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A Study of the Use of Oaths, Curses, and Prayers in
Roman Comedy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns oaths, curses, and prayers in Roman comedy, more precisely the comedies by the playwright Terence (185/84 - 159 BC). So-called informal/interjectional oaths and prayers constitute the main focus of this investigation, however, asseverations, formal oaths, formal prayers, and curses are included as well. In this study, carried out by utilizing the methodological frameworks hermeneutics and discourse analysis together with the method corpus analysis and a new adaption of the ancient *septem circumstantiae*-system, information on how the Romans of the 2nd century BC - the era of Terence - utilized religion to express themselves in everyday-life situations has been provided. A categorization by type, use, function, and frequency of a large amount of Latin colloquial expressions as well as a mapping of common emotional triggers for these expressions are found in this research. Further, included as well are discussions on the differing gender-usages of these religious-rooted utterances, the Romans' attitude towards their gods, and their fear of perjury. Finally, by distinguishing distinct Roman traits in the use of oaths, curses, and prayers this thesis helps to strengthen the notion that the comedies are adaptations, not translations, of their Greek models in order to be appreciated by a Roman audience.

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Lastly, a thankyou is due to the SOL library at Lund University for kindly purchasing new editions of Terence’s comedies to their collection.

PRAEFATIO

The spark of interest for this study has been a long time coming. It all began during a high school lesson in Latin with my favorite teacher, Mr. Hohenthal, to whom I am indebted for making my already existing passion for Latin burn all the more ardently. Anyhow, every Friday afternoon, when the students were ready to celebrate the awaited arrival of the weekend, Mr. Hohenthal usually spent the last few minutes by writing a Latin quote or proverb on the board and discussing it in class. One particular Friday though, he was persuaded by the students to instead teach us how to swear in Latin and consequently wrote the expression *Mehercule!* (By Hercules!) on the board, which thrilled the class. The word was henceforth liberally shared in the corridors among the humanist students as a standing joke.

A few years later, well into my Latin studies at the university, when reading the comedy play *Adelphoe* by Terence in class, I not only rediscovered my joy for the excellent expression I had learnt in the past (although here in its shorter form *hercle*), but I also started to notice the vast and diverse use of it in the plays. Could it really be equivalent to our modern notion of what a “swear word” is? After further reading, more expressions of the same diversity, although using other deities, started to catch my attention, and, well, a couple of years later: here we are!

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I. INTRODUCTION

I.1 TO SWEAR, TO CURSE, AND TO PRAY

In English, together with many other languages, the words swearing and cursing mainly make us think about common modern profanities such as “what the hell” and “damn you”. However, the original meaning of swearing and cursing lies beyond such exclamatory expressions: it lies within the many forms of proper oath-taking. To swear originally means “to affirm with an oath” or “to use oaths freely”¹ and to curse means “to imprecate evil upon”.² These meanings were – and perhaps sometimes still are – often connected to religious actions, for instance swearing by a god or cursing someone with the assistance of a deity, which were not uncommon practices during ancient Roman times. In this essay it will be made clear that remnants of such religious actions, proper oath-taking and cursing – as well as the opposite of cursing: praying – constituted a very frequently used way of expressing themselves for the Romans.

I.2 PURPOSE

The aim of this study is to become acquainted with how the Romans used oaths, curses, and prayers, both as such but mainly as interjectional expressions, in daily-life conversations. In doing so this investigation will contribute to the knowledge of how the average Romans utilized religion to express themselves and in turn also provide some remarks upon their attitude towards their gods and goddesses. In addition, this research will also be a contribution to the diachronic knowledge of Latin swearing, as the study has a strong focus on degenerated short-forms of oaths and prayers: remnants, if you will, or what they shall be called in this investigation: *interjectional/informal oaths* and *interjectional prayers* (see chapter 4.2).

For these purposes, the Roman pre-classical comedies of Terence constitute very fitting materials, as they are dialogues, which, although fictive, reflect the spoken every-day language – at least in comparison to more polished Latin prose literature.

To the best of my knowledge, oath-taking, cursing, and praying as a field of study has not previously been applied to a larger or more comprehensive study on merely Latin literature (see

¹ Skeat 2013, 621.

² Skeat 2013, 150.

chapter 2.2), which in my opinion constitutes a gap in Latin research, which this investigation shall attempt to fill. Moreover, the pre-classical comedies have not been a very popular topic among Latin scholars either,³ and, as Professor of Classics Alison Sharrock wrote in 2009: “Roman comedy has only recently begun to establish itself in the mainstream of classical literary criticism.”⁴ This, then, puts this thesis in a place of further contribution to the broader field of Latin literature, as well.

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 OATHS, CURSES, AND PRAYERS: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

That oath-taking, cursing, and praying constituted an extensive part of the Roman world is evident through the many Latin words existing to describe these phenomena with, some of the verbs being *iuro*, *deiero*, and *adiuro* (to swear, to take an oath), *testor* and *obtestor* (to call to witness, invoke), *devoveo* (to vow, to curse), *consecro* (to devote, to doom to destruction), *oro*, *precor*, *obsecro*, and *quaeso* (to beg/beseech/pray) and some other terms being *iusiurandum* and *sacramentum* (oath), *defixio* (curse, enchantment), *devotio* (prayer, curse), *prex* and *precatio* (prayer).⁵ For being a language of rather few words, if compared to English, there surely are many words for these practices, which testifies that they were quite ubiquitous.

Prior to investigating oaths, curses, and prayers as everyday-expressions by looking at Roman comedy plays, it might be helpful to first get acquainted with the proper forms, *id est* the formal use, of these phenomena in order to fully grasp the Roman historical context the utterances studied later on were spoken in.

2.1.1 OATHS

“[T]he quality in which the Roman commonwealth is most distinctly superior is in my opinion the nature of their religious convictions. I believe that it is the very thing which among other peoples is an object of reproach, I mean superstition, which maintains the cohesion of the Roman

³ Conte 1994, 102.

⁴ Sharrock 2009, i.

⁵ Lewis & Short 1879.

State. These matters are clothed in such pomp and introduced to such an extent into their public and private life that nothing could exceed it, a fact which will surprise many. [...] The consequence is that among the Greeks, apart from other things, members of the government, if they are entrusted with no more than a talent, though they have ten copyists and as many seals and twice as many witnesses, cannot keep their faith; **whereas among the Romans those who as magistrates and legates are dealing with large sums of money maintain correct conduct just because they have pledged their faith by oath (ὄρκος).** Whereas elsewhere it is a rare thing to find a man who keeps his hands off public money, and whose record is clean in this respect, among the Romans one rarely comes across a man who has been detected in such conduct.”⁶

It is certainly made clear by Polybius, a Greek historian writing about the Romans in the 2nd century BC (the same century as the comedies used in this study were written), that the gods and the beliefs and habits created around them were central to the Roman society. In fact, as we shall see, many instances of swearing by the gods and/or goddesses can be found in the ancient text sources: in situations ranging from politics to law to the military, as well as being used as a literate tool and embellishment.

Important to note early on is that a curse of sorts not uncommonly constituted a part of an oath, a so-called conditional self-curse, which was directed at the oath-taker(s) as a condition for upholding the oath. Cicero, in *De Officiis*, discussing the action of “*ius iurandum*” (an oath, which he defines as a religious assertion and promise witnessed by the gods that must be kept⁷) stresses that one must not focus on fearing the punishment the gods inflict upon perjurers, but instead, he says, one should be concerned with the duty of righteousness and faith.⁸ Nevertheless, these kinds of curse-conditions were spelled out. An example of a conditional self-curse can be found in Livy, when he accounts that, prior to the single combat between the Horatii and the Curiatii, the Romans, who stood up against the Albans, took an oath while sacrificing a pig along with this conditional self-curse to befall upon them, if they themselves were to break the agreement first:⁹

⁶ Polyb. VI.56. Translation by Paton 2011.

⁷ Cic. *Off.* III.104: “[...] est enim ius iurandum affirmatio religiosa; quod autem affirmate quasi deo teste promiseris, id tenendum est.”

⁸ Cic. *Off.* III.104: “Sed in iure iurando non qui metus, sed in quae vis, debet intellegi: [...]. Iam enim non ad iram deorum, quae nulla est, sed ad iustitiam et ad fidem pertinent.”

⁹ It is generally thought that Livy’s account of is somewhat polluted by Livy’s own times and that this kind of oath with a curse while slaying a pig is a later phenomenon. Numismatic evidence, however, show that the striking of a piglet in conjunction with an agreement existed. For specifics, see Richardson 2010, 30-33.

“Si prior defexit public consilio dolo malo, tum tu ille Diespiter populum Romanun sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.”

“If it shall first depart from them [i.e. the terms], by general consent, with malice afterthought, then on that day do thou, great Diespiter [=Iuppiter], so smite the Roman People as I shall here to-day smite this pig: and so much the harder smite them as thy power and thy strength are greater.”¹⁰

This formula of (conditional) curses – where the action towards the sacrificial animal or item connected to the oath symbolizes the threat of punishment to the oath-taker, if he was to break the taken oath – is called *similia similibus* and is quite common.¹¹ This formula can also be found in another oath to Jupiter, here specifically addressed as *Iuppiter Lapis*, which was documented by Polybius to have been sworn, according to ancient customs, at the first treaty of Carthage (dated to the 6th century BC). The oath, usually called *per Iovem lapidem*, contains a conditional *similia similibus* curse, as the swearer of the oath was to hold a stone in his hand while uttering the following words –

“If I abide by this my oath may all good be mine, but if I do otherwise in thought or in act, let all other men dwell safe in their own countries under their own laws and in possession of their own substance, temples, and tombs, and may I alone be cast forth, even as this stone.”¹²

– after which he symbolically threw away the stone.¹³

Both of the examples given above were oaths taken in the context of political agreements, of which there are certainly more of. For instance, consuls were made to swear an oath entering and retiring from office, promising and reassuring respectively the faithfulness of their service.¹⁴ Tacitus recorded that even the senators and other magistrates during the reign of Vespasian had to swear an oath (“*ius iurandum*”) with the gods as witnesses (“*deos testis*”), asserting the righteousness of their actions.¹⁵ In fact, ancient Rome was full of initiating oaths, if you will, a

¹⁰ Liv. I.24. Translation by Foster 1919.

¹¹ Frankfurter 2019, 671.

¹² Polyb. III.25. Translation by Paton 2011.

¹³ Tyler 1835, 129. | Richardson 2010, 28.

¹⁴ Tyler 1835, 138. See, for instance, Cic. *Ep. Ad Met.* v.2. 7., where Cicero, having been refused an assembly upon his retirement from the consulship, notes that he changed the usual oath (*ius iurandum*) and made his own, to the people’s content.

¹⁵ Tac. *Hist.* IV.41.

further example being the military oath (*sacramentum militare*), which a man swore upon becoming a *miles*, pledging allegiance, obedience and service.¹⁶

Sacramentum, as mentioned above, could also point to an old legal oath, where a *sacramentum*, a “sacred deposit” of money was presented by both parties to the judge as an assertion for telling the truth in court.¹⁷ *Ius iurandum*, also mentioned above, was otherwise the most common oath to swear in a Roman court, usually by Jupiter, by the gods altogether, or, during the empire, by the Emperor’s *genius*.¹⁸

Finally, another role that oaths had in ancient times were as literary tools and embellishments. In these cases, it concerns stock oath-scenes constructed after typical formulae, which go back to the Greek epics and Homer, but naturally found its way to the Roman epic genre through Vergil. Callaway, who has thoroughly investigated such “oath-scenes” (and given them the term) claims: “Anyone wishing to revive the heroic epic needed these scenes which, along with epithets and similes, give epic its character.”¹⁹

Consequently, oaths were a part both of the Romans’ real world, used in politics, in law, in the military, as well as their imaginary world of literature, where they were effectively and liberally used in epic stories of gods, heroes, and humans.

2.1.2 CURSES

Apart from literary examples of curses, such as the famous curse of Aeneas and the Romans, uttered by the Carthaginian queen Dido in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,²⁰ and other poetic examples, such as the imprecation by the nasty hags in Horace’s *Epodes*, who call upon Nox and Diana to turn their wrath and divine power upon the houses of their enemies,²¹ the most valuable evidence of the actual practice of curses in the Roman world comes from so-called *tabellae defixionum*, ‘curse tablets’. Curse tablets, or *defixiones*, are thin sheets of metal, often “deposited in tombs, sanctuaries or bodies of water”,²² containing inscriptions with curses aiming “to influence, by

¹⁶ Mentioned in e.g. Plin. *Ep.* X.29 & Liv. III.20. | For further reading, see Grillo 2012, 59-72.

¹⁷ Varro, *Ling.* V.180. | This is not much unlike the sacred legal agreement called *sponsio*, see note 7§A in Hodge’s edition of Cicero’s *Pro Caecina*.

¹⁸ Schiemann, “*Ius iurandum*” in Brill’s New Pauli 2006.

¹⁹ Callaway 1990, 199.

²⁰ Ver. *Aen.* IV.607-629.

²¹ Hor. *Epod.* V.49-54: “o rebus meis non infidelis arbitra Nox, et Diana, quae silentium regis arcana cum fiunt sacra, nunc, nunc, adeste nunc in hostilis domos iram atque numen vertite!”

²² Adams 2006, 1.

supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons or animals against their will”.²³ Amina Kropp, in the introduction to her comprehensive corpus of Latin curse tablets, summarizes the function of the *defixiones* well:

“Zweck dieses Schadenzauber-Rituals was es, Rivalen aller Art (etwa in der Liebe, im Wettkampf oder vor Gericht) unschädlich zu machen oder aber Gerechtigkeit und Rache für ein erlittenes Unrecht, meist Diebstahl oder Betrug, zu erlangen [...]”²⁴

This type of cursing is originally a Greek phenomenon and out of the 1,600 found *defixiones* around 1,100 are in Greek. Many of the remaining 500 are in Latin and evidently it became a common practice even among the Romans. Most of the Latin curse tablets are slightly later than the comedy plays by Terence were written, the earliest example being from the 2nd century AD, but in Greece examples have been found already from the 5th century BC, so it is not unlikely that the Romans had come in contact with this phenomenon, although not utilized it in their own language so early on.²⁵

Curses, just as prayers (see chapter 2.1.3), were often made in conjunction with sacrifices, for instance Dido took her own life while cursing the Roman people to make another avenger arise from her own bones (“*exoriare, aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*”).²⁶ However, otherwise it was always an animal being sacrificed. For the most part though, curses were set up as conditions for oaths, often in conjunction with sacrifices (see chapter 2.1.1).

2.1.3 PRAYERS

Solemn prayers to the gods and goddesses often accompanied sacrifices, which were omnipresent in Roman religion: both on state level and as an important private religious activity. Examples of private prayer formulae from around the era of Terence (the author of the comedies being researched in this study) is preserved in Cato the Elder’s *De Agricultura*, a farmer’s handbook. One of these examples provides instructions for purifying your farmland (“*agrū lustrare*”) by

²³ Jordan 1985, 151.

²⁴ Kropp 2008, 5. | English translation (my own): “The purpose of these damaging spell-rituals (curse tablets) was either to render rivals of all sorts harmless (for example in love, in competition, or in court) or to gain justice and vengeance for having suffered an injustice, mostly theft or deceit.”

²⁵ Kropp 2008, 5-6.

²⁶ Ver. *Aen.* IV.625.

performing a *suovitaurilia* (the sacrifice of a pig, a sheep and a bull simultaneously) while uttering a specific prayer to Manius, Jupiter and Mars with wine.²⁷

Edward Burriss concludes in one of his studies on Roman prayers with an impressive collection of ancient instances that “the majority of Roman prayers were for practical, concrete things, whether good or evil”²⁸ but also that many of the prayers are “in praise of gods and in thanksgiving for divine favors”.²⁹ Further it seems that the norm was to pray out loud, but there are suggestions (e.g. in the satirical story in Hor. *Epist.* I.16. 57-62.) that prayers for evil or shameful intents were uttered in an “undervoice”.³⁰

Concerning the divinities called upon, the Romans were quite attentive to address the deity by the right name, especially when a god or goddess could have several aspects with different functions. If this was not entirely clear, the person praying usually added some kind of disclaimer to the divinity, such as in Horace’s prayer to Diana in *Carmen Saeculare*: “*rite matures aperire partus lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres, sive tu Lucina probas vocari seu Genitalis [...]*”/ “You whose gentle function it is to open the way for births in due season, protect our mothers, o Ilithyia, or Lucina if you prefer that name, or Genitalis.”)³¹

2.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES

The surprisingly small amount of studies on Roman oaths available generally focus on the more solemn oath-taking, often ones concerning the state.³² Studies dealing with Roman oaths and curses uttered by individuals in everyday-situations are rare to find, although some exist: the substantial study *De hercle mehercle ceterisque id genus particulis priscae poesis Latinae scaenicae* by Anders Gagnér (1920),³³ mostly dealing with the linguistic features of informal oaths,³⁴ as well as some shorter ones, though admittedly also very old and mostly concerning statistics.³⁵ On this specific subject your best bet is to consult commented editions of ancient texts, in this particular

²⁷ Cato, *Agr.* CXLI.

²⁸ Burriss 1930b, 105.

²⁹ Burriss 1930b, 107.

³⁰ Burriss 1930a, 50.

³¹ Burriss 1930a, 52. | Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 13-16. Translation by Rudd 2004.

³² e.g. Richardson 2010, Tyler 1835.

³³ Gagnér 1920.

³⁴ He refers to these short expressions as “*particulae*”.

³⁵ e.g. Echols 1951 & 1979; Ullman 1943; Nicolson 1893.

case: comedies, which contain some valuable notes on oaths and imprecations used by the Romans.

In the dissertation “Oaths in Epic Poetry” Cathy Callaway investigates the function of oath-scenes in epics by Homer (Greek), Apollonius Rhodius (Greek) and Vergil (Latin) as a literary tool and motif, which “can delineate a character and create tension in an audience by foreshadowing and suspense. By the elaboration or simplification of their elements, they can signify the tone and importance of an episode. Furthermore, an oath-scene can often provide the setting for the establishment or development of an important theme.”³⁶ In addition, the dissertation provides a thorough discussion of “oath-language”³⁷ and “the four basic elements” of oath-scenes: “Invitation”, “Call to Witness”, “Tenor” and “Execution”.³⁸

Oath studies seem to have been conducted to a larger extent on ancient Greek literature in recent years, in particular with interest in formal and solemn oaths concerning the state,³⁹ but some also include both formal, informal, personal and interpersonal oath-taking.⁴⁰ These studies provide a comprehensive background to the context of oaths and swearing in an ancient Greek setting, which in many instances of culture are not far from Roman customs, wherefore they are of good use for this study. However, the “informal oath”, as Sommerstein and Torrance calls it, which is “an assertion or promise reinforced by the naming of a god [...] in a simple syntactic construction which signals that the speaker is swearing by that god”,⁴¹ are not considered by them as very interesting, as “[i]n conversation, in prose texts, and in the less elevated types of poetry (comedy, satyr-drama, elegy and iambus), these oaths generally seem to do little more than give emphasis to the statements they accompany [...]”.⁴² In this respect I disagree with them, due to the fact that there may be a lot more to these informal oaths than first meets the eye. For instance, in what situations did you use these informal oaths? Why are the same informal oaths clearly used in so many vastly different situations? Who uses these informal oaths and to whom are they uttered? Beyond emphasis, what other results were intended? The list goes on and on, which, promptly, is the reason for this investigation.

³⁶ Callaway 1990, 1.

³⁷ Callaway 1990, 7-9.

³⁸ Callaway 1990, 9-21.

³⁹ Sommerstein & Bayliss 2012.

⁴⁰ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014.

⁴¹ Sommerstein & Torrance, 81.

⁴² Sommerstein & Torrance, 81.

When it comes to prayers, some studies have been conducted, but yet again, they mainly focus on more solemn prayers, hymns, and incantations.⁴³ The lack of a study on the phenomenon I call *interjectional prayers* (see chapter 4.2.3) is striking and surprising.

Searching beyond the ancient languages, a study conducted on a historical corpus comprised of dramas in Swedish from the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries has quite recently (2008) been conducted by Ulla Stroh-Wollin at Uppsala University under the title of “Dramernas svordomar: en lexikal och grammatisk studie i 300 års svensk dramatik”. Although its focus is more on ‘swearing’ in the more modern sense (as opposed to ‘oath-taking’), the study has been valuable to this study at hand, due to the fact that it was conducted on both the genre drama and on a historical text material chosen for its close relation to spoken language.⁴⁴

2.3 TEXT MATERIALS: ROMAN COMEDY⁴⁵

As pre-classical comedy is the closest genre we have left portraying a picture of the Romans’ everyday language (as opposed to other pre-planned and thoroughly polished Latin literature), this genre will serve as the material for this study. However, only two comedy writers remain from this era (c.250-150 BC), *Publius Terentius Afer* (“Terence”) and *Titus Maccius Plautus* (“Plautus”), but their works are of different natures, as Conte brilliantly explains:

“It is clear that in a certain sense **Terence’s calm, intermediate style is more ordinary than Plautus’s**. The characters do not launch into unpredictable tirades in which literary parodies are mixed with puns, metaphors, and allusions of every sort; rather, their language seems **closer to that of an ordinary conversation**. [...] This does not mean that Terence, in order to be lifelike, reproduces the ordinary speech of the day realistically. He does, to be sure, conform to a language in some ways real and really spoken, **but it is the language of only a segment of society, that spoken by the educated, cultured urban classes**.”⁴⁶

⁴³ E.g. Burriss 1930a & Burriss 1930b.

⁴⁴ cf. Stroh Wollin 2008, 38: ”En viktig bevekelsegrund för att upprätta just en historisk drama-korpus är naturligtvis att det rör sig om talspråkshärmande texter, och att man därigenom ska kunna komma åt drag i språket och språkbruket som särskilt hör hemma i tal (och samtal) och som är svåra att fånga på andra sätt.”

⁴⁵ For a brief but excellent introduction to Roman comedy, see Goldberg 2013, vii-viii; 1-10.

⁴⁶ Conte 1994, 97. | See also Brown 2019, 37-38.

As the intention of this study is to research how the ordinary Romans used oaths, curses, and prayers in everyday-life situations, Terence's works are the most appropriate for this endeavor. It is naturally inferable that we cannot surely know if the real Romans perhaps preferred the excessiveness of speech represented in Plautus' comedies. Indeed, it would have been the most covering and representative to include the works of both authors, but unfortunately it is too great an undertaking for this scale of project. Hence, the six plays by Terence will constitute the foundation of this investigation.

2.3.1 TEXT CRITICS

Always when dealing with ancient materials one has to consider which edition of a text to use, as these can differ tremendously depending upon the text's distribution and copying through the ages. To be on the safe side the researcher must always consult a text critical edition, so as to be able to compare the different readings of all manuscripts available and take a stand for her- or himself. For this study the text critical Oxford edition *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae*, containing all the six plays, are used. If a text place with differing readings are used in the results of this study, it is always clearly noted. Other editions of the text are merely consulted for their scholarly notes on grammar and content.

2.3.2 TERENCE: AN INTRODUCTION

Publius Terentius Afer ("Terence"), originally from Carthage in North Africa, is thought to have reached Rome sometime after the Second Punic War as a slave of a Roman citizen, Terentius Lucanus. Terence's birth was traditionally said to have taken place 185/184 BC, but it is now generally agreed that he was born slightly earlier. The year is considered suspicious, as it is also the year in which Terence's predecessor, the comedy writer Plautus, died. Since ancient biographers often assigned the same year of birth and death to writers, who, within the same genre, took after one another, it is deemed unlikely. With a bit more certainty though, Terence is believed to have died during a cultural journey to Greece in 159 BC, although the cause of death is unknown.⁴⁷

From Terence six comedies – entirely preserved – have reached our times through 750 medieval manuscripts.⁴⁸ Moreover, we are especially indebted to ancient grammarians, who in

⁴⁷ Conte 1994, 92-93.

⁴⁸ Brown 2019, vii.

the so-called *didascalia* (philological notes placed at the beginning of the plays' manuscripts) have eternalized valuable information on the plays.⁴⁹ The most comprehensive commentary to Terence's plays is that of Aelius Donatus, whose work, according to Conte, "is one of the best works of its kind to have reached us and contains good information on questions of theatrical technique and the staging of the plays."⁵⁰

2.3.3 THE GREEK MODELS

One thing imperative to have in mind is the fact that these comedies are so-called *fabulae palliatae*, adapted Latin versions based upon Greek models, and thus may reflect just as much Greek as Latin culture.⁵¹ The original Greek models have unfortunately almost entirely been lost over the centuries but comments by Terence on his use of them help us deduce their main plots. Although, it is equally important to remember, as Brothers notes, "that Terence wrote for the Roman stage and that his audience regarded *The Self-Tormentor* [and the other comedies] as a Roman play".⁵² This notion is further supported in this thesis, where several indications of it are provided.

2.3.4 TERENCE'S PLAYS: A BRIEF SUMMARY

The six comedies written by Terence constitutes the text corpus for this study. A short introduction to each play's plot follows below.

***Andria* (The Girl from Andros), year 166 BC:**

Andria is a comedy playing with the theme of double-deceptions between father and son. On the one hand, the father Simo deceives his son, when he finds out that his son Pamphilus, who he has given away in marriage to his neighbor Chremes' daughter, has a love-affair with a supposed sister of a *meretrix*, Glycerium. The wedding is called off by Chremes, as he doesn't fancy Pamphilus having another girl when marrying his daughter. Simo decides to put his son's intentions to the test and falsely tells him that the wedding is still taking place. On the other hand, the trickster-slave Davos meddles in the affair and urges Pamphilus to accept his father's wishes as another deceit to eventually get the girl he wants. To make things even more dramatic,

⁴⁹ Conte 1994, 92.

⁵⁰ Conte 1994, 93.

⁵¹ For further reading on Terence's use of the Greek models, cf. Conte 1994, 97ff.

⁵² Brothers 1988, 18.

Pamphilus' friend Charinus is passionately infatuated with the girl Pamphilus is said to marry. Finally, it is revealed that Glycerium has had a child from Pamphilus and that she in fact is Chremes' other daughter – a fact that solves everything. Pamphilus gets to marry Glycerium and raise their child, Chremes is reunited with his long-lost daughter, and Charinus gets to marry the girl of his dreams.

***Hecyra* (The Mother-in-Law), year 165 BC:**

Pamphilus, a young lad and son to the Athenian citizens Laches and Sostrata, is the main character of *Hecyra*. In the middle of his passionate love-affair with the beautiful *meretrix* Bacchis he is set up for marriage with the neighbor's daughter Philumena. Albeit that he is first enraged and heartbroken, he eventually comes to favor and love his new wife. When Pamphilus is sent to Imbros to deal with a family-matter, his wife, who he had left with his mother, had run home to her parents due to a presumed sudden dislike between the women. The central theme of the play is the behavior and bad reputation of 'mothers-in-law': both Sostrata and Philumena's mother Myrrina are blamed for all mishaps and unfortunate events by their husbands – when, in fact, all they had done was done to keep their children safe. Eventually, it is revealed that Philumena suspiciously has had a baby only *seven* months into the marriage. With the help of Bacchis it is discovered that the one who had impregnated Philumena two months prior to the wedding was luckily enough Pamphilus himself during a night of inebriation. Consequently, in the end they may remain married and raise their son together.

***Heauton timorumenos* (The Self-Tormentor), year 163 BC:**

Heauton timorumenos takes place in the Attic countryside not far from Athens. The play concerns two fathers and their young sons. One of the fathers, Chremes, finds his neighbor, Menedemus, tormenting himself with exhaustive work on his farm as a self-punishment for unwillingly having sent away his only son, Clinia, to Asia due to a quarrel over the boy's girl. Eventually it is revealed that Clinia is a good friend of Chremes' son, Clitipho, and that he takes refuge at his house upon his arrival home from Asia. Both of the younglings have problems with their love affairs and, as always, it is up to the trickster-slave of the play, Syrus, to help deceive their fathers. Simultaneously, the plot is about the different types of fatherhood: Chremes being the practical, strict parent, while Menedemus, having learned from his mistake, has now taken on the role as a more loving, understanding father. In the end, Clinia's infatuation is found to be the daughter of Chremes

and he is given permission to marry her. As for Clitipho, having disgraced himself with a *meretrix*, he is forced to leave his mistress behind and take on a respectable wife under the threat of not keeping his heritage.

***Eunuchus* (The Eunuch), year 161 BC:**

Again, deceit and deceptions are the highlight of a play of Terence. In *Eunuchus* we find a *meretrix*, Thais, with two lover-clients: one being the Athenian son Phaedria, who bestowed her a servant and a eunuch as gifts, and the other being the bragging, self-occupied soldier Thraso, who has brought back the girl raised by Thais' mother as per her request. Phaedria's brother Chaerea was swept off his feet by the beauty of the young girl now living at Thais and is inspired by the trickster-slave Parmeno's joke to dress himself up as the eunuch, which his brother gave to Thais, and go to her place in his stead. Chaerea, once inside and driven by desire, forces himself upon the young girl. It all ends with a huge reveal of the girl's true identity, as her real brother shows up from Andros: she is an Athenian citizen. Chaerea, now completely beside himself, gets to marry the girl from Andros and his brother Phaedria succeeds at being the only lover of Thais, as the soldier Thraso and his parasite Gnatho yield to him.

***Phormio* (Phormio), year 161 BC:**

As the name of the play suggests, the main character of *Phormio* is the parasite Phormio, who takes pleasure in meddling in other people's businesses and making a profit by it. Two Athenian brothers, Demipho and Chremes, are at the centre of the plot together with their sons, Antipho and Phaedria. Chremes lives a double-life and has another wife and a daughter on the island of Lemnos, who travelled to Athens to find him. Once there, his Lemnian wife dies and his daughter and maid are left on their own, searching for her father. Antipho sees this beautiful girl and asks to marry her. Concealing it from his father, Antipho marries the beautiful but penniless girl with the help of the trickster Phormio. However, once the old men find out about it they try to nullify the marriage, but once again, they are deceived by Phormio, who make them give him a dowry to marry the girl herself. Instead, he takes the money and solves Phaedria's love-problem by paying the pimp for the girl Phaedria is in love with. It all unfolds when it is revealed to everyone that the girl Antipho has married is Chremes' daughter from Lemnos and he thusly gets to keep her.

Adelphoe (The Brothers), year 160 BC:

Adelphoe is about two brothers, Demea and Micio. Demea has two sons, one of which Micio has adopted. The core issue in this play is about the ways of fatherhood: Demea has raised his son Ctesipho on his farm with strict rules and hard labor, while Micio, living in Athens and having made a fortune for himself, has spoilt his adoptive son Aeschinus with leisure and freedom. Aeschinus helps his brother, with the aid of his slave Syrus' schemes, to get permission from his father to keep his beloved *citharistria*. Aeschinus himself also has an issue with love: a while ago he had impregnated a citizen-girl, after which he secretly promised to marry her and raise the child. Both of the scandals are revealed to their fathers and after lively discussions, deceit, and a sudden change of character Aeschinus gets to marry his girl and Ctesipho gets to take his cithara-girl home to live and work with him on the farm. The issue of parenthood, though, is left for the audience to decide upon.

3. METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

3.1 WHY TRIANGULATION?

This study will be undertaken by using a mixture of several methods: a *triangulation*. A triangulation of methods will benefit this study by providing lots of different perspectives and approaches, all the way from *micro*, bottom-up perspectives with qualitative approaches to *macro*, top-down perspectives with quantitative approaches. By getting a larger range of angles from the triangulation, a broader and more clear depiction of the use of oaths, curses and prayers in Roman pre-classical comedy will appear.

3.2 A QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE STUDY

Qualitative and quantitative methods have long been seen as opposing methods and a dichotomy in linguistic research.⁵³ However, many studies have shown the benefits of mixing these two methods in order to answer more diverse research questions and to get a deeper understanding

⁵³ Angouri 2010, 29.

of the meaning of the data.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the two methods are useful for different kinds of research: “Quantitative research is useful towards generalizing research findings and qualitative approaches are particularly valuable in providing in-depth, rich data”.⁵⁵ As this study has a need for both these uses, both types of methods will be included. This study will be qualitative to the most extent, following the nature of hermeneutics and discourse analysis, but it will also include some quantitative elements, for instance by providing statistics of different sorts.

3.3 FRAMEWORKS

3.3.1 HERMENEUTICS

This study will be based on interpretation of very old texts and a common way of doing so is via hermeneutics – a praxis which will not be overlooked in this investigation. Hermeneutics, or “interpretative philosophical reflection”,⁵⁶ is a spiral of interpretations from particular to general, thus including both deductive and inductive approaches,⁵⁷ in which the many qualitative interpretations of particular instances, taken together, result in a more quantitative, generalized picture of a phenomenon. The created corpus of oaths, curses, and prayers will accordingly be interpreted and analyzed in order to receive a well-rounded picture of how these phenomena of work in pre-classical Latin comedy.

3.3.2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (DA)

The definition of the term *discourse* is very broad and has different meanings in different fields of study, wherefore it is important to properly and stipulatively define what discourse entails in this study.

Generally, in linguistics, discourse analysis (hereafter DA) could be described as a framework for “studying language in its own right”⁵⁸ with the aim of “reveall[ing] the meaningfulness of text and talk”.⁵⁹ Further, in a linguistic context discourse is defined either as 1) “the sequence of sentences”, where the analysis concerns the relation between sentences and

⁵⁴ Angouri 2010, 30.

⁵⁵ Angouri 2010, 33.

⁵⁶ Babich 2017, 1.

⁵⁷ cf. Føllesdal 1979, 319-20.

⁵⁸ Baxter 2010, 124.

⁵⁹ Baxter 2010, 117.

how these “create meanings or [...] facilitate interpretation”,⁶⁰ or as 2) “language-in-use”⁶¹ or “situational context of language use”,⁶² which both refer to how the use of language in specific contexts give meaning and are thus closely related to pragmatics.⁶³ This study will take a standpoint from the second definition and concern the contexts of the chosen text material, the corpus. To exemplify, the informal/interjectional oath “*pro Iuppiter!*” does not mean much until put into its correct context. Certainly, it is possible to examine the two words of the phrase grammatically, which might contribute to the understanding of the utterance in some ways, but the real meaning of the words can change dependent upon its context. Consequently, the expressions must be investigated solely and be considered as situated language.

In sociology, discourse follows the definition of a “practice by which individuals imbue reality with meaning”.⁶⁴ This is not far from the second linguistic definition above, however, it has a stronger focus on practices than instances, I would say. Following that path, this investigation scopes both the *micro* level (the situated instances of a certain language-in-use) and the *macro* level (the practice of using a certain language-in-use).

Somewhat related to the sociological definition above is that of the philosopher Michel Foucault, who said that discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak”.⁶⁵ In the book *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World* (2007) Kimberly Stratton uses the term *discourse* in such a cultural-flavored way for analyzing ancient sources. Stratton investigates how the representation of witches and magicians in ancient sources and onwards together has created an ideological stereotype, which is traceable to a “discourse of alterity”:

“In its origin this discourse employed a combination of terms designating foreign, illegitimate, subversive, or dangerous ritual activities and integrated them into a powerful semantic constellation. Through the repeated combination of these terms with each other, the discourse drew on and amplified connotations of each term so that the use of one could harness or invoke a network of meaning created by association with the others.”⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Gee 2014, 18.

⁶¹ Gee 2014, 19.

⁶² Fairclough 1992, 3.

⁶³ Gee 2014, 20.

⁶⁴ Ruiz 2009, 2.

⁶⁵ Foucault 1972, 42.

⁶⁶ Stratton 2007, 2.

Stratton's book has served as a good starting point for me in order to develop an appropriate approach with discourses for ancient materials, which, frankly, is not something to be found in that many studies in ancient languages.

All of the definitions above have influenced the perspective of discourse and the specific framework of discourse analysis for this particular investigation. Consequently, this thesis is a research project where the term discourse is used rather broadly with influences drawn from several fields of study, such as linguistics (pragmatics and sociolinguistics), sociology as well as cultural-historical studies. To sum up, the focus is primarily on the pragmatic use of language in instances of oaths, curses, and prayers in the specific text materials' contexts, but its purpose is also to see all of the instances taken together in order to get a glimpse into the wider Roman cultural context of this certain language-use. In turn this will hopefully reveal something about the pre-classical Romans' attitude towards religious oath-, curse-, and prayer-based expressions, thus also contributing to the historical context in which the text materials were created. Jointly, these approaches create a study, which focuses on both *micro* and *macro* levels.

3.4 CORPUS ANALYSIS

Corpus analysis is a methodology from the field of corpus linguistics. The method is comprised of a mostly quantitative analysis of collections of texts – or *corpora* – in modern times mostly with the help of computer software.⁶⁷ An excellent explanation of the nature and usefulness of corpus analysis is given by Paul Baker:

“Corpus linguistics is firmly rooted in empirical, inductive forms of analysis, relying on real-world instances of language use in order to derive rules or explore trends about the ways in which people actually produce language.”⁶⁸

Initially, this study was devised to mainly be performed by collecting instances of a handful of oaths (*hercle*, *pol*, *edepol*, *ecastor*, *pro Iuppiter*) and a pilot study was carried out by utilizing the database LOEB Classical Library for controlled searches of these words: a thorough electronical corpus analysis. However, during this pilot study more interesting expressions,

⁶⁷ Baker 2010, 93.

⁶⁸ Baker 2010, 94.

including curses and prayers, were discovered rather by accident. Further, only searching for examples and interpreting them from merely a few lines proved difficult and it was made obvious that the investigation required more of a human eye in order to establish feelings and get a grip of the entangled plots. Consequently, the study has been carried out manually and all the instances of oaths, prayers, and curses have been compiled by reading all six comedies, the corpus of the study, cover to cover: an old-school corpus analysis, if you will. Nevertheless, comparative examples to expressions found in Terence are found through electronic corpus searches in the data bases LOEB Classical Library and Library of Latin Texts.

3.5 PROCEDURE OF ANALYSIS: *CIRCUMSTANTIAE SEPTEM*

3.5.1 THE SEVEN CIRCUMSTANCES: FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT

“This comprehensive and useful series of questions, [...] was [...] a part of the medieval heritage of Greek and Latin culture. The Greek rhetorician Hermagoras [...] divided the materials of rhetoric into two parts: *thesis* and *hypothesis*. A *thesis* involves an abstract, general question; whereas an *hypothesis* involves a question concerning concrete particulars. The *loci* of any hypothetical question are seven circumstances, which St. Augustine, who is our authority for this feature of Hermagoras’ rhetoric, quoted as *quis, quid, quando, ubi, cur, quem ad modum, quibus adminiculis*. In other words, no hypothetical question, or question involving particular persons and actions, can arise without reference to these circumstances, and no demonstration of such a question can be made without using them.”⁶⁹

Following the distinction made by Hermagoras, this investigation is a *thesis* trying to answer the general question of how the Romans used religion to express themselves. Further, the *thesis* includes several concrete particulars, namely a set of observed singularities of oaths, curses, and prayers – *hypotheses* – which will be researched using the circumstances (*circumstantiae*). These seven circumstances for rhetorical argumentation was adopted and adapted from the Greeks by the Romans, in particular Cicero in his *De Inventione Rhetorica* (although he referred to them as *loci*), and through them found their way to the Middle Ages⁷⁰ and in turn to modern times as well.

⁶⁹ Robertson 1946, 8-9.

⁷⁰ Robertson 1946, 9.

The *circumstantiae* have changed somewhat with every author, but the essence has remained more or less the same. The common notion that Hermagoras was the inventor of the circumstances, or *περιστάσεις* in Greek, has quite recently been questioned and, for instance, Michael Sloan attributes them to Aristotle,⁷¹ who in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, while discussing how to deem an act as righteous or disgraceful, introduces seven questions to support the conclusion: “(1) the who, (2), the what, (3) around what place or (4) in which time something happens, and sometimes (5) with what, such as an instrument, (6) for the sake of what, such as saving a life, and (7) the how, such as gently or violently.”⁷²

As we can see, these questions of circumstance differ somewhat from Hermagoras’, which are handed down to us by St. Augustine in his *De Rhetorica*, which translates into (1) who (2) what, (3) when, (4) where, (5) why, (6) in what way, and (7) by what means.⁷³

The most renowned Latin translation and adaptation of the *circumstantiae* was made by Cicero. In *De Inventione Rhetorica* Cicero has arranged the circumstances, or *certa praecepta*⁷⁴ or *loci*⁷⁵ as he calls them, into statements (not questions) that serve to check and/or build a strong argument. Further, he holds that arguments are supported by two kinds of attributes (*attributae*): that of persons (*personae*) and that of actions (*negotia*).⁷⁶ The attributes of persons include “name, nature, manner of life, fortune, habit, feeling, interests, purposes, achievements, accidents, and speeches made”;⁷⁷ and the attributes of actions include “a brief summary of the whole action comprising the sum of the matter”,⁷⁸ an “inquiry [...] as to the reason for this whole matter, i.e. by what means, and why, and for what purpose the act was done”,⁷⁹ as well as an inquiry of “what happened before the event [...]; then what was done in the performance of the act, and [...] what

⁷¹ Sloan 2010.

⁷² Translation of Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1111a/III.16 by Sloan 2010, 239: “τίς τε δὴ καὶ τί καὶ περὶ τί ἢ ἐν τίνι πράττει, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τίνι, οἷον ὀργάνῳ, καὶ ἔνεκα τίνος, οἷον σωτηρίας, καὶ πῶς, οἷον ἡρέμα ἢ σφόδρα.”

⁷³ My own translation of Robertson’s quote from August. *De Rhet.*: “quis, quid, quando, ubi, cur, quem ad modum, quibus adminiculis”.

⁷⁴ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.34.

⁷⁵ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.44.

⁷⁶ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.34: “Omnes res argumentando confirmantur aut ex eo quod personis aut ex eo quod negotiis est attributum”.

⁷⁷ Translation by LOEB Classical Library (used henceforth): Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.34: “Ac personis has res attributas putamus: nomen, naturam, victum, fortunam, habitum, affectionem, studia, consilia, facta, casus, orationes.”

⁷⁸ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.37: “Ex his prima est brevis complexio totius negoti quae summam continent facti”.

⁷⁹ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.37: “deinde causa eius summae per quam et qua mob rem et cuius rei causa factum sit quaeritur”.

was done afterwards”,⁸⁰ followed by inquiries of “place, time, occasion, manner, and facilities”,⁸¹ as well as “adjunct of an action” (“genus”, “species” or “result”),⁸² and finally “the consequence”.⁸³

Victorinus, commenting upon Cicero’s work, made this chart (Fig.2.) in order to clarify the meanings of the many terms and their relation to each other and, again, stating them as seven questions of circumstance. In addition, he claims that *quis* and *quid* are most significant, while the other five only further describe *quid*.⁸⁴

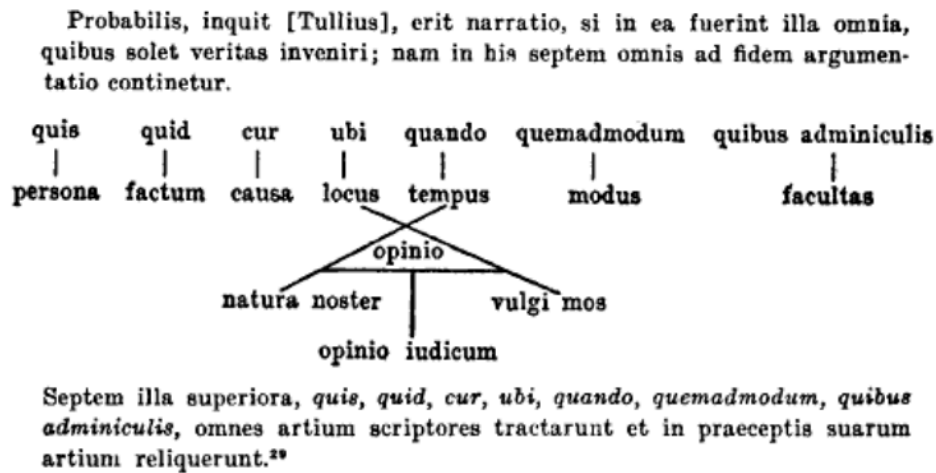


Fig. 1. Victorinus’ chart over Cicero’s *circumstantiae*.⁸⁵

Also commenting on the seven circumstances as well as Cicero’s work was Thomas Aquinas, who in his massive scholastic compendium of the catholic doctrine, *Summa Theologiae*, comprises the lengthy discussion by Cicero into a neat hexameter verse: “quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando”,⁸⁶ which translates into “who, what, where, by what aids, why, how, when”.⁸⁷

Although the ancient and medieval authors noted above have somewhat different versions, it is still clear that the foundational purpose of the circumstances is to aid investigation, determination and representation of a case of any kind: for Hermagoras, Cicero and St.

⁸⁰ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.37: “deine ante gestam rem quae facta sint continenter usque ad ipsum negotium; deinde, in ipso gerendo negotio quid actum sit; deinde, quid postea factum sit.”

⁸¹ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.38: “locus, tempus, occasio, modus, facultas.”

⁸² Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.41: “Adiunctum negotio”; “et genus et pars et eventus.”

⁸³ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* I.43: “consecutio”.

⁸⁴ Robertson 1946, 11.

⁸⁵ Robertson 1946, 11.

⁸⁶ S.T. III, Q7, A3. (Textum Leoninum Romae 1891 editum, accessed online 2021, Feb 3rd).

⁸⁷ Translation by The Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1920, accessed online 2021, Jan 31st.

Augustine it concerned rhetoric, for Aristotle philosophy and for Thomas Aquinas theology and logic. Further, medieval priests of the 13th century used the *circumstantiae* for the confessionals⁸⁸ and today the circumstances are used in a simplified way by journalists when writing articles, for example.⁸⁹ What can be deduced from this is that this set of questions are very adaptable and serve as a procedure of investigation in many different situations and aspects, which is why they will make up the base for the procedure of analyzing the instances of oaths, curses, and prayers in the selected text corpus of this study. Below my adaptation of the *circumstantiae* for this purpose will be presented and discussed.

3.5.2 THE SEVEN CIRCUMSTANCES: MY ADAPTATION

First and foremost, it is important to note that the procedure of analysis naturally begins with all instances of oaths, curses, and prayers being excerpted. This has been done by closely reading all of the six comedies in their entirety and manually collecting all instances and interpreting them using the method below.

Finally, using the seven circumstances, or *circumstantiae septem*, as presented by Thomas Aquinas, each instance of an oath or curse shall be investigated. All these seven questions have been given a handful of sub-questions for a more detailed analysis. The sub-questions are roughly inspired by Cicero's discussion of the *loci* in his *De Inventione Rhetorica* (I.34-43), where he considers them as attributes of persons (*persona*) and attributes of actions (*negotia*), which both have a set of sub-divided terms (see chapter 2.5.1). The terms borrowed from Cicero in my adaptation include: *nomen*, *factum* (here specified as *dictum*), *locus*, *affectio*, *consilium*, *consecutio* (here altered to *consecutio dicti*), and *occasio*. However, these are naturally given a slightly different meaning depending on the shift of context: from a juridical rhetorical context to one concerning utterances of oaths, curses, and prayers. In addition to Cicero's terms I have added *constitutio verborum*, a term borrowed from rhetoric, as well as my own terms for sub-questions required for this particular investigation: *status/ordo*, *sexus*, *aetas*, and *divinitas*. A full scheme of the *circumstantiae* and their sub-questions are shown here below:

⁸⁸ Robertson 1946, 8.

⁸⁹ cf. Nordquist 2020.

QUIS (WHO)?:

- ◇ *nomen* (name) – name of swearer/curser/prayerer?
- ◇ *status/ordo* (status/rank) – social status of swearer/curser/prayerer?
- ◇ *sexus* (sex) – sex of swearer/curser/prayerer?
- ◇ *aetas* (age) – age of swearer/curser/prayerer?

QUID (WHAT)?:

- ◇ *factum/dictum* (deed/saying) – what’s been done/said?
- ◇ *consecutio dicti* (consequence of saying) – what’s the reception from the one receiving the expression?

UBI (WHERE)?:

- ◇ *locus* (place) – where did the swearing take place, e.g. outside one’s own house or another’s, or in the countryside?

QUIBUS AUXILIIS (BY WHAT AIDS)?:

- ◇ *divinitas* (divinity) – which divinity/divinities is/are called upon?

CUR (WHY)?:

- ◇ *affectio* (feeling)⁹⁰ – what feeling(s) caused the expression or arouse in junction with it?
- ◇ *consilium* (purpose)⁹¹ – what was the intended purpose of the swearing/cursing/praying?

QUOMODO (HOW)?:

- ◇ *compositio verborum* (composition of words) – choice of words (verb, preposition, case etc.), syntax, grammatical construction, elaboration.

QUANDO (WHEN)?:

- ◇ *occasio* (pretext, occasion) – when in the play is the oath/curse/prayer uttered, during a dialogue or monologue?

⁹⁰ Cic. Inv. rhet. 25.36: “Affectio est animi aut corporis ex tempore aliqua de causa commutatio, ut laetitia, cupiditas, metus, molestia, morbus, debilitas et alia quae in eodem genere reperiuntur.”

⁹¹ Cic. Inv. rhet. 25.36: “Consilium est aliquid faciendi aut non faciendi excogiata ratio.”

Posing these questions and sub-questions to every instance of an oath, curse, or prayer will make sure that all instances are examined on exactly the same terms, while also gathering the information needed to answer the research questions of this investigation (see chapter 4.3).

3.5.3 A REFLECTION

While reflecting upon methods and theories for this research project, *speech act theory*⁹² was early on an alternative for investigating the oaths, curses and prayers. However, this idea was soon discarded, both after diving deeper into the world of *circumstantiae*, but also after realizing the shortcomings of *speech act* for this kind of investigation. These are very neatly formulated by Catharina Raudvere, who also presents arguments by Mary Louise Pratt:

“As a literary scholar with insights in anthropological theory, Mary Louise Pratt indicates some of the limitations of conventional speech-act analyses when she points out three factors often lacking in the analyses (1986). Speech-act analysis does not take into consideration affective relations, power relations, and shared goals, which ‘have a radical impact not just on what people do, but also on what rules they operate by in a situation’ [Pratt 1986, 67]. In short it is speech as a social practice that is missing to a large extent. The road from texts to lives is crucial for the historian of religions.”⁹³

Consequently, when compared to the adaptability that the ancient method of *circumstantiae* offered, speech act was ruled out, as then the “social practice” of speech could be included (mainly by the circumstance *quis* and its subordinated circumstances, for instance, gender and social status).

⁹² Speech (or illocutionary) act theory was developed by John Langshaw Austin. For information on the theory, see J.L. Austin (1975) *How to do things with words*. Clarendon: Oxford.

⁹³ Raudvere 2005, 181.

4. THE STUDY

4.1 DELIMITATIONS

- i. Only expressions based on actual oaths, curses, and prayers from religion, *id est* mentioning ancient gods and/or goddesses (or other animated objects or cosmic forces playing the same role as deities), constitute the scope of this thesis, thusly eliminating other types of expressions with exclamatory and interjectional intentions, both invectives (e.g. *facinus indignum!*) and pure interjections (e.g. *Heu! Au! Ei! Ah! Attat! etc.*).⁹⁴
- ii. This thesis focuses on oaths, curses, and prayers uttered by individuals, either to themselves in monologues or to other individuals in dialogues, in (more or less) daily situations. The investigation will therefore not have its focus on organized, solemn oaths, curses, or prayers concerning entire states, cities or the whole Roman Empire.
- iii. In many discussions concerning swearing and cursing the word ‘taboo’ is brought up.⁹⁵ In this study I will not presume that the gods and goddesses were used in oaths or curses as expressions of force (which in this essay is the closest to our modern view of ‘swearing’ and ‘cursing’) due to the fact that they were considered as taboo words. This would very much so be a preunderstanding and make it biased by modern ways of valuing swear- and curse words with religious (Christian) content. Instead, I wish to let the investigation reveal *if* there might be some kind of attitude towards expressing oneself by uttering the ancient Roman gods’ and goddesses’ names.
- iv. Due to a limited amount of time and space, this thesis is delimited to the pre-classical period and to the author Terence, although parallels to other eras of time, both ancient and modern, will be included for the sake of comparison and nuance. This also means that the results of this investigation only cover this specific period of time and cannot thusly stand for how the Romans used oaths, curses, and prayers throughout antiquity – regardless of how tempting it may be to claim so.

⁹⁴ On interjections of this kind, see Kruschwitz 2012.

⁹⁵ See an interesting discussion on the possibility of swearing and taboo in Stroh-Wollin 2008, 25ff.

4.2 DEFINITIONS

These delimitations have led the investigation in a certain direction and thus naturally created a set of stipulated definitions. It is therefore of utmost importance to always have these following definitions in mind while reading (otherwise) loose terms, such as *oath* and *curse*.

4.2.1 OATH

Surely, most people have a hunch about what an oath is, but it turns out that defining one is not as simple as it seems. Building upon the definitions of Sommerstein and Torrance (2014), Callaway (1990) and Echols (1951) this is my conclusion of how different kinds of oaths are defined in this research project (see Fig. 2.).

A **formal oath** must include the following two requirements explicitly: a “*Tenor*”⁹⁶/ “*Declaration*”⁹⁷ and a “*Call to Witness*”⁹⁸ and this third one as well, although most often implicitly: a “*Conditional self-curse*”⁹⁹:

- i. A “*Tenor*” or “*Declaration*” is the central part of an oath, which declares the oath’s request, which could be either “*assertory*”¹⁰⁰, asserting something about the present or past, or “*promissory*”¹⁰¹, promising something for the future.
- ii. A “*Call to Witness*” is the “swearing by objects, divinities, and cosmic forces, as well as the calling upon of divinities and cosmic forces to act as a surety for the promise”,¹⁰² that is, what has been stated in the “*Tenor*”/ “*Declaration*”.
- iii. A “*Conditional self-curse*” is the condition, added by the swearer to the divinity or cosmic force being sworn to, which is “to take effect if the assertion is false or if the promise is violated, as the case may be; that is, (s)he prays that in that event (s)he may suffer punishment from the guarantor power”.¹⁰³ This step is often

⁹⁶ Callaway 1990, 14.

⁹⁷ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 1.

⁹⁸ Callaway 1990, 13; cf. Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 1.

⁹⁹ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 1.

¹⁰¹ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 1.

¹⁰² Callaway 1990, 13.

¹⁰³ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 1.

implicit and understood from the swearer's knowledge and understanding of the gods' serious punishments upon perjurers, who has sworn falsely in their name.

A **solemn oath** is made up of the same three steps as above, however, it is clearly taken in a solemn, ritualistic setting, for instance at a temple altar and/or accompanied by a sacrificial victim.¹⁰⁴

An **informal oath/interjectional oath** differs from the formal oath in that it does not fulfill the three conditions above and is therefore "strictly speaking, no oath at all"¹⁰⁵ but rather a by-product or a degenerated short-form of a real formal oath, often containing a marker-word (for example a preposition or an interjection in the case of Latin oaths) and, the central part, the "naming of a god".¹⁰⁶ Although degenerated short-forms of oaths, the informal/interjectional oaths may sometimes have the same function of real oaths, that is, to assert or promise (see *assertory* and *promissory* above), but it is not a must. This kind of oath and its vast diversity constitutes the focal point of the investigation.

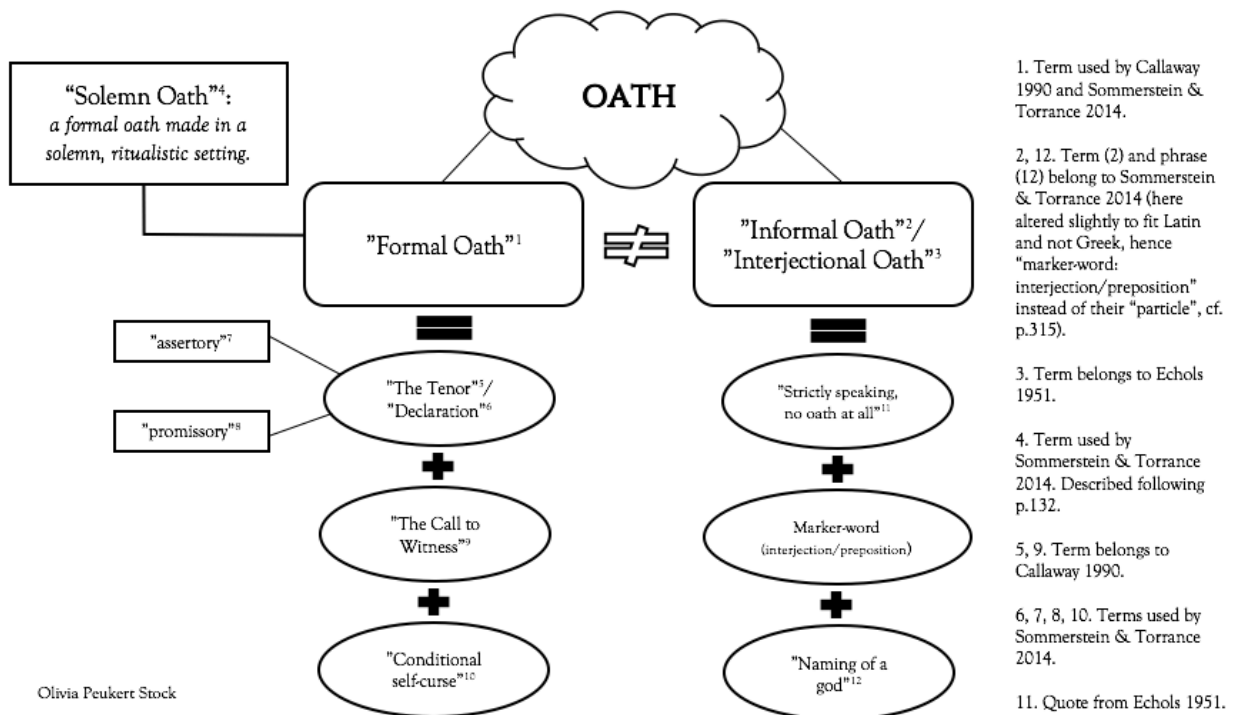


Fig. 2. An overview of definitions and terms of oaths.

¹⁰⁴ cf. Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 132.

¹⁰⁵ Echols 1951, 293.

¹⁰⁶ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 81, 315.

4.2.2 CURSE

In this investigation a **curse** is defined as an imprecation, a “denunciation”, and “a harmful wish reinforced by the strongest superstition current”.¹⁰⁷ Basically, a curse is a harmful oath directed at somebody else: one declares a “harmful wish” and then calls upon gods or other supernatural forces as witnesses and/or executioners of that wish.

4.2.3 PRAYER

In this study there are two different kinds of prayers accounted for: the **formal prayer** (or only prayer) and the **interjectional prayer**. The former is the more traditional sense of a prayer: a (more or less) solemn request, plea, thanksgiving to the gods and/or goddesses (e.g. “*salvo' nobis deos quaeso ut siet*”/ “I beg the gods to keep him safe for us”). However, when a prayer, or a remnant of a prayer, is used as an interjectional expression, like for instance the English “oh my God!” or “Heaven preserve us!”, it is here called an interjectional prayer (e.g. “*di vostram fidem*”/ “Gods help us!”). The interjectional prayers can sometimes be difficult to keep apart from the formal prayers at first glance but are easier to determine in relation to the context they are uttered in. In many cases, the interjectional prayers are also often formulaic expressions, which is made clear by their repeated occurrences (although there are a few singularities), while the formal prayers are more often unique in form.

4.2.4 DIALOGUE AND MONOLOGUE

In this study all lines spoken directly to another person or several persons are defined as “dialogues”, whereas “monologues” are lines spoken by the characters to themselves or to the audience, while alone on stage, or spoken aside to themselves (so only the audience can hear the remark) in the presence of other characters (who are not supposed to hear).

¹⁰⁷ Echols 1951, 296.

4.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to conduct this research a set of research questions is required. Consequently, you will find these listed here below.

Overarching RQ: How are oaths, curses, and prayers (both used as such and/or as interjectional expressions) used by the fictional characters in the pre-classical comedy plays by Terence?

This research question covers the aim of my investigation. However, this is a much too broad question to answer on its own and it therefore requires some operationalizing sub-questions in order to be conductible. Thereafter an answer to this overarching research question can be given.

RQ1: What are the characteristics of the oaths, curses, and prayers (both used as such and/or as interjectional expressions)? (*QUID, QUIBUS AUXILIIS & QUOMODO*)

- Which divinity/divinities are called upon and for what reason? (*DIVINITAS*)
- What is being said? (*FACTUM/DICTUM*) Are there certain reoccurring words (e.g. verbs, prepositions) or forms (e.g. modes, cases) found? (*COMPOSITIO VERBORUM*)

RQ2: By whom and how frequently were the oaths, curses, and prayers (both used as such and/or as interjectional expressions) uttered by these individual characters in the selected comedies by Terence? (*QUIS*)

- Name? (*NOMEN*)
- Age? (*AETAS*)
- Gender? (*SEXUS*)
- Social class? (*STATUS/ORDO*)

RQ3: Why did the swearing, cursing, or praying occur? (*CUR & QUID*)

- What were the [most common] intended effects (*CONSILIA*)?
- What were the [most common] emotional causes (*AFFECTIONES*)
- What were the [most common] consequences (*CONSECUTIONES DICTI*)

For instance:

Offense had been taken/wished to be given

No apparent reason (casual swearing/cursing)

Wish for an amplification or asseveration of expression (positive or negative)

RQ4: Do time and space affect the swearing, cursing, or praying? (*QUANDO & UBI*)

For instance:

Is the swearer/curser/prayerer standing outside his/her own house or another's? (LOCUS)

When in the play did the swearing/cursing/praying occur – in a monologue or a dialogue (i.e. was it thought to oneself or spoken to another character)? (OCCASIO)

RQ5: In extension, how can the use of oaths, curses, and prayers reveal the Romans' attitude towards their religion, gods, and goddesses during this time?

5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Below follows a discussion of each investigated expression. For the extensive result tables including the interpretations of all instances of oaths, curses, and prayers in Terence, see Appendix.

5.1 NOTE TO RESULTS

5.1.1 INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

This study was set out to answer a handful of research questions employing the questions of circumstances, or *circumstantiae*, covering the sub-categories name (*nomen*), social status (*status/ordo*), sex (*sexus*), age (*aetas*), the quote itself (*factum/dictum*), consequence (*consecutio dicti*), place (*locus*), divinity (*divinitas*), triggering feeling (*affectio*), intention (*consilium*), sentence and word composition (*compositio verborum*), as well as the time of utterance (*occasio*). As is clear from the result tables (see Appendix), all of the categories were investigated throughout all six comedies. However, not all of the categories were able to provide any significant data, such as *locus*, as it was difficult in too many instances to determine exactly where the characters were located on stage. For this reason, this category is not discussed below. The same unfortunately goes for *consecutio dicti*, due to the fact that it proved difficult to determine if the reaction was based on the expression itself, the sentence as a whole or even additional parameters. Concerning *consilium*, since it was problematic to really gain any fruitful knowledge out of it (that was not the same as

the results from *affectio*), this category is left out in the discussion as well. Instead, the discussion will focus on the more substantial result categories, mainly *affectio*, *compositio verborum*, *status/ordo*, *sexus*, *aetas* (to an extent, as the age of some characters are unknown), *ocasio* as well as other additional interesting observations and dilemmas.

5.1.2 THE ISSUE OF RELATIVITY

Prior to reading and interpreting the results of this investigation concerning the comparison between the frequency of male and female uses of all of the expressions investigated below it is imperative to bear in mind the difference in the total number of lines spoken by males and females in Terence: the males have many more lines and opportunities to express themselves in these six comedies. This is for the first time taken into consideration in the short study made by Ullman (1943) on “oaths” (which in this investigation is mentioned as “informal/interjectional oaths”), who concludes that on average in the six Terentian plays men speak roughly 7.69 times as many lines as women and by multiplying the number of expressions uttered by women by 7.69 you get a comparable data for the use between the sexes.¹⁰⁸ In this study this method is employed in the interpretation of the *circumstantia* ‘*Sexus*’ and is referred to as ‘the Ullman method’. When used, the figures are rounded off to the closest whole number for the sake of simplicity.

The same issue of relativity naturally concerns age (*aetas*) and social status (*status/ordo*) as well, but there is currently no comprehensive statistics for this¹⁰⁹ and due to a shortage of time it lies outside the scope of this thesis to develop one. As a consequence, one must bear in mind that the male slaves (*servi*), the old masters (*senes, domini*) and the male youngling masters (*adulescentes, domini*) have more lines than the other characters in the play.

5.1.3 TRANSLATIONS

If not otherwise noted, all of the translations of the examples from the Terentian comedies are my own. Credit is also due to John Barsby, as his translations (2001a, 2001b) have throughout this work been invaluable for comparison and interpretation of the text.

¹⁰⁸ Ullman 1943, 88.

¹⁰⁹ Ullman 1943, 88, gives a few numbers though: *ancilla*, *anus*, *meretrix* and *mulier* speak around 202, 19, 268 and 175 lines each in Terence’s six plays.

5.1.4 NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES

The numbers included in the discussion below are collected from the result tables (see Appendix). When only a number is presented, for instance (10), this refers to the count of occurrences of what is mentioned directly prior to the parentheses. If, however, a percentage is used, as expected, it is always marked by a percentage sign, like so: (10%), and is calculated from the count of occurrences found in the result tables.

5.2 INFORMAL/INTERJECTIONAL OATHS: THE EMPHASIZERS

This group of oath expressions is mainly used in Terence to provide emphasis and enhance the meaning of a sentence, at least according to Gagnér,¹¹⁰ whose view is confirmed by this investigation. For swearing by these specific gods – or halfgods – there were rules regarding the gender of the swearer, as shall be made clear in this chapter.

5.2.1 HERCLE/MEHERCLE (104)

Concerning the origin of *hercle* and its longer form *mehercle* (also *mehercule*, although there is no instance of this in Terence) there seem to be differing beliefs. The Swedish scholar Gagnér concludes in a lengthy discussion that *hercle* is the vocative of an alternative form of Hercules, which is based upon a different stem.¹¹¹ By inferring a passage from Festus, Gagnér further presents the origin of *mehercle* as derived from a full oath *ita me Hercules iuuet*,¹¹² which undoubtedly is reminiscent of *ita me di ament* and *ita me servet Iuppiter*, both found in Terence (see chapter 5.4). Hofmann holds this true for *mehercules* but infers that *mehercle* is an early crossing between *hercle* and *mehercules*.¹¹³ These scholars then agree that the *me-* is to be interpreted

¹¹⁰ cf. Gagnér 1920, 45: “**Particulae**, quae sunt *hercle* et *pol*, *mehercle* et *mecastor* et *medi*, *medius fidius*, *ecastor* et *edi*, *edepol*, **quamquam primo**, ut supra demonstratum est, (*o Hercle!* etc., *me, Hercle, iuua(to)!* Etc., *me Dius Fidius iuuet!* *e Castor!* Etc., *e de Pol!* **ualuerunt, tamen ipsae, cum in obtestando fere et affirmando adhiberentur, affirmantes paulatim factae a Plauti saltem temporibus nihil aliud atque aduerbia affirmantia, ut *certe, enim, profecto, uero, significant.*”**

¹¹¹ Gagnér 1920, 9: “Formae igitur, de quibus supra disputaui, hoc modo ortae sunt: Ἡρακλῆς > **Herecles* > *Hercoles* > *Hercules*. *Ἡρακλε > **herecle* > *hercle* > **hercule* > *hercule*.”

¹¹² Gagnér 1920, 21: “Atque ut omnium primum, quid ueteres de hac re senserint, afferatur, agmen ducat Festus, qui haec scribit: “*Mecastor* et *mehercules* iusiurandum erat, quasi diceretur, *ita me Castor*, *ita me Hercules*, ut subaudiatur *iuuet*.”

¹¹³ Hofmann 1936, 29-30: “*mehercules* ist nach Ausweis der altlateinischen Vollformeln [...] und des Zeugnisses des Paul. Fest. S. 125 durch Ersparung erwachsen aus (*ita*) *me Hercules (iuuet, ut)*, [...]. *Mehercle* ist eine frühe Kreuzung von *hercle* und *mehercules*.”

as a Latin accusative, as opposed to Sturtevant, who suggest that it is the Etruscan *mi*, the equivalent of the Latin *ille*,¹¹⁴ which certainly would give the expression more of an exclamatory nature, *ille Hercules*, in full. Sturtevant continues to present an Etruscan influence on this oath, when also stating that “[t]he Latin oath *hercle* is to be identified with Etruscan *Herclē* “*Hercules*”.”¹¹⁵ Whatever the origin, the original oath has lost its full meaning and become what in this essay is called an informal/interjectional oath.

According to the 2nd century AD antiquarian Aulus Gellius only Roman men swore by Hercules. As women never sacrificed to him, they did not swear by him, he adds as explanation.¹¹⁶ This can be confirmed by this investigation, as all 104 instances of *hercle* (of which two are the longer *mehercle*) are spoken by males.

Further, the result tables of this study show that the expression is equally frequently used among the lower social status groups (*servi, parasiti, lenones*: 52) and the youngsters and the old men of slightly higher social status (*domini <adulescentes + senes>*: 52). Out of them all, the slaves outdo everybody else with a count of 42 instances, followed by the younglings with 31 in second place. Male slaves, old men and male younglings are all main characters in the comedies and share, roughly guessed, around an equal amount of lines in the plays, so this result should not be too affected by the issue of relativity. Hence, it would not be too far-fetched at all to claim that *hercle* was not bound to any social status or age but used freely and liberally by all men. In addition, it is deductible that the expression is primarily used in dialogues in the Terentian comedies (83).

From the results it is also possible to observe that *hercle* is mostly used in junction with clearly negative feelings (43). In addition, the negative use is further extended to situations concerning some kind of deceit or trickery (16), making it a word even more used in connection to negativity. Naturally, you cannot say that *hercle* in itself has a negative connotation, however, thanks to this investigation, you can claim with certainty that it is most commonly used to enhance the meaning of negative sentences in Terence. In spite of this, it is also noteworthy that the oath can be used to give emphasis to clearly positive feelings (16) as well. Moreover, *hercle* on its own has more instances with a sarcastic sense (7/11) than all of the other investigated expressions combined (4). The reason for this, however, is hard to deduce but it encircles the fact

¹¹⁴ Sturtevant 1925, 5.

¹¹⁵ Sturtevant 1925, 5.

¹¹⁶ Aul. Gell. XI.6. “Quod mulieres Romae per Herculem non iuraverint [...]. Sed cur illae non iuraverint Herculem non obscurum est, nam Herculeo sacrificio abstinent.”

that *hercle* is reduced from an old sacred oath to a degenerated form even used to enhance sarcastic expressions, which clearly is the opposite to the function of a true oath.

First and foremost, briefly mentioned above, *hercle* is used in an assertory manner (82), primarily of the emphasizing kind that the English words ‘certainly’ or ‘really’ provide a sentence with, for example: “*emori hercle satius est*”/ “*Really, I would rather die*” (lit. “By Hercules, I would rather die”).¹¹⁷ In a similar manner the promissory (9) uses work, although emphasizing something that is to come using a future tense, for instance: “*non hercle faciet*”/ “He *certainly* shall not do so!” (lit. “By Hercules, he shall not do so!”).¹¹⁸ This very worn-out use of the original oath indicates a rather mild respect for the gods and, when used falsely, it indicates an almost non-existing fear of the wrath of the gods, which was inflicted upon perjurers. The expression seems so degenerated from a real oath that the people using it did not even reflect upon that fact at all. In the cases of *pol*, *edepol*, *ecastor*, and *mecastor* the same conclusions can be drawn, since they too are most commonly used in this casual way (see further discussion in chapter 5.2.5).

Returning to *hercle*, it must also be mentioned that it can be used in two other interesting ways when combined with the key verbforms *perii* and *quaeso/obsecro*. In Terence, we find six¹¹⁹ instances of the true expression of force and/or despair “*perii hercle*”/ lit. “By Hercules, I’m ruined!” (equivalent to the English “Goddamn it!”, as beautifully translated by Barsby¹²⁰). When paired with *quaeso/obsecro*, either parenthetic or as a main verb, however, the *hercle* serves to strengthen a request, which can be either pleading¹²¹ or slightly more demanding¹²² in nature.

Something which was not a research question initially but has successively become a topic of interest concerning the informal/interjectional oaths *hercle*, *pol*, *edepol* and (m)*ecastor* is their position in the sentence and if/how this affects the meaning. Goldberg notes that both *hercle* and *pol/edepol* are of a kind which “functions as an emphatic interjection” and that “the emphasis [is] created more by its position than its literal sense”.¹²³ The dissertation by Gagnér on these oaths (which he calls *particulae*) contains an impressive and extensive collection of the instances of *hercle/mehercle*, *ecastor/mecastor*, *pol/edepol*, *medius fidius*, *edi*, *medi* and their place of order in the

¹¹⁷ Ph. 956.

¹¹⁸ An. 775.

¹¹⁹ In one example, Ad. 637, the *hercle* is separated from the *perii* by *est*.

¹²⁰ Barsby 2001a, 277.

¹²¹ Eun. 362; Ad. 247-249; Eun. 466.

¹²² Ad. 281-283; Eun. 562.

¹²³ Goldberg 2013, 147, 416n.; 97, 58n.

sentence in Plautus and Terence.¹²⁴ In his investigation he concludes that these particles (*hercle*, *edepol*, etc.) in most cases, regardless of position, serve to emphasize the whole statement, although some instances seem to pertain to a single word.¹²⁵ However, it lacks an easily comprehensible overview, which this thesis might contribute with, at least with regards to distributive statistics in Terence, since the result tables created for this thesis are very suitable for collecting it.

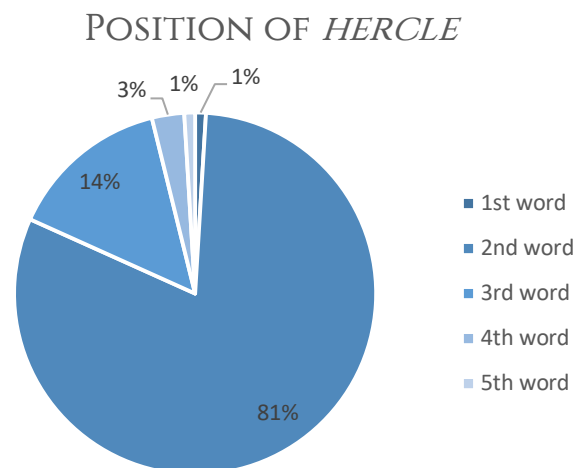


Fig.3. The position of the interjectional/informal oath *hercle*.

From these statistics above (Fig.3.) it is clear that *hercle* is four out of five times positioned in second place in the cluster of words surrounding it, that is, either directly after the word it wishes to emphasize (e.g. “*nescio hercle*”) or in-between, if there are two words involved (e.g. “*non hercle arbitror*”). When placed in third place, this is usually due to an additional adverb, interjection, conjunction, or explicitly spelled out pronoun preceding the *hercle* and the main word(s) wished to emphasize.¹²⁶ Sometimes it is simply chosen to put *hercle* after all main words (e.g. “*non malum hercle*”),¹²⁷ which is deviating from the norm as is also the case with *hercle* as fourth or fifth word.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Gagnér 1920, 111-197.

¹²⁵ Gagnér 1920, 111: “Nam hae particulae, quamquam nonnullis locis, uelut Ad. 638: . . . *Pater hercle est*: . . . , Andr. 742: *Puer herclest*. . . , fieri potest, ut ad certa uocabula quaedam spectare videantur, tamen ubiuis ad tota enuntiata pertinent.”

¹²⁶ Ad. 268-270; Eun. 727-729; Heau. 521-523; Heau. 619-621; Hec. 305-308; Hec. 782-783; Ph. 643-644; Ph. 869-870; An. 336-337; An. 347.

¹²⁷ Eun. 273-274; cf. Ph. 774-775; Eun. 967-969; Ph. 1048-1049; Eun. 355-356.

¹²⁸ Ph. 163-164; Ph. 623-625; Eun. 67-70; Eun. 562.

5.2.2 POL (55)

Gellius the antiquarian also writes about the habit of swearing by Pollux. It is noteworthy that he specifically writes “*edepol*, an oath by Pollux, is common for both a man and a woman”.¹²⁹ Usually this is considered as covering the shorter oath *pol* as well, as it too is evident in the literature to be used by both sexes. Despite this, many scholars refer to *pol* as a “woman’s oath”, “female speech marker” or “female oath” in Terence.¹³⁰ Evidently, this is true, as it is almost four times as frequently used by women in Terence and much more so if the issue of relativity is sorted out (men – 10, women – 45 or ≈ 346 , if applying the Ullman method). Ullman highlights this even more, as he shows the decline in the usage of *pol* by men throughout Terence’s plays,¹³¹ while also quoting a few lines from Titinius preserved in Charisius, a contemporary with Terence, which point to the fact that *pol* (as well as *edepol*) was not just a woman’s oath, but an effeminate oath in a man’s mouth.¹³² This is further supported by bringing a passage from Cicero’s *De Oratore* to attention, where a man called Egilius, who is wrongfully accused of being effeminate in a slanderous remark, in turn pretends to be just that, effeminate that is, using *pol* to strengthen his witty comeback.¹³³ One such instance of a man using *pol* for an effeminate effect can be found in Terence, if you follow Barsby’s interpretation,¹³⁴ which is the case when Chaerea, the youngling in *Eunuchus* who trades places with the eunuch bequeathed to a *meretrix* in order to get first-hand access to a beautiful girl living with the courtesan, tells his friend Antipho what happened after he had barred the door and was alone with the girl of his desires, disguised as a eunuch:

“an ego occasionem mi ostendam, tantam, tam brevam, tam optatam, tam insperatam amitterem?
tum pol ego is essem vero qui simulabar.”¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Aul. Gell. XI.6. “[...] “*edepol*” autem, quod iusiurandum per Pollucem est, et viro et feminae commune est.”

¹³⁰ Barsby 2001b, 381, footnote 32; Barsby 1999, 201, 606n; Nicolson 1893, 101; Martin 1995, 151, 293.; Brown 2019, 198, 229n.; Adams 1984, 50.

¹³¹ Ullman 1943, 89.

¹³² Ullman 1943, 89: “Charisius (I.198, 17K.), in preserving a fragment of Titinius, who was contemporary with Terence, indicates that *pol* and *edepol* were effeminate: Titinius in Setina molliculum adulescentulum effeminate loquentem cum reprehendere magis vellet, “An,” inquit, “quia pol *edepol* fabulare?””.

¹³³ Cic. *De or.* 277: “Est bellum illud quoque ex quo is qui dixit irridetur in eo ipso genere quo dixit: ut, cum Q. Opimius consularis, qui adolescentulus male audisset, festivo homini Egilio, qui videretur mollior nec esset, dixisset, ‘Quid tu, Egilia mea? quando ad me venis cum tua colu et lana?’—‘Non pol,’ inquit, ‘audeo, nam me ad famosas vetuit mater accedere.’”

¹³⁴ Barsby 2001b, 381, footnote 32: “Chaerea here uses the word *pol* (translated “for heaven’s sake”), which is normally a female speech marker in Terence.”. | Barsby 1999, 201, 606n.: “**pol**: the use of this predominantly female oath suggests that Chaerea may here be imitating the voice and gestures of a eunuch (Adams (1984) 52-3).”.

¹³⁵ *Eun.* 605-606.

“Was I going to let slip the opportunity when it was offered to me, so great, so fleeting, so desired, so unexpected? If I had, I would actually have been what I pretended to be, (*putting on a female voice*) for heaven’s sake.”¹³⁶

Indubiously, Barsby’s interpretation of this particular situation is very fitting and it sure is reminiscing of the example of an effeminate *pol* in Cicero. As always, it would have been interesting to compare if the Greek model had any specific effeminizing expression in this instance to see if it is a Greek or Roman practice. Adams raises this question, but he also concludes that Terence (and Plautus) “were of course drawing on genuine Latin idiom”.¹³⁷ This reasoning goes well in hand with the notion that the Roman plays were adapted versions of the Greek originals, not mere translations, which is a widespread misconception, since they had to have an impact with the Roman audience and their ways of expressions (see also chapter 5.3 & 5.6.4).

However, *rursus ad rem*, when it comes to the nine other instances of *pol* spoken by men, there is no trace of a wish for an effeminizing touch and as far as I am concerned, they could all have been replaced with *hercle*, a pure man’s oath, without any noticeable shift in meaning. For instance, consider the case when Syrus shouts after Clitpho: “By *Pollux*, you better keep those hands to yourself after this!” (“at tu *pol* tibi istas posthac manus!”).¹³⁸ If anything, this is the opposite of ridiculously trying to be feminine: this is a threatful command and/or warning. To conclude, in Terence, *pol* is definitely used more often by women than men, but for the most part there is nothing to support the claim that it is an effeminizing oath in a man’s mouth, apart from one single example where it seems to be intentionally used that way. To me it definitely seems as if this is over-highlighted and due to the broad scope of usages of *pol* (and *edepol*) I prefer the more avoiding formulation by Goldberg: “*pol* (and *edepol*), in origin an oath by Pollux, is in T[erence] characteristic of, though not limited to, female speech”.¹³⁹

Now turning to the results from the *circumstantiae*-investigation of the 55 instances of *pol* in Terence. Again, just as the case with *hercle*, *pol* is mostly used in an assertory way (45) reminiscent of the impact the English ‘really’ or ‘certainly’ have on a sentence, followed by the promissory kind (8), which, as was mentioned above (see chapter 5.2.1), works in the same

¹³⁶ Translation by Barsby 2001b, 381.

¹³⁷ Adams 1984, 77.

¹³⁸ *Heau.* 590.

¹³⁹ Goldberg 2013, 97, 58n.

manner, but asserts something for the future rather than the present or past. From these dominating kinds of uses two examples deviate, one which is a combination of assertory/promissory, as it asserts both a past tense and a future tense verb,¹⁴⁰ as well as one which is used forcefully to strengthen a command.¹⁴¹

Moreover, *pol* is, just as *hercle*, mostly uttered in sentences triggered by clearly negative feelings (28), however, it is quite commonly used to enhance clearly positive sentences as well (19). As always, there are also some obscure and complicated examples, ‘in-betweens’ as I call them (7), which include elements of both positive and negative feelings: *schadenfreude*, to provide one example. Interestingly enough, the same connection to deceit and trickery, which was found with *hercle* (see chapter 5.2.1), is not deductible with *pol*. What the reason for that is can only be speculated, however, a qualified guess could be that most deceptions are indeed carried out by men, who we know strongly prefer *hercle* to *pol* (*hercle* – 104, *pol* – 10).

Regarding the persons behind the instances of *pol*, they are more often of lower social status (32; *meretrices*, *servi*, *ancillae*, *nutrices*) than slightly higher (23; *dominae*, *domini* <*adulscntes* + *senes*>). Age is quite difficult to firmly determine anything about, as there are a few characters whose age is unknown, such as the *ancillae* Pythias and Dorias, making the statistics quite uncertain. However, for speculation’s sake, if my guesses (marked by ?~? in the result tables), excluding Pythias and Dorias, who I dare not make any guesses about (marked by ? in the result tables), are correct, we can surely see a trend that *pol* is more frequently used by older people (33) as opposed to younger ones (15). The expression is also almost always used in dialogues (47).

As discussed in the chapter on *hercle*, a new interest about the word order in sentences with informal/interjectional oaths arose during the course of the investigation. In the case of *pol*, the results correspond to the ones about *hercle*, where the placement of the oath as second word in the cluster is distinctly predominant. Here the statistics are as follows: first word (11%), second word (75%), third word (13%) and *tnesis* (1%) (see chapter ~ *Ecastor/Mecastor*).

5.2.3 EDEPOL (23)

We learnt above from Gellius that both sexes could swear by Pollux at Rome. Although *pol*, as was concluded above, is used much more frequently by women than men in Terence, *edepol* is used in slightly more instances by men than women (men – 13, women – 10, or ≈ 77 , if applying

¹⁴⁰ *Eun.* 1009.

¹⁴¹ *Heau.* 590.

the Ullman method).¹⁴² These statistics are not in line with the claimed indication that both *pol* and *edepol* are effeminate in nature (see chapter 5.2.2), as all thirteen male examples are definitely not clearly effeminizing. One example might be forcefully inferred to support this claim though: the slave Parmeno's mocking answer ("et tu edepol, Syra." / "And to you, Syra, by Pollux!") to the old meretrix Syra's genuinely kind but excessive greeting ("salve mecastor, Parmeno." / "By Castor, hello, Parmeno!")¹⁴³ could potentially be interpreted as slightly effeminate, as he mimics Syra's excessiveness quite sarcastically and teasingly.

Further, what is more interesting is the fact that for *edepol* it is also suggested the opposite: that the instances when women use *edepol*, according to Barsby, "might be intended to have a masculine ring".¹⁴⁴ Concerning this suggestion, which is not presented with any supporting examples from the plays, seems rather taken out of thin air, to be perfectly honest. The expression is still used nearly as frequently by women as men in Terence, so to suggest that they should bear a "masculine ring" is far-fetched. Take the example of the *nutrix* Canthara, who comfortingly says to her mistress "quid fiet, rogas? recte edepol, spero." / "What shall happen, you ask? By Pollux, it will be alright, I hope."¹⁴⁵ or the anxious and distressed Myrrina uttering "id qua causa clam me habuisse dicam non edepol scio." / "What reason I shall give for me having kept it secret, by Pollux, I do not know."¹⁴⁶ These are typical examples of women's usage of this emphazier and there really is no hint at any masculinity at all. On the other hand, as noted by Adams, in Plautus *edepol* is predominantly used by male speakers (women - 26, men - 338),¹⁴⁷ making it a male's oath there, whereas in Terence, it is a female one, relatively speaking. However, this does not support the fact that the females using the oath intend a ring of masculinity. But again, due to the broad spectrum of the situations *pol* and *edepol* are used in, you might find singularities supporting all kinds of different claims, although in the case of these two, none of them can be supported sufficiently in order to constitute any patterns or habits, I argue.

Proceeding to the results from the *circumstantiae*-investigation, there are however some tendencies to be observed. First of all, it becomes noticeable that *edepol* is first and foremost used in an assertory manner (20), primarily of the emphasizing kind that the English words 'certainly' or 'really' provide a sentence with, rather than true asseverations, which examples can be found

¹⁴² As is also concluded by Nicolson 1893, 101; Barsby 1999, 247, 867n.; Ullman 1943, 88.

¹⁴³ *Hec.* 81-83.

¹⁴⁴ Barsby 1999, 247, 867n.

¹⁴⁵ *Ad.* 288-289.

¹⁴⁶ *Hec.* 520.

¹⁴⁷ Adams 1984, 51.

of in, for instance, *ita di me ament* (see chapter 5.4.1). To clarify, a typical example of the simply emphasizing kind is *exempli gratia* the short and snappy answer “*non edepol mirum*”/ “No wonder!” or “That’s really not surprising!” (lit. “Not surprising, by Pollux!”).¹⁴⁸

Secondly, it can be observed that *edepol* is used twice as often in sentences triggered by clearly negative (11) feelings than clearly positive (6) ones. Just as in the case of *hercle*, the examples of a negative use can be additionally extended to include examples of trickery (4). Primarily the expression is spoken to another person in a dialogue (15) rather to oneself (8) and in most cases it is used by persons of the lower social status (14; *servi, ancillae, meretrices, nutrices*) in comparison to the persons of slightly higher, the *domini* and *dominae* (9).

To relate back to the discussion on the position of the informal/interjectional oaths *hercle* and *pol* (see chapters 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), which both most commonly stand in second place in the cluster of words surrounding and relating to them, it is interesting to now see some slightly different results concerning *edepol*. Albeit that more than half of the instances are positioned second ($\approx 57\%$), following the trend in *hercle* and *pol*, it is noteworthy that as much as 30% are placed in first place. The cause of this is not clear, however, to me these examples stand out and I lean towards the explanation that they are placed first to provide extra emphasis.

Something else which is worthy of pointing out is that *edepol* is used as introduction to a new passage five times in Terence’s comedies: to introduce a new act,¹⁴⁹ to kickstart a scene when new character(s) has entered the stage¹⁵⁰ and to start a monologue after a character has been left alone on stage.¹⁵¹ The same goes for a handful of other oath- and prayer expressions used in this way: *di boni* (1), *pol* (3), *(pro) di immortales* (2), *o Fortuna* (1), *ita me di ament/amabunt* (2), *di vostram fidem* (1), *pro supreme Iuppiter* (1), *pro deum atque hominum fidem* (1) and *hercle* (1). In fact, expressions anchored in oaths and prayers introduce roughly 12,5 percent of all scenes and character shifts in the six comedies – and for some reason *edepol* and *pol* together constitute nearly half of these (8/18). Surely this must be one of Terence’s many ways to create drama and excitement in the beginning of a new segment.

¹⁴⁸ *Hec.* 160.

¹⁴⁹ *Ad.* 763-766.

¹⁵⁰ *Eun.* 1002-1003; *Heau.* 381-382.

¹⁵¹ *Hec.* 799-801; *Hec.* 274-275.

5.2.4 *ECASTOR/MECASTOR* (7)

Again, valuable information on the habits of swearing at Rome can be collected from Gellius. Just as women did not swear by Hercules, the men did not swear by Castor, he notes, although the reason for this is not as clear as in the case of women not swearing by Hercules.¹⁵² This rule is confirmed in the comedies by Terence, as all seven instances of *ecastor/mecastor* are spoken by female characters, which is evident in the results gathered from the *circumstantiae*-investigation. By these it is also made clear that in Terence it is mostly women of lower social rank (5; *meretrices*, *obstetrices*) who use this expression and that it for the most part is uttered in dialogues (5).

Deviating from the trend seen in *hercle*, *pol* and *edepol*, which all to the greatest extent were used in connection to negative feelings *ecastor/mecastor* is predominantly found in statements triggered by positive feelings (5). However, confessedly, it is of course problematic to work with so few examples as in this case. However, it is established by other scholars¹⁵³ that the comedy writer Plautus much more favored the oaths by Castor and includes it 118 times in his plays, so, consequently, a similar investigation concerning the triggering feelings of *ecastor/mecastor*, as well as of the other expressions, would be interesting to carry out on the substantially larger corpus which Plautus' plays constitute.

In regard to word order, *ecastor/mecastor* is equally frequently placed as second (3) and third (3) word in the word cluster, which is rather in line with the results from the other informal/interjectional oaths. Yet, the most interesting and conspicuous is the remaining instance of *ecastor/mecastor*, which is placed within the adjective *perscitu(s)*, so to speak, in a *tnesis*: “*per ecastor scitu’ puer est natu’ Pamphilo*”/ “By Castor, what a beautiful baby boy is born to Pamphilus!”.¹⁵⁴ Sadly, since it provides a neat touch, it only occurs here and at *Hec.* 58 (“*per pol quam*”) in Terence that an oath separates the prefix from its adjective in this manner.

5.2.5 ‘SWEARING’ BY HALFGODS: A ROMAN TREND

Now, after having reviewed the use of the informal/interjectional oaths sworn by the gods (or halfgods and heroes, really) Hercules, Pollux, and Castor, something interesting can be pointed out, if compared to the Greek use of informal oaths using these halfgods. In all of Greek comedy, according to statistics provided by Sommerstein and Torrance, Hercules (Herakles) is only sworn

¹⁵² Aul. Gell. XI.6. “In veteribus scriptis [...] deiurant neque viri per Castorem. [...] Cur autem viri Castorem iurantes non appellaverint non facile dictu est.”

¹⁵³ Ullman 1943, 88.; Brown 2019, 236, 486n.; Nicolson 1893, 99.

¹⁵⁴ An. 486.

by five times, Castor once, and Castor and Pollux together, “The Twin Gods”, an additional handful of times.¹⁵⁵ As is the case with the Romans, Hercules (Herakles) is sworn to exclusively by men by the Greeks, however, oaths by Castor and Pollux were open to both sexes in Sparta, where they were used.¹⁵⁶ Again, this indicates that it was a Roman custom to call upon these halfgods so frequently. Additionally, a thought could be that the Romans actually chose to swear by the halfgods as more casual expressions, merely serving to emphasize a statement or question, due to the fact that they were not Olympians.

Considering this, the fear of perjury might not have been on their minds at all, especially while using these short-forms, rather than full forms, of the halfgods’ names: *pol*, *edepol*, *hercle*. In fact, out of all of the oaths – informal as well as formal – all instances where an oath is used in conjunction with a false statement (perjury, that is) Hercules is informally sworn by using *hercle* (6).¹⁵⁷ This further proves the notion that these expressions no longer carry the meaning or intention of a real oath. Noteworthy as well is that all these six instances of perjury, albeit clearly not thought of in that way by the swearers, are spoken by male slaves. Of course, this is not too surprising, since the slaves in comedy are tricksters and masters of deceit. However, it could also point towards a larger disrespect for the gods (halfgods) from the males of this lower social status group. Speaking of disrespect, it is also worth noting that, on the other hand, the customs of gender-use – males swear by Hercules, women by Castor, and Pollux are open to both sexes – are thoroughly upheld, which actually show a remaining respect towards the practices surrounding these gods.

All in all, to informally swear by halfgods, truly or untruly, is to be regarded as a phenomenon not merely borrowed from the Greeks, but as a distinct Roman custom.

5.3 O/PRO IUPPITER (16)

Quite strikingly, Gellius does not mention anything about swearing by Jupiter. In Greek comedy oaths by Zeus (Jupiter) were available to be used by both men and women,¹⁵⁸ although it is also noted that the female use had declined and become a rarity by Menander.¹⁵⁹ Menander is the

¹⁵⁵ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 318.

¹⁵⁶ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 321.

¹⁵⁷ *An.* 438-442; *Ph.* 623-625; *Ph.* 774-775; *Heau.* 550-555; *Heau.* 610-612; *An.* 194. See Result tables for *Heracle* in the appendix for more information on the specific cases.

¹⁵⁸ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 320.

¹⁵⁹ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 322.

Greek comedy writer, whose plays most of Terence's comedies are based upon. Consequently, it is not too surprising that Terence constricts the oaths by Jupiter to male characters (including the asseverative oath, the curse, and the prayer to Jupiter, for which see chapters 5.4.2, 5.6 and 5.8). At Rome, apparently, women did not swear by Jupiter: Goldberg even refers to *pro Iuppiter* as "the male oath by Jupiter".¹⁶⁰ Further, to call upon the almighty Jupiter is not as common in Roman comedy as in Greek comedy,¹⁶¹ where oaths by Zeus are very ubiquitously used.¹⁶² This difference in choice of gods called upon is yet another indication of that the Roman comedies were not mere copies of their Greek models but were indeed adapted to a Roman audience, as also discussed in chapter 5.2.2 above and 5.6.3 below. For the Greeks Zeus was the go-to god in informal oaths (he even has an aspect named "Ὀρκιός, 'the Oath-god'),¹⁶³ while to swear by Jupiter indeed seems as more of an eyebrow-raising way of expressing oneself for the Romans. Without doubt, the fact that calling upon Jupiter in Roman every-day language is "relatively rare", as Barsby puts it, "thus" makes it rather "impressive" when it does occur.¹⁶⁴

In Terence, Jupiter is called upon mainly in two ways: either with the preceding exclamatory interjection *o* (9) or *pro* (6). The exception is *Iuppiter magne*,¹⁶⁵ which lacks an interjection altogether, but is included in this category due to its similar use and function.¹⁶⁶ Choosing *o Iuppiter* or *pro Iuppiter* does not seem to impact the sentence in any obvious way. Instead, the addition of an epithet is used for the purpose of providing more emphasis: both *Iuppiter magne* and *pro supreme Iuppiter* are found.¹⁶⁷

These interjectional oaths by Jupiter are all connected to very strong and sudden emotions. Barsby is on the right track when he states that "pro Iuppiter expresses a variety of emotions, including joy (as here), alarm (*An.* 732), disgust (*Ad.* 111)".¹⁶⁸ This variation of feelings is confirmed by the results from this investigation, which in turn can provide some additional information. As mentioned above, the expressions are connected to strong and sudden emotions. Quite a few of the sixteen instances are bound to some kind of sudden surprise or wonder (6),

¹⁶⁰ Goldberg 2013, 134, 317n.

¹⁶¹ Barsby 1999, 189, 550n.

¹⁶² Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 320.

¹⁶³ Sommerstein & Torrance 2014, 6, 318; Pau. 5.24.9-11.

¹⁶⁴ Barsby 1999, 189, 550n.

¹⁶⁵ *Eun.* 709.

¹⁶⁶ Note that Jupiter is called upon in a prayer, a curse, and an asseveration as well. See respective chapters with the same titles.

¹⁶⁷ *Eun.* 709; *Ad.* 196-200.

¹⁶⁸ Barsby 1999, 189, 550n.

which gives the oath a rather reactive nature. However, it is also a rather strong expression uttered in connection to drama of different kinds, as in for example the forceful anger in “*pro Iuppiter, tu homo adigi’ me ad insaniam!*”/ “By Jupiter, you, human, are driving me insane!”,¹⁶⁹ or the pure despair in “*o Iuppiter, quid ego audio? actumst, siquidem haec vera praedicat.*”/ “By Jupiter, what am I hearing? It’s over, if what he says is true!”,¹⁷⁰ or the ecstatic happiness in “*pro Iuppiter, nunc est profecto interfici quom perpeti me possum, ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aegritudine aliqua.*”/ “By Jupiter, now is certainly [the time] when I could endure being put to death, so that life may not spoil this joy by any anguish!”.¹⁷¹ Thus, the excessively dramatic nature can be both positive and negative, as seen in the examples above, although the expression is predominantly used to enhance negative feelings (12) over positive (3).

Regarding the utterers of *o/pro Iuppiter*, the majority are from the slightly higher social status groups (13; *domini* <sense + *adulescentes*>), although a few examples from the lower statuses (3; *servi, lenones*) are found as well. One could also argue that this is ‘an old man’s saying’ in Terence, since there are only five instances where it is spoken by young men. Also worthy of mention is that this informal/interjectional oath is equally frequently spoken in a dialogue and a monologue, which, due to the high percentage of uses in monologues, again, supports the fact that *o/pro Iuppiter* is a reactive expression.

5.4 INTERJECTIONAL/INFORMAL OATHS: THE ASSEVERATIONS

Standing out from the informal/interjectional oaths listed above are the so-called asseverations. The reason for this is that they still contain some of the true sense of an oath, namely the asseverative element, not merely in meaning but also in form, as the full formula is preserved. By far, the most common way of casually asseverating something in everyday language are with the formula *ita me di ament* but a couple of other examples exist as well.

5.4.1 *ITA ME DI AMENT* (24)

Ita me di ament/ “as [sure] as the gods may love me” is found twenty-four times in Terence’s comedies with both male (16) and female utterers (8; ≈ 62 using the Ullman method). There is some

¹⁶⁹ *Ad.* 111-112.

¹⁷⁰ *An.* 464-465.

¹⁷¹ *Eun.* 549-552.

variation to this expression, namely *ita/sic me di amabunt* “as [sure] as the gods shall love me”, although the most frequently occurring is *ita di me ament*. Despite the shift of verb form these two versions are synonymous and henceforth referred to collectively as *ita me di ament*.

Its function is in origin to assert the truthfulness of a statement, as in this example: “*nam ita me di ament, quod me accusat nunc vir, sum extra noxiam.*”/ “As sure as the gods may love me, concerning the things you accuse me of now, husband, I am without guilt.”.¹⁷² Although, there are quite a few bleaker usages of *ita me di ament* as well, which resembles the use of the emphasers described above (chapter 5.2), as is observable in this case: “*vale, Antipho. bene, ita me di ament, factum: gaudeo.*”/ “Farewell, Antipho. Very well done: I’m glad.”/ lit. “Farewell, Antipho. Well done, as sure as the gods may love me: I’m glad.”.¹⁷³ In the latter, *ita me di ament* serves no further purpose than providing emphasis and there would be no obvious shift in meaning had it stood “*bene hercle factum*”/ “very well done”/ “by Hercules, well done”. With all of this in mind, one could argue both for and against a difference in nuance between these expressions. First of all, the use of *hercle*, or *pol* for that matter, are abundantly frequent, while *ita me di ament* is not common to that extent. This could indicate, just as suggested for *o/pro Iuppiter*, that they are saved for special occasions, which is the case with the first example, where Sostrata earnestly swears to her husband that she bears no blame. However, naturally, this does not explain the bleak use demonstrated by the second example, where *ita me di ament* is interchangeable with any of the emphaser oaths. One suggestion to a slight nuance here is that *ita me di ament* is used equally frequent in situations involving clearly positive (10) and negative (10) emotions,¹⁷⁴ while both *hercle* and *pol* are used predominantly negatively, perhaps thus making *ita me di ament* a safer option for wishing to enhance a positive statement, as the case with “*bene factum*”/ “well done” mentioned above.

Regarding the distribution of speakers among the social statuses, this asseveration is prevailing in the higher social status group (17; *domini* <*senes, adulescentes*>, *dominae*), while there are significantly fewer examples from the lower (7; *servi/ancillae, meretrices, parasiti*). When it comes to age, although some question marks remain concerning the age of some characters, it seems as older people (15; *senes, anus*) are more inclined to use the expression than younger ones (9; *adulescentes*). Furthermore, *ita me di ament* is in most cases used in dialogues (20), which is not surprising due to the nature of an asseveration: you assert your statement to somebody else.

¹⁷² *Hec.* 276.

¹⁷³ *Ph.* 883.

¹⁷⁴ The remaining four examples are so-called in-betweens and share traits of both positive and negative emotions.

Finally, it seems as if this formulaic asseveration is very much limited to Roman comedy, as it is only found elsewhere in Latin literature¹⁷⁵ in a poem by Catullus.¹⁷⁶ However, similar expressions of the same function are found in a letter by Cicero (“*ita me di iuvent*”)¹⁷⁷ and another poem by Catullus (“*ita me divi...iu[v]erint*”).¹⁷⁸

5.4.2 *ITA ME SERVET IUPPITER (1) & DI ME OMNES ODERINT, NI (1)*

Similar in meaning to *ita me di ament* we find a couple of unique examples in the comedies.

Firstly, there is the asseveration by Jupiter found in *Phormio*: “*vin scire? at ita me servet Iuppiter, ut propior illi quam ego sum ac tu homo nemo.*”/ “*You wanna know? As sure as Jupiter watches over me, no human is closer [= more closely related] to her than you and I*”.¹⁷⁹ The expression serves the same purpose as the asseveration *ita me di ament* and to me there is no indication that they would not be interchangeable: to a man, that is, as they are the only ones allowed to swear by Jupiter (see chapter 5.3). In *ita me servet Iuppiter* we find the original formula behind the emphazier-interjectional oaths, as for instance *hercle* is supposedly the remnant of the older asseveration *ita me Hercules iuvet* (see chapter 5.2.1). If compared to an instance in Plautus, we find that almost an endless amount of deities was possible to fit within the *ita...ament* construction:

“CHRY. ***ita me*** Iuppiter, Iuno, Ceres, Minerua, Lato[na], Spes, Opis, Virtus, Venus, Castor, Polluces, Mars, Mercurius, Hercules, Summanus, Sol, Saturnus ***dique omnes ament***, ut ille cum illa nec cubat neque ambulat neque osculatur neque illud quod dici solet.

NIC. ut iurat! seruat me ille suis periuriis.”¹⁸⁰

“CHRY. As sure as Jupiter, Juno, Ceres, Minerva, Latona, Spes, Opis, Virtus, Venus, Castor, Pollux, Mars, Mercury, Hercules, Summanus, Sol, Saturnus, and all the gods love me, he did neither sleep with her, walk with her, kiss her, or do with her what is usually said.

NIC. How he swears! May he save me from his perjuries.”¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ According to searches in LOEB Classical Library and Library of Latin Texts (May 22nd, 2021).

¹⁷⁶ Catull. 97.: “Non (*ita me di ament*) quicquam referre putavi, utrumne os an culum olfacerem Aemilio.”

¹⁷⁷ Cic. Att. I.16.

¹⁷⁸ Catull. 66.

¹⁷⁹ Ph. 807-808.

¹⁸⁰ Plaut. *Bacch.* 892-898.

¹⁸¹ My translation.

From these Plautine lines we can also deduce that the Romans thought of the *ita me di ament-* formula as actual swearing, following the use of the verb *iurare* (“to swear”) found in the response to the long list of gods and goddesses. Also noticeable from this reply is the presence of the word *periurium* (“perjury”), which reveals that the oath is not considered truthful. Noteworthy is that it is used in junction with both gods and halfgods, which shows that any swearing involving Olympic gods was still considered perjury, as opposed to swearing by only halfgods, as discussed in chapter 5.2.5.

Secondly, a slightly different formula is found in Terence, although it undoubtedly keeps the same meaning as the other asseverations: “*di me, pater, omnes oderint ni mage te quam oculos nunc ego amo meos.*”/ “*Father, may the gods hate me unless (it is true that) I love you more than my own eyes.*”¹⁸² Comparing it to examples from Greek drama and comedy presented by Echols¹⁸³ you could label this as a conditional asseveration, as there is an element of a self-curse, which is to be inflicted upon the swearer in case of perjury. With that said, I do not believe the slightest that the youngling Aeschinus, who not long before this had plotted against and deceived his biological and adoptive father together with his brother Ctesipho, intended to put a self-curse on himself but simply wished to dramatically express his new-discovered love for his father, who suddenly changed his manner from grumpy to ingratiating.

5.5 FORMAL OATHS (8)

Prior to this discussion it is important to be mindful of the stipulative definition of the word “formal”, which in this study refers to the *form* of the oath (i.e. that all three requirements are upheld) and does not indicate that the *occasion* of the oath is formal, as that is labelled as “solemn” (see chapter 4.2.1). This applies to the discussion on formal prayers as well (chapter 5.8). Additionally, it is also worth noting that swearing without swearing *by* anything is possible as well and several examples and mentions of this kind are found in Terence, mostly with verb meaning “to swear” (e.g. *deiuro, iuro, adiuro*) or with a mention of “*ius iurandum*”/ “oath” or “*fidem*”/ here: “word of good faith”.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² *Ad.* 700-701.

¹⁸³ Echols 1951, 293.

¹⁸⁴ *Eun.* 331-333; *Hec.* 60-63, 112-114, 267-268, 402, 697, 750-752, 754-755, 870-871; *Ad.* 161-166, 306-308, 330-334, 469-477; *An.* 401-402, 462, 727-729.

From the corpus of the Terentian comedies three categories of formal oaths can be arranged: assertory (asseverations), oaths to strengthen requests, and oaths to strengthen commands. What differentiates a formal assertory oath from an interjectional/informal assertory oath is the presence of an ‘oath-verb’ (*testor*, *adiuro*). Further, naturally, the formal ones do not share the interjectional and/or exclamatory nature of the interjectional/informal oaths. The oaths used to enhance a request are indicated by the inclusion of a verb meaning ‘to ask, request’ (e.g. *obsecro*, *oro* etc.) followed by the oath-indicating preposition *per*, which reveals what is being sworn by. Oaths as commands are signaled by a verb in imperative mode followed by the oath-indicating preposition *per*, which, again, reveals what the swearer is swearing by.

Surprisingly, only two of the eight instances of formal oaths are assertory in Terence: one quite long and formal in tone, the other short and snappy. In the first example we find Pamphilus (from *Andria*) earnestly swearing to the maid of his lover that he has not lost the love for his girl and will never desert her, despite the fact that his father has decided that he shall marry the neighbor’s daughter. To begin with, he swears (*adiuro*) by (*per*) all the gods (*omnis deos*) intending to make Mysis, the maid, believe his following statements.¹⁸⁵ Thereafter he concludes his passionate speech with the interesting addition “*non Apollonis mage verum atque hoc responsumst.*”/ “*Apollo’s answer is not more true than this*”,¹⁸⁶ referring to the famous oracle of Apollo at Delphi, which adds further credibility to his initial asseveration. The second instance is much shorter but indeed serves the same function. Here Pamphilus (from *Hecyra*) calls upon the gods as witnesses (*id testor deos*) to assert to his father and his wife’s father that he is not to blame for the separation that has occurred. In this case it is about calling down the gods as witnesses directly rather than swearing by them, however, the intention is all the same: to increase credibility and assert the truthfulness of the statement.

Most common of the formal oaths are the ones where requests are given in junction to swearing (5), either by divinities or abstract feelings, such as love and friendship, using the formula *ego per* [e.g. *deos*, *amicitiam*, *amorem*] *oro/obsecro*, *ut* [stating the request]. The purpose of these oaths is to make the requests more earnest, potent, and influential in order to increase the odds of an affirmative answer. Apart from making requests in this manner it was also possible to formulate the oath into a command (1) to achieve a more serious and alarming tone: “*sed per deos atque homines meam esse hanc cave resciscat quisquam.*”/ “*But, by the gods and humans, beware so that*

¹⁸⁵ An. 693-695: “Mysis, per omnis tibi adiuro deos numquam eam me deserturum, [...]”.

¹⁸⁶ An. 698.

nobody finds out that she is my [daughter].”¹⁸⁷ This instance is particularly interesting, since also humans are sworn by. In addition to this example, we find humans being sworn by in a similar, but interjectional way, in the expression *pro deum atque hominum fidem* (see chapter 5.6.3).

All in all, the formal oaths used in Terence are all connected to feelings of sincerity and earnestness, while many also have a pleading nature. The persons behind the formal oaths are almost exclusively from the higher social status group (7; *domini* <*adulescentes* + *senes*>, *dominae*) with only one example from the lower (1; *meretrix*). Men (6) seem to use this kind of language more, as they have three times as many examples than women (2) in Terence. Besides, the two examples of female formal oaths are retold in monologues by men.

5.6 CURSES (19)

As can be expected from the category ‘curses’, true imprecations as they are, all instances have negative (19) triggering feelings and most of them are spoken directly to a specific person in a dialogue (15). However, a few examples of secretly cursing persons behind their backs are found in monologues (4). It can also be deduced that the characters from the slightly higher social status groups (13; *domini* <*adulescentes* + *senes*>) predominantly used curses in comparison to the lower (6; *servi*, *ancillae*, *parasiti*, *meretrices*). Using the Ullman method, it can be concluded that men still are more likely to curse than women (males – 17, women – $2 \times 7.69 \approx 15$).

Among the deities the most preferable is to curse with the assistant of all of them at once by simply using *di* (9; ‘the gods’) or, to further emphasize the fact that every single divinity should be involved in the infliction of harm, *di deaque* (5; ‘the gods and goddesses’) is employed. What is interesting about the latter is that, at least grammatically, there is no need to add the *deae* (‘goddesses’), as they are already included in the *di* (‘gods’), since the masculine form in itself already refer to either only males or both males and females. This could either be a wish for extra emphasis, as already suggested, or merely a way of filling out some syllables to fit into the metre and scansion. *Rursus ad rem*, only in one instance is a specific deity employed in a curse: Jupiter. Consequently, it does not seem as if the Romans (at least in Terence) cared too much about who to call upon in the case of imprecations – perhaps due to the rash suddenness of the expressions or simply because some curses were frozen expressions ready to use and easily accessible from the

¹⁸⁷ Ph. 764.

back of their minds. Although, it could also be that there was a greater fear of being inflicted by the wrath of all of the gods rather than just one. *Sua cuique sententia*.

What might be even more interesting is the habit of cursing by forcefully asking someone to ‘go to the evil cross’ (1; *malam crucem*) or, in short for the same, ‘go to the bad thing’ (3; *in malam rem*), both of which are equivalent to the English ‘go to hell’, as presented by Barsby.¹⁸⁸ The form of a question is especially noteworthy, as the literal translation rather is ‘won’t you go to hell?’.¹⁸⁹ Somehow this seems as a more polite way of cursing, although it is not completely supported by the *affectiones* causing the curses, as two of them clearly are connected to anger and frustration,¹⁹⁰ although the other two examples could suggest this, as they are somewhat mildly spoken: one is uttered in discomfort, annoyance and impatience¹⁹¹ and the other is in a feigned argument between two people not really angry with one another.¹⁹²

Concerning the structure of the curses some things can also be noted. As is also the case with prayers, there is a certain pull towards using archaic subjunctive verb forms, namely *perduint* and *duint* (see also chapter 5.6.5). Although it is attested that these forms mainly survive in well-wishes and imprecations,¹⁹³ they are outnumbered by conventional subjunctive forms in the curses structured with optative subjunctive (*perduint, duint* – 7; *eradicent, perdant/perdat, malefaciant* – 8). Worth mentioning about the *compositio verborum* are the introductory conjunctions sometimes utilized. Donatus comments that the conjunction *at* is fitting as first word in imprecations (“*principium imprecationi*¹⁹⁴ / *inreptioni*¹⁹⁵ *aptum*”) and, rightly so, we find four examples of this in Terence, but equally many of *ut* as first word. Important also to note is that it is most common not to use any introductory conjunction at all (11), which makes Donatus’ note of lesser importance, although he has a point that it is fitting for imprecations, as we do find it in such cases but in no instances of, for example, proper prayers.

¹⁸⁸ Barsby 1999, 183, 536n.

¹⁸⁹ However, some manuscripts read *in* as a preposition rather than a contraction of *is* and *ne* to *isne* or just *abi* or *i* instead of *abin* or *in*. See Lindsay & Kauer, *app.crit. An.* 317; *Eun.* 536; *Ph.* 368; *Ph.* 930.

¹⁹⁰ *An.* 314-317; *Ph.* 930-932.

¹⁹¹ *Eun.* 534-536.

¹⁹² *Ph.* 368.

¹⁹³ de Melo 2007, Chapter 9; Schmitz 1849, §119.4.

¹⁹⁴ Barsby 1999, 164, 431n.

¹⁹⁵ McGlynn 1963, 56, at I. (4).

5.7 INTERJECTIONAL PRAYERS

5.7.1 *DI VOSTRAM FIDEM* (10)

Brown informs us of the fact that *di vostram fidem* originally was “an appeal for the protection or help of the gods”,¹⁹⁶ which is also the opinion of Barsby (“formally this is a plea for divine help”).¹⁹⁷ From the ancient commentator Donatus we know that *fidem* is to be understood as *operam* or *auxilium* (both meaning ‘help’, ‘assistance’), which has lead Barsby to the excellent English equivalent expression: ‘heaven help us!’¹⁹⁸, which captures the interjectional flavor of the Latin expression. Commonly a verb meaning ‘implore’ or ‘beg’ is understood, mostly *obsecro*,¹⁹⁹ as it is found in Plautus in its full form *Di obsecro vostram fidem*,²⁰⁰ which literally translates to ‘Gods, I beg for your help!’. With all of this in mind, I believe the best label to give this expression is “interjectional prayer”, as it both serves as a real prayer but is clearly used interjectionally and exclamatory in the ten examples collected from Terence’s comedies.

Further, both Barsby and Brown note that this expression is most often used in situations of surprise and wonder,²⁰¹ which this investigation now can confirm, as more than half (6/10) are used to express exactly that: surprise and/or wonder. What this study can contribute with further is to determine that the surprise and/or wonder can be caused both by positive (3), negative (2), and neutral (1) feelings, but it can also be used without any trace of surprise or wonder (4), of which one positive, two negative and one sarcastic example is found.

Moreover, concerning the utterers of this expression, they are mostly elderly males, equally of lower status (5; *servi, ancillae, parasiti*) and of slightly higher status (5; *domini <adulescentes + senes>*). The expression is spoken nearly just as frequently to oneself in a monologue (6) as to somebody else in a dialogue (4). According to the calculations using the Ullman method males use this expression slightly more often than women (males – 9, women – 1 x 7.69 ≈ 8).

5.7.2 *DI VORTANT BENE (QUOD AGAS)* (4)

Di vortant bene (“may the gods make it turn out well”), sometimes with the addition of *quod agas* (“what you do”), similarly to *di vostram fidem*, is here classified as an interjectional prayer,

¹⁹⁶ Brown 2019, 126, 716n.

¹⁹⁷ Barsby 1999, 162, 418n.

¹⁹⁸ Barsby 1999, 162.

¹⁹⁹ McGlynn 1963, 206, *di uostram fidem*.; Martin 1976, 163, 381n.; Barsby 1999, 162, 418n.; Brown 2019, 126, 716n.

²⁰⁰ Pl. *Amph.* 1130, *Cist.* 163, *Truc.* 805; Brown 2019, 126, 716n.

²⁰¹ Barsby 1999, 162, 418n.; Brown 2019, 126, 716n.

inasmuch as it is an appeal to the gods yet an expression mostly spoken in an exclamatory and interjectional manner.

From other scholars it is offered that *di vortant bene (quod agas)* is “a prayer which often has ominous overtones”²⁰² as well as “a formulaic phrase of leave-taking”.²⁰³

The latter holds true for two of the four examples found in Terence, one specifically used as “farewell”²⁰⁴ and one used as an exit line in a monologue,²⁰⁵ while the other two examples are uttered in the middle of rapid dialogues rather with the meaning “good luck”: one sarcastic and the other more genuine.²⁰⁶ Hence, in Terence at least, it is to tar all instances with the same brush to claim that the saying is a “phrase of leave-taking”.

The former point, presented by Barsby, is more defensible with the use of the result tables from the *circumstantiae*-investigation. Out of the four examples two (both *di vortant bene*)²⁰⁷ are clearly ominously uttered in the sense that the characters pray for a positive outcome, although having quite a bad feeling about the result. The two remaining instances (both *di vortant bene quod agas*)²⁰⁸ are sarcastically spoken with the intended meaning of “yeah, well, good luck with that”, both of which could be argued to contain an “ominous overtone”, as Barsby put it. To clarify, this is due to the fact that the characters literally say “may the gods make what you do turn out well” but they do not hold it as probable: thus, ominous.

Additionally, this investigation reveals that the expression is only used by men (4) in Terence – three times by slaves and once by a master – thus to the largest extent making it a saying of the lower statuses. Moreover, because the male trickster slaves in Terence presumably are old men,²⁰⁹ *di vortant bene (agas)* is only spoken by elderly men.

²⁰² Barsby 1999, 156, 390n.

²⁰³ Goldberg 2013, 115, 196n.

²⁰⁴ *Hec.* 194-197.

²⁰⁵ *Eun.* 388-390.

²⁰⁶ *Ad.* 728.

²⁰⁷ *Ad.* 728; *Eun.* 388-390.

²⁰⁸ *Hec.* 194-197; *Ph.* 551-552.

²⁰⁹ For instance, the slave Syrus in *Adelphoe* refers to himself as an old man (line 562: *hominem senem*) and says that he has cradled the youngling when they were small (962ff: *ego istos vobis usque a pueris curavi ambo sedulo*), which indicates that at least he is of similar age as his master. Presumably then, the case is the same in the other comedies.

5.7.3 PRO DEUM (ATQUE HOMINUM) FIDEM (7)

This saying has some slight variations, *pro deum/divom fidem* (3), *pro deum immortalium (fidem)*²¹⁰ (1), as well as the longer *pro deum atque hominum fidem* (3), but due to the similarity in structure they are considered belonging to the same category. Concerning its identification – and thus its translation – there seems to be a dispute among scholars, as it depends upon the interpretation of the role of *fidem* as either an object to an understood *obsecro/imploro/obtestor*²¹¹ or as an exclamatory accusative standing by itself.²¹² The reason for advocating for an *accusativus exclamatoris* is that, overall, the two most common constructions after the interjection *pro* is either vocative (*pro Iuppiter!*) or exclamatory accusative (*pro facinus indignum!*).²¹³ Pointed out by Martin²¹⁴ as a determining factor is that one example of this expression is followed by additional exclamatory accusatives: “*pro deum fidem, facinu’ foedum!*”. On the flipside though, as inferred by Martin himself,²¹⁵ *pro* is an interjection that does not affect the construction, so the fact that many examples of vocatives and exclamatory accusatives are found following this particular interjection does not eliminate the fact of other constructions following it. In fact, exclamatory accusatives follow upon, for instance, the oath *pro/o Iuppiter*²¹⁶ and do obviously not there have anything to do with the formulaic *pro/o Iuppiter*: the connection between *pro* and exclamatory accusatives are their shared nature of exclamation, nothing grammatical. This would suggest that the reading *pro deum fidem (obsecro), facinus indignum!* is just as possible and plausible, which is the case with a similar example expressed with *di vostram fidem*, to which Martin actually suggests an understood *obsecro*:²¹⁷ “*di vostram fidem, hominem perditum miserumque et illum sacrilegum!*”/ lit. “*Gods I beg for your help, (Eng. Heaven help us/So help me God), such a ruined and miserable human and what a crime!*”.²¹⁸ To conclude, I hold the suggestion that there is an ellipsis of a pray-verb such as *obsecro* or *imploro*. Indeed, Martin even provides the strongest argument for this, when quoting a passage

²¹⁰ Martin 1959, 119, 351n.: “**deum**, [...] The gen. depends on *fidem* understood”. Similarly noted by Donatus: “*deest fidem*” (see *app.crit.* in Lindsay & Kauer to Ph. 351).

²¹¹ McGlynn 1963, 206, *pro deum (atque hominum) fidem*. Barsby 1999, 260, 243n.; Brown 2019, 203, 237n.

²¹² Goldberg 2013, 116, 198n.; Martin 1976, 207, 746n.

²¹³ cf. Goldberg 2013, 116, 198n.

²¹⁴ Martin 1976, 207, 746n.

²¹⁵ Martin 1976, 207, 746n.;

²¹⁶ *Ad.* 366: “*pro Iuppiter, hominis stultitiam!*”; *Ad.* 757-758: “*o Iuppiter, hancin vitam! hoscin mores! hanc dementiam!*”; *Eun.* 709 “*Iuppiter magne, o scelestum atque audacem hominem! [...]*”.

²¹⁷ Martin 1976, 163, 381n.

²¹⁸ *Eun.* 418-419.

from Caecilius with the fuller phrase: “*pro deum popularium omnium omnium adolescentium | clamo postulo obsecro oro ploro atque inploro fidem*”.²¹⁹

Why then, is this of importance? Well, if *fidem* is an object to an ellipted *obsecro* this phrase would categorize as a prayer with the meaning “Oh I beg for the help of the gods!” but if *fidem* is an *accusativus exclamationis* the saying would be more of an oath with the translation “By the faith of the gods!” or something similar. As stated above, I have chosen the former interpretation, which is why *pro deum fidem* has been placed in this category.

Now turning to the results from the investigation at hand, which can hint at the use of this expression, regardless of the identification as a prayer or an oath. *Pro deum/divom fidem* and *pro deum immortalium (fidem)* together occur four times in Terence, all of which have a connection to negative emotions, primarily anger and frustration.²²⁰ Besides this, all of them seem to be uttered in surprise as a reaction to bad news or something considered outrageous, such as: “*pro divom fidem! meretrix et materfamilias una in domo?*”/ “I beg for the help of the gods (Eng. Heaven help me/So help me god), a courtesan and a wife in the very same house? ”.²²¹

Then there is the more abundant version *pro deum atque hominum fidem*, which is used when the gods’ aid (*deum*) is not sufficient enough and the addition of the help of the humans (*hominum*) is required. Indeed, it seems to me that this version of the saying is used in excessively dramatic instances. For example, we have the devastated Pamphilus (from *Andria*), who, due to being married off, exclaims to himself that he is utterly ruined (*pereo funditus*), unlucky, and unhappy (*invenustum et infelicem*) prior to crying out in despair: “*pro deum atque hominum fidem! nullon ego Chremeti’ pacto adfinitatem effugere potero?*”/ “I beg for the help of the gods (Eng. Heaven help me/So help me god), can I in no way escape the union in marriage with Chremes’ (daughter)?”.²²² Consequently, except giving an extra boost of excessiveness, the function is the same as *pro deum fidem*, since all three occurrences of *pro deum atque hominum fidem* are spoken with emotions of anger and frustration and two of them in surprise (the exception being the instance of despair with Pamphilus quoted above).

²¹⁹ Martin 1959, 119, 351n.; Caecilius R. 211-12.

²²⁰ Ad. 746-747; An. 236-239; Eun. 943-944; Ph. 350-353 (although the last is an example of feigned anger/frustration, see Result tables in Appendix.

²²¹ Ad. 746-747.

²²² An. 244-247.

Taken together, both the short and the long version are nearly always uttered by men (6/7), mostly from the higher social status group (5; *domini* <*senes* + *adulescentes*>) and in monologues (4).

An intriguing note to the instance of *pro deum atque hominum fidem* in *Heauton timorumenos* (lines 61-66) is that a short fragment from the Menander's Greek original comedy, where almost line by line is translated more or less directly apart from a few small changes, including the way of expression: Menander has “πρὸς τῆς Αθηνᾶς, δαίμονᾶς”²²³ / “By the *numen* of Athena” instead of the Latin *pro deum atque hominum fidem*. This example provides further evidence of how Terence adapted his comedies to a Roman audience (see chapter 5.3 & 5.2.2).

5.7.4 (O) DI BONI (4)

Barsby, commenting upon the expression, refers to it as “a common oath, expressing surprise, indignation, or sometimes satisfaction (Engl. ‘good heaven!’, good Lord!, ‘heavens above!’)”.²²⁴ Within the framework of this study it is preferred to put it as an interjectional prayer, due to the fact that the expressions referred to as interjectional oaths either have a known tradition of being sworn by (e.g. Jupiter) or due to an obvious asseverative function (e.g. *ita me di ament*). As (*o*) *di boni* (“good gods!”) share neither of these traits but at the same time is an interjectional invocation of the gods, it is therefore placed in the category of interjectional prayers.

In Terence's plays there are four occurrences of (*o*) *di boni*, one with the addition of the interjection *o* and three without. Important to note is that some manuscripts omit the couple of lines containing one of these examples, although there seems to be a tradition of including it in modern editions.²²⁵ All of the utterances are spoken in monologues by elderly males, of which three are slaves. Further, there is an equal distribution of negative (2) and positive (2) emotions. Three of them can be said to contain an element of surprise and wonder, as Barsby noted (see above), however, the remaining one is used more as an exclamatory expression of assertory character:

²²³ Brothers 1988, 167, 61ffn. Also, cf. Barsby 2001b, 185, footnote 18.

²²⁴ Barsby 1999, 124, 225n.

²²⁵ Ad. 441-442: Martin 1976, Lindsay & Kauer 1926, Barsby 2001a.

“sed quis illic est procul quem video? estne Hegio tribuli’ noster? si sati’ cerno is herclest. vaha homo amicu’ nobis iam inde a puero (o di boni, ne illiu’ modi iam magna nobis civium paenuriast), homo antiqua virtute ac fide!”²²⁶

“But who is that I see over there? Is it our tribesman Hegio? By Hercules, it is him, if I’m not mistaken. Oh! He is a friend of mine all the way since boyhood – (oh good gods, for us there is truly a great scarcity of citizens of his kind) – and a man of good-old virtue and good faith!”.

In comparison, we find the examples triggered by negative feelings as true expressions of surprise and wonder, such as for instance when we find the slave Syrus complaining over how the *meretrix* and her accompanying crowd will drain their fortune: “*di boni, quid turbast! aedes nostrae vix capient, scio. quid comedent! quid ebibent! quid sene erit nostro miserius?*”/ “*Good gods, what a commotion! Our houses can barely take it, I know it. How much they eat! How much they drink! Who could be more miserable than our master?*”.²²⁷

5.7.5 (PRO) DI INMORTALES (3)

This expression, found once as *di immortales!* (“Immortal gods!”) and twice as *pro di immortales!* (“Oh, immortal gods!”), is also quite difficult regarding its categorization. However, referring back to the discussion on the categorization of (o) *di boni* (see chapter 5.7.4), it is put as an interjectional prayer in this study.

Barsby notes that this expression is a lot more common in the plays by Plautus and that the four examples in Terence (he includes *pro deum immortalium (fidem)* here, which is placed together with *pro deum fidem* in this thesis – see chapter 5.7.3) are all uttered “in reaction to unwelcome news”.²²⁸ Out of the three examples included in this chapter, only two clearly serve this function, being spoken in anger, frustration, despair, and surprise.²²⁹ Arguably, the third example instead serves as an opening line to a lengthy monologue by the *parasitus* Gnatho in *Eunuchus*, who poses a philosophical question, later answered by himself:

²²⁶ Ad. 438-442.

²²⁷ *Heau.* 254-255.

²²⁸ Barsby 1999, 128, 232n.

²²⁹ *Ph.* 1006-1008; *Ad.* 447-448.

“Di immortales, homini homo quid praestat? stulto intellegens quid inter est? hoc adeo ex hac re venit in mentem mihi: conveni hodie adveniens quendam mei loci hinc atque ordinis, hominem haud impurum, itidem patria qui abligurrierat bona: ...”²³⁰

“Immortal gods, how does a man excel over another? How does an intelligent (man) differ from a fool? This came to my mind for this reason: today, on my way here, I encountered a certain man of my rank and status, not at all an unpleasant man, who in the same manner (as me) had squandered the wealth of his father ...”

Gnatho hereafter continues the story of how he teaches the other *parasitus* his masterly tricks to a parasite’s success: he has everything and he has nothing, as he puts it.²³¹ Consequently, it is revealed that in his opening question he is *intellegens*, who excels over the other *parasitus*, who is *stultus*. To me this is not an example of a reaction to unwelcome news, as the news themselves are presented with the *di immortales*, which here mainly serves to provide a dramatic opening to the scene and emphasizes Gnatho’s philosophically posed question.

Interesting enough, the three examples of (*pro*) *di immortales* are spoken by characters of different categories: one *dominus*, one *domina/matrona*, and one *parasitus*: that is, twice in the mouth of a man and once of a female. As we know, the example quoted above was used in a monologue, while the remaining two were used in dialogues as reactions to bad news, just as Barsby said.

5.7.6 *DI... PROHIBEANT* (4)

As has been the case with a few expressions, the expressions building upon the formula *di...prohibeant* (“may the gods forbid...”) does not fit entirely into one single category. Seeing that two out of four examples are distinctly interjectional,²³² the expression is placed in this category. What they all have in common is that they express a wish that the gods shall prohibit something from happening. This is illustrated well in the example from *Heauton timorumenos*, when the *matrona* Sostrata (SO.) reacts to what her husband Chremes (CH.) says to their son Ctesipho, who has behaved irresponsibly:²³³

²³⁰ *Eun.* 232-235.

²³¹ *Eun.* 243: “omnia habeo neque quicquam habeo; nil quom est, nil deficit tamen.”

²³² *Heau.* 1035-1038; *Hec.* 207.

²³³ *Heau.* 1035-1038.

“CH. non, si ex capite sis meo natus, item ut aiunt
Minervam esse ex Iove, ea causa magis patiar,
Clitipho, flagitiis tuis me infamem fieri.
SO. di istaec prohibeant!
CH. deos nescio ego, quod potero, sedulo.”

“CH. I shall not allow that I am being made
disreputable due to your disgraces, Clitipho – not
any more for that reason, if you were born from
my own head, just as they say Minerva was from
Jupiter, (would I allow it).”
SO. May the gods forbid it!
CH. I don’t know about the gods, but I (will)
sedulously (do) what I can.”

In this case, as well in the others, you could say that the *di ... prohibeant* is the equivalent of the English “God forbid!” or perhaps better “Heaven forbid!”, as Barsby translates it into.²³⁴ The only difference is the way it is delivered: either interjectionally, as in this case and one additional (“*di mala prohibeant!*”/ “may god forbid such evils!”),²³⁵ or parenthetically (“*nempe incommoditas denique huc omnis redit si eveniat, quod di prohibeant, discessio*”/ “Indeed, in the end the worst misfortune it could come to is if a separation – may the gods forbid it - were to happen.”),²³⁶ or in a longer requesting prayer-like form (“*deos quaeso ut istaec prohibeant.*”/ “I implore the gods to forbid such things!”).²³⁷ If spoken interjectionally, it is used as a reaction to bad news or something considered outrageous and connected to feelings of anger, frustration, and despair. This holds true for the longer prayer-like version of the expression as well, which is uttered in *Adelphoe* by Aeschinus to his brother Ctesipho for having been so stupid as not to come to him with his problem sooner and was about to flee from the fatherland for such a small thing – may the gods forbid it, as it were.²³⁸

The parenthetic example is used in a slightly different way, as it is employed as part of a persuasion – rather than a reaction – to express that a certain outcome is not wished for.

In conclusion it can be perceived that three out of four instances of this prayer of prohibition are spoken by men, of which two are *senes* and one an *adulescens*, although one female example from a *matrona* is found.

Additionally, the instance with Chremes, Sostrata, and Clitipho quoted above is a very interesting example of how the different characters perceive the power of the gods. Chremes, for

²³⁴ Barsby 2001b, 299.

²³⁵ *Hec.* 207.

²³⁶ *An.* 566-568.

²³⁷ *Ad.* 274-275.

²³⁸ *Ad.* 272-275: “[AE.] hoc mihi dolet, nos paene sero scisse et paene in eum locum redisse ut, si omnes cuperent, nil tibi possent auxiliarier. CT. pudebat. AE. ah stultitias istaec, non pudor. tam ob parvolam rem paene e patria! turpe dictum. deos quaeso ut istaec prohibeant.”

one, does not seem to have much faith in the gods' assistance in human matters – 'you better achieve it yourself' is his attitude. At another time in the play he yells at Sostrata to stop deafening the gods with her thanksgivings for their rediscovered daughter,²³⁹ yet again revealing his disbelief and disrespect for the gods – and for his wife, as well. From another *senex*, Phidippus, in *Hecyra* we are informed that the oath of a *meretrix* is worth nothing, as they do not fear the gods. He also adds that he does not think that the gods care for them in turn either,²⁴⁰ which definitely gives the indication that the males of the slightly higher social status group thought of attention from the gods as a privilege preserved for the richer, if it was given to anybody at all.

5.7.7 *ITA DI (DEAEQUE) FAXINT* (3)

Of this saying, *ita di (deaeque) faxint* ("may the gods (and goddesses) grant it so"), we come across three times in the six comedies by Terence. Two of the three examples are clearly interjectional,²⁴¹ which is why the expression is placed in this category, although one is a slightly longer version,²⁴² thus losing some of its interjectional and exclamatory character. However, indubiously, it is a prayer of sorts, as it is a wish for the gods to fulfill and further expressed by the archaic subjunctive verb-form *faxint*, which is, like *duint* and *perduint* primarily used in prayers and imprecations (cf. chapter 5.6).

Something similar to what Barsby had to say about *di vortant bene* having an "ominous overtone" to it (see chapter 5.7.2) can be concluded about *ita di faxint* thanks to the *circumstantiae*-investigation. For instance, the *senex* Menedemus, desperately longing for his absent son, exclaims "*utinam ita di faxint.*" / "Oh, may the gods grant it so!"²⁴³ as an answer to Chremes, who previously tried to comfort him saying that he expects everything to turn out well and that he is sure of Menedemus' son's safe return.²⁴⁴ Menedemus, although desperately wishing it to be true, does not hold this as rather probable and thus the utterance is imbued by a sense of ominousness.

The same goes for the example with the *matrona* Sostrata, who asks her son Pamphilus if his wife, who they say is ill, is any better. Pamphilus answers "*meliusculast*" / "She's only a little

²³⁹ *Heau.* 879-881: "ohe iam desine deos, uxor, gratulando, obtundere tuam esse inventam gnatam, nisi illos ex tuo ingenio iudicas ut nil credas intellegere nisi idem dictumst centiens."

²⁴⁰ *Hec.* 771-772: "[LA.] Phidippe, Bacchis deierat persancte.. PH. haecin east? LA. haec est. PH. nec pol istae metuont deos neque eas respicere deos opinor."

²⁴¹ *Heau.* 159-161; *Hec.* 353-354.

²⁴² *Hec.* 97-102.

²⁴³ *Heau.* 161.

²⁴⁴ *Heau.* 159-160: "Menedeme, at porro recte spero et illum tibi salvom adfuturum esse hic confide propediem."

better”, upon which Sostrata cries out “*utinam istuc ita di faxint!*”/ “Oh, may the gods grant it so!”.²⁴⁵ Again, the answer indicates a strong wish but is underlined by a knowledge of a doubtful positive outcome, comparable to the meaning of “I hope you are right (but I fear that you may not be)”.

Lastly, the third instance of the expression, which deviates somewhat in form from the previous two, reads: “*ita di deaeque faxint, si in rem est Bacchidis*”/ “may the gods and goddesses grant it so, if it is to Bacchis’ benefit”.²⁴⁶ This is said by the *meretrix* Philotis about her colleague Bacchis, who Philotis finds out has lost one of her beloved clients, the play’s youngling Pamphilus, due to him marrying another girl. Parmeno, who has spilled the beans to Philotis, claims that he fears that the marriage is not a stable one, which is when Philotis delivers the line quoted above.²⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, the expression is not as reactive, exclamatory or interjectional as the previous two, however, it shares the trait of ominousness in a way, as Philotis does indeed wish this to be true for Bacchis’ sake but is also aware that it would mean the end of a marriage.

5.7.8 *DI OBSECRO VOS* (1)

Di obsecro vos (“Gods I beg you!”) is a singularity in Terence: it only occurs once and then in the mouth of a woman. It is used in an interjectional way serving to express surprise: “*di obsecro vos, estne hic Stilpo?*”/ “Gods I beg you, is that Stilpo?”.²⁴⁸

5.7.9 *DI MELIUS DUINT* (1)

Another interjectional expression only occurring once in the comedies are *di melius duint* (“may the gods grant [me] better!”). It is found in *Phormio* and is the reaction from the *matrona* Nausistrata (NA) upon finding out from the *parasitus* Phormio (PH) that her husband has another wife on the island of Lemnos.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ *Hec.* 353-354.

²⁴⁶ *Hec.* 97-102.

²⁴⁷ *Hec.* 97-102.: “*PH.* sed quod hoc negotist? modo quae narravit mihi hic intu’ Bacchi? quod ego numquam credidi fore, ut ille hac viva posset animum inducer uxorem habere. *PA.* habere autem? *PH.* eho tu, an non habet? *PA.* habet, sed firmae haec vereor ut sint nuptiae. *PH.* ita di deaeque faxint, si in rem est Bacchidis.”

²⁴⁸ *Ph.* 740.

²⁴⁹ *Ph.* 1005-1006.

”PH. uxorem duxit.

NA. mi homo, di melius duint!

PH. hoc factumst.

NA. perii misera!”

“PH. He took a wife.

NA. My dear human, may the gods grant
[me] better!

PH. He did so.

NA. Poor me, I’m ruined!”

In this instance the expression is definitely uttered due to emotions such as chock and despair. What is most interesting is the fact that this is the only occurrence of this expression in all remaining Latin literature.²⁵⁰ In my opinion this makes it all the more emotionally genuine – it is not just another formulaic prayer-expression – which could also indicate the *actual* calling upon the gods, as opposed to merely being a reactive interjectional expression.

5.7.10 O CAELUM O TERRA O MARIA NEPTUNI (1)

Lastly, there is one other exclamatory expression only used a single time throughout Terence’s comedies: the excessively dramatic *o caelum o terra o maria Neptuni* (“oh sky, oh earth, oh the seas of Neptune!”).²⁵¹ Martin notes that “we can be sure that at this point the poet intends his audience to find Demea’s exaggeration ridiculous”,²⁵² which I am inclined to agree with. Prior to this dramatic way of expressing his anger, frustration, and despair the *senex* Demea builds up an atmosphere of excitement as to what he is going to say, as he exclaims: “*ei mihi! quid faciam? quid agam? quid clamem aut querar?*”/ “*Poor me! What should I do? How should I act? What can I exclaim or complain?*”, upon which he utters the long exclamation of sky, earth, and sea. Indeed, this indicates a very exaggerated way of expressing oneself – even for Demea, who liberally uses strong expressions, such as calling upon Jupiter.

5.8 FORMAL PRAYERS (13)

Terence’s comedies offer four different structures of prayers. A prayer can be uttered either by using a verb meaning “to beg/ask/implore” (*quaeso, oro*) followed by a subjunctive, with or without an *ut* (4), or by means of an optative subjunctive of a verb meaning “to make/grant/offer”

²⁵⁰ According to searches in databases LOEB Classical Library and Library of Latin Texts, accessed May 22nd, 2021.

²⁵¹ Ad. 790.

²⁵² Martin 1976, 212-213, 790n.

(*faciant, offerant, fuat*) (3), or by employing a verb in the imperative mode meaning “to aid, to preserve, or to grant” (*fer opem, serva, date*) followed by a parenthetical *obsecro* (“to implore”) (4), or, lastly, by simply addressing the deity directly in forms of exclamatory statements (2).

The reasons for prayers extend from praying for someone else’s well-being (4)²⁵³ and wishing someone else well (2)²⁵⁴ to praying for the preservation of one’s own good fortunes (1),²⁵⁵ praying in gratitude for having received good fortunes (1)²⁵⁶ and in complaint of having been robbed of one’s good fortunes too soon²⁵⁷ to praying for a certain outcome of events (2)²⁵⁸ to praying for assistance in handling the pains of labor (2).²⁵⁹

Concerning who is being prayed to the most common is to call upon the gods collectively (6). Nevertheless, instances of singular deities being prayed to exist as well: twice to Juno Lucina, the goddess of childbirth,²⁶⁰ thrice to (Fors) Fortuna, the goddesses of good luck and good fortune,²⁶¹ once to Jupiter,²⁶² and once to Salus and Aesculapius simultaneously, both gods connected to good health and healing.²⁶³ In most cases where certain deities are called upon, it is due to the deity’s qualities, for instance that Juno Lucina, the goddess of child birth, is prayed to during labor and that Salus and Aesculapius are prayed to when wishing someone a recovery to good health. However, the choice of praying to Jupiter, the god of gods, is not as obvious a case.

Almost an equal number of prayers are uttered by women (7; Ullmans’ method \approx 54) and men (6). Evidently, formal praying is principally utilized by people from the higher social status group (8; *dominae, domini* <*senes + adulescentes*>, *virgines*), although quite a few instances from the lower social statuses exist as well (5; *servi, ancillae, obstetrices*). A majority of the prayers are found in monologues (8), which perhaps could indicate a practice of personal religious activity over communal.

²⁵³ Ad. 298; An. 487-488; Hec. 336-339; An. 232-233.

²⁵⁴ Ad. 917; Ad. 978.

²⁵⁵ Eun. 1048-1049.

²⁵⁶ Ph. 841-842.

²⁵⁷ Hec. 406.

²⁵⁸ Ad. 491-493; Hec. 608-610..

²⁵⁹ Ad. 486-487; An. 473.

²⁶⁰ An. 473; Ad. 486-487.

²⁶¹ Hec. 406; Ph. 841-842; Hec. 608-610.

²⁶² Eun. 1048-1049.

²⁶³ Hec. 336-339.

5.9 ANCIENT AND MODERN: A SHORT COMPARISON

As was noted in the delimitation chapter (4.1.iii), this study was not grounded upon the belief that swearing is based on taboo, as most modern swearing is. Now, after the completion of the study, however, some notions can be inferred on the subject and some reflections between ancient and modern swearing habits offered.

In origin, ancient swearing (oath-taking) was considered sacred due to the held reverence for the gods and the knowledge that they would punish those who swore falsely in their names. Albeit that this meaning is faded in the use of the oath-emphasizers, some of the essence of real oaths is evident in the here called formal oaths and asseverations. They carry their meaning through the opposite of taboo and norm-breaking: the receiver knows what is at stake if the swearer commits perjury and therefore accepts the oath or asseveration. In extension, the same could be said about ancient cursing: the receiver of the curse is aware of the damage the gods can cause, if willing to do so, which gives the imprecation its weight. Another important note on the subject is that ancient cursing did not gain its impact from calling upon chthonic or 'evil' gods, as is the case with modern damnations invoking the devil - again, in junction to taboo. In Terence the most common way of cursing is by collectively calling upon all gods and goddesses (the more, the merrier!) without categorizing them into good and bad gods. Again, this points towards another direction than taboo. If seeking for ancient taboos, one better search for dirty and/or naughty words or invectives by reading a few lines of, for instance, Catullus or Plautus.

Something which can be paralleled to the degenerated use of the halfgods' names in the oath-emphasizers is the modern bleak way of using "oh my God" or simply "God" as enhancers in casual sentences such as "God, no" and the like. The taboo of using God's name in such expressions is just as faded as the fear of perjury is in the use of the short-forms of Hercules, Pollux, and Castor. Perhaps then, the modern diachronic development of calling upon God's name - from strictly holy and forbidden to being used extremely casually and frequently - could provide some information on the ancient evolution of the use of calling upon the gods. Was it, too, just as taboo prior to being used so casually as in Terence? That might have been the case.

6 SUMMARY

6.1 BRIEF SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

This investigation has provided some statistics for the use of oaths, curses, and prayers, both used as such but also as interjectional expressions. Feelings, status, gender, and notes on grammatical constructions have been discussed in relation to the expressions investigated. In order to avoid excessive repetition of all of the results discussed in the previous chapter, only some brief overviews and remarks will be given in this chapter.

Concerning the interjectional oaths labelled “emphasizers”, it has been deduced that they are predominantly used in junction to negative emotions and have indeed lost their religious meaning due to overuse, which could indicate a decline in the reverence for the gods. Notwithstanding, comparing it to our own times, using enhancers such as “(by) God” is not a definite proof of neither religious faith nor a secular world-view, so to say that the Romans were not religious believers at this time is too far-fetched. However, it has also been shown that the emphasize-oath *hercle* was used six times to support a false claim without any obvious thought of committing perjury, although strictly speaking it should count as that. The fact that all instances were spoken by slaves could indicate a bleaker respect towards the gods, in these cases a halfgod, among the males of this lower social status group. What it clearly indicates though, is that the emphasize-oaths, all being sworn to halfgods, do not carry the weight of real oaths and, as it seems, they did not even intend to do so anymore. This is a great example of the important nuances that the combined approach of hermeneutics and discourse analysis provide: the singular instances can say just as much individually as they can when seen together. Jointly, the massive collection of instances of emphasize-oaths points towards that the expressions show no sign of their old religious oath-meaning, which then in turn the six singular instances of false swearing can support and act as solid proof of. Accordingly, quality and quantity work best when combined.

Regarding the interjectional prayers, many of which seem to be formulaic sayings, quite a few were found to be reactive in nature and often connected to surprise, both negative and positive in character, and not seldom comparable to modern expressions such as “heaven help me!” or “good god!”.

Some formal oaths were discovered in Terence, of which a few served an assertory and purpose, although an interesting phenomenon was found in oaths used to strengthen requests and commands. The true function and meaning of the formal oaths are revealed by the

preposition *per* (“by”), which indicates that the deity or abstract feeling is distinctly being sworn by. This makes them stand out from the interjectional oath emphaziers, although asseverations such as *ita me di ament* are still used in a similar way as the formal oaths, not having completely lost their formal oath-meaning, which is to asseverate and assert.

In addition to formal oaths, formal prayers were found as well. These stand out due to their non-interjectional and non-formulaic nature: they are real appeals and wishes to the gods. Deities of certain qualities are called upon when those qualities are especially required, such as calling upon Juno Lucina during labor, albeit that in most cases the gods are prayed to collectively in third-person using the nominative plural form of *deus*. Grammatically, the most common way of praying is using either an imperative verb meaning aid of some sort followed by a parenthetic *obsecro* (“I implore”) or a construction with a verb expressing “to beg/ask/implore” followed by an *ut*-clause explaining what is being wished for. However, examples of using pure optative subjunctives to express wishes to the gods as well as addressing them with vocatives and exclamatory statements directed at the divinities exist too.

Opposite to prayers we found curses, which in most cases shared the sense of being wishes of evil and harm for the gods to execute. The most used formula for cursing someone is with an optative subjunctive, but it is also an alternative to use a question-formula, equivalent to the English “Won’t you [e.g. go to hell]?”.

By comparing some of the Roman expressions to the Greek some indications to support the notion that the Roman comedies were adaptations, rather than mere translations, were pointed out in this investigation. First of all, the huge difference in the use of expressions including the almighty god, Zeus/Jupiter, in Greek and Roman comedy is striking. The Greeks utilized informal oaths by Zeus most frequently of all, while Jupiter is much more sparsely called upon in Roman comedy, thus making it more effective when used. Furthermore, the fact that Terence in his ‘translation’ of a scene in *Heauton timorumenos* purposely altered Menander’s interjectional/informal oath by Athena “πρὸς τῆς Αθηνᾶς, δαιμονᾶς” to “*pro deum et hominum fidem*” – instead of using the Roman equivalent Minerva – is saying something as well. The same can be said about the custom of swearing by the halfgods Hercules, Castor, and Pollux. To casually utilize these halfgods for emphasis in interjectional/informal oaths has been found to be a distinctly Roman custom, as the Greeks very sparsely called upon them in Greek comedy or elsewhere. After all, it must be remembered that the audience watching Terence’s comedies were Romans, not Greeks. Albeit that the comedies are *fabulae palliatae* and set in an Attic setting, the

Roman audience, although supposedly very acquainted with Greek culture, surely would not comprehend all nuances of Greek expressions compared to their own. Thus, it makes much more sense that the author would adapt, not translate, some expressions so as not to lose the comic effect or risk a lack of comprehension from his audience.

Through this study and its collection of expressions, one certainly gets a lesson in how to express oneself in Latin with the use of Roman religion. Here follows a short conclusion. In casual situations men prefer to call upon Hercules (*hercle*) and women upon Pollux (*pol*), although when the need for extra effect – negative as well as positive – arises, men could call upon Jupiter. The most common way for both sexes to asseverate their statements is by using the popular *ita me di ament*, drawing upon the love the gods have for them to support the credulity of their claims. If there is a want of exclaiming a feeling of ominousness, the expressions *di vortant bene* or *ita di (deaeque) faxint* are used. As a reaction of surprise and wonder, both negative and positive, the most frequently utilized expression is *di vostram fidem*, while, if one wishes to be completely sure that the reaction is negatively received, it is best to choose variants of either *pro deum fidem* or *pro di immortales*. Or, in situations where pure frustration and anger is felt towards a certain person, it is most common to utter a curse of the formula *di te perduint!* or with a synonymous verb.

Summa summarum, although some research questions were not addressed, due to either insufficient knowledge of the plays' set-up, as in the case of the *circumstantia* "locus", or because it proved too difficult to claim anything certain, as with e.g. *consecutio dicti* (see chapter 5.1.1), the study has nevertheless revealed some valuable results providing more information on how the Romans used divinities to express themselves in their daily life and, as an extension, some insight into their attitude towards their gods and goddesses, contributing to the studies of both Latin and ancient history.

6.2 CONTRIBUTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

Although an ambitious attempt at collecting all instances of oaths, curses, and prayers in the six comedies by Terence in order to reveal how the Romans used these ways of expressing themselves, this thesis has only scratched the surface of this vast topic. First of all, the corpus of texts could beneficially be extended to include at least the comedies by Plautus, as he is the other preserved Roman comedy writer. Secondly, it would be more than interesting to include other genres of literature from other eras of Latin literature, so as to extend the delimitation from covering only

one time period, as is the case in this study. Moreover, surely some evidence of oaths, curses, and prayers can be collected from epigraphic materials as well, which could potentially broaden our understanding of their use further.

However, this is not merely an occasion to speak of the thesis' limitations – but also of its contributions. As has been mentioned before, not an excessive amount of studies on the Roman use of oaths, curses, and prayers exist. Those existing do not cover as many expressions as this investigation or deal with anything concerning triggering emotions behind expressions of this kind (apart from a scarce amount of comments from commented editions). This, I believe, is the strongest contribution by this thesis and it would be interesting to see similar studies on other expressions, or, as mentioned, on an extended text corpus. In addition to this, I imagine that the collection of result tables from this *circumstantiae*-investigation can serve other research purposes as well, which would be deeply encouraged and an honor to the work that has been put down in creating them. One suggestion for this could be to research how Terence has used these different expressions to construct his characters, as opposed to how the characters use the expressions, which was the case in this study. Additionally, the adaptation of the *septem circumstantiae* to fit an investigation dealing with triggering emotions could very well serve as a model for researching other types of expressions, such as the pure interjections *attat! heu! ah!* et cetera, which would further contribute to the comprehension of spoken every-day Latin.

Although there is no way for us to experience how it sounded when a native Latin-speaking Roman spoke, which, if we could, naturally would facilitate the interpretation of their language-use, a lot can still be concluded from our remaining textual sources. In spite of this, I cannot help but think of what Mark Twain, allegedly a man of quite a liberal tongue, humorously answered his wife, when she recited all of his foul language back at him from a compiled list she had kept:

“You’ve got the words, my dear, but you haven’t got the tune!”²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ see Echols 1951, 292.

7. BIBLIOGRAPHY

7.1 ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Full text (Eng. titles in parentheses)
<i>app. crit.</i>	<i>Apparatus criticus</i>
Aul. Gell.	Aulus Gellius
Cato, Agr.	Cato, <i>De agricultura</i> (On Agriculture)
Catull.	Catullus
Cic.	Cicero
Att.	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i> (Letters to Atticus)
Inv. rhet.	<i>De inventione rhetorica</i> (On Invention)
Off.	<i>De officiis</i> (On Duties)
De or.	<i>De oratore</i> (The Best Kind of Orator)
August. De Rhet.	St. Augustine, <i>De rhetorica</i>
Hor.	Horace
Epod.	<i>Epodi</i> (Epodes)
Carm. Saec.	<i>Carmen Saeculare</i> (in: Odes)
Liv.	Livy
Arist. Eth. Nich.	Aristotle, <i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>
Plaut.	Plautus
Amph.	<i>Amphitruo</i>
Bacch.	<i>Bacchides</i> (The Bacchises)
Cist.	<i>Cistellaria</i> (The Tale of a Traveling-bag)
Truc.	<i>Truculentus</i>
Plin. Ep.	Pliny (the Younger), <i>Epistulae</i> (Letters)
Polyb.	Polybius
S.T.	<i>Summa Theologiae</i>
Tac. Hist.	Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i> (The Histories)
Ter.	Terence
Ad.	<i>Adelphoe</i> (The Brothers)
An.	<i>Andria</i> (The Girl/Woman from Andros)
Eun.	<i>Eunuchus</i> (The Eunuch)
Heau.	<i>Heauton timorumenos</i> (The Self-Tormentor)
Hec.	<i>Hecyra</i> (The Mother-in-Law)
Ph.	<i>Phormio</i>
Varro, Ling.	Varro, <i>De lingua Latina</i> (On the Latin Language)
Ver. Aen.	Vergil, <i>Aeneis</i> (The Aeneid)

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7.5 TABLE OF FIGURES

Fig.1. Victorinus' chart over Cicero's *circumstantiae*. Borrowed from Robertson 1946, 11.

Fig.2. An overview of definitions and terms of oaths. All rights belong to the author of this essay.

Fig.3. Circle diagram showing the position of *hercle* in sentences. All rights belong to the author of this essay.

APPENDIX: THE RESULT TABLES

HERCLE/MEHERCULE

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 187- 190	Aesch- inus	A free man	Male	<i>Adules- cens</i>	“SA. cupio, modo aequi aliquid. AE. vah leno iniqua me non volt loqui. SA. leno sum, fateor, pernicies communis adulescentium, periuru’, pesti’; tamen tibi a me nulla est orta iniuria. AE. nam hercle etiam hoc restat.” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Sannio in response tries to calm Aeschinus down and asks him to get to the point: “illuc quaeso redi quo coepisti, Aeschine.” (190)	Outside Micio’s house.	Hercules is invoked.	Contempt.	Emphasis on that Aeschinus deems Sannio as being of the worst character, meaning that Sannio may not have done him any wrong yet, but that there’s no doubt that it will happen (as he is a pimp).	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
2	Ad. 268- 270	Ctesipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adules- cens</i>	“ego illam hercle vero omitto quiquidem te habeam fratre: o mi Aeschine! o mi germane! ah vereor coram in os te laudare amplius, ne id adsentandi mage quam quo habeam gratum facere existumes.” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Aeschinus answers “age, inepte, quasi nunc non norimu’ nos inter nos, Ctesipho” (171), showing that Ctesipho’s gratitude is accepted (and not mistaken for flattery, “laudare”.	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Happiness, gratitude.	“ hercle uero picks up and emphasises <i>uero</i> in the preceding line; ‘Indeed I will.’” ²⁶⁵ (i.e. the preceding line “omitte vero tristitium tuam” said by Aeschinus)	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
3	Ad. 375- 376	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i> ²⁶⁶	“[...] est hercle inepta, ne dicam dolo, atque absurda. [...]” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Well, Micio is not pleased: “haecin flagitia!” (379)	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Earnestness, complaint.	To bring emphasis to <i>inepta</i> , which conveys his feelings about the whole business (at least the feelings he wishes to show Demea).	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.

²⁶⁵ Martin 1976, 146, 268n.

²⁶⁶ Syrus refers to himself as a “*hominem senem*” in 562.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
4	Ad. 419- 424	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex	“non <u>hercle</u> otiumst nunc mi auscultandi. piscis ex sententia nactus sum: i mihi ne corrumpantur cautiost. nam id nobis tam flagitiumst quam illa, Demea, non facere vobis quae modo dixi; et quod queo conservis ad eundem istunc praecipio modum.” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	That Syrus is ridiculing Demea is completely lost on him and hence no offense is taken.	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Impatience.	To get rid of Demea and underline that he has more important things to do.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
5	Ad. 438- 439	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“sed quis illic est procul quem video? estne Hegio tribuli’ noster? si sati’ cerno is <u>herclest</u> .” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He is talking to himself.	Near Micio’s house (as he is about to depart to the countryside).	By calling upon Hercules.	Happiness, joy, recognition.	To emphasize (positive) the fact that it indeed is Hegio he sees over there.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem. <i>Hercl</i> est: “ <i>hercle</i> by <i>brevis brevians</i> ”. ²⁶⁷	Mono- logue.
6	Ad. 483	Geta	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“immo <u>hercle</u> extorque, nisi ita factumst, Demea.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Demea is quite put off-guard and does not know what to answer, as he says to himself “pudet: nec quid agam nec quid huic respondeam scio.” (485-486)	Near Micio’s house (as Hegio and Geta arrive from the countryside, i.e. from the same direction Demea is heading).	By swearing by Hercules.	Confidence, bravery.	To make Demea believe in his and Hegio’s story.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.

²⁶⁷ Martin 1976, 171, 439n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i> affectio</i>	CUR: <i> consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
7	Ad. 551- 552	Ctesipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“numquam hercle ego hodie istuc committam tibi; nam me iam in cellam aliquam cum illa concludam: id tutissimumst.” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Syrus is slightly offended by Ctesipho’s line, I reckon, as he answers “age, tamen ego hunc amovebo.” The explicit <i>ego</i> indicates an emphasis on his own ability to handle the situation: “I will take care of him.”	Whispering from inside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Frustration, fluster, distress.	To emphasize <i>numquam</i> and that he indeed will not trust this situation to Syrus.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
8	Ad. 554- 555	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“non hercle hic qui volt durare quisquam, si sic fit, potest. scire equidem volo quot mihi sint domini: quae haec est miseria?” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself, but with the intention of it being heard, and Demea overhears it from afar and wonders (to himself) “quid ille gannit? quid volt?” (556)	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	(Faked) despair, misery.	A trick to get rid of Demea.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue.
9	Ad. 578- 580	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“DE. id quidem angiportum non est pervium. SY. verum hercle , vah censen hominem me esse? erravi: in porticum rursus redi: sane hac multo propius ibis et minor est erratio.” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Demea is starting to be quite annoyed at Syrus’ (made-up) directions to where his brother resides.	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	(Faked) embarrassment.	To emphasize <i>verum</i> (meaning “By Hercules, of course there’s no passage through there”) and emphasize his feeling of embarrassment (although he is ridiculing Demea and is not really embarrassed at all...).	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
10	Ad. 683- 682	Micio	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“credo hercle , nam ingenium novi tuom liberale; sed vereor ne indiligens nimium sies.” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	The response later by Aeschinus is not related to this comment, but rather to the last “bono animo es, duces uxorem”, which is answered with a surprised “hem.” (696)	Outside Sostrata’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Understand-ing, assurance.	To assert his claim that he knows Aeschinus’ true nature and disposition.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
11	Ad. 901-903	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“AE. ehem, pater mi, tu hic eras? DE. tuos hercle vero et animo et natura pater, qui te amat plus quam hosce oculos.” Interjectional/Informal oath with an assertory meaning.	Aeschinus does not answer this, but rather Demea’s following question, if he’s not soon getting his wife (903-904).	Outside Micio’s house.	Calling upon Hercules.	(Exaggerated) happiness, double-play.	To underscore that he really, indeed, is Aeschinus’ father in heart and nature and that he loves him dearly (I’m sure this is all true, despite the double-play going on).	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
12	Ad. 928-929	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“immo hercle ita nobis decet. primum hui(us) uxoris mater.” Interjectional/Informal oath with an assertory meaning.	Micio, who is spoken to here, is quite suspicious towards Demea’s sudden shift of behavior and where he’s getting at with this.	Outside Micio’s house.	Calling upon Hercules.	Smugness, double-play, exploit.	To emphasize that there’s no other option, and as Aeschinus pleads to Micio as well, he has no choice but to agree.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
13	Ad. 975-976	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ hercle vero serio, siquidem prima dedit, haud dubiumst quin emitti aequom siet.” Interjectional/Informal oath with an assertory meaning.	Micio is surprised to the point of agitation and answers, again, questionably “o eam rem?” (977)	Outside Micio’s house.	Calling upon Hercules.	Smugness double-play, exploit.	To really affirm and emphasis <i>vero serio</i> : “By Hercules, truly, seriously!”.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
14	An. 194	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“DA. non hercle intellego. SI. non? hem. DA. non: Davo’ sum, non Oedipus.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although it is not true).	Simo strongly doubts the fact that Davos doesn’t understand that he is warning him not to try any sly tricks with his son. When Davos denies this, Simo turns to more threatening, clear and blunt language. (195ff)	Outside Simo’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	(faked) innocence, confusion.	To save his own skin and deny to his <i>erus</i> that he’s a trickster.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
15	An. 224-225	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“[...] fabulae! miquidem hercle non fit veri simile; atque ipsis commentum placet.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself.	Outside Simo’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Incredulity.	To emphasize that he thinks Pamphilus’ and the Andrian girl’s invented story is implausible.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i> affectio</i>	CUR: <i> consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
16	An. 336- 337	Charinus	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] CH. at tu hercle haud quicquam mihi, nisi ea quae nil opu’ sunt scire. fugin hinc? BY. ego vero ac lubens.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Byrria gladly runs off (“ego vero ac lubens”).	Entered from the direction of the forum.	Hercules.	Annoyance.	To send Byrria away. <i>Heracle</i> emphasizes <i>tu</i> : ‘but <i>you</i> , by Hercules, [do] nothing to my benefit...’.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
17	An. 347	Pam- philus/ Charinus	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“PA.268 mea quidem hercle certe in dubio vitast. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Davos tries to assure him that he knows what’s up and has a solution. (347ff)	Entered from the direction of the forum.	Hercules.	Despair, helplessness (dramatic).	To let Davos know that his life <i>truly</i> is at risk due to the unfortunate situation.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
18	An. 373- 374	Charinus	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“bene mones: ibo, etsi hercle saepe iam me spes haec frustratast. vale.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	There’s no answer to this.	Entered from the direction of the forum.	Hercules.	A glimpse of hope, despair, (dramatic).	After having heard that his beloved Philumena won’t be married off to Pamphilus, he felt hope again, but here, remembering his usual luck, dares not hope too much to convince her father’s friends.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
19	An. 438- 442	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“SI. num illi molestae quidpiam haec sunt nuptiae propter huiusce hospitai consuetudinem? DA. nil hercle ; aut, si adeo, biduist aut tridua haec sollicitudo: nosti? Deinde desinet. etenim ipsu’ secum eam rem reputavit via.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although he is lying).	Simo is happy to hear this. (443)	Entered from the direction of the forum.	Hercules	(Falsely) reassuring, trickery.	To (falsely) swear that Pamphilus wasn’t upset by the arranged wedding.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

²⁶⁸ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “347 PA. Don. : CH. Σ”

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
20	An. 495	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“certe hercle nunc hic se ipsu’ fallit, haud ego. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this aside to himself, referring to Simo (<i>ipsu’ fallit</i>).	Not far away from Glycerium’s house.	Hercules.	Frustration, annoyance.	To express his annoyance with Simo, who accuses him of fooling him with the <i>wrong</i> invented story.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue
21	An. 504-505	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“[...] <i>DA.</i> sed siquid tibi narrare occepi, continuo dari tibi verba censes. <i>SI.</i> falso! <i>DA.</i> itaque hercle nil iam muttire audeo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Simo avoids Davos accusation of being so scared that he dares not utter a single word. Instead he says: ‘Only this I know for sure: nobody has given birth here.’ (506)	Not far away from Glycerium’s house.	Hercules.	Frustration, trickery.	To deceive Simo once again, here by blaming him for not daring to tell him what he knew about the baby.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
22	An. 596-597	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“[...] <i>SI.</i> corrigere mihi gnatum porro enitere. <i>DA.</i> faciam hercle sedulo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Simo urges him to start straightening out his son’s behavior at once, while he is still upset. (597-598)	Outside Simo’s house.	Hercules.	Defeat, despair, putting on a brave face.	Davos realizes that he has entangled himself pretty badly and when outperformed by Simo he tries to keep a straight face and assure him that he will do his best.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
23	An. 741-742	Chremes	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“sed quid hoc? puer herclest. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself as he is entering from his house (off-stage) and talking to himself. After having said this, he sees Mysis and asks her if she’s put the baby on the doorstep. (740-743)	He has entered from the direction of his house, so to the left of the stage.	Hercules.	Wonder, chock, confusion.	To let out his surprise and confusion: ‘but what’s this? By Hercules, it’s a baby boy!’.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue

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27	<i>Eun.</i> 217- 218	Parm-eno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“PH. censen posse me obfirmare et perpeti ne redeam interea? PA. tene? non hercle arbitror; [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Phaedria is not offended by this comment, but only continues to try to think of ways to keep himself from returning back from the farm to Thais during these two days.	Outside Phaedria’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Amusement, questioning, teasing.	To underline and emphasize <i>non</i> : ‘You? By Hercules, I think absolutely not.’	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
28	<i>Eun.</i> 222- 223	Phaedria	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“eiciunda hercle haec est mollities animi; nimi’ me indulgeo. tandem non ego illam caream, si sit opu’, vel totum triduum? [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Phaedria says this to himself, but Parmeno, standing right next to him, naturally hears it and teases him further: “hui univorsum triduum? [...]. (223-224)”	Outside Phaedria’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Determin-ation.	<i>Hercl</i> emphasizes the meaning of “must” embedded in the passive- periphrastic conjugation <i>eiciunda...est</i> : ‘By Hercules, I <i>really</i> must throw away...’.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue.
29	<i>Eun.</i> 254	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex.</i>	“scitum hercle hominem! hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although he is being sarcastic...).	Parmeno overhears Gnatho’s monologue and says this to himself, so no reaction.	On his way to Thais’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Sarcasm.	<i>Hercl</i> emphasizes “scitum ... hominem!” and adds more weight to the sarcasm of the statement.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem, followed by accusatives of exclamation: <i>scitum</i> and <i>hominem</i> .	Mono- logue.

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30	<i>Eun.</i> 273- 274	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“GN. ne sis; sed quid videtur hoc tibi mancipium? PA. non malum hercle .” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Gnatho does not answer anything to Parmeno’s face, but gloats to himself “uro hominem” (274), showing that he believes himself to have the upper-hand (although the audience knows otherwise).	Outside Thais’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Annoyance, agreement. Although Parmeno is quite annoyed with Gnatho, I do believe this comment about the girl is quite truthful, having commented earlier on her beauty (229-231), making it a mix of honesty and irritation.	<i>Hercl</i> e gives emphasis to the negated <i>malum</i> , enhancing its positive meaning: ‘By Hercules, not bad!’	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
31	<i>Eun.</i> 304- 306	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“PA. quid tu’s tristi?’ quidve’s alacris? unde is? CH. egone? nescio hercle , neque unde eam neque quorsum eam: ita prorsu’ sum oblitus mei.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chaerea’s statement gets a short answer from Parmeno (who is often quite short in his responses): “qui quaeso?” (307).	Having come from the harbor, he is now outside Thais’ house (where Parmeno also is).	Calling upon Hercules.	Despair, frustration.	To emphasis his despair and frustration: ‘By Hercules, I don’t know, neither where I am nor where-to I am going; I’ve completely forgotten myself.’	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
32	<i>Eun.</i> 311- 312	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“[...] hoc hercle factumst. fac sis nunc promissa adpareant, si adeo digna res[est] ubi tu nervos intendas tuos.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chaerea continues his requirement a few lines more, after which Parmeno finally invests in the situation (although quite humorously so). This line seems as quite a turn-point. ²⁷²	Having come from the harbor, he is now outside Thais’ house (where Parmeno also is).	Calling upon Hercules.	Demanding, ‘matter-of-fact’.	To underline <i>factumst</i> , which can both point to ‘It’s happened – I’ve fallen in love’ or ‘It’s happened – you did make the promise’. Either way, it is used to give emphasis and extra weight to the sentence.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.

²⁷² cf. Barsby 1999, 141: “Parmeno offers a negative view of Chaerea’s love at the start (301 *rabies*) but for the rest of the scene seems to regard it with an amused tolerance.”

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33	<i>Eun.</i> 319- 321	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“CA. <i>ipsam</i> hanc tu mihi vel vi vel clam vel precario fac tradas: mea nil refert dum potiar modo. PA. quid? virgo quotiast? CH. nescio hercle .” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno continues to ask questions about the girl to be able to track her down and Chaerea gets more and more frustrated, as he don't know a single thing about her (except her age, apparently - 318).	Having come from the harbor, he is now outside Thais' house (where Parmeno also is).	Calling upon Hercules.	Frustration, despair.	To make Parmeno stop asking questions, quite in despair, as he does not have any answers: “By Hercules, I don't know!”.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
34	<i>Eun.</i> 326- 329	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i> .	“PA. quid factumst? CH. rogas? patris cognatum atque aequalem Archidemidem nostin? PA. quidni? CH. is, dum hanc sequor, fit mi obviam. PA. incommode hercle .” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although he is being sarcastic...).	Chaerea clearly picks up on Parmeno's sarcasm and contradicts him by saying that <i>incommode</i> is an understatement (329- 330).	Having come from the harbor, he is now outside Thais' house (where Parmeno also is).	Calling upon Hercules.	Sarcasm, detachedness.	To make fun of Chaerea and tease him slightly for his love-sickness. <i>Heracle</i> underscores <i>incommode</i> here and adds to the sarcasm of his reply.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
35	<i>Eun.</i> 395- 397	Gnatho	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	?	“TH. est istuc datum profecto ut grata mihi sint quae facio omnia. GN. advorti hercle animum. Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although he is being sarcastic...).	Thraso does not comprehend the irony in Gnatho's line, but continues to praise himself.	Having entered from the direction of the forum, they're now near Phaed- ria's/ Chaerea's house.	Hercules is called upon.	Sarcasm.	To be “ostensibly polite, but in fact sarcastic (“so I've noticed’).” ²⁷³ The sarcasm as a result is enhanced by <i>hercle</i> , which gives emphasis to <i>advorti</i> + <i>animum</i> .	<i>Advorti</i> = <i>adverti</i> .	Dialogue.

²⁷³ Barsby 1999, 159, 397n.

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36	<i>Eun.</i> 416- 417	Gnatho	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	?	“pulchre <u>mehercle</u> ²⁷⁴ dictum et sapienter. papae iugularas hominem. quid ille?” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although he is being sarcastic...).	Thraso does not comprehend the irony in Gnatho’s line, but continues to praise himself.	Having entered from the direction of the forum, they’re now near Phaedria’s/Chaerea’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Sarcasm, ingratiating. Gnatho is buttering up and flatters Thraso to stay on his good side (to gain things from him for himself), although he is quite sarcastic at the same time.	To give emphasis (and strengthen the irony of) <i>pulchre</i> and <i>sapienter</i> .	“ mehercle : a longer form of <i>hercle</i> [...] derived from an original oath <i>ita me Hercules iuuet</i> ; [...].” ²⁷⁵	Dialogue
37	<i>Eun.</i> 486- 487	Gnatho	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	?	“ <i>THR.</i> adparet servom hunc esse domini pauperis miserique. GN. nam <u>hercle</u> nemo posset, sat scio, qui haberet qui pararet alium, hunc perpeti.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno is upset by this remark and answers “tace tu, [...]”.	Outside Thais’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Scornful.	To turn Thraso’s insult, directed to Phaedria, towards Parmeno instead: master to master, <i>parasitus</i> to slave. ²⁷⁶	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
38	<i>Eun.</i> 528- 530	Chremes	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“misit porro orare ut venire serio. aut dicat quid volt aut molesta nesiet: non <u>hercle</u> veniam tertio. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself right before he knocks on Thais’ door – so no answer.	Outside Thais’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Annoyance, suspiciousness, determination.	To emphasize that he indeed will not return a third time (determination), due to his suspicions about Thais’ intentions.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Monologue
39	<i>Eun.</i> 607	Antipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“sane <u>hercle</u> ut dici’. sed interim de symbolis quid actumst?” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	The conversation shifts to the discussion of the dinner-party and how Chaerea might change his clothes unnoticed.	Outside Thais’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Agreement, concurrence.	‘By Hercules, it’s exactly as you say!’ – he firmly asserts that Chaerea was right in his decision.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.

²⁷⁴ Lindsay & Kauer 1924, *app.crit.* ”416 hercle G²: hercule *Iov.* C¹ P¹ D²pvε”. As the same god is called upon, the different readings of *mehercle* does not affect the result of this investigation.

²⁷⁵ Barsby 1999, 95, 67n.

²⁷⁶ cf. Barsby 1999, 175, 487-8n.

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40	<i>Eun.</i> 727- 729	Chremes	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“Attat data hercle verba mihi sunt: vicit vinum quod bibi. at dum accubabam quam videbar mi esse pulchre sobrius! postquam surrexi neque pes neque mens sati’ suom officium facit.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	This is not spoken to any specific person, but rather a cry out to the streets, although Pythias sees Chremes and calls after him after this line.	Coming from the direction of Thraso’s house (to the right of the stage), but is called over to outside Thais’ house by Pythias.	Hercules is called upon.	Drunkeness.	If an assertory oath: ‘By Hercules, I’ve been laid astray and the wine I’ve drunk has defeated me.’	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue
41	<i>Eun.</i> 732	Chremes	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“verbum hercle hoc verum erit “sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus”.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning. ²⁷⁷	Pythias ignores this line and goes right into discussing the case of Thais.	Outside Thais’ house (having been called over).	Hercules is called upon.	Drunkeness, flirtation, assurance.	To try ad be witty and “ascrib[e] his amorous state to the food and drink consumed at Thraso’s party”, as Barsby puts it. ²⁷⁸ <i>Hercl</i> e asserts that the proverb <i>really</i> is true in this case.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
42	<i>Eun.</i> 1031- 1033	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“O populares, ecqui’ me hodie vivit fortunator? nemo hercle quisquam; nam in me plane di potestatem suam omnem ostendere quoi tam subito tot congruerint commode.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno overhears Chaerea and wonders what he’s raving about.	Outside Thais’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Happiness, joy.	To dramatically emphasize his ecstatic state of mind.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue

²⁷⁷ An exception – not a promissory oath, despite the use of the future tense. *Hercl*e is here used assertory to show that the proverb is shown true by exactly this situation, i.e. right now and not in the future, which would have made the oath promissory. Barsby notes that the future tense is used here to “assert that a general truth will prove to be true in the particular case” (Barsby 1999, 221, 732n.)

²⁷⁸ Barsby 1999, 222, 732n.

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43	<i>Eun.</i> 1073- 1075	Gnatho	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	?	“[...] cogita modo: tu hercle cum illa, Phaedria, ut lubenter vivis (etenim bene lubenter victitas), quod des paullumst et necessest multum accipere Thaidem.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Gnatho continues to argue for his cause further.	Outside Phae-dria's/Chaerea's house.	Hercules is called upon.	Seriousness, negotiation.	To bring emphasis to his suggestion.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
44	<i>Heau.</i> 318- 321	Clinia	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“[...] SY. ita res est haec nunc quasi quom.. <i>CLIT.</i> quas, malum, ambages mihi narrare occipit? <i>CLIN.</i> Syre, verum hic dicit: mitte, ad rem redi. <i>SY.</i> enimvero reticere nequeo: multimodis iniurius, Clitipho, es neque ferri potis es. <i>CLIN.</i> audiundum hercle est, tace.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Syrus starts to tell the story, so evidently Clitipho listened to Clinia.	Outside Chremes' house.	Hercules.	Seriousness, urging.	To make Clitipho listen to Syrus' plan. The command/ plea is strengthened by the oath: 'really, truly'.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
45	<i>Heau.</i> 343- 348	Clitipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“ <i>CLIT.</i> quid ago nunc? <i>CLIN. rune? quod boni.</i> <i>CLIT.</i> Syre! dic modo verum. <i>SY.</i> age modo: hodie sero ac nequiquam voles. <i>CLIN. ...datur, fruare dum licet; nam nescias.</i> <i>CLIT.</i> Syre inquam! <i>SY.</i> perge porro, tamen istuc ago. <i>CLIN. ...ei(u)s sit potestas posthac an numquam tibi.</i> <i>CLIT.</i> verum hercle istuc est. Syre, Syre inquam, heus heus Syre!” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	After Clitipho has answered Clinia (verum hercle istuc est) he turns yet again to Syrus and summons him back, upon which he finally comes (after he has heard that Clitipho agreed with Clinia's suggestion to seize the day, basically.)	Outside Chremes' house.	Hercules	(Convinced), determination, desperation.	'By Hercules, that is true' is a response to Clinia's interrupted advice (marked in blue). This determines Clitipho's decision to entrust Syrus with his love affair.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
46	<i>Heau.</i> 491- 492	Chremes	<i>Domi-nus, erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“somnum hercle ego hac nocte oculis non vidi meis, dum id quaero tibi qui filium restituerem.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Menedemus asks for Chremes' right hand and says that he begs him to do so (i.e. to restore his son to him). (493)	Outside Menedemus' house.	Hercules.	Helpful, dutiful.	To reveal to Menedemus how eager he is to restore him his son.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

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47	Heau.5 21-523	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“[...] SY. mulier commoda et faceta haec meretrix. CH. sane. SY. idem visast tibi? et quidem hercle forma luculenta. CH. sic satis.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	As shown, Chremes answers ‘good enough’.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	“Making small talk”: admiration.	To steer the conversation in the right direction, Syrus brings up the beauty of the courtesan: he underscores it by the oath.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
48	Heau. 543- 549	Chremes	<i>Dominus, erus</i>	Male	Senex	“CH. et nunc quid expectat, Syre? an dum hic denuo abeat, quom tolerare illi(u)s sumptus non queat? nonne ad senem aliquam fabricam fingit? SY. stolidus est. CH. ad te adiutare oportet adulescentuli causa. SY. facile equidem facere possum si iubes; etenim quo pacto id fieri soleat calleo. CH. tanto hercle melior. SY. non est mentiri meum.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (sarcastic!).	As shown, Syrus answers, feigning to be offended, ‘it’s not like me to deceive’.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Sarcasm, humor.	To express and enhance his sarcasm (since it is trickery towards him Syrus indicates, when he says that he is experienced (<i>calleo</i>) in this sort of thing, i.e. tricking masters).	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
49	Heau. 550- 555	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“[...] SY. at heus tu facito dum eadem haec memineris siquid huius simile forte aliquando e venerit, ut sunt humana, tuos ut faciat filius. CH. non usu’ veniet, spero. SY. spero hercle ego quoque, neque eo nunc dico quo quicquam illum senserim; sed siquid, nequid. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (not true!).	Chremes answers a few lines below that they’ll handle that when it shall be necessary. (557-558)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Assurance (deceit!).	To assure Chremes that he too hopes that tricks won’t be needed for any situation involving Clitipho, although Syrus is already in such a situation, deceiving Chremes right now.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
50	Heau. 579- 582	Clitipho	A free man	Male	Adule- scens	“SY. quid istic narrat! CL. perii. SY. Clitipho, haec ego praecipio tibi? homoni? frugi et temperanti? functu’s officium? CL. tace sodes. SY. recte sane. CL. Syre, pudet me. SY. credo: neque id iniuria; quin mihi molestumst. CL. perdis hercle . SY. verum dico quod videtur.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	As shown, Syrus says ‘I say what I deem is right.’	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Frustration, shame, despair.	He pleads to Syrus to stop putting him in place. He is ashamed of being caught red-handed and can’t handle it.	Sc. me to perdis: ‘you’re ruining me’ (as you make me feel so ashamed of myself).	Dialogue
51	Heau.6 10-612	Syrus	Servus	Male	Senex?	“CH. erras. SY. quid ita? CH. pro Menedemo nunc tibi ego respondeo “non emo”: quid ages? SY. optata loquere. CH. qui? SY. non est opus. CH. non opus est? SY. non hercle vero. CH. qui istuc, miror. SY. iam scies.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (not true).	Chremes, as shown, is quite puzzled.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Bluffing, deceiving ²⁷⁹	When his suggested plan was not satisfactory to Chremes, Syrus twisted it so that Chremes should be confused, in order to buy time to invent a new trick.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
52	Heau. 619- 621	Chremes	Domi-nus, erus	Male	Senex	“[...] SY. te volt: videas quid velit. nescioquid tristis est: non temerest: timeo quid sit. CH. quid siet? ne ista hercle magno iam conatu magnas nugas dixerit.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Syrus does not answer this, as Sostrata now approaches Chremes and starts speaking to him.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Annoyance.	To emphasize how little he cares for his wife’s troubles – which he calls nonsenses/ bagatelles (<i>nugas</i>) – and how he does not wish to be disturbed by them.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

²⁷⁹ Barsby 2001b, 245, 43n.: “Syrus is bluffing in the manner of Plautine tricky slaves who claim to have plans up their sleeves when they haven’t.”

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53	Heau. 674- 678	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“quid agam? aut quid comminiscar? ratio de integro ineumdash mihi. nil tam difficilest quin quaerendo investigari possiet. quid si hoc nunc sic incipiam? nilst. quid si sic? tantundem egero. at sic opinor: non potest. immo optume. euge habeo optumam. retraham hercle opinor ad me idem ego illuc hodie fugitivom argentum tamen. Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Determin-ation, revelation.	After deliberating what his next move – which can save his own and his youngling- master’s skin – he’s sure that he’s finally got it.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue
54	Heau. 692- 693	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“CL. quid faciam? Syre mi, gaudeo: fer me. SY. fero hercle vero. CL. deorum vitam apti sumus. SY. frustra operam opino[t] hanc sumo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Finally, Clinia says that he’ll listen. (694)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Impatience, annoyance, frustration.	He desperately tries to get hold of Clinia’s attention in order to speak about Clitipho’s love affair – he’s annoyed that Clinia isn’t reachable. ‘I am bearing with you, by Hercules!’	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
55	Heau. 759- 761	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“CH. videre egisse iam nescioquid cum sene. SY. de illo quod dudum? dictum [ac] factum reddidi. CH. bonan fide? SY. bona hercle . [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chremes believes this and says that he cannot resist patting him on the head! (761-763)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Earnestness, assurance (but deceiving at the same time!).	An asseveration to convince Chremes that he’s telling the truth. (Syrus’ trick is to bluntly tell Chremes the truth as if it were Syrus’ trick and intention that it’d happen that way.)	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
56	Heau. 764- 766	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“SY. at si scias quam scite in mentem venerit. CH. vah gloriare evenisse ex sententia? SY. non hercle vero: verum dico. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chremes asks him to tell the story. (766)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Earnestness, assurance (but deceiving at the same time!).	Syrus’ trick is to bluntly tell Chremes the truth as if it were Syrus’ trick and intention that it’d happen that way.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

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57	<i>Heau.</i> 812- 815	Clitipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] SY. is tu hinc quo dignus es? quam paene tua me perdidit protervitas! CL. vellem hercle factum, ita meritū’s. SY. meritū’? quo modo?” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Syrus takes slight offense and says that he’s glad he heard that before he handed him the money. (815-817)	He’s entered from the country- side.	Hercules.	Spitefulness, arrogance.	To show his spite against Syrus for sending him away.	‘By Hercules, I wish I had done it (i.e. destroyed him with his boldness), you deserve it.’	Dialogue
58	<i>Hec.</i> 305- 308	Parmeno	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“[PAM.] sed magnum nescioquid necesset evenisse, Parmeno, unde ira inter eas intercessit quae tam permansit diu. PAR. haud quidem hercle : parvom; si vis vero veram rationem exsequi, non maxumas quae maxumae sunt interdum irae iniurias faciunt; [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Pamphilus simply asks Parmeno to go inside and announce his arrival. (314)	They have both just entered from the harbor.	Hercules.	Assurance, comfort, avoidance.	“He will not be drawn into a discussion of <i>pietas</i> .” To assure Pamphilus that the quarrel between his mother and wife is minor (<i>parvom</i>) in order to avoid getting into the details (which he clearly does not know). At 180 he told Philotis that there was <u>no</u> quarrels (<i>lites</i>) or complaint (<i>postulatio</i>) at all causing the hatred of the mother-in- law.	<i>Herclē</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
59	<i>Hec.</i> 415- 417	Sosia	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>‘Puer’</i> ²⁸⁰	“PAR. Ain tu tibi hoc incommodum evenisse iter? SO. non hercle verbis, Parmeno, dici potest tantum quam re ipsa navigare incommodumst.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno, quite uninterested in the matter, shortly replies “itan est?”. (418)	Entering from the direction of the harbor.	Hercules.	Dramatic, complaint.	To emphasize his complaints about the horrors of sea travels.	<i>Herclē</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

²⁸⁰ Pamphilus says previous to Sosia’s arrival that ‘Parmeno comes with the boys’ (*pueris*), thus I assume that Sosia is a *puer*.

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60	Hec. 424- 425	Sosia	<i>Servus</i>	Male	'Puer'	"PAR. odiosum. SO. haud clam me est. denique hercle aufugerim potius quam redeam, si eo mihi redeundum sciam." Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno, slightly more engaged in the dialogue, responds that in the old days it didn't take much for slaves to run away. (426-427)	Entering from the direction of the harbor.	Hercules.	Dramatic, complaint.	To emphasize <i>denique</i> : 'in the end, by Hercules, I would rather have run away than...'. <i>Hercle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue	
61	Hec. 458- 461	Pamphilus	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	"[...] LA. cedo, quid reliquit Phania consobrinu' noster? PA. sane hercle homo voluptati obsequens fuit dum vixit; et qui sic sunt haud multum heredem iuvant, sibi vero hanc laudem relinquunt "vixit, dum vixit, bene." " Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Laches answers 'so you that you've brought back nothing more than this single sentence?' (462)	Near the exit to the forum, as it was from there Laches and Phidippus came.	Hercules.	Blunt, humorous.	To bluntly answer his father's question – knowing his intention behind the question to be 'how much money did he leave us?' ²⁸¹ I also sense a glimpse of humor in Pamphilus' answer.	<i>Hercle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
62	Hec. 623- 624	Phidippus	<i>Dominus/erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	"Tibi quoque edepol sum iratus, Philumena, graviter quidem; nam hercle factumst abs te turpiter." Interjectional/Informal oaths with assertory meanings.	As Philumena is off-stage and a mute character, there is, of course, no response to this, which Phidippus shouts back to her inside the house.	Outside Phidippus' house.	Pollux. Hercules.	Anger, frustration.	To enhance his rage against Philumena for what she's done (having given birth).	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> . <i>Hercle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
63	Hec. 782- 783	Phidippus	<i>Dominus/erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	"[LA.] profecto in hac re nil malist quod sit discidio dignum. PH. velim quidem hercle . [...]". Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Laches answers by offering him Bacchis to inquire and investigate.	Outside Phidippus' house.	Hercules.	Incredulity, despair, wishing.	To show that he is not yet convinced, but desperately hopes it to be true – he just wants Laches to make the women believe it to be so.	<i>Hercle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

²⁸¹Goldberg 2013, 151, 459n.

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64	Hec. 802- 806	Parmeno	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“itaque ineptus hodie dum illi sedo, ut quisque venerate, accedebam: “adulescens, dicdum quaeso mi, es tu Myconius?” “non sum.” “at Callidemides?” “non.” “hospitem ecquem Pamphilum hic habes?” omnes negabant: neque eum quemquam esse arbitror. denique <u>hercle</u> iam pudebat: abii. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself.	Enters from the forum.	Hercules.	Frustration, annoyance, embarrassment.	To press on the fact that he got fed up and embarrassed to the point that he left without completing his task.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue
65	Ph. 136- 138	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“DA. o Geta, quid te faturumst? GE. nescio <u>hercle</u> ; unum hoc scio, quod fors feret feremus aequo animo. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Davos agrees that it is best to bear whatever comes with an equanimous mind, as a man ought to. (138-139)	Outside Demi-pho’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Worry, uncertainty.	<i>Hercl</i> e emphasizes <i>nescio</i> and thus enhances Geta’s uncertainty of what’s to become of him.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
66	Ph. 163- 164	Phaedria	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“amore abundas, Antipho. nam tua quidem <u>hercle</u> certo vita haec expetenda optandaque est.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Oppositely, Antipho thinks that Phaedria is the lucky one. (173ff)	Outside Demi-pho’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Annoyance, envy: he thinks Antipho complains are uncalled for, as he has his wife to enjoy.	To give weight and emphasis to <i>certo</i> : ‘By Hercules, surely...’.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
67	Ph. 523- 524	Antipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“AN. certe <u>hercle</u> , ego si sati’ commemini, tibi quidem est olim dies, quam ad dares huic, praestitua. PH. factum. DO. num ego istuc nego?” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Both Phaedria and Dorio agree upon the truth of this statement.	Outside Dorio’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Reason, seriousness, reassurance.	To further assert his statement and emphasize <i>certe</i> , ‘By Hercules, surely...’.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

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68	Ph. 542-544	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“[...] sane hercle pulchre suades: etiam tu hinc abis? non triumpho, ex nuptiis tuis si nil nanciscor mali, ni etiamnunc me hui(us) causa quaerere in malo iubeas crucem?” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although sarcastic).	Antipho realizes that Geta kind of has a point, but Phaedria pleads further and argues that he’s part of the family too and worthy of help. (545)	Outside Dorio’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Frustration, sarcasm.	‘That’s really beautiful advice’: to express the opposite with sarcasm, enhanced by <i>hercle</i> .	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
69	Ph. 615-616	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“nam hercle ego quoque id quidem agitans mecum sedulo inveni, opinor, remedium huic rei. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Both Chremes and Demipho asks what kind of solution Geta has found to their problem with Antipho’s marriage. (616-617)	To the left of the stage, as Geta walked up to Chremes and Demipho.	Hercules is called upon.	Deceitfulness, trickery.	To assert that he, a good slave as he is, has given the matter a lot of thought and has <i>indeed</i> found a solution (or rather, a way to trick the seniors for money).	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
70	Ph. 623-625	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“eru’ liberalis est et fugitans litium; nam ceteri quidem hercle amici omnes modo uno ore auctores fuere ut praecipitem hanc daret.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although he is lying).	Geta is retelling what he himself told Phormio to Chremes and Demipho. Demipho reacts to the fact that Geta told lies about his advocates’ advice (639), but Chremes assures him that it benefits their interests and calms him down (640-641).	To the left of the stage, as Geta walked up to Chremes and Demipho.	Hercules is called upon.	Deceitfulness (towards D+C); persuasion (towards the retold, fictive conversation with Phormio.)	Quite complicated: Geta is lying to D. and C. about having lied to Phormio, who in fact has invented the lie itself.	<i>Hercle</i> further emphasizes <i>quidem</i> : ‘Indeed, by Hercules...’.	Dialogue
71	Ph. 643-644	Demipho	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] GE. si quis daret talentum magnum. DE. immo malum hercle : ut nil pudet!” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Geta got the reaction from Demipho that he wanted (the quote here to the left) and afterwards simply continues with his made-up story.	Having entered from the harbor, he’s standing to the left of the stage.	Hercules is called upon.	Anger, frustration.	To enhance how outrageous he finds the situation: <i>malum</i> is emphasized.	“ immo malum hercle , sc. <i>magnum dabo</i> , ‘A good hiding, more likely!’; [...]”	Dialogue

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72	Ph. 683	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“AN. satin est id? GE. nescio hercle : tantum iussu’ sum.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Antipho becomes irritated, as he thinks Geta is avoiding his question. (684)	Supposedly still to the left of the stage.	Hercules is called upon.	Frustration.	Having done exactly what he was told to do (get money for Phaedria’s music-girl) Geta is quite frustrated with Antipho for coming complaining to him again.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
73	Ph. 774-775	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“DE. etiamne id dubiumst? GE. haud scio hercle , ut homost, an mutet animum. DE. hem mutet autem? GE. nescio; verum, si forte, dico.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although lying).	This worries Demipho (which was Geta’s intention).	They have entered the stage from the direction of the forum (right).	Hercules is called upon.	Deceit; planting a seed of worry.	To push on <i>haud scio</i> (‘I don’t know at all’), when it in fact is the opposite: he knows very well, as the plan all along has been that Phormio is not to marry the girl!	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
74	Ph. 807	Demipho	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	”equidem hercle nescio.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chremes has tried to hint at Demipho that the girl is his daughter without letting his Athenian wife know about it. After this comment from Demipho he has to clarify further. (807-808)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Confusion, frustration.	To mark that he doesn’t understand what Chremes tries to hint at and doesn’t know how to behave.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
75	Ph. 847-849	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“[...] AN. heus Geta! GE. em tibi: num mirum aut novomst revocari, cursum quom institeris? AN. Geta. GE. pergit hercle . numquam tu odio tuo me vinces. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force.	Antipho pushes on to get Geta’s attention and call him back.	Outside Demi-pho’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Frustration, annoyance.	To express how typical and frustrating it is to be called back by someone when you’re on your way somewhere in quite a hurry: ‘by Hercules, he continues!’, i.e. ‘he won’t leave me alone.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

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76	Ph. 869-870	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“[...] hic pulcherrimum facinus audivi: itaque paene hercle exclamavi gaudio.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Antipho is eager and impatient to hear the good news.	Outside Demipho's house.	Hercules is called upon.	Joy, happiness.	To underline his unexplainable happiness.	<i>Herclē</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
77	Ph. 877	Anti-pho/ Phormio	A: A free man P: <i>parasitus</i> ²⁸²	Male/ Male	<i>Adulescens/</i> <i>Adulescens</i>	“AN. atque ego quoque inaudivi illam fabulam. [...]” *atque hercle ego* ²⁸³ Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Antipho/Phormio says this aside.	Outside Demipho's house.	Hercules is called upon.	Recalling of memory, assurance.	If <i>herclē</i> is taken as part of the sentence, as manuscript Σ suggests, it would emphasize the revelation of Antipho/Phormio.	<i>Herclē</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue
78	Ph. 899-900	Demipho	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“[...] DE. at nos ad te ibamu’, Phormio. PH. de eadem hac fortasse causa? DE. ita hercle . [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Phormio quite humorously adds ‘so why were you walking over to me?’.	Outside Demipho's house.	Hercules is called upon.	Seriousness, assurance.	Emphasizing his ‘yes’: ‘yes, indeed’ or ‘yes, by Hercules’, assuring its earnestness.	<i>Herclē</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
79	Ph. 954-956	Demipho	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“hem hicine ut a nobis hoc tantum argenti auferat tam aperte inridens? emori hercle satius est.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chremes meakly answers that he’s afraid to tell his wife the truth.	Outside Demipho's house.	Hercules is called upon.	Anger, frustration.	To show that he is serious about this matter: this would be so disgraceful that he’d, indeed, rather die.	<i>Herclē</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
80	Ph. 968-969	Phormio	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“itan agiti’ mecum? satis astute adgreddimini. non hercle ex re isti(u)s me instigasti, Demipho.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	After this Phormio turns to Chremes and urges him on. Demipho is infuriated by all of this. (976)	Outside Demipho's house.	Hercules is called upon.	Sassiness, taunting.	To show that he has the upper hand: ‘by Hercules, you really didn’t do him (=Chremes) any favor by inciting me’.	<i>Herclē</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

²⁸² I choose to say that it is Antipho who says this, just as Lindsay & Kauer.

²⁸³ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.* “877 AN.] PH. Σ a. herclē ego Σ.

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81	Ph. 992- 993	Phormio	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] hicine ut tibi respondeat, qui <u>hercle</u> ubi sit nescit. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	This is said to Nausistrata, who wants Chremes to answer her. Chremes simply manages to say ‘don’t believe anything he says’. (993)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Smugness, taunting.	To taunt Chremes (and Demipho). Having struck Chremes completely numb by fear, he emphasizes this by an oath: ‘that he should answer!’ He, who, by Hercules, doesn’t even know where he is.’	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dislogue
82	Ph. 1048- 1049	Phormio	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] mihin? Phormio: vostrae familiae <u>hercle</u> amicus et tuo summu’ Phaedriae.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Nausistrata has asked about his name in order to thank him. After his reply, she offers Phormio her services. (150-151)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Assurance, ingratiation; (exaggerated) modesty.	He assures his friendly position with her family – especially with her son Phaedria. (He overdoes it with having his own interests in mind: he’s buttering up.)	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dia-ogue
83	Ad. 353	Geta	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“nam <u>hercle</u> aliu’ nemo respiciet nos.” Interjectional/ Informal oath with promissory meaning.	No answer to this.	Outside Sostrata’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Hopelessness, despair.	To emphasize guarantee/pro- mise that no one is going to help them (unless perhaps Hegio, who Geta is here ordered to fetch).	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.
84	Ad. 982	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex	“reddam <u>hercle</u> ; da modo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with a promissory meaning.	Demea has pushed Micio to give Syrus some coins along with his manumission, Syrus, here, promises to repay Micio, upon which Micio answers “post consulam” (982).	Outside Micio’s house	By calling upon Hercules.	Eagerness, promising.	He is eager to have the money and promises to pay them back and strengthens his promise by swearing by Hercules.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.

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85	An. 552- 555	Chremes	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ <i>SI. irae sunt inter Glycerium et gnatum. CH. audio. SI. ita magnae ut sperem posse avelli. CH. fabulae! SI. profecto sic est. CH. sic <u>hercle</u> ut dicam tibi: amantium irae amoris integratior.</i> ” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Simo continues to argue for the wedding to take place. (556ff)	Chremes has just arrived from the forum, so to the right of the stage.	Hercules.	Frustration, incredulity, impatience.	Here to give extra credulity to the proverb of lovers, thus proving it to be true in this situation (as proof that Simo is wrong).	Hercle is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
86	An. 772- 774	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“ <i>ne illa illum haud novit quouiu’ causa haec incipit: “Chremes si positum puerum ante aedis viderit, suam gnatam non dabit”: tanto <u>hercle</u> mage dabit.</i> ” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Chremes overhears this and answers silently to himself: ‘non hercle facitet’. (775)	Outside Simo’s house.	Hercules.	Deceit, double- play.	To loudly declare this dramatically so that Chremes may overhear it and take the bait.	Hercle is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue
87	An. 775	Chremes	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“non <u>hercle</u> faciet. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	He says this to himself as an answer to Davos imitation of Mysis/Glycerium and their scheme (which Davos has made up, of course).	Hiding not far from Simo’s house, where Davos and Mysis are.	Hercules.	Anger, frustration.	To assure (himself and the audience) that he certainly won’t marry off his only daughter now.	Hercle is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue
88	<i>Eun.</i> 67-70	Parmeno	A slave, <i>servus.</i>	Male	Presum- ably a grown man, <i>senex.</i>	“[...] haec verba una <u>mehercle</u> falsa lacrimula quam oculos terendo misere vix vi expresserit, restinguet, et te ultro accusabit, et dabis ultro supplicium. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Phaedria, who is spoken to here, is quite upset with Parmeno’s explanation of what Thais would do and bursts out “o indignum facinu’! nunc ego et illam scelestam esse et me miserum sentio [...]” (71- 72)	Outside Phaedria’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Reason, alarm/warning.	To emphasize that this is what Thais undoubtedly would do – ‘and we all know it’. <i>Mehercle</i> gives weight to the promise.	Hercle + a prefixed <i>me</i> . “ mehercle : a longer form of <i>hercle</i> [...] derived from an original oath <i>ita me Hercules iuvet</i> ; it is relatively rare in comedy with only two examples in T. [...] and three in Pl.” ²⁸⁴	Dialogue.

²⁸⁴ Barsby 1999, 95, 67n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
89	<i>Eun.</i> 967- 969	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] ecce autem video rure redeuntem senem. dicam huic an non? ei dicam hercle ; etsi mihi magnum malum scio paratum; sed necesseset huic ut subveniat. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Pythias, quite satisfied with herself for causing Parmeno some damage (although he is not yet aware of it), says: “sapis. ego abeo intro: tu isti narra omne[m] ordine[m] ut factum siet.” (969-970)	Having run over to Pythias, he is now right outside Thais’ house.	Calling upon Hercules.	Determina-tion, bravery, righteous-ness.	To emphasize his decision: he will, indeed, tell his master the story, although it will mean a thrashing, most likely..	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
90	<i>Eun.</i> 1019- 1020	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex	“PA. siquidem istuc inpune habueris.! PY. verum? PA. reddam hercle . PY. credo: sed in diem istuc, Parmeno, est fortasse quod minare.” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Pythias answers “credo”, which indicates that the oath <i>hercle</i> might have played a part in making her (<i>fortasse</i>) believe him.	Outside Thais’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Anger, frustration; he is feeling deceived and thus threatful.	Taken off-guard by all of this, Parmeno promises and swears that he shall pay her back and take his revenge.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
91	<i>Ph.</i> 492- 494	Phaedria	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“PH. nondum mihi credis? DO. hariolare. PH. sin fidem do? DO. fabulae! PH. feneratum istuc beneficium pulchre tibi dices. DO. logi! PH. crede mi, gaudebi’ facto: verum hercle hoc est. DO. somnium!” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	What’s interesting here is that neither giving his word or swearing by Hercules convinces the pimp.	Outside Dorio’s house.	Hercules is called upon.	Pleading, begging; persuasion.	To make Dorio listen to his proposal about the music-girl. <i>Heracle</i> emphasizes <i>verum</i> and underlines that his promise “crede mi, gaudebi’...” is truthful.	As “gaudebi’” stands in future tense, the expression is promissory, although “verum est” is in present tense. Taken together the meaning is that he <i>promises</i> that Dorio shall be happy.	Dialogue
92	<i>Ad.</i> 227	Sannio	A free man, a <i>leno</i>	Male	Not speci- fied, but surely a grown man (<i>senex</i>).	“nusquam pedem! perii hercle : hac illi spe hoc incepererunt.” Interjectional/ Informal oath as expression of force.	Sannio answers Syrus with “nusquam pedem!” and then says the remaining words aside to himself, ²⁸⁵ so no reaction is deductible from anyone else.	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Frustration, caught off- guard.	Let out his feelings (negative) in an emphasized way.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue ²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Following Barsby 2001, 277, where it is noted that Sannio says “nusquam pedem” in the dialogue but “perii hercle...” is said “aside”, i.e. to himself (monologue).

²⁸⁶ See note 7 above.

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93	Ad. 637	Aesch- inus	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] pater <u>hercle</u> est: perii. [...]” Interjectional/ Informal oath as an expression of force.	He says this to himself.	Outside Sostrata’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Surprise, chock, caught off- guard.	To emphasize his chock and the fact that it really is, indeed, his father there at the door.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue.
94	Ad. 361- 363	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“sed eccum Syrum ire video: hinc scibo iam ubi est. atque <u>hercle</u> hic de grege ilost: si me senserit eum quaeritare, numquam dicet carnufex. Interjectional/ Informal oath as expression of force.	None. He is speaking to himself.	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Frustration.	Recollection and anger/ frustration over the fact that Syrus is “one of them” (<i>de grege</i>) and wouldn’t tell him a thing about Ctesipho, should he ask.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue.
95	<i>Eun.</i> 905- 907	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] <u>perii hercle</u> : obsecro abeamus intro, Thais: nolo me in via cum hac veste videat. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force (taken together with perii).	Thais takes the opportunity to tease Chaerea: “quam ob rem tandem? an quia pudet?” (907)	Outside Thais’ house.	Hercules is called upon.	Realization, shame, frustration.	Having just realized that he is wearing the eunuch’s clothes and is about to meet the brother of his future wife, he becomes rather bashful and frustrated, which comes out interjectionally in the form of <i>perii hercle!</i>	Here emphasizing <i>perii</i> , which makes it an expression of force: ‘Damn it, by Hercules’. ²⁸⁷	Dialogue
96	<i>Eun.</i> 984	“Senex”	A free man, a <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“SE. emit? <u>perii hercle</u> . quanti? PA. viginti minis.” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force (taken together with perii)	Parmeno tries to explain and to keep himself out of blaim.	Outside Thais’ house.	Calling upon Hercules.	Anger, frustration.	To let out and emphasize his frustration over the situation.	<i>Hercl</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue

²⁸⁷ Barsby (2001b, 419) translates *perii hercle* with a very fitting modern equivalent “God damn it!”.

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97	<i>Heau.</i> 736- 737	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“perii hercle . Bacchi’, mane, mane: quo mittis istanc quaeso? iube maneat. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force.	I believe that he says “perii hercle” to himself (Clinia might hear him) before he clearly approaches Bacchis and urges her to wait (“Bacchi’, mane, mane...”)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Hercules.	Frustration.	Syrus realizes what’s going on – Bacchis is pressing him for the money – and therefore says ‘damn it, by Hercules!’ before rushing up to hinder her from sending off her maid to the soldier (presumably another client-lover of hers).	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Mono- logue.
98	<i>Ph.</i> 385- 386	Phormio	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“[...] <i>PH.</i> nomen? maxume. <i>DE.</i> quid nunc taces? <i>PH.</i> perii hercle , nomen perdididi. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force.	Phormio says this aside, but Demipho, clearly agitated, hears that he’s saying <i>something</i> and asks “quid ais?”. (386)	They have come from the direction of the forum, which leaves them on the right side of the stage.	Hercules is called upon.	Frustration, stress.	To let out his frustration over having forgotten the name that he and Geta had agreed upon.	<i>Heracle</i> her emphasizes and strengthens <i>perii</i> .	Dialogue
99	<i>Ad.</i> 247- 249	Sannio	A free man, a <i>leno</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“immo hercle hoc quaeso, Syre: utut haec sunt acta, potiu’ quam litis sequar, meum mihi reddatur saltem quanti emptast, Syre.” Interjectional/Informal oath as a request.	Syrus takes Sannio seriously for a moment and answers “ <i>sedulo faciam</i> ” (251-252)	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Defeat, pleading.	To plead and to beg to Syrus for help. <i>Heracle</i> assures that his plead is earnest.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
100	<i>Ad.</i> 281- 283	Ctesipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“obsecro hercle te, hominem istum impurissimum quam primum absolvitote ne, si magis iritates siet, aliqua ad patrem hoc permanet atque ego tum perpetuo perierim.” Interjectional/Informal oath as a request.	Syrus, whom Ctesipho addresses, assures him that he can stay calm and not to worry (“non fiet; bono animo esto; [...]”) (284).	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Hercules.	Disgust, worry.	Give weight to and emphasize the seriousness of his request.	<i>Heracle</i> is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue.

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101	<i>Eun.</i> 362	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“obsecro <u>hercle</u> , Parmeno, fac ut potiar. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath as a request.	Parmeno gives into the coaxing command and agrees to help Chaerea	Having come from the harbor, he is now outside Thais' house (where Parmeno also is).	Hercules is called upon.	Pleading, desperation.	To show his desperation and to try mollify Parmeno to help him.	When an interjectional/informal oath is combined with <i>obsecro/quaeso</i> the line is given extra weight and emphasis.	Dialogue
102	<i>Eun.</i> 466	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i> .	Male	<i>Senex</i> .	“quaeso <u>hercle</u> ut liceat, pace quod fiat tua, dare huic quae volumus, convenire et conloqui.” Interjectional/Informal oath as a request.	Thraso answers this with sarcasm: “perpulchra credo dona aut nostri similia.” (468)	Outside Thais's house.	Hercules is called upon.	Sarcasm, politeness.	“Parmeno is being ironically polite.” ²⁸⁸ The <i>hercle</i> also adds to the desperation of this, I believe.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
103	<i>Eun.</i> 562	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“AN. narra istuc quaeso quid sit. CH. immo ego te obsecro <u>hercle</u> ut audias.” Interjectional/Informal oath as a request.	Chaerea starts to tell Antipho what's happened.	Outside Thais' house.	Hercules is called upon.	Happiness, joy, excitement.	To really emphasize how excited he is to tell Antipho (or anyone, really) the story.	<i>Hercl</i> e is an alternative for <i>Hercules</i> based on another stem.	Dialogue
104	<i>Eun.</i> 355- 356	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“PA. immo enim si scias quod donum huic dono contra conparet, [tum] magis id dicas. CH. quodnam quaeso <u>hercle</u> ? PA. eunuchum.” Interjectional/Informal oath in a question.	Parmeno gives a direct answer to Chaerea's request: a eunuch is what his brother has bought as a gift to Thais.	Having come from the harbor, he is now outside Thais' house (where Parmeno also is).	Calling upon Hercules.	Eagerness, curiosity.	To stress his eagerness to know the answer and make Parmeno answer immediately.	When an interjectional/informal oath is combined with <i>obsecro/quaeso</i> the line is given extra weight and emphasis.	Dialogue.

²⁸⁸ Barsby 1999, 172, 466n.

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1	Ad. 293- 294.	Canthara	A slave, <i>nutrix</i>	Female	<i>Anus</i>	“ pol is quidem iam hic aderit; nam numquam unum intermittit diem quin semper veniat. [...]” Interjectional/ Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Although trying to settle Sostrata with this sentence, she is still quite distressed, in spite of the oath by Pollux.	Outside Sostrata’s house.	By calling upon Pollux.	Hopefulness, comfort.	Promise Sostrata with emphasis that Geta surely shall come.	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue.
2	An. 866- 868	Simo	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“age nunciam: ego pol hodie, si vivo , tibi ostendam erum quid sit pericli fallere, et illi patrem. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Davos, who this is said to as he is being taken inside for a bad thrashing, cannot answer. Chremes asks Simo not to be so harsh.	Outside Simo’s house.	Pollux + his life ('as sure as I live').	Anger, frustration, threatful.	To promise to make an example of Davos for deceiving him (although S. has not found out the truth yet). He swears by Pollux and by the fact that he lives .	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . <i>Et illi patrem – illi</i> refers to Pamphilus. “ <i>si vivo</i> : an expression found several times in Plautus and Terence to reinforce a threat.” ²⁸⁹	Dialogue
3	Eun. 719	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“[...] inveniam pol hodie parem ubi referam gratiam.” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	This statement is followed by a question to Dorias about the girl, so no answer to this specific statement.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Frustration, determina-tion.	To make a weighty promise to avenge on Parmeno.	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue

²⁸⁹ Brown 2019, 287, 866n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
4	<i>Heau.</i> 730	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adulescens</i>	[...] BA. dormiunt: ego pol istos commovebo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	She says this quietly only for her maid Phrygia to hear (and not the eavesdropping Syrus and Clinia). After this, she starts to speak to Phrygia louder so that they shall hear her trick. (731ff.)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux.	Annoyance, frustration, trickery.	She is quite annoyed by Syrus (723-725) and wishes to stir him up (which is asserted by the promissory informal oath). She here lets Phrygia know that she’ll try some trick on them (and that she shall play along).	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . <i>Dormiunt</i> refers to Syrus and Clinia.	Dialogue
5	<i>Heau.</i> 1060-1061	Sostrata	<i>Matrona</i>	Female	<i>Senex</i>	“gnate mi, ego pol tibi dabo illam lepidam, quam tu facile ames, filiam Phanocratae nostril. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Clitipho is not pleased with this suggestion: she’s got red hair and freckles! (161-162)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux.	Compassion, kindness, assurance.	As she feels compassion for Clitipho to be separated by force from the girl he loves, she promises to make sure to find him a loveable wife.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
6	<i>Hec.</i> 541-543	Phidippus	<i>Dominus/erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“multo priu’ scivi quam tu illum habere amicam, Myrrina; verum id vitium numquam decevi esse ego adulescentiae; nam id [omnibus] innatumst. at pol iam aderit se quoque etiam quom oderit.” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Phidippus continues with his accusations towards Myrrina, who averts them by answering questions with questions. (544ff)	Outside Phidippus’ house.	Pollux.	Anger, frustration.	To put Myrrina on the spot by arguing that he knew better and judged the situation on the natural ways of young men: they will always put aside their lovers and settle in their marriages. This is assured for the future (promised) by the oath by Pollux.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue

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7	Hec. 746- 747	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/e rus</i>	Male	Senex	“quaere alium tibi firmiorem [amicum] dum tibi tempu’ consulendi est: nam neque ille hoc animo erit aetatem neque pol tu eadem istac aetate.” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Bacchis, defensive, wonders who has told him this. (748)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	(Attempted) politeness; persuasive, demanding, offensive.	“Laches phrases a demand as a suggestion.” ²⁹⁰ Presumably he pushes a trigger- point here by mentioning her age, as they both know that the success of her occupation rests upon her youth and beauty.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
8	Hec. 754- 760	Bacchis	Meretrix	Female	Adule- scens	“LA. eas ad mulieres huc intro atque istuc iusurandum idem polliceare illis. exple animum is teque hoc crimine expedi. BA. <i>faciam</i> quod pol , si esset alia ex hoc quaestu, haud faceret, scio, ut de tali causa nuptae mulieri se ostenderet. sed nolo esse falsa fama gnatum suspectum tuom, nec leviozem vobis, quibus est minime aequom, eum viderier inmerito; nam meritu’ de me est quod queam illi ut commodem.” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Laches says that he is convinced by her words, and again bids her to convince the women in the same manner. (761- 762)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	Bravery, earnestness, kindness.	There has been some debate as to Bacchis’ character (see Goldberg 2013, 180). however, I choose to interpret her as doing this both out of benevolence as well as self- protection (she has a reputation to uphold, too).	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . <i>Scio</i> = parenthetic. <i>Ut</i> = introduces the purpose clause which explains the preceding quod. ²⁹¹	Dialogue
9	Eun. 1009	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“numquam pol hominem stultiorem vidi nec videbo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory (<i>vidi</i>) and promissory (<i>videbo</i>) meaning.	Pythias continues to talk and reveal her trick for quite a few lines more, eventually leaving Parmeno furious.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	<i>Schaden-freude</i> .	To emphasize and dramatize Parmeno’s foolish stupidity.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue

²⁹⁰ Goldberg 2013, 183, 747n.

²⁹¹ Goldberg 2013, 184, 756n.+757n.

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10	Ad. 298	Sostrata	A free woman, a <i>matrona, era/ domina</i>	Female	Senex	“ita pol est ut dici: [...]” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Sostrata is finally assured and therefore utters this sentence.	Outside Sostrata’s house.	By calling upon Pollux.	Relief, persuaded.	To emphasize that Canthara was right in pointing out that Aeschinus is a good catch, after all. ²⁹²	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue.
11	Ad. 448-450	Hegio	A free man, <i>dominus /erus</i>	Male	Senex	“ex illan familia tam inliberale facinus esse ortum! [o] Aeschine, pol haud paternum istuc dedisti.” Interjectional/ Informal oath with assertory meaning.	The lines shift between Hegio and Geta’s conversation and what Demea, who eavesdrops from afar, comments (to himself). Therefore, there is no direct answer from Geta to this line specifically, but rather he answers Hegio’s next line (454).	Near Micio’s house (as Hegio and Geta arrive from the countryside, i.e. from the same direction Demea is heading).	By calling upon Pollux.	Frustration, disappointment.	Express and enhance his disappointment and frustration (negative feelings).	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux and is used interjectionally.	Dialogue.
12	An. 228-230	Mysis	<i>Ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“Audivi, Archylis, iamdudum: Lesbiam adduci iubes. sane pol illa temulentast mulier et temeraria nec sati’ digna quoi committas primo partu mulierem.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this (from <i>sane...</i> onwards) to herself.	Outside Glycerium’s house.	Pollux is called upon.	Contempt, disgust.	To express the contempt she feels towards the drunken old midwife.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Mono- logue (dia- logue up until <i>iubes</i> .)
13	An. 318-321	Pamphilus	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“[...] CH. o salve, Pamphile: ad te advenio spem salutem auxilium consilium expetens. PA. neque pol consili locum habeo neque ad auxilium copiam. sed istuc quidnamst? [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Charinus pleads Pamphilus not to marry Philumena. (326-327)	Entered from the direction of the forum.	Pollux.	Hopelessness, helplessness.	Pamphilus, himself being beaten down by love-problems, really doesn’t have any help to offer, still tries to keep a good face and listen to his friend.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue

²⁹² 295-297: “e re nata meliu’ fieri haud potuit quam factumst, era, quando vitium oblatumst, quod ad ilium attinet potissimum, talem, tali genere atque animo, natum ex tanta familia.”

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14	An. 459- 460	Mysis	Ancilla	Female	Anus?	“Ita pol quidem res est, ut dixi, Lesbia: fidelem haud ferme mulieri invenias virum.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Mysis continues by saying that Pamphilus, though, has remained faithful, upon which Lesbia says that he’s a good young man, indeed. (462ff.) All of this is overheard by Simo and Davos.	She has come from the forum.	Pollux.	Assurance, ‘gossipy’.	Mysis is confirming Lesbia’s statement about men, before inferring that Pamphilus is an exception.	Pol is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
15	An. 770- 771	Mysis	Ancilla	Female	Anus?	“[...] dis pol habeo gratiam quom in pariundo aliquot adfuerunt liberae.” ²⁹³ Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	There is no direct answer to this. Davos continues to speak loudly to fool Chremes. (772ff)	Outside Simo’s house.	Pollux; the gods.	Relief, gratitude.	To let out her relief over that she has free women (whose word is considered more truthful than slaves) as witnesses of the birth.	Pol is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
16	An. 775- 778	Mysis	Ancilla	Female	Anus?	“[...] DA. nunc adeo, ut tu sis sciens, nisi puerum tolli’ iam ego hunc in mediam viam provolvam teque ibidem pervolvam in luto. MY. tu pol homo non es sobrius. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Davos ignores this and continues to loudly speak nonsense to fool Chremes, who is eavesdropping.	Outside Simo’s house.	Pollux.	Frustration, confusion.	Mysis, who still doesn’t understand why Davos is acting this way, is confused and upset at all the unpolite things he bursts out.	Pol is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
17	An. 787- 789	Mysis	Ancilla	Female	Anus?	“[DA] hic est ille: non te credas Davom ludere. MY. me miseram! nil pol falsi dixi, mi senex. CH. novi omnem rem. est Simo intus? [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chremes just wants to see Simo and get straight to the point about all the versions of the story he’s hearing.	Outside Simo’s house.	Pollux.	Earnestness, assurance, despair.	To swear by Pollux that what Davos is saying (making up) is wrong and that she has only told the truth.	Pol is short for Pollux.	Dialogue

²⁹³ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “770 gratias γG”.

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18	An. 789- 790	Mysis	<i>Ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“[...] ne me atti[n]gas, sceleste. si pol Glycerio non omnia haec..” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Davos then tries to explain what has been done and why he was acting so rudely (i.e. to get Chremes to want to call off the wedding). (791-795)	Outside Simo’s house.	Pollux.	Disgust, frustration; threatful.	To push Davos off her and starts to make a threat against Davos (‘by Pollux, if not all this to Glycerium...’) but she is cut off by him, who explains the situation to her.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
19	An. 803	Mysis	<i>Ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“CR. itan Chrysis? hem. MY. nos quidem pol miseris perdidit.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Crito answers by further asking how they are doing here. (805)	Outside Simo’s house.	Pollux.	Despair, grief, self-pity.	To dramatically emphasize that the death of Chrysis indeed meant the end of her and Glycerium.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
20	An. 806- 810	Crito	A free man, dominus /erus	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“CR. quid Glycerium? iam hic suos parentis repperit? MY. utinam! CR. an nondum etiam? haud auspicato huc me appuli; nam pol , si id scissem, numquam huc tetulissem pedem. semper eiu’ dictast esse haec atque habitast soror; quae illi(u)s fuere possidet: [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Crito continues to talk about how other people have told him that it would be all too <i>easy</i> (sarcastically, as it was hard for foreigners) to take Glycerium to court to get hold of her possession from the passed-away Chrysis (Crito’s cousin and Glycerium’s supposed sister). He assures Mysis that this would be wrong of him and how he would not want to make a bad name for himself or leave Glycerium penniless (810-816) although his intentions for his journey had been to retrieve Chrysis’ property (796-800).	Outside Simo’s house.	Pollux.	Assurance, disappointment.	To underscore that he would not have made the journey from Andros if he’d known that Glycerium hadn’t found her real parents – if she had found them, the property would be his, which would explain his disappointment upon hearing that she hasn’t found them: (has she) still not (found them)?	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue

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21	An. 817	Mysis	<i>Ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“o optume hospes! pol , Crito, antiquom obtines.” ²⁹⁴ Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Mysis is fooled by Crito’s deceit and presentation of his intentions and takes him to Glycerium upon his request.	Outside Simo’s house.	Pollux.	Happiness, joy.	Mysis is happy to find Crito so nice (although false).	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
22	<i>Eun.</i> 95-97	Thais	A courtesan, a <i>meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adulescens</i> ²⁹⁵	“ne crucia te obsecro, anime mi, (mi) Phaedria. non pol quo quemquam plus amem aut plus diligam eo feci; sed ita erat res, faciundum fuit,” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Although Phaedria is spoken to, Parmeno responds by the sarcastic remark “credo, ut fit, misera prae amore excludi hunc foras.” (98)	Outside Thais’s house.	Pollux is called upon.	Comfort, assurance.	To firmly assert that she really indeed did not refuse Phaedria entrance last night because she loves anyone else more than him.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . “ pol : a common mild oath used for emphasis, originally an oath by <i>Pollux</i> .” ²⁹⁶	Dialogue.
23	<i>Eun.</i> 199-201	Thais	A courtesan, a <i>meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adulescens</i>	“ego pol , quae mihi sum conscia, hoc certo scio neque me finxisse falsi quicquam neque meo cordi esse quemquam cariorem hoc Phaedria.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	No answer, as she is saying this to herself.	Outside Thais’s house.	Pollux is called upon.	Self-assurance.	To assure herself (and the audience) that her conscience is clear, although Phaedria doubts her.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Monologue.

²⁹⁴ Nothing in Lindsay & Kauer or the manuscripts, but Brown 2019, 278, 817n. notes that he agrees with Spencer’s change of speaker from Mysis to Davos. I choose to stay with the manuscripts and Mysis here.

²⁹⁵ At line 527 Chremes (noted as an *adulescens*) says that Thais is slightly older than him (“[...] Thai’ quam ego sum maiusculast.”), hence I title her as an *adulescens* as well.

²⁹⁶ Barsby 1999, 104, 96n.

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24	Eun. 605- 606	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“an ego occasionem mi ostendam, tantam, tam brevam, tam optatam, tam insperatam amitterem? tum pol ego is essem vero qui simulabar.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Antipho is very convinced by this argument.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Happiness, joy, excitement, playfulness.	To underline, quite humorously, that, had he not seized the opportunity, he’d really be a eunuch, not only pretending to be one. The use of <i>pol</i> could indicate an attempt to jokingly be more feminine, more ‘eunuch-like’. ²⁹⁷	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
25	Eun. 665- 666	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“at pol ego amatores audieram mulierum esse eos maximos, sed nil potesse; verum miserae non in mentem venerat;” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to Dorias, who never has a chance to answer, as Phaedria is back with the (real) eunuch.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Frustration, worry, distress.	To assert/ swear that she truly had never thought of eunuchs as being potent and capable of sexual intercourse.	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
26	Eun. 674- 675	Dorias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“[...] PY. o factum bene. DOR(IAS). istuc pol vero bene [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Neither Phaedria nor Pythias answers this statement but turn to the next matter.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Relief, happiness, joy.	To agree with Pythias and give further emphasis to her “o factum bene”.	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
27	Eun. 720- 723	Dorias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“PY. [...] sed nunc quid faciundum censes, Dorias? DOR. de istac rogas virgine? PY. ita, utrum taceam an praedicemne? DOR. tu pol , si sapis, quod scis nescis neque de eunucho neque de vitio virginis.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Pythias takes Dorias’ advice.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Alarm, advice-giving.	To really make Pythias listen to her advice and emphasize <i>si sapis</i> : ‘By Pollux, if you have any sense, ...’.	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue

²⁹⁷ Barsby 1999, 201, 606n.: “**pol**: the use of this predominantly female oath suggests that Chaerea may here be imitating the voice and gestures of a eunuch (Adams (1984) 52-3). There are nine other male utterances of the word in T., of which six are spoken by *seneces* and only one by an *adulescens* (An. 320).”

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28	Eun. 730- 731	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“PY. Chreme. CH. quis est? ehem Pythias: vah quanto nunc formonsior videre mihi quam dudum! PY. certe tuquidem pol multo hilarior.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertery meaning.	Chremes, rather drunk and amused, answers with the proverbial expression: ‘Without Ceres (food) and Liber (wine) Venus (love) is cold.’ (732)	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Frankness, humor.	<i>Pol</i> further emphasizes <i>certe</i> . ‘Well, by Pollux, you sure are more cheerful.’	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
29	Eun. 876	Thais	A court- esan, a <i>meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“equidem pol in eam partem accipioque et volo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertery meaning.	Chaerea answers “immo ita quaeso” and assures Thais that he raped the girl out of love and without the intention of insulting Thais. (877-878)	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Earnestness.	“Thais proclaims her earnestness”. ²⁹⁸	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
30	Eun. 878- 881	Thais	A court- esan, a <i>meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] scio, et pol propterea mage nunc ignosco tibi. non adeo inhumano ingenio sum, Chaerea, neque ita inperita ut quid amor valeat nesciam.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertery meaning.	Chaerea is overwhelmingly happy by this and exclaims that he loves Thais for this. (882)	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Forgiveness, understand-ing.	To emphasize that she is willing to forgive Chaerea, because he admitted that he did it out of love and not insult.	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue.
31	Eun. 883	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“tum pol tibi ab istoc, era, cavendum intellego.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertery meaning.	Pythias warns Thais with this remark. However, it is answered by Chaerea: “non ausim.” (884)	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Incredulity, suspiciousness, alarm.	To add weight and seriousness to her alarming warning.	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue
32	Eun. 901- 904	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“CH. non faciam, Pythias. PY. non credo, Chaerea, nisi si commissum non erit. CH. quin, Pythias, tu me servato. PY. neque pol servandum tibi quicquam dare ausim neque te servare: apage te.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertery meaning.	The conversation is interrupted by Thais, who announces that Chremes is coming down the street.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Disgust, incredulity.	To firmly assert that she’d never guard him or let him guard anything else again. Emphasizes <i>neque</i> .	<i>Pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue.

²⁹⁸ Barsby 1999, 249, 876n.

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33	<i>Eun.</i> 941- 942	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“ego pol te pro istis dictis et factis, scelus, ulciscar, ut ne inpune in nos inluseris.” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Anger, frustration; threatful.	To underline that she <i>surely</i> shall punish him (=Parmeno).	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Mono- logue.
34	<i>Heau.</i> 723- 725	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“Sati’ pol proterve me Syri promissa huc induxerunt, decem minas quas mihi dare pollicitust. quodsi nunc me deceperit saepe obsecrans me ut veniam, frustra veniet;” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	There is no answer to this as the focus shifts back to Syrus’ and Clinia’s aside-comments.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux.	Annoyance, incredulity.	To note and emphasize the fact that she thinks Syrus has got quite the nerve to call her outside with his promises (which she is not convinced by) like this.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
35	<i>Hec.</i> 58-63	Philotis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i> ²⁹⁹	“Per pol quam paucos reperias meretricibus fidelis evenire amatores, Syra. vel hic Pamphilus iurabat quotiens Bacchidi, quam sancta, uti quivis facile posset credere, numquam illa viva ducturum uxorem domum! em duxit. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Syra, who is spoken to here, advises Philotis never to have certain care for lovers, as it only brings trouble. (63ff.)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	Frustration.	To enhance the effect of her criticism of young lovers.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . <i>Per</i> is separated from and belongs to <i>quam</i> (<i>tmesis</i>). ³⁰⁰	Dialogue
36	<i>Hec.</i> 66-71	Philotis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] SY. neminem: nam nemo illorum quisquam, scito, ad te venit quin ita paret sese abs te ut blanditias suis quam minimo pretio suam voluptatem expleat. hiscin tu amabo non contra insidiabere? PH. tamen pol eandem iniuriumst esse omnibus.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Syra comes with a comeback: ‘but is it wrong to take revenge on your adversaries, or to capture them in the same way they have tried to capture you?’ (72-73)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	Frustration; hesitance, disagreement.	To mark and emphasize that she does not entirely agree with her older colleague: ‘but surely, by Pollux, it is unfair to be (=act) the same (way) with all (of them, i.e lovers).	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue

²⁹⁹ Syra attributes “youth” (*aetas*) and “beauty” (*forma*) to Philotis at 74-75, hence I take it that she is an *adulescens*.

³⁰⁰ Goldberg 2013, 97, 58n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
37	Hec. 223- 228	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“[LA.] at vide quam inmerito aegritudo haec oritur mi abs te, Sostrata: rus habitatum abii concedens vobis et rei serviens, sumptus vestros otiumque ut nostra res posset pati, meo labori haud parcens praeter aequom atque aetatem meam. non te pro his curasse rebu’ nequid aegre esset mihi! SO. non mea opera neque pol culpa evenit. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Laches answers that it is entirely her fault. (229)	Outside Laches’ house.	Pollux.	Confusion, defense, assurance, despair.	She is quite bewildered at her husband’s outrage and accusations, which she with an asseveration asserts not to be true.	The position of <i>pol</i> is noteworthy, as it otherwise usually stands as second or third word in a sentence.	Dialogue
38	Hec. 277- 279	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“sed non facile est expurgate: ita animum induxerunt socrus omnis esse iniquas: haud pol mequidem; nam numquam secus habui illam ac si ex me esset gnata, nec qui hoc mi eveniat scio;” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Phidippus’ house. (on her way to her own house)	Pollux.	Despair, frustration, self- assurance.	To assure herself of the fact that she is not such a mother-in-law as she is being accused of being.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Mono- logue
39	Hec. 280	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“nisi pol filium multimodis iam exspecto ut redeat domum.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Phidippus’ house. (on her way to her own house)	Pollux.	Longing, impatience, despair, frustration.	To emphasize how much she looks forward to her son returning home, so that the matter can be solved.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . <i>Nisi</i> = ‘except that’ ³⁰¹	Mono- logue
40	Hec. 566	Myrrina	A free woman, <i>matro-na</i>	Female	Senex	“nullam pol credo mulierem me miseriorem vivere.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Phidippus’ house.	Pollux.	Despair, self- pity, distress.	To underline her self-pity and despair.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Mono- logue

³⁰¹ Goldberg 2013, 129, 280n.

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41	Hec. 590- 596	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“[PA.] haud facies, neque sinam ut qui nobis, mater, male dictum velit, mea pertinacia esse dicat factum, haud tua modestia. tum tuas amicas te et cognatas deserere et festos dies mea causa nolo. SO. nil pol iam istaec mihi res voluptatis ferunt: dum aetati’ tempu’ tulit, perfuncta sati’ sum: satias iam tenet studiorum istorum. haec mihi nunc curast maxima ut nequoi mea longinquitas aetatis obstet mortenve exspectet meam.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Sostrata continues, and Pamphilus eventually answers in despair how lucky he is to have such a mother. (601-602)	Outside Laches’ house.	Pollux.	Sincerity, earnestness, affection, assurance.	She affectionately suggests that she should retreat to the countryside to remove herself from the situation and let Pamphilus and his wife reunite. She makes it clear that she is willing to cast aside her interests of old and have his interests first in mind.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
42	Hec. 727- 728	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“Non hoc de nihilist quod Laches me nunc conventam esse expetit; nec pol me multum fallit quin quod suspicor sit quod velit.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	Suspicion, wonder.	To give her suspicion extra credulity (to herself): she is almost certain what this will be about.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . “ quin...velit : i.e. <i>quin quod velit hoc sit quod suspicor (Don.)</i> .” ³⁰²	Mono- logue
43	Hec. 734- 735	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“ego pol quoque etiam timida sum quom venit mi in mentem quae sim, ne nomen mihi quaesti obsiet; nam mores facile tutor.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Laches assures her that she has nothing to fear from him, as long as she speaks the truth. (736)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	Apprehen-sion, politeness, caution.	To return Laches’ politeness, but also to early on make Laches aware that she knows the reputation of her profession and fears that Laches might hold it against her while evaluating her word.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . “ quoque : sc. <i>miror</i> .” ³⁰³ This means that this is the verb <i>pol</i> most closely emphasizes: ‘By Pollux, I do wonder, but I am also apprehensive, as it comes to mind what I am, ...’.	Dialogue

³⁰² Goldberg 2013, 180, 728n.

³⁰³ Goldberg 2013, 181, 734.

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44	Hec. 771- 772	Phidippus	<i>Dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“[LA.] Phidippe, Bacchis deierat persancte.. PH. haecin east? LA. haec est. PH. nec pol istae metuont deos neque eas respicere deos opinor.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Phidippus speaks to Laches, considering him stupid for believing an oath from a <i>meretrix</i> . Bacchis, however, as her oath is not enough, answers Phidippe directly that she’ll give him her maids to question under torture to make him believe her.	Outside Phidippus’ house.	Pollux. (Also interesting comment about the view of <i>meretrices</i> and gods.)	Frustration, disgust.	Simultaneously to tell Laches that he is being hasty and stupid for believing the oath of a <i>meretrix</i> , since they have no fear of the gods (and perjury) and the gods have no regard for them, but he also openly shows Bacchis his disgust towards her.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
45	Hec. 788- 789	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adulescens</i>	“eo, etsi scio pol is fore meum conspectum invisum hodie. nam nupta meretrici hostis est, a viro ubi segregatast.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Laches assures her that they’ll do her no harm, as she comes to help them restore Pamphilus’ wife to him.	Outside Phidippus’ house.	Pollux.	Bravery, determination.	To say that she will do as Laches asks, although she is very aware of how she’s going to be treated – which adds to make clear the bravery and self-sacrifice she does to help them. (Although, what her objective is, is not known – perhaps what Laches suggests to himself at 794-798).	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
46	Hec. 837- 840	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adulescens</i>	“ego dum illo licitumst usa sum benigno et lepido et comi. incommode mihi nuptiis evenit, factum fateor: at pol me fecisse arbitror ne id merito mi eveniret. multa ex quo fuerint commode, ei(u)s incommode aequomst ferre.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Phidippus’ house.	Pollux.	Earnestness, equanimity, self-justification.	She clears herself (towards herself) that she did nothing to make this marriage come about (i.e. she did not alienate Pamphilus’ affections for her).	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Monologue

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47	Ph. 787	Nausis- trata	A <i>matrona,</i> an <i>era.</i>	Female	Senex	“factum volo. ac pol minu’ queo viri culpa quam me dignumst.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Demipho is confused and asks ‘how so?’.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Contempt, frustration.	To express and emphasize her contempt with her husband and transfer any possible fault onto him.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux.</i>	Dialogue
48	Ph. 788- 790	Nausis- trata	A <i>matrona,</i> an <i>era.</i>	Female	Senex	“quia pol mei patris bene parta indiligenter tutatur; nam ex is praediis talenta argenti bina statim capiebat: vir viro quid praestat! [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Demipho, who knows of his brother’s double-life avoidingly answers ‘bina quaeso?’. (790)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Contempt, frustration.	To express and emphasize her contempt with her husband’s way of governing the estates. (She doesn’t know that he sends money to his second wife in Lemnos.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux.</i>	Dialogue
49	Ph. 814- 815	Nausis- trata	A <i>matrona,</i> an <i>era.</i>	Female	Senex	“sic pol commodius esse in omnis arbitror quam ut coeperas, manere hanc; nam perliberali’ visast, quom vidi, mihi.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She leaves after this comment.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Content.	Although previously having wondered what the men were fussing about (aside, 806), she now concludes that she is happy that Antipho may keep the girl (unaware of her true identity, of course).	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux.</i>	Dialogue

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50	Ph. 998	Nausistrata	A <i>matrona</i> , an <i>era</i> .	Female	Senex	“[...] non pol temerest quod tu tam times. Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chremes, meakly, tries to hold himself together and answers ‘egon timeo?’. (999)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollus is called upon.	Frustration, eagerness, confusion.	To point out to her husband that he is acting very suspiciously for saying that she shouldn’t believe Phormio, while he himself is so afraid. The sentence is given a sense of ‘matter-of-fact’ and emphasis by the oath by Pollux.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
51	Ph. 1051	Nausistrata	A <i>matrona</i> , an <i>era</i> .	Female	Senex	“[...] pol meritumst tuom.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Phormio draws advantage from this and asks Nausistrata to invite him to dinner – true to his role as a <i>parasitus</i> . (1052-1053)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Gratitude.	To once again underline that she is grateful to Phormio – and that he truly deserves it.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
52	Ph. 1053-1054	Nausistrata	A <i>matrona</i> , an <i>era</i> .	Female	Senex	“[...] <i>PH</i> . me ad cenam voca. <i>NA</i> . pol vero voco. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	There’s no specific answer to this – Demipho simply says that they should all go inside.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Compliance, gratitude.	To comply with Phormio’s wish to come to dinner, as she has just offered her services to him. ‘By Pollux, but of course, I invite you.’	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue

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53	Ph. 572- 574	Chre-mes	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] <i>DE</i> . quid illi tam diu quaeso igitur commorabare, ubi id audiveras? <i>CH</i> . pol me detinuit morbus. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Demipho asks what kind of illness his brother Chremes had. (574-575)	They have just entered from the harbor, so to the left of the stage.	Pollux is called upon.	Annoyance, bitterness.	To express his bitterness for having travelled all the way to Lemnos (only to find that his second wife had gone to Athens to look for him) and not being able to return due to sickness: ‘By Pollux! (Because) an illness detained me (from returning)’.	Noteworthy: <i>pol</i> stands as first, not second, word in the sentence.	Dialogue
54	<i>Heau</i> . 590	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“at tu pol tibi istas posthac manus!” Interjectional/Informal oath in a command.	Clitipho runs away, as instructed, and Syrus shouts this after him – i.e. no answer to this.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Pollux.	Threatful.	To make sure that he understands what’s at stake, if he does not behave himself.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> .	Dialogue
55	<i>Hec</i> . 608- 610	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“[<i>LA</i> .] istuc est sapere, qui ubicumque opu’ sit animum possis flectere; quod sit faciundum fortasse post, idem hoc nunc si feceris. <i>SO</i> . fors fuat pol . [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (pol) AND a prayer (fors fuat).	Laches eventually tells her to go pack her bags to leave with him for the county-side. (612)	Outside Laches’ house.	Pollux. (Fors Fortuna).	Hope, despair, bravery.	Surely knowing what’s awaiting her (living with her spiteful husband on the farm) she wishes and hopes that she is making a wise choice (est <i>sapere</i>), as Laches said.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . <i>fuat</i> = pres.subj., an alliterative archaism. ³⁰⁴ ‘By Pollux, may Fors [Fortuna] grant it [so].’	Dialogue

³⁰⁴ Goldberg 2013, 169, 610n.

EDEPOL

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 288- 289	Canthara	A slave, <i>nutrix</i>	Female	<i>Anus</i>	“[...] quid fiet, rogas? recte edepol spero. [...]” ³⁰⁵ Interjectional/ Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Although trying to settle Sostrata with this sentence, she is still quite distressed, in spite of the oath by Pollux.	Outside Sostrata’s house.	By calling upon Pollux.	Hopefulness, comfort.	Wishes to strengthen that she trusts everything is going to be alright and to calm Sostrata down.	- <i>pol</i> is short for Pollux. <i>Ede- ?????</i> ? some kind of prefix.	Dialogue.
2	Ad. 763- 766	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“ Edepol , Syrisce, te curasti molliter lauteque munus administrasti tuom: abi. sed postquam intui’ sum omnium rerum satur, prodeambulare huc lubitum est. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with an assertory meaning.	Syrus not only says this to himself in a monologue, but he also literally addresses himself.	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Pollux.	Drunkenness, whimsiness, self-applause.	To emphasize how good a job he’s done, quite ironically (as all he’s done is drink). ³⁰⁶	- <i>pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Mono- logue.
3	Ad. 782- 784	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“abiit. edepol commissatorem haud sane commodum, praesertim Ctesiphoni! quid ego nunc agam?” Interjectional/Informal oath with an assertory meaning.	He says this to himself, as Demea just ran into Micio’s house to find Ctesipho.	Outside Micio’s house.	Calling upon Pollux.	Frustration, worry. (Quite an “oh, shit”-moment.)	<i>Edepol</i> here emphasizes the fact that Demea really isn’t the most joyous of ‘party-people’ and would indeed ‘kill the vibe’ for Ctesipho, so to speak, especially since he was to be kept unaware of the fact that the music-girl is Ctesipho’s <i>amica</i> .	- <i>pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Mono- logue.

³⁰⁵ Martin 1976, 150, 289n.: “**edepol**: used by both men and women; contrast the use of *pol* (293n).” | Martin 1976, 151, 293n.: “**pol**: Aulus Gellius N.A. 11.6 writes ‘In our early writings neither do Roman women swear by Hercules nor the men by Castor...but the oath by Pollux is common to both sexes.’”

³⁰⁶ cf. 773-775, Demea about Syrus: “in ipsa turba atque in peccato maximo, quod vix sedatum satis est, potatis, scelus, quasi re bene gesta.”

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4	Ad. 959- 960	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] ergo edepol hodie mea quidem sententia iudico Syrum fieri esse aequom liberum. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with an assertory meaning.	Micio is surprised at this suggestion and answers “istunc liberum? Quondam ob factum?” (960-961)	Outside Micio’s house.	Calling upon Pollux.	Smugness, double-play, exploit.	Emphasis on the whole statement: it really is, indeed, my opinion today, that...”. <i>pol</i> is short for Pollux.	Dialogue.	
5	Ad. 961- 963	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex	“o noster Demea, edepol vir bonu’s. ego istos vobis usque a pueris curavi ambo sedulo: docui monui bene praecepi semper quae potui omnia.” Interjectional/Informal oath with an assertory meaning.	Demea answers “res apparet” (964) and pushes Micio to grant Syrus his manumission, which he finally agrees to, as Aeschinus says he wants it so.	Outside Micio’s house.	Calling upon Pollux.	Eagerness, persuasion, gratitude.	To underscore both that Demea indeed is a good man for suggesting this (gratitude), but also to eagerly convince Micio to do as Demea says.	Dialogue.	
6	An. 692- 693	Mysis	Ancilla	Female	Anus?	“atque edepol ea res est, proptereaque nunc misera in maerorest. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Pamphilus answers by solemnly swearing that he shall never desert Glycerium.	Outside Glycerium’s house.	Pollux.	Frustration.	To assert that this is <i>exactly</i> the reason why Glycerium is beyond herself with grief.	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened version of <i>pol</i> .	Dialogue
7	Eun. 867- 871	Thais	A courtesan, <i>a meretrix</i>	Female	Adulescens	“neque edepol quid nunc consili capiam scio de virgine istac: ita conturbasti mihi rationes omnis, ut eam non possim suis ita ut aequom fuerat atque ut studui trader, ut solidum parerem hoc mi beneficium, Chaerea.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chaerea, quite improperly, answers amorously and says that good friendships are forged from such hardships as this. (872-875)	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Disappointment, frustration.	To underline <i>neque...scio</i> and her frustration over what to do now that Chaerea has spoiled her plans.	“ edepol : strengthened form of <i>pol</i> ” ³⁰⁷	Dialogue

³⁰⁷ Barsby 1999, 247, 867n.: “**edepol**: strengthened form of *pol* [...]. Gellius (11.6.4-6) claims that, according to Varro, *edepol* was originally restricted to women, being derived from the Eleusinian mysteries, and was only later taken up by men. It is therefore interesting that in Pl. *edepol* is predominantly a male oath (338 male examples to 26 female). In T. *edepol* is used marginally more often by men than women (13 examples to 10); but the more significant statistic is that his female characters much prefer *pol* (45 examples to 10 of *edepol*), so that, when they use *edepol*, it might be intended to have a masculine ring. See Martin (1995) 148, Adams (1984) 50-3, Nicolson 99.”

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
8	<i>Eun.</i> 915- 916	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“PY. amabo, quid ait? cognoscitne? CH. ac memoriter. PY. probe <u>edepol</u> narras; nam illi faveo virgini.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Pythias invites them into Thais’ house and then proceeds to speak to herself aside.	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Relief, happiness, joy.	To underscore <i>probe</i> and enhance her relief that the nurse has found the girl to be the sister of Chremes.	Strengthened form of <i>pol.</i>	Dialogue
9	<i>Eun.</i> 1002- 1003	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	“Numquam <u>edepol</u> quicquam iamdiu quod mage vellem evenire mi evenit quam quod modo senex intro ad nos venit errans.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno overhears Pythias monologue, confused, and asks himself “quid hoc autemst? (1005)	Outside Thais’ house.	Pollux is called upon.	Happiness, joy; <i>schaden-freude.</i>	Being quite pleased with herself and the outcome of events, she gloats and emphasizes <i>numquam</i> : ‘by Pollux, <i>never</i> in a very long time have something happened to me, which I would’ve wanted more to happen than...’	Strengthened form of <i>pol.</i>	Mono- logue.
10	<i>Heau.</i> 3 81-382	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“ <u>Edepol</u> te, mea Antiphila, laudo et fortunatam iudico, id quom studuisti isti formae ut mores consimiles forent;” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Bacchis continues her speech for a long while before Antiphila has a chance to answer.	They have entered from the town (right entrance)	Pollux.	Flattery, praise.	To underscore her praise and to make sure Antiphila knows that she is lucky (<i>fortunatam</i>) for being able to match her beauty with her manners.	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol.</i>	Dialogue

No.	Lines	QUIS: nomen	QUIS: status/or do	QUIS: sexus	QUIS: aetas	QUID: factum/dictum	QUID: consecutio dicti	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
11	Hec. 81-83	Syra. /// <u>Parm- eno.</u>	Meretrix ³⁰⁸ /// <u>Servus</u>	Female /// <u>Male</u>	Anus /// <u>Senex?</u>	“[PA.] sed videon ego Philotium? unde haec advenit? Philoti’, salve multum. PH. o salve, Parmeno. SY. salve <u>mecastor</u> , Parmeno. PA. et tu <u>edepol</u> , Syra. Both: Interjectional/Informal oaths with assertory meaning.	After Parmeno has answered Syra, he again turns to Philotis to ask her about her recent whereabouts. (84)	Parmeno entered from Laches’s house before coming over to the women, who stand outside Bacchis’ house.	Castor. Pollux. Parmeno+ <i>edepol</i> : Mockery. ³⁰⁹	Syra+mecastor: Surprise, joy. Parmeno+ <i>edepol</i> : Mockery. ³⁰⁹	Syra wishes to express her surprise at seeing Parmeno. Parmeno mocks her slightly by echoing her overdramatic way of greeting him.	Mecastor is a short- form of the full oath <i>me Castor iuvet</i> . ³¹⁰ <i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened from of <i>pol</i> .	Dialogue
12	Hec. 88-90	Parm-eno	Servus	Male	Senex?	“ <u>edepol</u> te desiderium Athenarum arbitror, Philotium, cepisse saepe et te tuom consilium contempsisse. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (<i>if condescending, there’s also a possibility that this is used as an expression of (feigned) surprise.</i>	Philotis starts talking about how she really missed Athens and everyone here while she was away. (90-95)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	Condescension, mockery.	I think that he’s making fun of her: oh you poor little girl, were you homesick for Athens?	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened from of <i>pol</i> . The position of the oath as first word is noteworthy. <i>Philotium</i> = diminutive of <i>Philotis</i> , which can generate either an affectionate or condescending tone. ³¹¹	Dialogue

³⁰⁸ Goldberg 2013, 96, notes in the description of this scene that “[a] stock scene of old whore instructing her younger counterpart [...]”. It thus made sense to me that Syra is/was a *meretrix* herself, though now an *anus* accompanying and guiding the younger courtesans. Perhaps better, a *lena*?

³⁰⁹ According to Donatus. Cf. Goldberg 2013, 101, 83n.

³¹⁰ Goldberg 2013, 101, 83n.

³¹¹ Goldberg 2013, 100, 81n.

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13	Hec. 157- 160	Philotis	Meretrix	Female	Adul- scens	“PH. quid interea? ibatne ad Bacchidem? PA. cotidie. sed ut fit, postquam hunc alienum ab sese videt, maligna multo et mage procax facta ilico est. PH. non edepol mirum. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno continues with his story, not really taking note of Philotis’ responses/ comments.	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	Unsurprised, relatability.	She is not surprised by Bacchis’ behavior and dealings with the situations, as they share the same profession and surely have similar experiences. She gives extra emphasis to <i>non...mirum</i> , especially when placing it in between them.	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> .	Dialogue
14	Hec. 274- 275	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“ Edepol ne nos sumus inique aequae omnes invisae viris propter paucas, quae omnes faciunt dignae ut videamur malo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning and as an expression of despair.	She says this to herself.	Outside Phidippus’ house.	Pollux	Despair, frustration.	To exclaim how unfair her situation and other women’s as well, due to the treatment they get from their husbands.	The position of <i>edepol</i> as first word in the sentence is noteworthy.	Mono- logue
15	Hec. 498- 500	Phidip- pus	<i>Domin- us/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“LA. dixin, Phidippe, hanc rem aegre laturum esse eum? quam ob rem te orabam filiam ut remitters. PH. non credidi edepol adeo inhumanum fore. ita nunc is sibi me supplicaturum putat?” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Laches is upset at this remark and that Phidippus wants the dowry back, if the separation is due. (501-503)	Near the exit to the forum.	Pollux.	Anger, frustration.	“Phidippus does not like to think of himself as the offending party.” ³¹²	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> .	Dialogue

³¹² Goldberg 2013, 155, 500n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
16	Hec. 517- 520	Myrrina	A free woman, <i>matro-na</i>	Female	Senex	“[...] nam audivisse vocem pueri visust vagientis; ita corripuit derepente tacitu’ sese ad filiam. quod si rescierit peperisse eam, id qua causa clam me habuisse dicam non edepol scio.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself. After having said this, her husband comes rushing through the doors to confront her. (521ff)	Outside Phidip-pus’ house.	Pollux.	Worry, anxiousness, distress; deliberation/ind ecisive-ness.	“[...] Myrrina’s plan had depended on keeping the birth secret until the child could be removed (395- 400). Phidippus’ inadvertent discovery now threatens everything.” Hence the distress and deliberation over what to say to him.	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> .	Mono- logue
17	Hec. 567- 569	Myrrina	A free woman, <i>matro-na</i>	Female	Senex	”nam ut hic laturus hoc sit, si ipsam rem ut siet resciverit, non edepol clam me est, quom hoc leviust tam animo irato tulit; nec qua via sententia eiu’ possit mutari scio.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Phidip-pus’ house.	Pollux.	Worry, anxiousness.	To express that she is worried what to do or say if her husband were to find out about the facts about the baby, as his temper was so bad in this previous discussion.	Both <i>ut</i> are interrogative, ‘how’. ³¹³ ‘by Pollux, <i>it is</i> obvious to me, how he is going to bear this, if he were to find out about the situation, since...’. The present tense stands closest to <i>edepol</i> and thus determines it as <i>assertory</i> .	Mono- logue

³¹³ See Goldberg 2013, 163, 567n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
18	Hec. 623-624	Phidippus	<i>Dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“Tibi quoque edepol sum iratus, Philumena, graviter quidem; nam hercle factumst abs te turpiter.” Interjectional/Informal oaths with assertory meanings AND as expressions of force.	As Philumena is off-stage and a mute character, there is, of course, no response to this, which Phidippus shouts back to her inside the house.	Outside Phidippus’ house.	Pollux. Hercules.	Anger, frustration.	To enhance his rage against Philumena for what she’s done (having given birth).	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> . <i>Hercle</i> is short for <i>Hercule(s)</i> .	Dialogue
19	Hec. 732-733	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] LA. credo edepol te non nil mirari, Bacchis, quid sit quapropter te huc foras puerum evocare iussi.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She answers that she is also quite scared, as she knows what she is. However, she can defend her behavior, if the reputation of her profession won’t be held against her. (734-735)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Pollux.	(Exaggerated) politeness; caution.	In order to try to convince Bacchis to confide him with the truth about his son, he must control his temper and be polite, as he himself just noted. (729-731). He is evidently making an effort.	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> .	Dialogue
20	Hec. 799-801	Parmeno	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“ Edepol ne meam erus esse operam deputat parvi preti, qui ob rem nullam misit frustra ubi totum desedi diem, Myconium hospitem dum exspecto in arce Callideminem.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself.	Enters from the forum.	Pollux.	Frustration, annoyance.	To express and emphasize his irritation over Pamphilus sending him away for no reason.	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> .	Mono- logue
21	Ph. 735-736	Chremes	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“certe edepol , nisi me animu’ fallit aut parum prospiciunt oculi, meae nutricem gnatae video. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself.	Outside Demipho’s (Phaedria’s and Antiphos’) house.	Pollux is called upon.	Surprise, confusion, recognition.	To assure himself that what he’s seeing is true, and to his surprise and confusion it sure is his daughter’s nurse coming out of his brother’s house.	A stronger form of <i>pol</i> with the added prefix <i>ede</i> .	Mono- logue

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22	Hec. 786	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“quaeso edepol , Bacchi’, quod mihi es pollicita tute ut serves.” Interjectional/Informal oath as a request.	Bacchis asks if he meant the promise to go inside to the women. (787)	Outside Phidippus’ house.	Pollux.	Desperate, begging (threatfully).	Bacchis has already agreed to this earlier, but he now makes sure that she truly meant it – because he is desperate for her help.	<i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> .	Dialogue
23	An. 305- 306	Byrria	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“quaeso edepol , Charine, quoniam non potest id fieri quod vis, id velis quod possit. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath as a request.	Charinus strongly disagrees and says he only want Philumena, who’s said to be married off to Pamphilus today.	They both have entered from the direction of the forum.	Pollux is called upon.	Frustration, reason.	To urge Charinus, with emphasis, to desire someone who he can actually have: ‘By Pollux, Charinus, please, since it cannot happen as you wish, wish for something that may happen.’	Parenthetic <i>quaeso</i> is enhanced by the oath by Pollux. <i>Ede-</i> is a strengthening prefix to <i>-pol</i> .	Dialogue

ECASTOR/MECASTOR

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	An. 486	Lesbia	<i>Obstetrix</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“per ecastor scitu’ puer est natu’ Pamphilo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Glycerium’s house.	Castor.	Admiration.	To underline and emphasize how cute the child, who’s about to be born, is.	<i>Per</i> is a separated prefix belonging to <i>scitus</i> (= <i>percitus</i>), not a preposition belonging to the oath by Castor. ³¹⁴	Mono- logue

³¹⁴ See Brown 2019, 235, 486n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
2	Hec. 610- 612	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“[...] LA. abi rus ergo hinc: ibi ego te et tu me feres. SO. spero ecastor . ³¹⁵ LA. i ergo intro et compone quae tecum simul ferantur: dixi. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	As seen in the quote, Laches tells her to go pack her bags. (612)	Outside Laches’ house.	Castor.	Hope, despair, bravery.	“ spero : guarded agreement. Sostrata presumably knows what she is bringing upon herself.” ³¹⁶	Castor presumably in vocative, strengthened by the prefix <i>e-</i> .	Dialogue
3	Hec. 739- 743	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[LA.] nam si id facis facturave es bonas quod par est facere, inscitum offerre iniuriam tibi [me] inmerenti iniquom est. BA. est magna ecastor gratia de istac re quam tibi habeam; nam qui post factam iniuriam se expurget parum mi prosit. sed quid istuc est?” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (although sarcastic).	Laches only answers the last question and goes straight to the point. Politeness over. (743ff)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	Castor.	Sarcasm; politeness, caution.	“ 741-2 : Laches manages to be simultaneously polite and condescending, masking his implicit threat in circum-locution. Bacchis responds with self-effacing irony.” ³¹⁷ Keeping up the politeness with some light irony, but at the same time showing that she is well aware of Laches masked threat, before turning straight to the point: ‘sed quid istuc est?’.	Castor presumably in vocative, strengthened by the prefix <i>e-</i> .	Dialogue

³¹⁵ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “611 mecastor A (*recte?*): ec. *Iov.* Σ”.

³¹⁶ Goldberg 2013, 169, 611n.

³¹⁷ Goldberg 2013, 182, 741-2n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i> affectio</i>	CUR: <i> consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
4	Hec. 833- 836	Bacchis	Meretrix	Female	Adul- scens	“haec tot propter me gaudia illi contigisse laetor: etsi hoc meretrices aliae nolunt; neque enim est in rem nostrum ut quisquam amator nuptiis laetetur. verum ecastor numquam animum quaesti gratia ad malas adducam partis. Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Phidippus’ house, from where she has just entered.	Castor.	Happiness, earnestness, self- justification (in a positive sense).	She is happy for how she could assist in the happy outcome of the situation – although not characteristic of a <i>meretrix</i> , she asserts her happiness by promising that she would never turn to bad behavior due to her profession.	Castor presumably in vocative, strengthened by the prefix <i>e</i> .	Mono- logue
5	Hec. 857- 861	Bacchis	Meretrix	Female	Adul- scens	“[...] PAM. factis ut credam facis; antiquamque adeo tuam venustatem obtines ut voluptati obitu’ sermo adventu’ tuo’, quoquomque adveneris, semper siet. BA. at tu ecastor morem antiquom atque ingenium obtines utu nus hominum homo te vivat numquam quisquam blandior.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Pamphilus laughs at this and says: ‘hahahae, tun mihi istuc?’. (862)	Outside either Bacchis’ house or Laches’ house.	Castor.	Amicable flattery.	To humorously and amicably match and exceed Pamphilus’ compliment towards her.	Castor presumably in vocative, strengthened by the prefix <i>e</i> .	Dialogue
6	Ph. 1050- 1051	Nausis- trata	A <i>matrona</i> , an <i>era</i> .	Female	Senex	“Phormio, at ego ecastor posthac tibi quod potero, quae voles faciamque et dicam. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with promissory meaning.	Phormio is delighted and answers ‘benigne dici.’ After all, to be in this position of gratitude has been his scheme all along.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Castor is called upon.	Gratitude.	To give thanks to Phormio for telling her the truth about her husband’s affair. She swearsby Castor that she shall do and say whatever he wishes, if possible.	- <i>castor</i> in vocative with the enhancing prefix <i>e</i> preceding it. ‘By Castor’.	Dialogue

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
7	Hec. 81-83	Syra. /// Parm- eno.	<i>Meretrix</i> ³¹⁸ /// /// <i>Servus</i>	Female /// Male	<i>Anus</i> /// <i>Senex?</i>	“[PA.] sed videon ego Philotium? unde haec advenit? Philoti’, salve multum. PH. o salve, Parmeno. SY. salve <u>mecastor</u> , Parmeno. PA. et tu <u>edepol</u> , Syra. Both: Interjectional/Informal oaths with assertory meaning.	After Parmeno has answered Syra, he again turns to Philotis to ask her about her recent whereabouts. (84)	Parmeno entered from Laches’s house before coming over to the women, who stand outside Bacchis’ house.	Castor. Pollux.	Syra+ <i>mecastor</i>: Surprise, joy, happiness. Parmeno+ <i>edepol</i> : Mockery. ³¹⁹	Syra wishes to express her surprise at seeing Parmeno. Parmeno mocks her slightly by echoing her overdramatic way of greeting him.	<i>Mecastor</i> is a short-form of the full oath <i>me Castor iuvet</i> . ³²⁰ <i>Edepol</i> is a strengthened form of <i>pol</i> .	Dialogue

O/PRO IUPPITER

(there is also a **curse** with Jupiter, which is noted under “Curses”, *Ad.* 713-714)

(there is also a **prayer** to Jupiter, which is noted under “prayers”, *Eun.* 1048-1049)

(there is also an **asseverative oath** by Jupiter, which is noted under “asseverations/ita me di ament”, *Ph.* 807-808)

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	<i>Ad.</i> 111- 112	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“ pro Iuppiter , tu homo adigi’ me ad insaniam! Non est flagitum facere haec adulescentulum?” Interjectional/ Informal oath as an expression of force.	Frustrated answer by Micio “ah ausculta” = Oh, listen! (112-113)	Outside Micio’s house	Jupiter is called upon.	Anger, frustration	Emphasis, enhance the portrayal of his negative emotions (=anger, frustration)	“ <i>pro</i> ” = “exclamatory interjection and does not affect the construction” ³²¹ , followed by the vocative “ <i>Iuppiter</i> ”.	Dialogue

³¹⁸ Goldberg 2013, 96, notes in the description of this scene that “[a] stock scene of old whore instructing her younger counterpart [...]”. It thus made sense to me that Syra is/was a *meretrix* herself, though now an *anus* accompanying and guiding the younger courtesans. Perhaps better, a *lena*?

³¹⁹ According to Donatus. Cf. Goldberg 2013, 101, 83n.

³²⁰ Goldberg 2013, 101, 83n.

³²¹ Martin 1976, 119; 111n.

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2	<i>Ad.</i> 196- 200	Sannio	A free man, a <i>leno</i>	Male	Not specified, but surely a grown man. <i>Senex?</i>	“ pro supreme Iuppiter , minime miror qui insanire occipiunt ex iniuria. domo me eripuit, verbaverit; me invito abduxit meam (ob male facta haec tantidem emptam postulat sibi tradier); homini misero plus quingentos colaphos infregit mihi.” ³²² Interjectional/ Informal oath as expression of force.	No response, as he is talking to himself.	Outside Micio’s house.	Jupiter, with the epithet “the supreme, the greatest” is invoked.	Anger, frustration.	Let out and vent his feelings (negative) in an emphasized way.	“ <i>pro</i> ” = “exclamatory interjection and does not affect the construction” ³²³ , followed by the vocatives “ <i>supreme</i> ” and “ <i>Iuppiter</i> ”.	Mono- logue.
3	<i>Ad.</i> 366	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“ pro Iuppiter , hominis stultitiam!” Interjectional/ Informal oath as expression of force.	None. He is speaking to himself.	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Jupiter.	Anger, frustration.	Express and enhance his anger/frustration (negative feelings).	“ <i>pro</i> ” = “exclamatory interjection and does not affect the construction” ³²⁴ , followed by the vocative “ <i>Iuppiter</i> ”. Thereafter an accusative of exclamation. ³²⁵	Mono- logue.
4	<i>Ad.</i> 731- 732	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“ o Iuppiter , istocin pacto oportet?” Interjectional/informal oath as an expression of force.	Micio takes the comment with calm and ease and simply answers “quid faciam amplius?” (732).	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Jupiter.	Anger, frustration, wonder.	To convey that he very much questions and disagrees with Micio’s decision to let Aeschinus marry Pamphila, a girl without a dowry.	Exclamatory interjection <i>o</i> + <i>Iuppiter</i> in the vocative. <i>Istocin</i> = “ <i>isto+ce+n(e)</i> ”. ³²⁶	Dialogue.

³²² Martin 1976, 134, 196n.: “**pro supreme Iuppiter**: [...] Don. (on 197) has an interesting note: *animadvertē vigilantem poetam, ubicumque in comoedia vocem tracicam extulerit, statim personam insanam dicere, sic et supra* (111). It is clear at least that Don. felt the language here to be elevated above that of ordinary speech.”

³²³ Martin 1976, 119; 111n.; 134, 196n.

³²⁴ Martin 1976, 119; 111n.

³²⁵ Martin 1976, 162, 366-7n.

³²⁶ Martin 1976, 206, 732n.

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5	<i>Ad.</i> 757- 761	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ <u>o Iuppiter</u> , hancin vitam! hoscin mores! hanc dementiam! uxor sine dote veniet; intu’s psaltriast; domu’ sumptuosa; adulescens luxu perditus; senex delirans.” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force.	He says this to himself, so no reaction.	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon Jupiter.	Anger, frustration.	To emphasize the outrageousness of the situation.	Exclamatory interjection <i>o</i> + <i>Iuppiter</i> in the vocative, followed by three exclamatory accusatives. ³²⁷	Dialogue.
6	<i>An.</i> 464- 465	Simo	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] <u>o Iuppiter</u> , quid ego audio? actumst, siquidem haec vera praedicat.” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of despair and surprise/wonder.	Upon overhearing Mysis saying to Lesbia that Pamphilus has promised to raise his child from Glycerium, Simo exclaims this aside to himself.	Near to Mysis and Lesbia, who’s come from the forum, but out of sight from them.	Jupiter.	Wonder, worry, despair.	To express and give emphasis to his chock over what he’s hearing and how this means that they’re ruined.	O = exclamative interjection. <i>Iuppiter</i> = vocative.	Mono- logue
7	<i>An.</i> 731- 733	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“DA: move ocius te, ut quid agam porro intellegas. <u>pro Iuppiter!</u> MY. quid est? DA. sponsae pater intervenit. repudio quod consilium primum intenderam.” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force AND surprise/wonder.	Mysis asks what the matter is. Davos answers that the reason for his outburst is that Simo approaches and that Mysis should play along and abandon the original plan. (731ff)	Outside Simo’s house.	Jupiter.	Alarm, surprise, worry.	Truly an ‘oh, shit’- moment, which Davos expresses through an oath by Jupiter.	<i>Pro</i> is an exclamatory interjection, which doesn’t affect the construction. <i>Iuppiter</i> is vocative.	Dialogue
8	<i>An.</i> 930	Chremes	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] <u>o Iuppiter!</u> [...]” ³²⁸ Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of surprise/wonder.	This is said aside.	Outside Glyce- rium’s house.	Jupiter.	(Recognition), surprise, wonder.	Chremes recognizes the story and is choked and filled with wonder: might she be my daughter?	O = exclamatory interjection <i>Iuppiter</i> = vocative.	Mono- logue

³²⁷ cf. Martin 1976, 209, 757n. + 758n.

³²⁸ Lindsay & Kauer 1926 *app.crit.* “930 o om. p”.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
9	<i>Eun.</i> 549- 552	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“Numquis hic est? nemost. numquis hinc me sequitur? nemo homost. iamne erumpere hoc licet mi gaudium? pro Iuppiter , ³²⁹ nunc est profecto interfici quom perpeti me possum, ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aegritudine aliqua.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chaerea has just come out from Thais’ house and raped the girl of his infatuation. He says this to himself, although his friend Antipho overhears it.	Outside Thais’ house.	Jupiter is called upon.	Happiness, joy.	To let out his overwhelm-ingly happy emotions. ³³⁰	Exclamatory interjection <i>pro</i> + vocative <i>Iuppiter</i> .	Mono- logue
10	<i>Eun.</i> 709	Phaedria	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“ Iuppiter magne , o scelestum atque audacem hominem! [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force.	Phaedria says this about his brother Chaerea, having found out from the real eunuch that they’d switched places. Pythias, who he’s talking to, continues to push him to believe their story.	Outside Thais’ house.	Jupiter is called upon with the epithet <i>magnus</i> .	Anger, frustration.	To express his anger with his brother for interfering with his business.	<i>Iuppiter magne</i> in vocative followed by a series of exclamatory accusatives.	Mono- logue ³³¹
11	<i>Eun.</i> 946- 947	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“ o Iuppiter , quae illaec tubast? numnam ego perii? adibo.” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of surprise/wonder.	He goes over to Pythia and asks her what she is raving about.	He entered from one of the wings of the stage. On his way over to Thais’ house (where Pythias is).	Calling upon Jupiter.	Alarm, worry, wonder.	As a result of the surprise at what he hears Pythias say, he is alarmed and worried and utters the interjectional oath ‘by Jupiter!’.	Exclamatory interjection <i>o</i> + vocative <i>Iuppiter</i> .	Mono- logue

³²⁹ Brasby 1999, 189, 550n.: “oaths by Jupiter are relatively rare (and thus impressive) in Roman comedy, though oaths by Zeus are common in Greek [...]”

³³⁰ Brasby 1999, 189, 550n.: “*pro Iuppiter* expresses a variety of emotions, including joy (as here), alarm (*An.* 732), disgust (*Ad.* 111).”

³³¹ Barsby 1999, 217, 709n.: “best taken as an aside exclamation, referring to Chaerea, overheard by Pythias, who takes it to refer to Dorus and deduces that Phaedria does not believe Dorus’ story.”

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12	<i>Heau.</i> 256- 259	Clinia	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] <i>CLIN. o Iuppiter</i> , ubinamst fides? dum ego propter te errans patria careo demens, tu interea loci conlocupletasti te, Antiphila, et me in his deseruisti malis, propter quam in summa infamia sum et meo patri minus [sum] obsequens.” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of despair.	He says this to himself.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Jupiter.	Despair, wonder.	As he hears that Antiphila is coming together with a bunch of <i>ancillae</i> , gold, beautiful clothes etc., he (hastily) draws the conclusion that she has taken a lover/husband and left him in the dust, while he was away.	‘Oh Jupiter!’	Mono- logue
13	<i>Heau.6</i> 29-630	Chremes	<i>Domi-nus, erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“SO. minime; sed erat hic Corinthia anus haud inpura: ei dedi exponendam. <i>CH. o</i> <i>Iuppiter</i> , tantam esse in animo inscitiam!” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of force.	Sostrata answers in despair: ‘perii, quid ego feci?’. (631)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Jupiter.	Anger, frustration.	To pompously express how furious he is at Sostrata for not disposing the child by herself all those years ago.	‘by Jupiter!’	Dialogue
14	<i>Heau.6</i> 90-691	Clinia	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] <i>CL. o Iuppiter!</i> SY. quiesce. <i>CL. Antiphila mea nubet mihi. SY.</i> <i>sicin mi interloquere?</i> ” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of joy.	As shown, Syrus tries, in vain, to get hold of Clinia’s attention.	Outside Chremes’ house.	Jupiter.	Happiness, joy.	To express his excitement and happiness.	‘By Jupiter!’	Dialogue
15	<i>Hec.</i> 315- 317	Pam- philus	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] <i>PAR. agedum, ad fores accedo</i> <i>proprius. em sensistin? PAM. noli</i> <i>fabularier. pro Iuppiter,</i> <i>clamorem audivi. [...]</i> ” Interjectional/Informal oath as an expression of surprise/wonder.	Parmeno answers ‘you’re speaking, you but forbade me (to)’ (317)	Outside Phidip-pus’ house.	Jupiter.	Alarm, worry, wonder.	Pamphilus is startled and taken by surprise by the scream coming from inside.	<i>Pro</i> = exclamatory interjection <i>Iuppiter</i> = vocative	Dialogue

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16	<i>Ph.</i> 816- 817	Chremes	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] o Iuppiter, di nos respiciunt: gnatam inveni nuptam cum tuo filio. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning AND as an expression of joy.	Demipho is amazed and cannot believe it to be true. (817-818)	Outside Chremes’ house.	Jupiter.	Happiness, joy.	To let out his feelings of joy and happiness, which are very much emphasized by this double expression: <i>o Iuppiter</i> asserts his expression of joy <i>di nos respiciunt</i> .	<i>Iuppiter</i> in vocative.	Dialogue

ITA ME DI AMENT

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	<i>Ad.</i> 749- 750	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ ita me di ament , ut video tuam ego ineptiam, facturum credo ut habeas quicum cantites.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Micio again does not bait on Demea’s attempts to trigger him/make him share his frustration, but simply again answers (quite humourously) “quor non?” (751).	Outside Micio’s house.	By naming “the gods”.	Anger, frustration, chock: he cannot believe what he’s hearing.	To assert and emphasis the fact that he thinks Micio has gone insane.	It is important to note that <i>ut video...</i> is a temporal phrase (and not causal). ³³²	Dialogue.
2	<i>An.</i> 946- 947	Chremes	A free man; <i>erus/dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ <i>SI</i> . omnis nos gaudere hoc, Chreme, te credo credere. CH. ita me di ament. credo. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Pamphilus picks up after this and hints: “quod restat, pater..”. (947)	Outside Glycerium’s house.	“The gods”.	Happiness, joy, assurance.	To firmly assure Simo that he is happy about the situation.	‘As sure as the gods love me, I believe it to be true.’	Dialogue

³³² cf. Martin 1976, 208, 749n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
3	Eun. 474	Thais	A courtesan , a <i>meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adul-</i> <i>scens</i>	“ ita me di ament , ³³³ honestust.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno, gloating slightly after Thais’ good impression of ‘the eunuch’ (i.e. Chaerea), instead turns to Gnatho and Thraso for their opinions in this game of ‘who buys better gifts to the courtesan’.	Outside Thais’ house.	“The gods” are mentioned.	Impressed, pleasantly surprised.	There is definitely an element of surprise, but this oath’s purpose is mostly to assert and underline her statement: ‘so may the gods love me, he is <i>really</i> good-looking’.	“The <i>ita</i> is sometimes followed by <i>ut</i> =‘so may the gods love me, as what I say is true’ (e.g. <i>Hau.</i> 686), but the paratactic construction (as here) is the regular one.” ³³⁴	Dialogue.
4	Eun. 615- 616	Dorias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus</i> ³³⁵	“ Ita me di ament , quantum ego illum vidi, non nil timeo misera, nequam ille hodie insanu’ turbam facia taut vim Thaidi.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She speaks to herself.	Having entered from the direction of the forum, she is now near Phaedria and Chaerea’s house, but heading towards Thais’ house.	“The gods” are mentioned.	Worry, anxiety.	To express her worry for Thais and to highlight the fact that Thraso is unreliably insane (<i>insanu</i> ’).	“The <i>ita</i> is sometimes followed by <i>ut</i> =‘so may the gods love me, as what I say is true’ (e.g. <i>Hau.</i> 686), but the paratactic construction (as here) is the regular one.” ³³⁶	Monologue

³³³ Barsby 1999, 173, 474n.: “[...] a common colloquialism, used to add emphasis to a statement; T. has 22 examples, Pl. only 19.”

³³⁴ Barsby 1999, 173, 474n.

³³⁵ Barsby 1999, 211, 656n.: “[...] we might infer that Pythias is senior in status, while Dorias is an older woman [...].”

³³⁶ Barsby 1999, 173, 474n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
5	Ph. 165- 166	Phaedria	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“ <u>ita me di bene ament</u> ut mihi liceat tam diu quod amo frui, iam depecisci morte cupio: [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Oppositely, Antipho thinks that Phaedria is the lucky one. (173ff)	Outside Demi-pho’s house.	“the gods” are mentioned.	Annoyance, envy.	To give emphasis to his opinion and to show that he is quite serious about it.	“a frequent oath in Pl. and Ter. It is either inserted inside the statement it emphasizes (e.g. 883, 954) or precedes it; in the latter case the correlative <i>ut</i> (=‘as’) often introduces the main clause.” ³³⁷	Dialogue
6	<i>Eun.</i> 882	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“te quoque iam, Thais, <u>ita me di bene ament</u> , amo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Thais does not answer this, as she is interrupted by an incredulous remark from Pythias. (883)	Outside Thais’ house.	“The gods” are mentioned.	Happiness, joy, gratitude.	To firmly assert his gratitude.	The addition of <i>bene</i> to the usual <i>ita me di ament</i> gives further emphasis to the assertion.	Dialogue
7	<i>Eun.</i> 1037	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“bene, <u>ita di me ament</u> , factum. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Chaerea continues to throw the good news upon Parmeno.	Outside Thais’ house.	“the gods” are mentioned.	Happiness, joy, relief.	Having realized that he’s not going to be punished (since all has “turned out well”), Parmeno is very happy and relieved and emphasizes it with an assertory oath.	“Well done, as sure as the gods may love me!”	Dialogue
8	<i>Heau.</i> 304- 309	Clinia	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“SY. ubi dicimus redisse te et rogare uti venire ad te, mulier telam desinit continuo et lacrumis opplet os totum sibi, ut facile scires desiderio id fieri [tuo]. CLIN. prae gaudio, <u>ita me di ament</u> , ubi sim nescio: ita timui. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Clitipho answers ‘I knew it was nothing, Clinia’. (309)	Outside Chremes’ house.	“The gods”.	Happiness, joy, relief.	To express his relief over the situation and how happy he is that his girl is still the same.	‘As sure as the gods may love me’.	Dialogue

³³⁷ Martin 1959, 101, 165n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
9	<i>Heau.</i> 383	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adulescens</i>	“minimeque, ita me di ament , miror sit e sibi quisque expetit.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Bacchis continues her speech for a long while before Antiphila has a chance to answer.	They have entered from the town (right entrance)	“The gods.”	Flattery, praise; a touch of envy, as well.	An asseveration: she assures that she means what she is saying.	‘As sure as the gods may love me’.	Dialogue
10	<i>Heau.</i> 564- 570	Chremes	<i>Dominus, erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“[...] <i>CH.</i> hisce oculis, ne nega. facis adeo indigne iniuriam illi qui non absteines manum. nam istaec quidem contumeliast, hominem amicum recipere ad te atque ei(us amicum subigitare. vel here in vino quam inmodestu’ fuisti.. <i>SY.</i> factum. <i>CH.</i> quam molestus! ut quidem, ita me di ament , metui quid futurum denique esset! novi ego amantium animum: advortant graviter quae non censeas.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Clitipho answers that Clinia trusts him not to do anything like that. (571)	Outside Chremes’ house.	“The gods”.	Anger, frustration, disappointment.	To put Clitipho in place and enhance how shameful and disgraceful he’s acted, both now and the day before.	‘As sure as the gods may love me, ...’.	Dialogue
11	<i>Heau.</i> 686- 687	Clinia	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“ atque ita me di ament ut ego nunc non tam meapte causa laetor quam illiu’; quam ego scio esse honore quovis dignam. Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Syrus, impatiently, answers ‘Yes I’m sure, but now, Clinia, come on, grant me (something) in return; we must see to it that your friend’s situation too is arranged in security, so that the old man (does) not (find out) about (his) mistress now.’	Outside Chremes’ house.	“The gods”.	Happiness, joy.	To express how happy is not only for himself but also for his girl’s sake.	‘As sure as the god may love me’.	Dialogue

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
12	Heau.9 50-953	Chre-mes	<i>Dominus, erus</i>	Male	Senex	“CH. sed Syrum.. ME. quid eum? ³³⁸ CH. egone si vivo adeo exornatum dabo, adeo depexum ut dum vivat meminerit semper mei; qui sibi me pro deridiculo ac delectamento putat. non, ita me di ament , auderet facere haec viduae mulieri quae in me fecit.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	No reply. Menedemus enters into his house to talk to their sons.	Outside Menedemus’ house.	“The gods”.	Anger, frustration.	To show how angry he is with Syrus for his trickeries.	‘As sure as the gods may love me,...’	Dialogue/ monologue ³³⁹
13	Hec. 205- 207	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matrona</i>	Female	Senex	“SO. me miseram, quae nunc quam ob rem accuser nescio. LA. hem tu nescis? SO. Non, ita me di ament , mi Lache, itaque una inter nos agere aetatem liceat. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Laches answers with an imprecation. (207)	Outside Laches’ house.	“The gods.”	Despair, earnestness, assertiveness.	<i>Ita me di ament</i> aims to give credulity to her non.	‘As sure as the gods may love me...’.	Dialogue
14	Hec. 231- 234	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“[LA.] cum puella anum suscepisse inimicitias non pudet? illi(u)s dices culpa factum? SO. haud equidem dico, mi Lache. LA. gaudeo, ita me di ament , gnati causa; nam de te quidem sati’ scio peccando detrimenti nil fieri potest.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Sostrata, ignoring the verbal assault, asks how Laches knows that the girl just wanted to spend time with her family and therefore pretended to hate her. (235-236)	Outside Laches’ house.	“The gods”	Anger, frustration.	He is not ‘happy’ (<i>gaudeo</i>) in the real sense of the word, rather, he says that he is glad for their son’s reputation, because it gives him the chance to insult his wife by comparison: her reputation is beyond saving.	‘As sure as the gods may love me...’.	Dialogue

³³⁸ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “950 ME. quid eum CH. Σ *Don. in Ad.* 400: quidem A

³³⁹ See footnote 4. If the line is given to Chremes, this would be considered a monologue, as it would mean that Menedemus exits at 948, leaving Chremes on stage alone. See good argumentation for “sed Syrum quidem” in Brothers 1988, 219, 950n.!

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
15	Hec. 255-260	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“[...] sin east causa retinendi apud vos quia aegrast, te mihi iniuriam facere arbitror, Phidippe, si metui’ satis ut meae domi curetur diligenter. at ita me di ament , haud tibi hoc concede – [etsi] illi pater es – ut tu illam salvam mage velis quam ego: id adeo gnati causa, quem ego intellexi illam haud minus quam se ipsum magni facere.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Phidippus calmly and politely answers that he is sure of Laches’ good will and concerns and that he believes his words.	Outside Phidippus’ house.	“The gods”.	Ingratiation, ‘butter-up’, assuring.	To ingratiate himself with Phidippus to make him reveal the reason for him hiding his daughter away from them. He assures that she will be very well taken care of at his house.	‘As sure as the gods may love me...’. Here also with <i>at</i> , as in many other instances.	Dialogue
16	Hec. 276	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“ nam ita me di ament , quod me accusat nunc vir, sum extra noxiam.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She says this to herself.	Outside Phidippus’ house. (on her way to her own house)	“The gods”.	Despair, frustration, self-assurance.	A true asseveration of her not being guilty of her husband’s accusations.	Interesting with <i>nam</i> instead of <i>at</i> as an introduction to the phrase.	Mono- logue
17	Hec. 579-580	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“ verum ita me di ament itaque optingant ex te quae exoptem mihi ut numquam sciens commerui merit out caperet odium illam mei.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	She continues with her speech for quite some time before Pamphilus has a chance to answer.	Outside Laches’ house.	“The gods” (as well as ‘the [things] I hope befall me from you’, i.e. <i>pietas</i>). ³⁴⁰	Sincerity, earnestness, affection/kindness, assurance.	To politely and sincerely assure Pamphilus of her innocence. At least she is free from intentional (<i>sciens</i>) guilt, she says.	“ ut : rel. adv. coordinated with <i>ita</i> in the preceding oath.” ³⁴¹	Dialogue
18	Hec. 642-643	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“bene, ita me di ament , nuntias, et gaudeo natum, tibi illam salvam. [...]”. Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	After this short moment of happiness, Laches turns to scornfully ask what sort of wife Phidippus has, who would conceal the pregnancy like this. (643-646)	Outside Phidippus’ house.	“The gods”.	Happiness, joy.	To express and enhance how good he considers those news.	‘As sure as the gods may love me, ...’.	Dialogue

³⁴⁰ Cf. Goldberg 2013, 165, 579n.

³⁴¹ Goldberg 2013, 165, 579n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
19	Hec. 862- 864	Bacchis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] BA. recte amasti, Pamphile, uxorem tuam; nam numquam ante hunc diem meis oculi seam, quod nossem, videram: perliberali’ visast. PAM. dic verum. BA. ita me di ament , Pamphile.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Pamphilus believes this and moves on to the next question: has she told (his/Philumena’s) father about this (i.e. that the child is his due to a rape before the marriage)? (865)	Outside either Bacchis’ house or Laches’ house.	“The gods.”	Assurance, amusement.	An asseveration: she asserts that she really thinks so.	‘As sure as the gods may love me.’	Dialogue
20	Ph. 883	Phor-mio	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“vale, Antipho. bene, ita me di ament , factum: gaudeo.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	End of scene, as Antipho and Geta enters Demipho’s house.	Outside Demipho’s house.	“The gods”.	Happiness, joy.	To emphasize his delight at the good news: the oath underlines <i>bene factum</i> .	‘As sure as the gods may love me...’	Dialogue
21	Ph. 952- 954	Chre-mes	A free man, a <i>dominus/eris</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“CH. quo pacto aut unde hic haec rescivit? DE. nescio; nisi me dixisse nemini certo scio. CH. monstri, ita me di ament , simile. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Demipho is angered by Chremes’ unmanly behavior and tells him to ‘man up’. (955-962)	Outside Demipho’s house.	“The gods”.	Despair, frustration.	To emphasize his feelings of frustration and despair.	The fact that the oath is placed between <i>monstri</i> and <i>simile</i> gives extra emphasis.	Dialogue
22	Hec. 105- 107	Philotis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“nempe ea causa ut ne id fiat palam? ita me di amabunt , haud propterea te rogo, uti hoc proferam, sed ut tacita mecum gaudeam.” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Parmeno says that, although she speaks so properly, he shall not yield to her.	Outside Bacchis’ house.	“The gods”.	Assurance, persuasive-ness, eagerness.	As she wishes to know more on the incident, she assures Parmeno of her good intentions for wanting to know more and swears by the love the gods have for her.	“ ita me di amabunt : a favourite formula of asseveration in T. (23 examples, only 19 in the much larger Plautine corpus) used by both men and women. The wish is more commonly expressed by the pres. subjunc. (<i>ament</i>), [...]” ³⁴²	Dialogue

³⁴² Goldberg 2013, 104, 106n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
23	Heau. 749- 751	Chremes	<i>Dominus, erus</i>	Male	Senex	“ <u>Ita me di amabunt ut</u> nunc Menedemi vicem miseret me tantum devenisse ad eum mali. illancin mulierem alere cum illa familia!” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	He says this to himself.	Outside Chremes’ house.	“The gods.”	Compassion.	To mutter for himself how much he feels sorry for Menedemus, having Bacchis and company at his house (himself just having had them at this expense at his house for a while).	‘As sure as the gods shall love me’. Noteworthy: <i>amabunt</i> instead of the more common <i>ament</i> .	Mono- logue
24	Heau. 462- 463	Chremes	<i>Dominus, erus</i>	Male	Senex	“quid te futurum censes quem adsidue exedent? <u>sic me di amabunt ut</u> me tuarum miseritumst, Menedeme, fortunarum. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning.	Menedemus disagrees and says he’ll let his son splurge and spend money on his lover, as long as he’ll come back and stays alongside him. (464-465)	Outside Menedemus’ house.	“The gods.”	Seriousness, persuasiveness, pity.	He tries to convince Menedemus not to give in to his son’s wishes, just to get him back. Think of the costs of his lover! ‘As sure as the gods shall love me, I pity your fortunes, Menedemus.’	A version on the more common ‘ita me di ament’.	Dialogue

TWO OTHER ASSEVERATIONS

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	<i>Ph.</i> 807- 808	Chremes	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“vin scire? at ita me servet Iuppiter, ut propior illi quam ego sum ac tu homo nemo. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning: an asseveration.	Demipho doesn't completely understand the circumstances, but is pleased to together go and find out how they're related to the girl. (808-809)	Outside Chremes' house.	Jupiter.	Seriousness, (hint-giving) earnestness.	An asseveration. To make his brother get that he is the father of the girl. This oath gives huge emphasis to the following statement and shows that he is telling the truth – although he cannot say it frankly with his wife present.	'as sure as Jupiter may protect/preserve me,...'	Dialogue
2	<i>Ad.</i> 700- 701	Aeschinus	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“[...] di me, pater, omnes oderint ni mage te quam oculos nunc ego amo meos.” ³⁴³ Interjectional/informal assertory oath: an asseveration.	Micio playfully replies “quid? quam illam? [i.e. Pamphila]” (702), showing that this expression, although to the form a formal oath, is quite casual in this context.	Outside Sostrata's house.	Referring to “the gods”.	Happiness, joy, exhilaration, love.	To truly emphasize (positive) the joy he has for what his father has arranged for him.	An optative subjunctive phrase.	Dialogue.

³⁴³ Barsby 2001, 333, 37n.: “A proverbial expression (compare, for example, Catullus 3.4, 14.1)”.

FORMAL OATHS

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	An. 693- 695; 698	Pam- philus	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] Mysis, <u>per omnis tibi adiuro deos numquam eam me deserturum</u> , non si capiundos mihi sciam esse inimicos omnes homines. [...] non <u>Apollonis mage verum atque hoc responsumst.</u> ” Formal assertory oath.	Mysis, relieved, answers 'resipisco'. (698)	Outside Glyce- rium's house.	“All the gods”, Apollo's (oracle)- response.	Earnesty, sincereness, assurance.	To formally assure Mysis that he shall never abandon Glycerium by swearing to all the gods.	<i>Adiuro</i> is a formal oath verb literally meaning 'to swear by', 'to call to witness' and 'to confirm by oath'.	Dialogue
2	<i>Hec.</i> 476	Pam- philus	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“neque mea culpa hoc discidium evenisse, <u>id testor deos.</u> ” Formal assertory oath: a call to witness.	Pamphilus continues to state his decision to stick to the separation.	Near the exit to the forum.	“The gods”.	Earnesty, sincereness, assurance.	“Pamphilus thinks this is true, since Philumena's departure was the result of her pregnancy, not his behaviour in the early days of their marriage.” ³⁴⁴ He says all of this to conceal his wife's pregnancy from another man (as far as he knows now, anyhow...).	'I swear by the gods/call the gods to witness that, ...'.	Dialogue

³⁴⁴ Goldberg 2013, 153, 476n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUANDO:
3	An. 281-294	Pamphilus (Chry-sis)	A free man (Mere-trix)	Male (Fe-male)	Adul-scens (Adul-scens)	“memor essem? o Mysis Mysis, etiam nunc mihi scripta illa dicta sunt in animo Chrysidis de Glycerio. iam ferme moriens me vocat: accessi; vos semotae: nos soli incipit “mi Pamphile, huii’ formam atque aetatem vides, nec clam te est quam illi nunc utraeque inutiles et ad pudicitiam et ad rem tutandam sient. <u>quod ego per hanc te dexteram [oro] et genium tuom, per tuam fidem perque huii’ solitudinem te obtestor</u> ne abs te hanc segreges neu deseras. sit e in germani fratri’ dilexi loco sive haec te solum semper fecit maxumi seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus, te isti virum do, amicum tutorem patrem: bona nostra haec tibi permitto et tuae mando fide[.]” Formal oath as a request: a call to witness.	Pamphilus is retelling the story of himself and Chrysis’ to Mysis.	He has entered from the direction of the forum.	Not a deity per se, swears by right hand, good faith and the genius of Pamphilus. ³⁴⁵	The oath is told by Chrysis: Solemnity, formal, affection.	Chrysis wants to make sure that Pamphilus will take care of Glycerium after she is gone and affirms it with an offered oath.	Te often separates the preposition and the word(s) it governs in prayers and requests. ³⁴⁶	Monologue (retold dialogue!)
4	An. 326-327	Charinus	A free man	Male	Adul-scens	“[...] nunc <u>te per amicitiam et per amorem obsecro</u> , principio ut ne ducas. [...]” (formal) oath as a request.	Pamphilus says that he’ll do his best not to marry her. (327)	Entered from the direction of the forum.	He swears by ‘friendship’ and ‘love’.	Dramatic, pleading, despair.	To underscore the seriousness of his request and his own devastation.	Per...obsecro is a usual oath construction, cf. <i>per Iovem</i> .	Dialogue

³⁴⁵ See Brown 2019, 208-209, 289n. for discussion on meter and readings, e.g. omitted oro, dextram(dexteram etc. He also notes: “Chrysis evidently takes Pamphilus by the right hand to add formal binding force to her request; [...] *Genius* is defined thus by OLD: ‘The male spirit of a *gens*, existing during his lifetime in the head of the family, and subsequently in the divine or spiritual part of each individual’;[...]”

³⁴⁶ Brown 2019, 208, 289n.

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5	An. 538- 543	Simo	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ <u>per te deos oro et nostram amicitiam</u> , Chreme, quae incepta a parvis cum aetate adcrevit simul, perque unicam gnatam tuam et gnatum meum, quoi(u)s tibi potestas summa servandi datur, ut me adiuves in hac re atque ita uti nuptiae fuerant futurae, fiant. [...]” <u>Oath as a request.</u>	Chremes is agitated by this and answers “ah ne me obsecra: quasi hoc te orando a me impetrare oporteat.” (543-544)	Chremes has just arrived from the forum, so to the right of the stage.	“The gods”, Amicitia/ friendship.	Earnestness, seriousness, pleading.	To show and underline his earnest request.	<i>Per</i> is often connected to oath- taking, equivalent to English ‘by’ when swearing. <i>Per</i> governs <i>deos</i> ³⁴⁷	Dialogue
6	An. 834- 835	Simo	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ <u>per ego te deos oro, ut</u> ne illis animum inducas credere, quibus id maxime utilest illum esse quam deterrumum.” <u>Oath as a request.</u>	Chremes is not mitigated by this at all and continues to press on with facts about the situation. (838-839)	Outside Simo’s house.	“The gods”.	Seriousness:Plea ding, begging.	To convince Chremes to marry his daughter to his own son by pleading with the gods as witnesses.	<i>Per</i> is a usual preposition in oaths. Here governing <i>deos</i> . ³⁴⁸ <i>Illis...quibus</i> refer to “the women”, i.e. Glycerium and Mysis. <i>Illum</i> refers to Pamphilus.	Dialogue
7	Hec. 385- 390	Pam- philus (Myrr- ina)	A free man (A free woman, <i>matro-na</i>)	Male (Fe-male)	Adule- scens (<i>Anus?</i>)	“sed quom orate huius’ reminiscor nequeo quin lacrumem miser. “ <u>quaeque fors fortunast</u> ” inquit “nobis quae te hodie obtulit, <u>per eam te obsecramus ambae, si ius si fas est, uti</u> advorsa eiu’ per te tectata tacitaque apud omnis sient. si umquam erga te animo esse amico sensisti eam, mi Pamphile, sine labore hanc gratiam te uti sibi des pro illa nunc rogat. [her retold speech continues...].” <u>Formal oath as a request.</u>	Pamphilus retells the words spoken to him by Myrrina.	Outside Phidippus’ house. On his way to Laches’ house.	“ <i>quaeque fors fortunast</i> ”: “There is an allusion here in the Latin to Fors Fortuna, the goddess of good luck”. ³⁴⁹ <i>Si ius si fas est</i> = if it is right by human and divine law’.	Myrrina: Sincerity: Pleading, begging.	Myrrina, as Pamphilus retells it, requests by an oath Pamphilus to stay silent about the birth. She pleads (<i>obsecramus</i>) by (<i>per</i>) the good luck (<i>fors fortuna</i>) which has brought him here and adds the condition ‘if it is right by human and divine law’.	<i>Per...obsecro, ut</i> is the expected form of an oath as an request.	Mono- logue (retold dialogue)

³⁴⁷ Cf. Brown 2019, 208, 289n.

³⁴⁸ Cf. Brown 2019, 208, 289n.

³⁴⁹ Barsby 2001a, 187, 17n. | cf. Goldberg 2013, 144, 386n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
8	Ph. 764	Chremes	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“sed <u>per deos atque homines</u> meam esse hanc cave resciscat quisquam.” oath as a command.	Sophrona understands the serious tone of Chremes’ voice and promises not to reveal the fact that it is his daughter Antipho’s marrying.	Outside Demipho’s (Phaedria’s and Antipho’s) house.	“The gods” (and “the humans”).	Seriousness, alarm, worry.	To firmly emphasize that she is not to tell a soul about him being the girl’s father.	<i>Per</i> is a usual word in oaths, cf. <i>per Iovem lapidem</i> etc.	Dialogue

CURSES

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	An. 314-317	Charinus	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“[...] CH. Byrria, quid tibi videtur? adeo ad eum? BY. quidni? si nil impetres, ut te arbitretur sibi paratum moechum, si illam duxerit. CH. <u>abin hinc in malam rem</u> cum suspicione istac, scelus?” Curse.	There is no answer to this, as Pamphilus enters the scene.	They have just entered from the forum.	No specific gods or goddesses called, but <i>malam rem</i> is referring to a bad place, such as <i>crucem</i> or <i>inferos</i> .	Anger, frustration.	Charinus is not in the mood for sarcastic and ridiculing comments, as the one Byrria just spoke, and basically tells him to go to hell.	<i>Abin</i> = <i>abis ne</i> . Lit. ‘Won’t you go off to the bad place...?’.	Dialogue
2	Eun. 534-536	Chremes	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“[...] PY. at tu apud nos hic mane dum redeat ipsa. CH. nil minus. PY. quor, mi Chremes? CH. <u>malam rem hinc ibi</u> !” ³⁵⁰ A Curse.	What’s strange is that Pythias does not take offense (at least not showing any) by this line, but rather alluringly asks him to see Thais at the soldier’s house instead (536-537).	Outside Thais’ house.	No gods explicitly mentioned.	Annoyance, impatience, discomfort.	To explicitly express that he is here on business only and does not want part in any games. He only wants information on the girl who might be his sister.	“go to hell”, a common colloquialism [...]”. ³⁵¹ Really, ‘won’t you go to...?’. <i>Malam rem</i> literally means ‘to a bad thing’, but is surely refers to something more specific, such as perhaps in <i>malam crucem</i> (which occurs in Ph. 368).	Dialogue

³⁵⁰ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “536 mal. in rem δFv (*non Don.*)”

³⁵¹ Barsby 1999, 183, 536n.

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3	Ph. 368	Phormio	<i>Para-situs</i>	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“GE. videas te atque illum ut narras! PH. in’ malam crucem? ” ³⁵² Curse.	The ‘fake’ argument between Geta and Phormio continues and Demipho overhears it.	They have come from the direction of the forum, which leaves them on the right side of the stage.	No gods mentioned.	Anger (faked).	To show that Geta has offended him greatly and ‘go to hell’, to use modern terms.	See footnote 4 for variations in manuscripts. Here <i>in’ malam crucem</i> , where <i>in’</i> supposedly is <i>isne</i> = “‘Won’t you go?’” and <i>malam crucem</i> either an “adverbial acc. or acc. of motion without a prep. as <i>Eun.</i> 536, <i>malam rem hinc ibis?</i> ” ³⁵³	Dialogue
4	Ph. 930-932	Demipho	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“DE. in’ hinc malam rem ” ³⁵⁴ cum istaec magnificentia, fugitive? etiamnunc credi’ te ignorarier aut tua facta adeo? PH. irritor. Curse.	Phormio, as is shown here to the left, is quite provoked and irritated: <i>irritor</i> .	Outside Demipho’s house.	No specific gods or goddesses called, but <i>malam rem</i> is referring to a bad place, such as <i>crucem</i> or <i>inferos</i> .	Anger, frustration.	To show how frustrated he is with Phormio and his slinky ways.	<i>In’</i> = <i>is-ne</i> . note that some readings have ‘in’ as a preposition also. ³⁵⁵ Lit. ‘Won’t you go from here to the bad place, you fugitive!’	Dialogue
5	An. 759-761	Mysis	<i>Ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“ di te eradicent! ita me miseram territas.” Curse.	She says this to Davos, who continues to play his role to fool Chremes (762ff).	Outside Simo’s house.	“The gods”.	Fear, confusion, frustration.	Mysis is not fully in on Davos play and gets scared by his threatening manner.	Optative subjunctive.	Dialogue

³⁵² Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “368 [...] i in A: i hinc in *D¹Lp*: abi h. in *D₂G*: sed cf. *Don.* ‘adverbaliter ut huc viciniam’ (*Andr.* 70, huic vicinia *codd.*)”.

³⁵³ Martin 1959, 121, 368n.

³⁵⁴ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “930 i in m. r. hinc A: in hinc in m. r. *C¹P¹*: hinc in m. r. *D¹*: i hinc in m. r. *D²Lp ν η* ”.

³⁵⁵ Martin 1959, 166-167, 930n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i> affectio</i>	CUR: <i> consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
6	<i>Heau.</i> 585- 589	Clitipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[SY.] Chreme, vin tu homini stulto mi auscultare? <i>CH.</i> quid faciam? <i>SY.</i> iube hunc abire hinc aliquo. <i>CH.</i> quo ego hinc abeam? <i>SY.</i> quo lubet: da illis locum: abi deambulatum. <i>CH.</i> deambulatum? quo? <i>SY.</i> vah quasi desit locus. abi sane istac, istorsum, quovis. <i>CH.</i> recte dicit, censeo. <i>CL.</i> <u>di te eradicent. Syre, qui me hinc †extrudis†</u> . ³⁵⁶ Curse.	Syrus yells after him to keep his hands to himself in the future. (590)	Outside Chremes’ house.	“The gods”.	Anger, frustration.	To clearly reveal to Syrus his dislike for sending him away like this.	Variations of <i>extrudes</i> are <i>extrudas</i> and <i>extruditis</i> . See footnote 2.	Dialogue
7	<i>Ad.</i> 713- 714	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“Defessu’ sum ambulando: <u>ut, Syre, te cum tua monstracione magnu’ perdat Iuppiter!</u> ” Curse.	He says this to himself, so no reaction available.	Entering the stage from the direction of the forum, and sits down outside Micio’s house (717- 718).	Not only calling upon Jupiter, but also adding the epithet <i>magnus</i> , which surely gives it more emphasis.	Anger, frustration.	To let out his (negative) feelings caused by Syrus: anger, frustration.	An optative subjunctive phrase.	Mono- logue.
8	<i>Eun.</i> 302- 303	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“ <u>ut illum di deaque senium perdant</u> qui me hodie remoratus est; <u>meque</u> adeo qui ei restiterim; tum autem qui illum flocci fecerim.” Curse + Self-curse.	He says this to himself.	Having come from the harbor, he is now outside Thais’ house (where Parmeno also is).	Calling upon “the gods and goddesses”.	Despair, frustration, anger, love- sickness.	To let out his feelings of despair and to damn everything that has got in the way of him following the beautiful girl he’s infatuated with.	An optative subjunctive phrase.	Mono- logue.

³⁵⁶ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “589 istinc γD²L -das C¹P¹λ Syre om. v extruditis Craig”.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i> affectio</i>	CUR: <i> consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
9	<i>Eun.</i> 431	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i> .	Male	Senex.	“ <u>at te di perdant!</u> ” Curse.	This is said aside.	Outside Phaedria's/ Chaerea's house.	“The gods” are called upon.	Frustration, annoyance.	Parmeno is annoyed to the brim by the <i>parasitus</i> and his way of conversating with the surprisingly easily fooled Thraso. He explodes of emotions and curses the parasite Gnatho.	Optative subjunctive.	Mono- logue
10	<i>Hec.</i> 468- 469	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/e rus</i>	Male	Senex	“PA. omnem rem scio ut sit gesta: adveniens audivi modo. LA. <u>at istos invidos di perdant qui haec lubenter nuntiant.</u> ” Curse.	Pamphilus ignores this comment of Laches and continues to formally explain his decision. (470ff)	He has entered from the forum.	“The gods”.	Frustration.	Irritated as usual, Laches finds something to complain about: here, gossipers.	Here the ‘normal’ subjunctive form <i>perdant</i> is used.	Dialogue
11	<i>Ph.</i> 685- 688	Antipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“[...] quid ego narrem? opera tua ad restim miquidem res redit planissime. <u>ut tequidem omnes di deaeque – superi inferi – malis exemplis perdant!</u> [...]” Curse.	Geta simply tries to persuade Antipho that his life is not over, as Phormio won't marry his girl. (694)	Supposedly still to the left of the stage.	“The gods and goddesses”. Noteworthy is that this is the first time that we get to know which kind of gods are meant – <i>superi</i> and <i>inferi</i> .	Anger, frustration.	Being quite dramatic, Antipho accuses Geta for having ruined his life and therefore wishes him all misfortune in the world with this quite over-the-top curse.	<i>Ut</i> here, I assume, is short for <i>utinam</i> and is exclamatory. Optative subjunctive phrase.	Dialogue

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i> affectio</i>	CUR: <i> consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
12	Hec. 134	Philotis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adulescens</i>	“ <u>at te di deaque perduint</u> cum istoc odio, Lache!” Curse.	Parmeno continues with his story, not really taking note of Philotis’ responses/ comments.	Outside Bacchis’ house.	“The gods and goddesses”.	Anger, frustration.	As she feels compassion for her fellow-courtesan Bacchis, she basically bids the arranger of the marriage, the father of Pamphilus, to go to hell – in modern terms.	“ perduint : the old pres. optative/subjunc. of <i>dare</i> , e.g. <i>duit</i> , <i>duint</i> , finds its way by analogy into the paradigm of <i>perdere</i> , especially in this formulaic expression, though the ‘regular’ subjunc. <i>perdant</i> also appears [...]”. ³⁵⁷	Dialogue
13	<i>Heau.</i> 8 10-812	Clitipho	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“ <u>ut te quidem omnes di deae[que] quantumst</u> , Syre, cum istoc invento cumque incepto perduint! huiu’ modi mihi res semper commiscere ubi me excarnufices. [...]” Curse.	Syrus replies that he got what he deserved, almost destroying him with his boldness. (812-813)	He’s entered from the countryside.	“The gods and goddesses”.	Anger, frustration.	To come at Syrus for sending him away on a walk-about to keep him from Bacchis and the others in the company.	<i>Perduint</i> = <i>perdant</i> .	Dialogue
14	Hec. 439- 442	Parmeno	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“PAR. at non novi homini’ faciem. PAM. at faciam ut noveris: magnu’ rubicundu’ crispu’ crassu’ caesius cadaverosa facie. PAR. (<i>aside</i>) <u>di illum perduint!</u> (<i>to Pamphilus again</i>) quid si non veniet? maneamque usque ad vesperum.” ³⁵⁸ Curse.	Pamphilus does not hear the curse, but answers the question thereafter, which is directed to him, and frankly says ‘Yes, you wait. Hurry.’ (443)	Somewhere in between outside Phidippus’ and Laches’ house.	“The gods”.	Frustration.	He says this aside to let out his frustration with Pamphilus for sending him away on an errand <i>again</i> .	<i>Perduint</i> = <i>perdant</i> .	Mono- logue (said aside in a dia- logue)

³⁵⁷ Goldberg 2013, 107, 134n.

³⁵⁸ Following the interpretation of “aside” by Barsby 2001a, 193.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
15	Ph. 122- 123	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“quid fiat? est parasitu’ quidam Phormio, homo confidens: qui illum di omnes perduint! ” Curse.	Davos simply asks “quid is fecit?” to know more. (124)	Outside Demipho’s house.	“The gods” are mentioned.	Disgust, frustration.	To reveal his feelings about Phormio and to wish him ill.	<i>Perduint</i> is an archaic present subjunctive, “really a pure optative, [...] used by T. only in imprecations” and without the prefix, “ <i>duint</i> mostly in wishes”. ³⁵⁹	Dialogue
16	An. 665- 666	Charinus	A free man	Male	Adule- scens	“[...] hem quid ais? scelus! at tibi di dignum factis exitium duint! ” Curse.	Davos, ashamed, can simply answer that he was deceived and made a mistake. (669)	Somewhere near the exit to the forum.	“The gods”.	Anger, frustration.	To let out and strengthen his negative feelings towards Davos.	<i>Duint</i> = <i>dent</i> . Optative subjunctive. “At: used to introduce a curse”. ³⁶⁰	Dialogue
17	Ph. 517- 519	Phaedria	A free man	Male	Adule- scens	“DO. verba istaec sunt. AN. Pamphilamne hac urbe privari sines? tum praeterea horunc amorem distrahi poterin pati? DO. neque ego neque tu. PH. di tibi omnes id quod es dignus duint! ” Curse.	Dorio continues to argue for his cause: Phaedria has begged for months now and now he is fed up with it and has found someone to actually pay for the girl. (520-522)	Outside Dorio’s house.	“The gods”.	Anger, frustration.	To imprecate evil upon Dorio, who deserves it for being so “inhuman-issimus” (509).	<i>Duint</i> is an archaic present subjunctive of ‘ <i>dare</i> ’. Cf. <i>perduint</i> . ³⁶¹	Dialogue
18	Ph. 976	Demipho	A free man, a <i>dominus/ erus</i>	Male	Senex	“ malum quod isti di deaeque omnes duint! ” Curse.	This is not answered by Phormio.	Outside Demipho’s house.	“The gods and goddesses”.	Anger, frustration.	To wish Phormio ill.	<i>Duint</i> = <i>dent</i> . ³⁶²	Dialogue

³⁵⁹ Martin 1959, 97, 123n. Further reading: de Melo 2007, Chapter 9; Schmitz 1849, 119.4.

³⁶⁰ Brown 2019, 259, 666n.

³⁶¹ Further reading: de Melo 2007, Chapter 9; Schmitz 1849, 119.4.

³⁶² More on *duint*, see de Melo 2007, Chapter 9; Schmitz 1849, 119.4.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
19	Ph. 391- 395	Demipho	A free man, a <i>dominus/ erus</i>	Male	Senex	“DE. neque ego illum noram nec mihi cognatus fuit quisquam istoc nominee. PH. itane? non te horum pudet? at si talentum rem reliquisset decem, DE. di tibi malefaciant! PH. primus esses memoriter progeniem vostram usque ad avo atque atavo proferens.” Curse.	Demipho is exploding with rage, but Phormio simply continues his sentence as if he'd not just been cursed at.	They have come from the direction of the forum, which leaves them on the right side of the stage.	“The gods”.	Anger, frustration.	To let out his anger and direct it straight onto Phormio and wish him ill.	Optative subjunctive.	Dialogue

DI VOSTRAM FIDEM

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 381- 383	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ di vostram fidem , utrum studione id sibi habet an laudi putat fore si perdiderit gnatum? vae misero mihi!” Interjectional prayer as an expression of surprise/wonder. ³⁶³	Syrus answers Demea’s anger/frustration with sarcasm: “[...] o Demea, istuc est sapere, non quod ante pedes modost videre sed etiam illa quae future sunt prospicere. [...]” (385-388)	Outside Micio’s house.	By calling upon “the gods”.	Anger, Frustration, despair.	Express and enhance his anger/ frustration (negative feelings).	Di = vocative. <i>vostram fidem</i> = accusative, which either could be an accusative of exclamation, or, most likely, a verb is to be understood: Martin notes “sc. <i>obsecro</i> (vel sim.)” ³⁶⁴	Dialogue.

³⁶³ cf. Barsby 1999, 124, 225n. on *di boni*. See note 17 below.

³⁶⁴ Martin 1976, 163, 381n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
2	An. 716- 720	Mysis	Ancilla	Female	Anus?	“Nilne esse proprium quouquam! <u>di vostram fidem!</u> summum bonum esse erae putabam hunc Pamphilum, amicum, amatorem, virum in quovis loco paratum; verum ex eo nunc misera quem capit laborem! facile hic plus malist quam illic boni.” Interjectional prayer as an expression of despair.	She says this to herself.	Outside Glyce- rium’s house.	“The gods”.	Frustration, despair.	To let out her feelings and ponder over the course of things.	Sc. <i>obsecro</i> .	Mono- logue
3	An. 744- 746	Davos	Servus	Male	Senex?	“[...] <u>di vostram fidem</u> , quid turbaest apud forum! quid illi hominum litigant! Tum annona carast. (quid dicam aliud nescio.)” Interjectional prayer.	He says this to himself, intentionally loud so that Chremes may hear.	Re-entering from the right (pretending to have been in the forum).	“The gods”.	(Pretending): surprise, annoyance.	Davos, pretending to have come from the forum, tries to speak nonsense to fool Chremes, who’s seen the baby and overhears what Davos is saying.	Sc. <i>obsecro</i> .	Mono- logue
4	Eun. 418- 419	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i> .	Male	Presum- ably a grown man, <i>senex</i> .	“ <u>di vostram fidem</u> , hominem perditum miserumque et illum sacrilegum! [...]” Interjectional prayer as an expression of surprise/wonder AND force.	This is said aside.	Outside Phaedria’s/ Chaerea’s house.	“The gods” are called upon.	surprise, frustration, disgust.	To truly express how stupid and silly the conversation between Thraso and the buttering- up Gnatho seems to Parmeno, who overhears their exchange of words.	“sc. <i>obsecro</i> ; formally this is a plea for divine help (<i>fidem</i> = <i>operam aut auxilium</i> : Don. on An. 716), but in practice it often serves as an exclamation expressing surprise or wonder, like the Engl. ‘heaven help us!’” ³⁶⁵	Mono- logue

³⁶⁵ Barsby 1999, 162, 418n.; also, cf. Martin 1976, 163, 381n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: nomen	QUIS: status/or do	QUIS: sexus	QUIS: aetas	QUID: factum/dictum	QUID: consecutio dicti	UBI: locus	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: divinitas	CUR: affectio	CUR: consilium	QUOMODO: compositio verborum	QUAND O:
5	<i>Eun.</i> 788- 791	Gnatho	<i>Parasitus</i>	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“THR. mane: omnia prius experiri quam armis sapientem decet. qui scis an quae iubeam sine vi faciat? GN. di vostram fidem , quantist sapere! numquam accedo quin abs te abeam doctior.” Interjectional prayer as an expression of surprise/wonder (although he is being sarcastic).	Thraso, as usual, does not pick up on the sarcasm, but turns to Thais to question her about the girl.	Outside Thais’ house.	“The gods” are prayed to.	Sarcasm. (faked) praise.	To flatter Thraso, but at the same time show the audience how silly he thinks Thraso is. <i>Di vostram fidem</i> here makes the statement ‘over-the-top’.	sc. <i>obsecro</i> . cf. 418-419.	Dialogue
6	<i>Eun.</i> 923- 925	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“Reviso quidnam Chaerea hic rerum gerat. quod si astu rem tractavit, di vostram fidem , quantam et quam veram laudem capiet Parmeno!” Interjectional prayer as an expression of joy.	He is talking to himself about himself.	Entering from one of the wings of the stage. ³⁶⁶	“the gods” are prayed to.	Happiness, joy, excitement.	To express and enhance his joy over the supposed praise he’ll get from Chaerea for helping him.	Sc. <i>obsecro</i> .	Mono- logue
7	<i>Eun.</i> 1049- 1050	Phaedria	A free man	Male	<i>Adulescens</i>	“[...] Di vostram fidem , incredibilia Parmeno modo quae narravit. [...]” Interjectional prayer as an expression of joy AND as an expression of surprise/wonder.	He says this to himself.	Outside Phaedria’s/ Chaerea’s house.	“the gods” are prayed to.	Happiness, joy, surprise.	To let out his surprised, but happy, feelings.	Sc. <i>obsecro</i> .	Mono- logue
8	<i>Heau.</i> 502- 505	Menedemus	<i>Dominus, erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“[...] di vostram fidem , ita comparatam esse hominum naturam omnium aliena ut melius videant et diiudicent quam sua! [...]” Interjectional prayer.	He says this to himself.	Outside Menedemus’ house.	“The gods”.	Wonder.	To express his wonder over the unsuspected ways of human nature.	Sc. <i>obsecro</i> .	Mono- logue

³⁶⁶ Barsby (1999, 255, 918-19n.) says that he enters from the right, but Barsby (2001b, 421) shows from the right.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
9	Ph. 757- 759	Chremes	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“ di vostram fidem , quam saepe forte temere eveniunt quae non audeas optare! offendi adveniens quicum volebam et ut volebam conlocatam amari.” Interjectional prayer.	Sophrona is not quite as happy as Chremes but tries to go back to the issue. (762-763)	Outside Demi-pho’s (Phaedria’s and Anti-pho’s) house.	“The gods”.	Surprise, joy, relief.	The situation has turned out better than he’d dare to wish for, so his surprise, joy and relief comes through clearly with this interjectional prayer.	Sc. <i>obsecro</i> .	Dialogue
10	Ph. 808- 809	Demipho	A free man, a <i>dominus/erus</i>	Male	Senex	“ di vostram fidem , eamus ad ipsam: una omnis nos aut scire aut nescire hoc volo. [...]” Interjectional prayer as an expression of surprise/wonder and joy.	Chremes is astonished at how slow his brother comprehends the whole thing and says that he should just take his word for it (as he does not want his wife going with them to find out the relation).	Outside Chremes’ house.	“The gods”.	Surprise, wonder, joy.	To let out his feelings of surprise and joy (although he doesn’t understand the situation fully yet).	Sc. <i>obsecro</i> .	Dialogue

DI VORTANT BENE (QUOD AGAS)

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	<i>Hec.</i> 194- 197	Parmeno	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	<p>“[PA.] habes omnem rem: pergam quo coepi hoc iter. <i>PH.</i> et quidem ego; nam constitui cum quodam hospite me esse illum conventuram. <i>PA.</i> <u>di vortant bene quod agas!</u> <i>PH.</i> vale. <i>PA.</i> et tu bene vale, Philotium.</p> <p>Interjectional prayer. (Sarcastic)</p>	They bid each other farewell and the scene is at an end.	Outside Bacchis' house.	“The gods”.	Sarcasm.	Either, Parmeno bids the <i>meretrix</i> Philotis goodbye in this manner, slightly condescendingly and sarcastically, as she has just mentioned that she is off to see a ‘client’ (<i>hospite</i>), after having left her soldier in Corinth.	<p>“di vortant bene: the ‘optative’ subjunc. No particle is required in this formulaic phrase of leave-taking.”³⁶⁷</p> <p>Again, the diminutive of her name is used.</p>	Dialogue
2	<i>Ph.</i> 551- 552	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	<p>“<i>PH.</i> quoquo hinc asportabitur terrarium, certumst persequi aut perire. <i>GE.</i> <u>di bene vortant quod agas!</u> pedetemptim tamen.”</p> <p>Interjectional prayer (although sarcastic).</p>	Antipho takes Phaedria more seriously and pushes Geta to try and find a way to help Phaedria, so he doesn't do anything stupid. Geta eventually agrees. (553-555)	Outside Dorio's house.	“The gods”.	Sarcasm.	Geta does not take Phaedria's threat about following the girl or killing himself very seriously and thus sarcastically utters this prayer and humorously adds ‘but go slowly’ to show his reluctance to help in the matter.	<p><i>Vortant = vertant.</i></p> <p>Optative subjunctive phrase.</p>	Dialogue

³⁶⁷ Goldberg 2013, 115, 196n.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
3	Ad. 728	Micio	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“DE. puer natust. MI. di bene vortant! ” Interjectional prayer.	Demea is not pleased, not by the situation nor by this joyous comment (as he thinks both of the girls are for Aeschinus, who he deems have acted outrageously – and now a baby boy is born!).	Outside Micio’s house.	Praying to “the gods”.	“Ominous overtone”: happiness, worry, off-brushing.	Micio is in truth not happy about Aeschinus’ behavior (which brought the baby about) but chooses to see it from the good side and handle it according to the present situation: “Good luck to it!”.	<i>Vortant = vertant.</i>	Dialogue.
4	Eun. 388-390	Parmeno	A slave, <i>servus.</i>	Male	Presumably a grown man, <i>senex.</i>	“PA. quid istic? si certumst facere, facias; verum ne post conferas culpam in me. CH. non faciam. PA. iubesne? CH. iubeam? cogo atque impero: numquam defugiam auctoritatem. sequere. PA. di vortant bene! ” ³⁶⁸ Interjectional prayer ‘may the gods make it turn out well!’ or ‘oh dear!’/‘oh my goodness’.	The act ends with this line – quite dramatically.	Having come from the harbor, he is now outside Thais’ house (where Parmeno also is). Now on their way to Phaedria’s/Chaerea’s house.	“The gods” are mentioned.	A feeling of ominous-ness, hopelessness.	He has a bad feeling about this, but desperately prays for it to turn out the better.	<i>Vortant = vertant.</i> Optative subjunctive.	Mono- logue ³⁶⁹

³⁶⁸ Barsby 1999, 156, 390n.: “**di vortant bene**: a prayer which often has ominous overtones (*Ph.* 552, *Hec.* 196, *Ad.* 728).”

³⁶⁹ Chaerea has just turned to leave for the house and Parmeno, as I see it, exclaims this to ‘the void’ and towards the audience.

PRO DEUM (INMORTALIUM) FIDEM

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 746- 747	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ pro divom fidem! meretrix et materfamilias una in domo?” Interjectional prayer	Micio, again, takes Demea’s rage calmly: “quor con?” (748)	Outside Micio’s house.	Either praying to the gods (if <i>divom fidem</i> is the object of an understood verb) or naming them in an expression of surprise/wonder (if <i>divom fidem</i> is accusative of exclamation). (see <i>compositio verborum</i>).	Anger, frustration, surprise.	To convey that he very much disagrees with Micio’s decision to keep the music girl (although he does not know that the girl is for Ctesipho, of course).	“ <i>pro</i> , interjection, does not affect the construction so e.g. 111 <i>pro</i> before a vocative; <i>fidem</i> might be the object of a verb that has to be understood (e.g. <i>inploro</i> , cf. 489), but passages such as <i>Eun.</i> 943 (<i>pro deum fidem, facinus foedum!</i>) suggest rather that it is an acc. of exclamation [...]” ³⁷⁰	Dialogue.
2	An. 236- 239	Pamphilus	A free man	Male	Adulescens	“PA. Hoccinest humanum factu aut inceptu? hoccin[est] officium patris? MY. quid illud est? PA. pro deum fidem quid est, si haec non contumeliast?” Interjectional prayer,	When Pamphilus loudly complains that his father is marrying him off today, Mysis overhears it and is horrified. (240)	He has entered from the direction of the forum.	“The gods”.	Anger, frustration, surprise.	To let out his frustration and emphasize it.	<i>Pro</i> is an exclamatory interjection and does not affect the construction. <i>Deum</i> =deorum(gen.) <i>Fidem</i> is either exclamatory accusative ‘By the faith of the gods’ OR an object to an understood e.g. <i>obsecro</i> , which would then make the expression a prayer ‘I beg for the faith of the gods’. ³⁷¹	Mono- logue

³⁷⁰ Martin 1976, 207, 746n.

³⁷¹ Brown 2019, 203, 237n. suggests to understand *obsecro* or *inploro*.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
3	Eun. 943- 944	Pythias	A maid, an <i>ancilla</i>	Female	?	<p>“pro deum fidem, facinu’ foedum! o infelicem adulescentulum! o scelestum Parmenonem, qui istum huc adduxit! [...]”</p> <p>Interjectional prayer.</p>	Pythias raises her voice so that this part of her monologue is to be overheard by Parmeno, who reacts to the insults: “quid est?”.	Outside Thais’ house.	“The gods” are mentioned.	Anger, frustration, trickery.	To very dramatically express how disgraceful both Chaerea and Parmeno are, in order to gain Parmeno’s attention.	<i>Pro</i> is an exclamatory interjection and does not affect the construction. <i>Deum fidem</i> (=deorum (gen.) fidem (acc.)) is supposedly exclamatory accusative ‘By the faith of the gods’ OR, as Barsby suggests, <i>obsecro/imploro</i> is to be understood, ³⁷² which would then make the expression a prayer rather than an oath, I argue ‘I beg for the faith of the gods’.	Mono- logue (intended to be over- heard)

³⁷² Barsby 1999, 260, 243n.: “an oath calling upon the protection of the gods, similar to *di vostram fidem* [...]; an ellipse is to be assumed of *obsecro* or *imploro*.”

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
4	Ph. 350- 353	Phormio	<i>Parasitus</i>	Male	<i>Adulescens</i> ³⁷³	“quin tu hoc age: iam ego hunc agitabo. pro deum immortalium , ³⁷⁴ negat Phanium esse hanc sibi cognatam Demipho? hanc Demipho negat esse cognatam? [...]” Interjectional prayer.	As was Phormio’s intention, the ‘faked’ dialogue between Geta and himself is overheard by Demipho and his advocates.	They have come from the direction of the forum, which leaves them on the right side of the stage.	“The immortal gods”.	(Feigned) Anger, frustration, surprise.	To fool Demipho that he is angry, upset and surprised by the situation, which he succeeds at by letting out this phrase.	<i>Pro</i> is an exclamatory interjection and does not affect the construction. <i>Deum</i> =deorum(gen.) <i>Fidem</i> (acc.) is to be understood, which is either exclamatory accusative ‘By (the faith of) the immortal gods’ OR an object to an understood e.g. <i>obsecro</i> , ³⁷⁵ which would then make the expression a prayer rather than an oath ‘I beg for the [faith] of the immortal gods’.	Dialogue

³⁷³ Demipho addresses Phormio with *adulescens* in line 378.

³⁷⁴ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.*: “351 p. d. i. fidem *Iov. C²P²EFv*: p. d. atque hominum fi. *D¹L*: p. d. atque i. ho. fi. G: ‘deest fidem’ *Don.*”.

³⁷⁵ Martin 1959, 119, 351n.: “**deum**, [...] The gen. depends on *fidem* understood; the full phrase in Caecilius (R. 211-12), *pro deum popularium omnium omnium adolescentium | clamo postulo obsecro oro ploro atque inploro fidem.*”

PRO DEUM ATQUE HOMINUM FIDEM

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	An. 244- 247	Pam- philus	A free man	Male	<i>Adules- cens</i>	“[...] quod si fit pereo funditus. adeo hominem esse invenustum aut infelicem quemquam ut ego sum! <u>pro deum atque hominum fidem!</u> nullon ego Chremeti’ pacto adfinitatem effugere potero.” Interjectional prayer.	He says this to himself (overheard by Mysis).	He has entered from the direction of the forum.	“The gods”.	Frustration, despair, hopelessness.	To vent out his despair and frustration.	If an oath: <i>fidem</i> is acc. exclamatory. If a prayer: <i>fidem</i> is the object of an understood <i>obsecro</i> . ³⁷⁶	Mono- logue
2	<i>Heau.</i> 61-66	Chremes	<i>Dominus, erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“ <u>nam pro deum atque hominum fidem</u> quid vis tibi aut quid quaeris? annos sexaginta natus es aut plus eo, ut conicio; agrum in his regionibus meliorem neque preti maiori’ nemo habet; servos compluris: proinde quasi nemo siet, ita attente tute illorum official fungere.” Interjectional prayer.	Chremes continues for quite a while further. Menedemus, who is addressed here, are at first reluctant to reveal the real reason behind his intense labor, but eventually he gives in and opens up about the issue behind it all.	They have entered from the country-side (left entrance)	“The gods” (and humans). Noteworthy: Me- nander’s play, very fragmentarily preserved, has ‘in the name of Athena’. ³⁷⁷	Pompous-ness, wonder, curiosity, concern, frustration, surprise.	To pompously question Menedemus for slaving away at his own farm, when he indeed has lots of slaves to do so for him. Chremes cannot understand this at all.	If sc. <i>obsecro</i> = interjectional prayer. If <i>fidem</i> is acc. clamoris = interjectional/ informal oath.	Dialogue

³⁷⁶ Brown 2019, 204, 246n. refers back to his note on *pro deum fidem*, where he suggests an understood *obsecro/inploro*. Assuming that is his take on this line as well.

³⁷⁷ Barsby 2001b, 185, 18n.: “We possess the corresponding passage of Menander (fr. 77 Kassel-Austin), which reads: “In the name of Athena, you’re insane, when you’re so old; you must be about sixty. Of the people of Halae you’ve acquired the finest piece of land among the three, and, best of all, it’s unmortgaged.” There were two villages called Halae in Attica. The reference of “among the three” is not clear.” Brothers 1988, 167, 61ffn. “**In the name of gods and men ...:** We possess some five lines of the Greek original at this point [...]: πρὸς τῆς Αθηνᾶς, δαίμονᾶς, [...] Ter. has removed the special oaths, the place name “Halae” and the technical term “unmortgaged”, probably because they would mean little to a Roman audience.”

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
3	Hec. 198- 200	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/e rus</i>	Male	Senex	<p>“Pro deum atque hominum fidem, quod hoc genus est, quae haec est coniuratio! uttin omnes mulieres eadem aeque student nolintque omnia neque declinatam quicquam ab aliarum ingenio ullam reperias!”</p> <p>Interjectional prayer.</p>	He says this to himself, although Sostrata overhears it, as she exits from their house together with him.	Outside Laches’ house.	‘The good faith of gods and humans’.	Anger, frustration, surprise.	To express and emphasize his anger over whatever he’s heard inside the house about the situation with his son’s wife not wanting to be summoned or called upon.	<p>“Pro: this exclamatory interjection is commonly followed by a voc., e.g. <i>pro Iuppiter</i> (317), or (as here) by an exclamatory acc. Oaths introduced by <i>pro</i> is generally masc. in T. The two exceptions are spoken by distinctly assertive women (Nausistrata, <i>Ph.</i> 1008; Pythias <i>Eu.</i> 943).”³⁷⁸</p>	Mono- logue

³⁷⁸ Goldberg 2013, 116, 198n.

(O) DI BONI

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 440- 442	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“(o di boni , ne illiu’ modi iam magna nobis civium paenuriast) ³⁷⁹ , homo antiqua virtute ac fide!” Interjectional/prayer as an expression of surprise/wonder. ³⁸⁰	He is talking to himself.	Near Micio’s house (as he is about to depart to the country- side).	By calling upon “the good gods”.	Demea is pleased that Hegio is “a man of old virtue and faith” but is upset with the fact that there are so few of them left: Satisfaction, praise, happiness.	To emphasize and assert that there really are not many men of Hegio’s caliber left.	Exclamatory interjection <i>o</i> followed by vocatives <i>di boni</i> .	Mono- logue.
2	An. 338- 339	Davos	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“(Di boni , boni quid porto? sed ubi inveniam Pamphilum, ut metum in quo nunc est adimam atque expleam animum gaudio?” Interjectional prayer.	He says this to himself (although he is overheard by Pamphilus and Charinus).	Entered from the direction of the forum.	“The good gods”.	Satisfaction, happiness, surprise.	To express how happy he is and that he can’t wait to share his good news with Pamphilus.	<i>Di boni</i> in vocative.	Mono- logue
3	<i>Eun.</i> 225- 226	Parmeno	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex.</i>	“(di boni , quid hoc morbi? adeon homines inmutarier ex amore ut non cognoscas eundem esse! [...].” Interjectional prayer.	He is saying this to himself, so no reaction.	Outside Phaedria’s house.	“The good gods” are called upon.	Wonder, dislike.	To express his (negative) wonder and emphasize “quid hoc morbi?”.	<i>Di boni</i> in vocative.	Mono- logue.
4	<i>Heau.</i> 2 54-255	Syrus	<i>Servus</i>	Male	<i>Senex?</i>	“(di boni , quid turbast! aedes nostrae vix capient, scio. quid comedent! quid ebibent! quid sene erit nostro miserius?” Interjectional prayer.	He says this to himself.	They have entered from the town (right entrance).	“The gods.”	Wonder, disgust, worry.	As an expression of surprise when he recalls how many people and how much stuff the women come with. He’s worried at what the master will think.	‘Good gods!’.	Mono- logue

³⁷⁹ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *Adelphoe*: The apparatus criticus informs us that some manuscripts omit the lines within the parentheses, while some contain it (“440 o AGLp: om. cett.).

³⁸⁰ cf. Barsby 1999, 124, 225n.: “**di boni**: a common oath, expressing surprise, indignation, or sometimes satisfaction (Engl. ‘good heaven!’, ‘good Lord!’, ‘heavens above!’); there as four examples in T. but only two in Pl., who prefers *di immortales* [...]”

(PRO) DI INMORTALES

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 447- 448	Hegio	A free man: <i>erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“ Pro di inmortales , facinus indignum, Geta! quid narras? [...]” Interjectional prayer as an expression of surprise/wonder.	Geta expects such a strong reaction to his story and simply answers “sic est factum.” (448)	Near Micio’s house (as Hegio and Geta arrive from the country- side, i.e. from the same direction Demea is heading). ³⁸¹	By calling upon “the immortal gods”.	Anger, frustration, surprise, wonder.	Express and enhance his anger/ frustration (negative feelings).	“ <i>pro</i> ”, exclamatory interjection, followed by vocatives <i>di inmortales</i> (and an accusative of exclamation, <i>facinus indignum</i>).	Dialogue.
2	Eun. 232- 233	Gnatho	“ <i>Para- situs</i> ” ³⁸²	Male	?	“ Di inmortales , homini homo quid praestat? stulto intellegens quid inter est? [...]” Interjectional prayer as an expression of surprise/wonder. ³⁸³	He is saying this to himself, so no reaction. He is referring to another parasite as <i>stultus</i> and himself as <i>intellegens</i> in a comparison ending in him lecturing the other parasite in his ways.	Entering from the forum (to the audi- ence’s right), which means he’s standing near Phaed- ria’s house, ³⁸⁴ but is on his way to Thais’ house.	“The immortal gods” are called upon.	Wonder, pompous- ness,(dramatic, philosoph-ical).	To express his wonder and emphasize his dramatic philosophical question (later answered by himself of course, congratulating himself upon his outstanding skills of being a parasite).	<i>Di inmortales</i> in vocative. “homini homo quid praestat?”: “what makes a man excel over another?”.	Mono- logue

³⁸¹ Cf. Martin 1976, 172. & Barsby 2001, 303.

³⁸² Parasitus literally means “one who eats alongside”. Further, see Barsby 1999, 126-127.

³⁸³ cf. Barsby 1999, 128, 232n.: “**di inmortales**: a portentous opening. Pl. has more than 50 examples of this oath in a variety of contexts; T. has only four, all of which are in reaction to unwelcome news (cf. *Ph.* 351, 1008, *Ad.* 447).”

³⁸⁴ cf. Barsby 2001b, 315, 337.

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
3	Ph. 1006- 1008	Nausis- trata	A <i>matrona</i> , an <i>era</i> .	Female	Senex	“[...] PH. et inde filiam suscepit iam unam, dum tu dormis. [...] NA. pro di immortales , facinu’ miserandum et malum!” Interjectional prayer with assertory meaning.	Chremes cannot manage even an attempt at an answer. Nausistrata turns to Demipho with her questions instead. (1011- 1013)	Outside Chremes’ house.	‘The immortal gods’.	Despair, anger, frustration, surprise.	To let out her enhanced feelings, which grew worse after receiving the last part of the news - there’s a child involved in the affair, as well!	<i>Pro</i> = exclamatory interjection <i>Di immortales</i> = vocatives	Dialogue

DI ... PROHIBEANT

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 274- 275	Aesch- inus	A free man	Male	<i>Adules- cens</i>	“ah stultitiae istaec, non puto. tam ob parvulam rem paene e patria! turpe dictum. deos quaeso ut istaec prohibeant. ” (Interjectional) prayer (of prohibition).	Ctesipho simply answers, quite ashamed, that he was wrong (“peccavi”) (276).	Outside Micio’s house.	He calls upon “the gods”.	Aeschinus is upset with Ctesipho for not turning to him for help earlier and almost fled the country instead. Upset, disappoint- ment.	To prevent such foolish behavior from happening again.	Phrase with “quaeso” + final “ut”. <i>Sc. stultitia</i> to <i>istaec</i> .	Dialogue.
2	An. 566- 568	Simo	A free man; <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“CH. at istuc periculum in filia fieri gravest. SI. nempe incommoditas denique huc omnis redit si eveniat, quod di prohibeant , discessio.” (Interjectional) parenthetical prayer of prohibition.	Chremes reluctantly agrees to the marriage, as Simo, arguing for his cause (569-571), thinks that it is the right thing to do. (572-573)	Chremes has just arrived from the forum, so to the right of the stage.	“The gods”.	Persuasiveness, seriousness.	To convince Chremes by explaining that the worst that could happen - ‘may the gods forbid it’ - is not so bad, after all.	Optative subjunctive. Explicative quod “if it so happens, that the gods forbid it”.	Dialogue

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
3	<i>Heau.</i> 1 035- 1038	Sostrata	<i>Matrona</i>	Female	Senex	<p>“CL. non sunt haec parenti’ dicta. CH. non, si ex capite sis meo natus, item ut aiunt Minervam esse ex Iove, ea causa magis patiar, Clitipho, flagitiis tuis me infamem fieri. SO. di istaec prohibeant! CH. deos nescio: ego, quod potero, sedulo.”</p> <p>Interjectional prayer (of prohibition), I call them.</p>	As shown, Chremes says ‘I don’t know (about) the gods: but I (shall forbid it) [sc. <i>prohibeam?</i>] attentively, as (good) as I can.’	Outside Chremes’ house.	“The gods.”	Gasping, distress.	Sostrata gasps at the thought of their family name being disgraced by Clitipho’s misbehaviors.	‘May the gods forbid it!’ Optative subjunctive phrase.	Dialogue
4	<i>Hec.</i> 207	Laches	A free man, a <i>dominus/e rus</i>	Male	Senex	<p>“di mala prohibeant!”</p> <p>Prayer.</p> <p>(Goldberg suggests ‘oath of avoidance’, although I do not agree that this is an oath... Interjectional prayer (of prohibition), I call them.</p>	Sostrata answers that she is sure that Laches one day will realize that his accusations against her are false. (208)	Outside Laches’ house.	“The gods.”	Anger, frustration.	He is too mad to listen to his wife’s words about living a life together in peace that he asks the gods to forbid it.	“ mala : the unexpected turn [...] of Laches’ oath – the prospect of continued life is not often called an evil – is a callous variant on a stock theme of comic misogyny. [...] T.’s version of the joke here, at <i>Hau.</i> 632-67, and ny implication at <i>Ad.</i> 424, are distinctly bleaker. [...] The oath of avoidance is more conventionally invoked at <i>An.</i> 568, <i>Hau.</i> 1038, <i>Ad.</i> 275.” ³⁸⁵	Dialogue

³⁸⁵ Goldberg 2013, 118-119, 207n.

ITA DI (DEAEQUE) FAXINT

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	<i>Heau.</i> 159- 161	Mene- demus	<i>Dominus,</i> <i>erus</i>	Male	<i>Senex</i>	“ <i>CH.</i> Menedeme, at porro recte spero et illum tibi salvom adfututum esse hic confide propediem. <i>ME. utinam ita di faxint!</i> <i>CH.</i> facient. [...]” Interjectional prayer.	Chremes answers that he’s sure the gods will grant it (the safe and quick return of his sent-away son).	They have entered from the country-side (left entrance)	“The gods.”	Defeat, despair; desperately wishful, although ominous.	To express that this is exactly what he wishes for (but he dares not quite believe it to turn out that way).	<i>Faxint</i> = faciant. ‘Oh, may the gods grant it so!’	Dialogue
2	<i>Hec.</i> 97-102	Philotis	<i>Meretrix</i>	Female	<i>Adulescens</i>	“ <i>PH.</i> sed quod hoc negotist? modo quae narravit mihi hic intu’ Bacchi? quod ego numquam credidi fore, ut ille hac viva posset animum inducer uxorem habere. <i>PA.</i> habere autem? <i>PH.</i> eho tu, an non habet? <i>PA.</i> habet, sed firmae haec vereor ut sint nuptiae. <i>PH. ita di deaeque faxint, si in rem est Bacchidis.</i> ” Interjectional prayer.	Philotis continues by asking Parmeno why she should believe that the marriage is instable, upon which he answers that it is not meant to be made official. (103-105)	Outside Bacchis’ house.	“The gods and goddesses”.	Compassion, well-wishing.	To firmly mark that she is on Bacchis’ (the lover) side, even though it would mean that the marriage is unhappy/ unstable for the ‘real’ wife.	” faxint : this form was long explained as an archaic perf. dubjunc. (in origin a sigmatic aorist) of <i>facio</i> (cf. <i>dixi, iunxi</i>) but is increasingly recognized as based on an <i>s</i> -present (desiderative) stem. [...] The sigmatic subjunc. was obsolete by the second century, largelt confined, as here, to a handful of formal contexts like prayers and imprecations: [...]” ³⁸⁶	Dialogue
3	<i>Hec.</i> 353- 354	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matrona</i>	Female	<i>Senex</i>	“ <i>PAM.</i> mea mater, salve. <i>SO.</i> gaudeo venisse salvom. salvan Philumenast? <i>PAM.</i> meliusculast. <i>SO. utinam istuc ita di faxint!</i> ” Interjectional prayer.	Sostrata continues to ask about his son’s gloominess and his wife’s condition, until Pamphilus sends her into the house and promises to follow her shortly. (355ff)	Outside Phidip- <i>pus</i> ’ house.	“The gods”.	Well-wishing, hopefulness, although quite ominous.	She is relieved by the fact that Philumena is a bit better, however she again hopes and wishes for her (continued) recovery.	‘O may the gods grant it so!’	Dialogue

³⁸⁶ Goldberg 2013, 103, 102n.

DI OBSECRO VOS

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ph. 740- 742	Soph- rona	Nutrix	Female	Anus ³⁸⁷	“CH. respicet ad me. SO. <u>di</u> <u>obsecro vos</u> , estne hic Stilpo? CH. non. SO. negas? CH. concede hinc a foribu’ paullum istorsum sodes, Sophrona. ne me istoc posthac nominee appellassis. [...]” Interjectional prayer.	Chremes urges Sophrona not to call him be the name of Stilpo, which he has used as a fictitious name to keep his two wives apart.	Outside Demipho’s (Phaedria’s and Anti- pho’s) house.	“The gods”.	Surprise, wonder, joy.	The express her surprise and joy over seeing just the person she was wishing to see just now.	Obsecro as a main verb. <i>Di</i> in vocative.	Dialogue

DI MELIUS DUINT

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ph. 1005- 1006	Nausis- trata	A <i>matrona</i> , an <i>era</i> .	Female	Senex	“PH. uxorem duxit. NA. mi homo, <u>di melius duint!</u> PH. hoc factumst. NA. perii misera! [...]” Interjectional prayer.	Phormio continues to tell her about her husband’s daughter with this other wife.	Outside Chremes’ house.	“The gods”.	Despair, chock, surprise.	To let out her chock and despair over the news.	<i>Duint</i> = <i>dent</i> . ³⁸⁸ ‘May the gods grant (me/us) better!’	Dialogue

³⁸⁷ Chremes refers to Sophrona as *anus* at line 732.

³⁸⁸ More on *duint*, see de Melo 2007, Chapter 9; Schmitz 1849, 119.4.

O CAELUM O TERRA O MARIA NEPTUNI

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 789- 790	Demea	A free man, <i>erus/ dominus</i>	Male	Senex	“ei mihi! quid faciam? quid agam? quid clamem aut querar? “ <u>o caelum, o terra, o maria Neptuni!</u> ”” Interjectional prayer.	Demea bursts out of Micio’s door and exclaims this loudly. So, although a monologue, Micio hears this from outside Sostrata’s house and worriedly concludes that Demea has found out the truth about Ctesipho.	Outside Micio’s house.	Calling upon the Sky, the Earth and the Seas of Neptune.	Anger, frustration, despair.	Emphasize his feelings of anger and frustration, quite dramatically, too. ³⁸⁹	Exclamatory interjection <i>o</i> + vocatives. ³⁹⁰	Mono- logue.

FORMAL PRAYERS

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
1	Ad. 298	Sostrata	A free woman, a <i>matrona, era/ domina</i>	Female	Senex	“[...] salvo’ nobis <u>deos quaeso ut siet.</u> ” Prayer.	End of scene, no reaction available.	Outside Sostrata’s house.	“The gods” are named.	Well-wishing.	To “bless” Aeschinus, almost thankful (for her daughter Pamphila being raped and impregnated by Aesch-inus, as he is of a wealthy family).	<i>Salvo’ = salvus</i> = Aeschinus. Phrase with “quaeso” + final “ut”.	Dialogue.
2	An. 487- 488	Lesbia	Obstetrix	Female	Anus?	“ <u>deos quaeso ut sit superstes,</u> quandoquidem ipsest ingenio bono, quomque huic est veritus optumae adulescenti facere iniuriam.” Prayer.	She says this to herself.	Outside Glyce- rium’s house.	“The gods”.	Well-wishing.	To pray to the gods to keep the baby safe and sound, now that the father has promised to provide for it.	<i>Ut sit superstes</i> refers to the baby; <i>ipsest ingenio bono...</i> refers to Pamphilus.	Mono- logue

³⁸⁹ Martin 1976, 212-213, 790n.: “...we can be sure that at this point the poet intends his audience to find Demea’s exaggeration ridiculous.”

³⁹⁰ Martin 1976, 212, 790n.: “Since *o* + vocative is confined almost entirely to persons, the apostrophe (with anaphora of *o*) of the three elements, earth, sea, and sky, is clearly a sign of elevated language.”

No.	Lines	QUIS: <i>nomen</i>	QUIS: <i>status/or do</i>	QUIS: <i>sexus</i>	QUIS: <i>aetas</i>	QUID: <i>factum/dictum</i>	QUID: <i>consecutio dicti</i>	UBI: <i>locus</i>	QUIBUS AUXILIIS: <i>divinitas</i>	CUR: <i>affectio</i>	CUR: <i>consilium</i>	QUOMODO: <i>compositio verborum</i>	QUAND O:
3	Ad. 486- 487	Pamphila	A free woman/g irl, <i>virgo</i> ³⁹¹	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“miseram me, differor doloribus! <u>Juno Lucina, fer opem! serva me obsecro!</u> ” ³⁹² A prayer.	No answer to her screams, although Hegio, Geta and Demea are informed of the fact that she is now going into labor (“HE. hem numnam illa quaeso parturit? GE. certe, Hegio.”) (487-488)	Off-stage (only scream heard)	By calling upon Juno Lucina.	In pain, agony.	To pray to the goddess of childbirth ³⁹³ for aid and relief from the pains of labor.	The two imperatives <i>fer</i> and <i>serva</i> indicate that <i>obsecro</i> is used on its own and not as part of the construction (subjunctive with or without <i>ut</i> would be expected), only highlighting the requests in imperative: “I beg/implore (you)” or “please”.	Mono- logue.
4	An. 473	Glyce- rium	A free woman, <i>virgo</i>	Female	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“ <u>Juno Lucina, fer opem, serva me, obsecro.</u> ” Prayer.	She exclaims this offstage from inside her house, but it is overheard by Simo and Davos outside in the street.	Offstage from inside her house.	Juno Lucina, goddess of childbirth.	Pain and agony in labor.	To let out her pain from childbirth.	Parenthetic <i>obsecro</i> (‘please’, ‘I beg [you]’). <i>Juno Lucina</i> in vocative and <i>fer</i> + <i>serva</i> in imperative.	Mono- logue
5	Eun. 1048- 1049	Chaerea	A free man	Male	<i>Adule- scens</i>	“ <u>o Iuppiter</u> , serva obsecro haec bona nobis! [...]” Prayer.	Chaerea is talking to himself.	Outside Thais’ house.	Jupiter is prayed to.	Happiness, joy, gratitude.	To underscore his gratitude for what’s happened and pray that things may stay as well as they’ve turned out.	Exclamatory interjection <i>o</i> + vocative <i>Iuppiter</i> , followed by an optative subjunctive clause.	Mono- logue

³⁹¹ *Virgo* is the term used in the role list by Lindsay & Kauer (see *Adelphoe*: PERSONAE) as well as how Micio describes her at line 650 in the play; however, Pamphila clearly no longer is a virgin, as she is now pregnant, therefore, read *virgo* as “girl” or “young woman”.

³⁹² Martin 1976, 176, 487n.: “**Juno...obsecro**”: The same words are spoken by Glycerium in *An.* 473; [...] The appeal to Juno Lucina corresponds to an appeal in Menander to Artemis [...].”

³⁹³ Cf. Barsby 2001, 307, 24n.

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6	Hec. 336-339	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“Nescioquid iam dudum audio hic tumultuari misera: male metuo ne Philumenaē mage morbus adgravescat: <u>quod te, Aesculapi, et te, Salus, nequid sit huius oro.</u> ” Prayer.	She says this to herself, just as Parmeno comes up to her.	Outside Laches’ house. On her way over to Phidippus’ house.	Aesculapius (god of healing), Salus (goddess of good health). ³⁹⁴ Both had well-known temples at Rome (the former on the Tiber island and the latter on the Quirinal). ³⁹⁵	Concern, worry.	To express her worry and concern for Philumena by praying to the god and goddess to keep her safe and sound.	<i>Quod</i> = ‘because’, ‘hence’. ³⁹⁶ It is noteworthy that the gods are directly addressed in the vocative in this prayer, as opposed to the more (I think) frequent form of prayer in Terence ‘I ask the gods to...’.	Mono- logue
7	Ad. 917	Geta	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“ <u>di tibi, Demea, bene faciant</u> , quom te video nostrae familiae tam ex animo factum velle.” A prayer, a well-wishing.	Demea answers “dignos arbitrator.” (919), although we know this not to be very true – at least not a few pages ago.	Outside Micio’s house.	Praying to “the gods”.	Happiness, gratitude.	To wish Demea well, as he has helped Geta’s <i>era</i> and her daughter.	An optative subjunctive phrase.	Dialogue.
8	Ad. 978	Syrus	A slave, <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex	“ <u>di tibi, Demea, omnes omnia optata offerant!</u> ” Prayer, well-wishing	Demea does not answer this, but instead proceeds to push Micio to be even more ‘generous’.	Outside Micio’s house.	Praying to “all the gods”.	Happiness, gratitude.	To wish Demea all the best for having helped him – and now also his wife – be set free.	Optative subjunctive clause.	Dialogue.
9	An. 232-233	Mysis	<i>Ancilla</i>	Female	<i>Anus?</i>	“ <u>di, date</u> facultatem <u>obsecro</u> huic pariundi atque illi in aliis potiu’ peccandi locum.” ³⁹⁷ Prayer.	She says this to herself.	Outside Glyce-rium’s house.	“The gods” are called upon.	Worry, concern.	To pray that everything goes well in labor and that the midwife does what she should and no wronging.	<i>Di</i> in vocative. <i>Obsecro</i> is parenthetical in the grammatical construction, but important for the content of the prayer: ‘please’, ‘I beg you’. <i>Date</i> is in imperative.	Mono- logue

³⁹⁴ Barsby 2001a, 181, 14n.

³⁹⁵ Goldberg 2013, 138, 338n.

³⁹⁶ cf. Goldberg 2013, 138, 338n.

³⁹⁷ Brown 2019, 198-199: “232-33: Mysis ends with a prayer that Lesbia’s incompetence should damage others rather than her mistress, the kind of apotropaic prayer noted by Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* I.21.13. This example is discussed at length by O. Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Darmstadt, 1986), 7-37, who notes that it is rare

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10	Ad. 491-493	Hegio	A free man, dominus /erus	Male	Senex	“ haec primum ut fiant deos quaeso ut vobis decet. sin aliter animu’ voster est, ego, Demea, summa vi defendam haec atque illum mortuom.” A prayer.	Hegio receives a very avoiding answer from Demea: “fratrem conveniam, Hegio; [...]” (498)	Near Micio’s house (as Hegio and Geta arrive from the countryside, i.e. from the same direction Demea is heading).	By praying to “the gods”.	Serious, pleading, threatening.	To give extra weight and seriousness to his statement – he is not kidding around! To threaten Demea into doing ‘the right thing’.	Final <i>ut</i> -phrase with <i>quaeso</i> .	Dialogue.
11	Ph. 841-842	Geta	A slave, a <i>servus</i>	Male	Senex?	“ o Fortuna. o Fors Fortuna, quantis commoditatibus, quam subito meo ero Antiphoni ope vostra hunc onerastis diem!” Interjectional/Informal oath.	He says this to himself, although he is overheard by Antipho and Phormio, who is confused.	Outside Demipho’s house.	Fortuna and Fors Fortuna. ³⁹⁸	Happiness, gratitude, surprise, relief.	To express how surprised, but very pleased, he is at the good news he’s overheard. Also, quite relieved, as his own skin is also saved by the news.	O = exclamatory interjection; <i>Fortuna + Fortuna Fors</i> in vocative.	Mono- logue
12	Hec. 406	Pamphilus	A free man	Male	Adulescens	“[...] o fortuna, ut numquam perpetuo’s data!” ³⁹⁹ Prayer (of complaint).	He says this to himself.	Outside Phidippus’ house. On his way to Laches’ house.	<i>fortuna</i> = Fortuna, (goddess of chance and good fortune)	Despair, hopelessness.	To let out his feelings of despair and hopelessness, caused by the news of the baby.	‘O (F)ortune, that you’ve never given anything eternal!’	Mono- logue

for the proposed alternative victim not to be an enemy of some kind and concludes that this is Roman rather than Greek and therefore added by Terence, not reproduced from Menander. Accepting that Mysis’ speech otherwise derives from *Perinthia* and that Lesbia’s later appearances derive from *Andria* (see above on 228-33), he argues that Terence added this prayer in order to prepare us to see a sober and competent Lesbia, since we are to realize that the prayer is answered by the gods; he further argues that Terence added Lesbia’s prayer at 487-88 to balance Mysis’ prayer here and bind the two passages yet more closely together. Unfortunately, Weinreich offers little positive evidence that Mysis’ prayer is Roman in form, and he perhaps makes too much on pp. 24-25 of the fact that she hopes that Lesbia will harm anyone in the vicinity (rather than her mistress) without specifying any enemies.”

³⁹⁸ Barsby 2001a, 111, 63n.: “Fortuna and Fors Fortuna were worshipped at Rome as two distinct divinities. Donatus explains that Fortuna was the goddess of uncertainty, Fors Fortuna the goddess of good luck.” | Martin 1959, 160, 841n.: “*Fortuna* = Gk. Τύχη, but the distinction between two deities *Fortuna* and *Fors Fortuna* is a Roman conception: the deities had separate temples, traditionally dating back to Servius Tullius.”

³⁹⁹ Lindsay & Kauer 1926, *app.crit.* “406 [...] data *Don.* : bona ω”.

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13	Hec. 608- 610	Sostrata	A free woman; <i>Matr-ona</i>	Female	Senex	“[LA.] istuc est sapere, qui ubicumque opu’ sit animum possis flectere; quod sit faciundum fortasse post, idem hoc nunc si feceris. SO. fors fuat pol. [...]” Interjectional/Informal oath with assertory meaning (pol) AND a prayer (fors fuat).	Laches eventually tells her to go pack her bags to leave with him for the county-side. (612)	Outside Laches’ house.	Fors Fortuna. (Pollux)	Hope, despair, bravery.	Surely knowing what’s awaiting her (living with her spiteful husband on the farm) she wishes and hopes that she is making a wise choice (est <i>sapere</i>), as Laches said.	<i>Pol</i> is short for <i>Pollux</i> . <i>fuat</i> = pres.subj., an alliterative archaism. ⁴⁰⁰ ‘By Pollux, may Fors [Fortuna] grant it [so].’	Dialogue

⁴⁰⁰ Goldberg 2013, 169, 610n.

RESULT COUNTS AND STATISTICS

HEROLE

Hercles: 102
Mehercles: 2

Three types

Assertory: 82
Promissory: 9
As an expression of force: 7
To strengthen a request: 5
To enhance a question: 1

Affections

POSITIVE (16):

Happiness, gratitude.
Happiness, joy, recognition.
Happiness, joy.
Joy, happiness.
Happiness, joy, excitement.
Confidence, bravery.
Understanding, assurance.
Amusement, questioning, teasing.
Agreement, concurrence.
Drunkenness, flirtation, assurance.
Helpful, dutiful.
"Making small-talk", admiration.
Determination, revelation.
Assurance, ingratiation, (exaggerated) modesty).
Determination, bravery, righteousness.
Eagerness, curiosity.

NEGATIVE (43):

Frustration, fluster, distress.
Realization, shame, frustration.
Frustration.
Frustration, stress.
Incredulity.
Annoyance.
Annoyance.
Annoyance, envy.
Frustration, annoyance, embarrassment.
Frustration, annoyance.
Annoyance, suspiciousness, determination.
Impatience, annoyance frustration.

Frustration.
Frustration.
Confusion, frustration.
Frustration, annoyance.
Hopelessness, despair.
Frustration, incredulity, impatience.
Despair, helplessness (dramatic).
Hopelessness, despair, deliberation.
Despair, frustration.
Frustration, despair.
Frustration, shame, despair.
Frustration, caught off-guard.
Incredulity, despair, wishing.

Anger, frustration.
Anger, frustration.
Anger, frustration.
Anger, frustration.
Anger, frustration (deceived, thus threatful).
Anger, frustration.

Spitefulness, arrogance.
Scornfulness.
Dramatic, complaint.
Dramatic, complaint.
Earnestness, complaint.
Contempt.
Impatience.
Worry, uncertainty.
Surprise, chock, caught off-guard.
Defeat, pleading.
Disgust, worry.
Pleading, desperation.

IN-BETWEENS (22):

A glimpse of hope, although mostly despair (dramatic).
Defeat, despair, although putting on a brave face.
Wonder, chock, confusion.
Stress, hesitation, put on the spot.
Assurance.
Determination.
Annoyance, agreement.
Demanding, 'matter-of-fact'.
Drunkenness.
Seriousness, negotiation.

Seriousness, urging.
Seriousness, assurance.
(convinced), determination, desperation.
Assurance, comfort, avoidance.
Blunt, humorous.
Reason, seriousness, reassurance.
Recalling of memory, assurance.
Sassiness, taunting.
Smugness, taunting.
Eagerness, promising.
Reason, alarm, warning.
Pleading, begging; persuasion.

TRICKERY (16):

(faked) despair, misery.
(faked) embarrassment.
(exaggerated) happiness, double-play.
Smugness, double-play, exploit.
Smugness, double-play, exploit.
(faked) innocence, confusion.
(falsely) reassuring, trickery.
Frustration, trickery.
(false) Assurance.
Bluffing, deceiving.
Earnestness, assurance (but deceiving at the same time)
Earnestness, assurance (but deceiving at the same time)
Deceitfulness, trickery.
Deceitfulness (towards D+C); persuasion (towards the retold, fictive conversation with Phormio.)
Deceit, planting a seed of worry.
Deceit, double-play.

SARCASM (7):

Sarcasm.
Sarcasm, detachedness.
Sarcasm.
Sarcasm, ingratiation.
Sarcasm, humor.
Frustration, sarcasm.
Sarcastically polite.

Status/ordo

Dominus/erus (paterfamilias/senex): 21
Dominus/erus (adulescens): 31

Servus: 42
Parasitus: 8
Leno: 2
Aetas
Senex: 28
!senex!: 35
Adulescens: 35
!Puer!: 2
!!!: 4

Quando:

Dialogue: 83
monologue: 21

Compositio verborum (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th or 5th word in the cluster of words connected to the oath)

1st: 1
2nd: 84
3rd: 15
4th: 3 (nr.66, 70, 88)
5th: 1 (nr. 103)

POL

Four types

Assertory: 45
Promissory: 8
Assertory + promissory: 1
To strengthen a command: 1

Affectiones

POSITIVE (19):

Hopefulness, comfort.
Compassion, kindness, assurance.
Bravery, earnestness, kindness.
Relief, persuaded.
Relief, gratitude.
Relief, happiness, joy.
Happiness, joy.
Comfort, assurance.
Self-assurance.
Happiness, joy, excitement, playfulness.
Frankness, humor.
Earnestness.
Forgiveness, understanding.
Sincerity, earnestness, affection, assurance.
Bravery, determination.
Earnestness, equanimity, self-justification.
Content.
Gratitude.
Compliance, gratitude.

NEGATIVE (28):

Anger, frustration, threatful.
Anger, frustration.
Frustration.
Frustration, determination.
Frustration, disappointment.
Frustration, confusion.
Frustration, worry, distress.
Frustration; hesitance, disagreement.
Frustration, disgust.
Frustration, eagerness, confusion.
Annoyance, frustration, trickery.
Contempt, disgust.
Contempt, frustration.
Contempt, frustration.

Disgust, frustration; threatful.
Hopelessness, helplessness.
Earnestness, assurance, despair.
Despair, grief, self-pity.
Incredulity, suspiciousness, alarm.
Disgust, incredulity.
Anger, frustration; threatful.
Annoyance, incredulity.
Confusion, defense, assurance, despair.
Despair, frustration, self-assurance.
Longing, impatience, despair, frustration.
Despair, self-pity, distress.
Annoyance, bitterness.
Threatful.

IN-BETWEENS (7):

(Attempted) politeness; persuasive,
demanding, offensive.
Schadenfreude.
Assurance, 'gossipy'.
Assurance, disappointment.
Alarm, advice-giving.
Suspicion, wonder.
Hope, despair, bravery.

Status/ordo

Dominus/erus (paterfamilias/senex): 7
Dominus/erus (adulescens): 2
Domina/era (Matrona): 14
Meretrix: 13
Servus/ancilla/nutrix: 19

Aetas

Senex (male): 7
Senex (female): 14
!senex: 1
Adulescens: 15
!Anus: 10
Anus: 1
!!!: 7

Aetas

Male: 10
Female: 45

Quando:

Dialogue: 47

monologue: 8

Compositio verborum (1st, 2nd, or 3rd word in the cluster of words connected to the oath, i.e. prior, in between or after the word(s) given emphasis by the oath)

1st: 6
2nd: 41
3rd: 7
Tmesis: 1

EDEPOL

Three types

Assertory: 20
Promissory: 1
To strengthen a request: 2

Affectiones

POSITIVE (6):

Hopefulness, comfort. 1
Eagerness, persuasion, gratitude. 1
Drunkenness, whimsiness, self-applause. 1
Relief, happiness, joy. 1
Flattery, praise. 1
(Exaggerated) politeness; caution. 1

NEGATIVE (11):

Frustration, worry. 1
Frustration. 1
Disappointment, frustration. 1
Frustration, reason. 1
Despair, frustration. 1
Anger, frustration. 2
Frustration, annoyance. 1
Worry, anxiousness, distress. 1
Worry, anxiousness. 1
Surprise, confusion, recognition. 1

TRICKERY (4):

Smugness, double-play, exploit. 1

Mockery. 1
Condescension, mockery. 1
Happiness, joy; *schadenfreude*. 1

OTHER (2):

Desperate, begging. 1
Un-surprise, reliability. 1

Sexus

Male: 13
Female: 10

Status/ordo

Dominus/erus (paterfamilias): 6
Domina/era (Matrona): 3
Meretrix: 3
Servus/ancilla/nutrix: 11

Aetas

Senex (male): 9
Senex (female): 3
!senex: 4
Adulescens: 3
!Anus: 1
Anus: 1
!!!: 2

Quando:

Dialogue: 15
monologue: 8
Compositio verborum (1st, 2nd, or 3rd word in the cluster of words connected to the oath)

1st: 7
2nd: 13
3rd: 3

ECASTOR/MECASTOR

Affectiones

POSITIVE:
Admiration: 1
Happiness, earnestness, self-justification: 1
Amicable flattery: 1
Gratitude: 1
Happiness, joy, surprise: 1

IN-BETWEENS:
Hope, despair, bravery: 1
Sarcasm, politeness, caution: 1

Status/ordo

Era/domina (matrona): 1
Meretrix: 4
Obstetrix: 1

Sexus

Male: 0
Female: 7

Aetas

adulescens: 3
Janus: 1
Anus: 1
Senex (female): 2

Quando

Dialogue: 5
Monologue: 2

Compositio verborum

1st: 0
2nd: 3
3rd: 3
Tmesis: 1

O/PRO IUPPITER

Affectiones

NEGATIVE:
Anger, frustration: 6
Anger, frustration, wonder: 1
Wonder, worry, despair: 1
Despair, wonder: 1
Alarm, worry, wonder/surprise: 3

POSITIVE:
Happiness, joy: 3

IN-BETWEENS:
Surprise, wonder: 1

Status/ordo

Dominus/erus (paterfamilias): 8
Dominus/erus (adulescens): 5
Leno (free man): 1
Servus: 2

Sexus

Male: 16
Female: 0

Aetas

senex: 9
senex: 2
adulescens: 5

Quando

Dialogue: 8
Monologue: 8

Compositio verborum (interjections)

O iuppiter: 9
Pro iuppiter: 6
iuppiter magne: 1

Compositio verborum (followed by statement/question)

Statement (following): 9
Statement (preceding): 1
Question: 4
Only oath: 2

ITA ME DI AMENT/AMABUNT

Affectiones

NEGATIVE (10):
Despair, frustration: 1
Despair, frustration, self-assurance: 1
Despair, earnestness, assertiveness: 1
Anger, frustration: 2
Anger, frustration, disappointment: 1
Anger, frustration, chock: 1
Annoyance, envy: 1
Worry, anxiety: 1
Seriousness, persuasiveness, pity: 1

POSITIVE (10):

Happiness, joy: 3
Happiness, joy, relief: 2
Happiness, joy, gratitude: 1
Happiness, joy, assurance: 1
Impressed, pleasantly surprised: 1
Sincerity, earnestness, affection/ kindness, assurance: 1
Assurance, amusement: 1

IN-BETWEENS (4):

Flattery, praise; a touch of envy: 1
Ingratiation, 'butter-up', assuring: 1
Assurance, persuasiveness, eagerness, 1
Compassion: 1

Status/ordo

Dominus/erus (paterfamilias): 10
Dominus/erus (adulescens): 4
Domina/era (matrona): 3
Servus/ancilla: 2
Meretrix (free woman): 4
parasitus (free man): 1

Sexus

Male: 16
Female: 8

Aetas

senex: 11

senex (female): 3
Janus: 1
adulescens: 9

Quando

Dialogue: 20
Monologue: 4

Compositio verborum (introductory words/adverbs)

Only Ita: 20
Atque/at+ita: 2
Nam+ita: 1
Only Sic: 1
u/ added bene: 2

Compositio verborum (verbform)

ament: 21
amabunt: 3

FORMAL OATHS

Three types of "formal" oaths

Assertory oaths: 2
(Asseverations)
Oaths to strengthen requests: 5
Oaths to strengthen commands: 1

Affectiones

Earnestness, sincerity, assurance: 2
Solemnity, affection: 1
Seriousness, alarm, worry: 1
Despair, (dramatic, pleading): 1
Earnestness, seriousness (pleading): 1
Seriousness, (pleading): 1
Sincerity (pleading): 1

Status/ordo

Dominus/erus (paterfamilias): 3
Dominus/erus (adulescens): 3
Matrona (retold): 1
Meretrix (retold): 1

Sexus

Male: 6

Female: 2

Aetas

Senex: 3
Adulescens: 4
Senex (female): 1

Quando

Dialogue: 6
Retold dialogue: 2

Compositio verborum ('oath-verbs')

Testor: 1
Obsecro: 1
Adiuro: 1
Oro: 3
Obsecro: 2

CURSES

Affectioes

Anger, frustration: 11
Faked anger: 1
Disgust, frustration: 1
Frustration: 2
Frustration, annoyance: 1
Annoyance, impatience, discomfort: 1
Despair, love-sickness, anger, frustration: 1
Fear, confusion, frustration: 1

Status/ordo

Dominus/erus (paterfamilias): 5
Dominus/erus (adulescens): 8
Meretrix (free woman): 1
parasitus (free man): 1
Servus/ancilla: 4

Sexus

Male: 17
Female: 2

Aetas

senex: 5
!senex: 3

Ianus: 1
adulescens: 10
Quando
Dialogue: 15
Monologue: 4

Compositio verborum (conjunctions)

At: 4
Ut: 4
None: 11

Compositio verborum (verbs)

eradicent: 2
perdant/perdat: 5
perduint: 4
dunt: 3
maleficiant: 1
is/ibis/abis (from ire): 4

Divinitas

Iuppiter: 1
di: 9
di deaeque: 5
malam rem: 3
malam crucem: 1

DI VOSTRAM FIDEM

Affectioes

NEUTRAL:
Wonder: 1

SARCASM:

Sarcasm (faked praise): 1

POSITIVE:

Surprise, Happiness, joy: 1
Surprise, joy, relief: 1
Surprise, wonder, joy: 1
Happiness, joy, excitement: 1

NEGATIVE:

Anger, frustration, despair: 1

Frustration, Despair: 1
Surprise, annoyance: 1
surprise, frustration, disgust: 1

Status/ordo

Dominus/erus (paterfamilias): 4
Dominus/erus (adulescens): 1
Servus/ancilla: 4
parasitus (free man): 1

Sexus

Male: 9
Female: 1

Aetas

senex: 5
Ianus: 1
!senex: 2
adulescens: 2

Quando

Dialogue: 4
Monologue: 6

DI VORTANT BENE (QUOD AGAS)

Affectioes

Sarcasm: 2
Ominousness, hopelessness: 1
"Ominous overtone": happiness, worry, off-
brushing: 1

Sexus

Male: 4
Female: 0

Aetas

!Senex: 3
Senex: 1

Status/ordo

Servus: 3
Dominus (paterfamilias): 1

Quando

Dialogue: 3
Monologue: 1

PRO DEUM (INMORTALIUM) FIDEM

Affectioes

Anger, frustration, surprise: 3
(feigned) Anger, frustration, surprise: 1

Status/ordo

Parasitus: 1
Ancilla/servus: 1
Erus/dominus (adulescens): 1
Erus/dominus (senex, paterfamilias): 1

Sexus

Male: 3
Female: 1

Aetas

Unknown: 1
Adulescens: 2
Senex: 1
Quando
Dialogue: 2
Monologue: 2

PRO DEUM ATQUE HOMINUM FIDEM

Anger, frustration, surprise: 1
frustration, despair, hopelessness: 1
frustration, pompousness, wonder, curiosity,
concern, surprise: 1

Status/ordo

Erus/dominus (senex, paterfamilias): 2
Erus/dominus (adulescens): 1

Sexus

Male: 3
Female: 0

Aetas

adulescens: 1
Senex: 2

Quando

Dialogue: 1
Monologue: 2

(O) DI BONI

Affectiones

POSITIVE:
Satisfaction, praise, happiness: 1
Satisfaction, happiness: 1

NEGATIVE:

Wonder, dislike: 1
wonder, disgust, worry: 1

Status/ordo

Servus: 3
Erus/dominus: 1

Sexus

Male: 4
Female: 0

Aetas

Senex: 3
Senex: 1

Quando

Dialogue: 0
Monologue: 4

PRO DI INMORTALES

Affectiones

Anger, frustration, surprise, wonder: 1
Wonder, pompousness (dramatic,
philosophical): 1
Despair, anger, frustration, surprise: 1

Status/ordo

Parasitus: 1
Domina/era: 1
Erus/dominus: 1

Sexus

Male: 2
Female: 1

Aetas

! : 1
Senex (female): 1
Senex: 1

Quando

Dialogue: 2
Monologue: 1

DI ... PROHIBEANT

Affectiones

Anger, frustration.
Gasping, distress.
Persuasiveness, seriousness.
Upset, disappointment.

Status/ordo

Dominus (paterfamilias): 2
Dominus (adulescens): 1
Domina/matrona: 1

Sexus

Male: 3
Female: 1

Aetas

Senex (male): 2
Senex (female): 1
Adulescens: 1

Quando

Dialogue: 4
Monologue: 0

ITA DI (DEAEQUE) FAXINT

Affectiones:

Defeat, despair; desperately wishful, although ominous.

Compassion, well-wishing.

Well-wishing, hopefulness, although quite ominous.

Status/ordo:

Domina/matrona: 1

Meretrix: 1

Dominus (paterfamilias): 1

Sexus:

Female: 2

Male: 1

Aetas:

Adulescens: 1

Senex (male): 1

Senex (female): 2

Quando:

Dialogue: 3

Mono-logue 0

FORMAL PRAYERS

Affectiones:

NEGATIVE (3):

Pain, agony: 2

Despair, hopelessness: 1

IN-BETWEENS (4):

Concern, worry (for someone else): 2

Serious, pleading, threatful: 1

Hope, despair, bravery: 1

POSITIVE (6):

Well-wishing: 2

Happiness, gratitude: 3

Happiness, gratitude, surprise, relief: 1

What is prayed for?

For someone's well-being: 4 *Ad.* 298; *An.* 487-488; *Hec.* 336-339; *An.* 232-233.

Prayer of well-wishing: 2 *Ad.* 917; *Ad.* 978.

For assistance in labor: 2 *Ad.* 486-487; *An.* 473.

To ask the gods to preserve one's own good fortunes: 1 *Eun.* 1048-1049.

Praying for a certain outcome: 1 *Ad.* 491-493; *Hec.* 608-610.

Prayer of complaint: 1 *Hec.* 406

Prayer of gratitude for good fortunes: 1 *Ph.* 841-842

Status/ordo

Erus/domina (matrona): 3

Erus/dominus (paterfamilias): 1

Erus/dominus (adulescens): 2

Virgo (free woman): 2

Servus/ancilla: 4

Obstetrix: 1

Sexus

Male: 6

Female: 7

Aetas

adulescens: 4

Ianus: 2

Senex: 2

Senex: 2

Senex (female): 3

Quando

Dialogue: 5

Monologue: 8

Quibus auxiliis divinitas

Di/deos: 6

Jupiter: 1

Juno Lucina: 2

Salus, Aesculapius: 1

Fortuna/Fors Fortuna: 3

Compositio verborum (verbs)

Quaeso + siet/sit: 2

Oro + sit: 1

Quaeso + fiant: 1

Fer opem, serva me + parenthetic obsecro: 2

Serva + parenthetic obsecro: 1

Date + parenthetic obsecro: 1

Faciant: 1

Offerant: 1

Fuat: 1