reminds his neighbor that he earlier had forced his son into abandoning his *amica* (104) even though she, then, was modest and grateful for the small contributions Clinia could afford. So, the old man argues (443–49), how can Menedemus tolerate this relationship now that the girl has begun to earn her living as a common prostitute and has developed far more expensive demands? To prove his contention, Chremes then complains that hosting the hetaera and her large entourage the night before almost ruined him financially (450–56). He describes in detail how she acted as if nothing were good enough for her spoiled palate, and it especially upset him that she despised his wine, not to mention that she persisted in calling him *pater* (457–61).²⁸

Much of the humor of this scene derives from our knowledge that Chremes is describing not Antiphila, but Bacchis, the mistress of his own son Clitipho. But the new perspective on Bacchis that the spectators have gained from her conversation with Antiphila in 381–97 adds even more comic vigor to it. Now the audience may realize that her fastidiousness and extravagant behavior at Chremes' dinner party were nothing but an act, deliberately performed in order to distress him. Later, her conduct on that evening lends credibility to Syrus' allegation that Bacchis, *pessima meretrix* that she is (599), demands ten minae in exchange for Antiphila. The girl, the slave explains to his master, Chremes, serves the hetaera as security for a debt the girl's mother owed her (600–606).

In lines 723–48 Bacchis makes her final appearance onstage. She is upset and angry because Syrus fooled her by promising her ten minae he did not have. Accordingly she ponders how best to take vengeance on him (724–28). The slave himself, who eavesdrops and overhears her words, takes them quite seriously (729–30). When Bacchis notices

²⁸The last point was first observed by the scholiast of the Codex Bezae (see Wagner, *Haution Timorumenos* on 459). In calling Chremes *pater*, Bacchis both addresses him in an inappropriately intimate manner and also constantly reminds him that he is far too old to be attractive to her (for this last observation I am obliged to Kristen E. Klay).

Syrus and Clinia standing nearby and watching her, she demonstrates how well versed she is in *ars meretricia* (730–35). She pretends not to see them and recapitulates, together with her servant, Phrygia, the directions to the country house where the rival customer, the soldier (365), is staying at the moment. She pretends that a messenger sent by the soldier has just come by to invite her again. Finally, when she orders Phrygia to run ahead and announce her near arrival, Syrus panics and steps forward begging her to stay (736). Yet Bacchis persists in sending Phrygia on her errand, until Syrus in total despair exclaims that the money is already at hand. Although this offer is as much in vain as the earlier one—as everybody in the audience knows—Bacchis then gives in with surprising willingness. Almost too quickly, the *meretrix*, who in lines 737–38 is still teasing the slave, seems to lose control of the situation. For even though Syrus persistently dodges her suspicious questions about what exactly he intends with this move (740–41),²⁹ she nevertheless follows him into Menedemus' house at the end of the scene. She does not push him to explain his scheme, as if she had already decided to go with him anyway.³⁰

How is it possible that Bacchis, who earlier convincingly demonstrated her skills as a hard-bargaining prostitute, is so easily and even repeatedly duped by Syrus? The most plausible explanation seems to be that she actually does not want to leave Clitipho, Syrus' master (see Lana, "Movimento" 75). Even in her plans for revenge (724–28) she does not seriously consider abandoning Clitipho, but simply wants to put him off for a while until Syrus gets whipped. This is even more amazing if we keep in mind that she has not yet seen any money from Clitipho, as he himself reveals (224, 228). This does not quite fit the image of a hetaera who "minds her shop professionally, negotiates her fees aggressively" (Gilula, "Concept" 152). So it might well be that Bacchis feels mutual love for her customer Clitipho³¹ and is, therefore,

²⁹Compare Syrus' evasion of Clitipho's questions (315–36), where he similarly does not really have a fully developed plan (see 512–13).

³⁰Brothers ("Construction" 114) notices only "slight objection" from her. He states that her agreement to Syrus' proposal is "given very abruptly and readily—too readily, we might feel, for credibility" (114). He interprets this, however, as supporting his claim that Terence inserted the whole scene into Menander's plot.

³¹Thus the scene (*pace* Brothers, "Construction" 113) at least gives us additional information about Bacchis' character. I would also argue that the anecdote in Suetonius' *Vita Terentii*, which ascribes the authorship of Bacchis' words from line 723 to C. Laelius, does not, as Brothers speculates (114), "possibly retain the trace of an ancient tradition

not the stereotypical *pessima meretrix* (599) who consumes young men by the dozen and is only interested in fleecing them.³²

To sum up: Bacchis is obviously not an innocent lamb, but this is of course to be expected of a prostitute. In both of her appearances onstage, however, she makes a much better impression than the descriptions of her by Syrus, Chremes, and even her lover Clitipho might have indicated. This does not at all mean that Terence sketched her character sloppily or inconsistently. Rather, her personal appearances reveal that she actually has a good core below the surface of a grabbing prostitute. This insight supplies the spectators with a new perspective on the play in general. It intensifies their appreciation of the dramatic irony behind Chremes' warnings to Menedemus (439–64).

If one accepts this interpretation, there is no need to explain alleged inconsistencies in the portrayal of Bacchis' character by assuming that Terence added both scenes in which she speaks to the original plot of Menander's *Heautontimorumenos*. From this perspective it is thus important to counter some points made by Brothers ("Construction") in favor of the hypothesis that Terence inserted lines 381–97 from another play of Menander, *Arrephoros*.

Brothers takes the change of meter after line 397, from trochaic septenarii to iambic octonarii, to indicate an insertion because this change, as he sees it, serves no dramatic function. This argument seems to imply that Terence was such a poor poet that he was not even able to adjust the metrics when he adapted the original Greek verses to Latin for his own play.

I prefer to suggest that Terence had good reason to choose a trochaic meter for lines 381–97. After 41 lines of discussion between Syrus and Clitipho (occasionally joined by Clinia) in iambic senarii, Clitipho leaves the stage at line 380. The entrance of Bacchis and Antiphila from the other side of the stage is marked by a change of the meter to trochaic septenarii (381). They are followed by a *grex ancillarum* consisting of more than ten maids who carry *aurum, vestem* (248) with them. The

that the passage . . . was actually Latin and not Greek in origin." Rather, it reflects the admiration of posterity for this scene, which Brothers himself condemns as having "very thin dramatic content" (114).

³²It is true that Bacchis nowhere explicitly expresses her feelings for Clitipho. She does grant him, however, considerable liberties without ever having seen a penny from him (*manum in sinum . . . inserere*, 563–64), and when he finally brings the money, she retreats with him readily and at once (905).

group resembles a religious procession of *κινήφοροι*³³ when it approaches Chremes' house. It thus strikes me as very appropriate that they move onto the stage accompanied by flute music and perhaps dancing among the maidens, as indicated by the underlying trochaic septenarii (381–97).³⁴

The ensuing iambic octonarii (398–404) express a considerably higher degree of excitement.³⁵ They reflect the excitement of Clinia's rejoicing and relief after overhearing the conversation of the girls and thus being reassured of Antiphila's faithfulness. They also fit the storm of emotions that overcomes Antiphila when she suddenly recognizes the waiting Clinia (403–4). When the meter changes again at 405, to iambic senarii, the meter appropriate for conversation, it indicates that both Antiphila and Clinia have calmed down a bit.³⁶

Brothers also claims that 381–97 are taken from Menander's *Arrephoros*. He bases this assertion on the Greek verse which the scholiast of the Codex Bezae quotes on line 384. The attribution of this line to *Arrephoros*, however, is a mere guess, as Brothers himself admits ("Construction" 111). Most importantly, the verse shows so few sim-

³³Syrus, accordingly, makes fun of Bacchis' large entourage, calling it a *pompa* (739). Köhler (*De Compositione* 3 n. 2) mentions Ar. *Ach.* 241–62 as evidence for a procession as part of the rural Dionysia.

³⁴Aristotle calls the trochaic tetrameter *ὄρχηστικόν* (*Po.* 24.1459a37; cf. *Rh.* 3.8.1408b36). Brothers himself ("Construction" 115) associates the *grex* with the chorus in Greek New Comedy, giving credit for this identification to Flickinger. Even earlier on, the same was suggested by Leo (*Monolog* 59 n. 2 and "Der neue Menander" 166, quoted by Köhler, *De Compositione* 24 n. 1). Brothers also suggests that the *grex* might have performed a dance in the choral interlude of Menander's play, which he assumes Terence replaced with his lines 723–48.

³⁵On the general character of iambic octonarii in contrast to trochaic septenarii see Klotz, *Grundzüge altrömischer Metrik* 459–60. There seems to be no more recent work that similarly tries to describe the use and character of the meters employed by Roman poets.

³⁶As in 397 and 405, a change of meters seldom coincides with the end of a sentence in Terence's plays, especially in the case of interjections like "hem" or "ah" and affective questions. See Bruder, *Bedeutung und Funktion des Verswechsels* 51–52, who also notes (60) that the change of meter at 398 from trochaic septenarii to iambic octonarii corresponds with the metrical change at line 257. He interprets this as a deliberately applied device that emphasizes the contrast between the depressed Clinia in line 257 and the jubilant Clinia in line 398. The usefulness of his study is limited, however, in that he does not distinguish between the different musically accompanied long meters.

ilarities to Terence's alleged translation of it that it seems to be quoted rather as a parallel thought than as a model for this line.³⁷

In conclusion, I submit that Terence has portrayed Bacchis carefully and consistently throughout the whole play, though neither as *bona* nor as *mala meretrix*. Like his admired predecessor Menander, he has avoided using the stock types of *meretrices* that were traditional in comedy. Instead his Bacchis in *Heautontimorumenos* shows affection towards her customer (which makes her a "good" *ἑταίρα ἀντερώσα* according to the standards adopted in Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 7.8.712C) but also reveals some nasty potential in her conduct at Chremes' house and when she takes her little revenge on Syrus in scene 4.4. Thus it is in accordance with Plutarch's description of poetic justice in Menander that, on the one hand, Bacchis' relationship with Clitipho is abruptly cut short at the end of the play but that, on the other hand, this loss is also sweetened. For Clitipho is, finally, able to bring her the long-promised ten minae (831), and both are allowed to enjoy a last reunion in Menedemus' house (902–6) before the young man is forced by his father, Chremes, to abandon the hetaera and marry a respectable girl.³⁸

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³⁷Venediger and Ihne, quoted by Köhler (*De Compositione* 14 n. 1), seem to have argued similarly.

³⁸I express my gratitude for the valuable comments and the encouragement I received from W. S. Anderson and Kristen E. Klay (both at the University of California, Berkeley), Hans Bernsdorff (Universität Göttingen), and an anonymous referee. I am also grateful to the Education Abroad Program of the University of California and the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen for a postgraduate fellowship that made it possible for me to study at the University of California, Berkeley.

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