Negative microfilm 64-833
received from university

JOHANNES, Wilfred Clemens, 1924-
THE PEOPLE OF MENANDER: A STUDY OF NOUNS DESIGNATING FAMILY, OCCUPATION, SOCIAL AND SERVILE CLASS.

The University of Michigan, Ph.D., 1963
Language and Literature, classical

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE PEOPLE OF MENANDER

A STUDY OF NOUNS DESIGNATING FAMILY, OCCUPATION, SOCIAL AND SERVILE CLASS

by
Wilfred Clemens Johannes

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan
1963

Doctoral Committee:
Professor Warren E. Blake, Chairman
Professor Frank O. Copley
Professor Gerald F. Else
Associate Professor Roger A. Pack
Associate Professor Orsamus M. Pearl

PREFACE

Menander is the basis for study of New Comedy, Greek and Latin, and always attracts the interest of the scholar of Old and Middle Comedy and will always demand further attention by the philologist and social historian investigating the close of the Attic age and the beginning of Hellenistic language, literature and society. Menander's comedy first appeared at the very juncture of these epochs and his survival is the most immediate clue we have for the last of the Attic and the first of the Hellenistic. Social patterns alter more quickly than language or literature and the changes in both language and literature have been carefully studied while the milieu has been approached with an emphasis on the character study of the comic types and dramatis personae to the neglect of other significant data with which Menander mirrors Athenian life. This study is made to provide further documentation and interpretation of source material within a limited scope as an initial and basic approach of collecting the evidence available for the people of Menander with a hope that a continued pursuit will yield a suitable sociological commentary on New Attic Comedy.

The excellent indices verborum of A. Koerte's second and third edition of the fragments and of H. Lloyd-Jones' edition of the Dyscolus were an invaluable aid in accounting for the number of times a noun was used in what survives of Menander and this number is placed within parentheses wherever the total number of usages does not correspond with the number of times the context justifies our classific-

ation. This classification conveys a significance to the word which the context and proper identification of personnel establishes beyond the literal meaning of the word.

I wish to gratefully acknowledge the suggestions of members of the Committee: Professors Blake, Copley, Else, Pack, and Pearl. I am especially indebted to Professor W. E. Blake who first suggested this ever more interesting area of study for the stimulating encouragement of my efforts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE ii

INTRODUCTION 1

PART I. THE FAMILY

Chapter I. HUSBAND AND WIFE 18

1 νυμφίος 6
2 νύμφη 6
3 ἀνήρ (69) 13
4 γαμετή 2
5 γυνή (116) 29
6 δέσποινα (4) 2
7 ἐπίκληρος 3
8 κοινωνός (2) 1

Chapter II. PARENTS 37

1 γονεύς 2
2 πάππας 5
3 παππίας 2
4 πατήρ (103) 92
5 μάμμη 1
6 μήτηρ 48

Chapter III. CHILDREN 45

1 παιδάριον (13) 3
2 παῖδες (17) 10
3 παιδίον (53) 45
4 τέκνον (12) 5
5 διάδοχος (2) 1
6 παῖς (75) 3
7 υἱός 22
8 θυγάτηρ 25
9 θυγάτριον 4
10 μειραξ 2
11 παιδίον (53) 2
12 παῖς (18) 6
13 τέκνον (12) 3

Chapter IV. KINDRED 59

1	ἀδελφός 15	
2		ἀδελφή 16
3	θεῖος 1	
4		τηθίς 4
5	θυγατριδοῦς 2	
6	υἱδοῦς 1	
7	πάππος 3	
8		τήθη 1
9	ἐξανέψιος 1	
10		ἐξανεψία 1

Chapter V. MASTER AND MISTRESS 68

1	δεσπότης (42) 23	
2		δέσποινα (4) 3
3	κύριος (7) 6	
4		κυρία 3
5	τρόφιμος 17	
6		τροφίμη 1

Chapter VI. GUARDS, GUIDES AND NURSES 80

1	διοικητής (2) 1	
2	θυρωρός 1	
3	κατάσκοπος 1	
4	κηδεμών 3	
5	κύριος (7) 1	
6	τροφός 1	
7		τροφός 2
8		μαῖα 1
9		τίτθη 6

Chapter VII. HOUSEHOLD SLAVES 86

1	ἀγοραστής 1	
2	δοῦλος (9) 3	
3	θεράπων 7	
4	μαστιγίας (6) 2	
5	οἰκέτης (15) 14	
6	ὀπαδός 1	
7	παιδάριον (13) 2	
8	παιδίον (53) 5	
9	παῖς (57) 25	
10		ἄβρα 3
11		γραῦς (28) 10
12		δούλη 2

13 θεράπαινα 9
14 θεραπαινίδιον 2
15 θεραπαινίς 1
16 παιδισκάριον 2
17 παιδίσκη 5
18 πρόσπολος 1
19 τίτθη 6
20 τροφός (2) 1

PART II. THE OCCUPATIONS

Chapter I. COUNTRY 106

1 αἰπόλος 2
2 ἀνθρακεύς 2
3 γεωργός 7
4 κυνηγέτης 2
5 οἰκέτης (15) 2
6 ποιμήν 4
7 συγκυνηγός 1
8 συνεργός 1

Chapter II. SEA-FARING 117

1 ἁλιεύς 1
2 ἔμπορος 1
3 ναύτης 1

Chapter III. MARKET 120

1 ἀγοραστής 1
2 ἁλιεύς 1
3 ἀμφορεαφόρος 1
4 ἰχθυοπώλης 1
5 κολλυβιστής 1
6 μελιτόπωλις 1

Chapter IV. SERVICES 124

1 διδάσκαλος 1
2 ἰατρός 6
3 μάγειρος 14
4 τραπεζοποιός 2
5 ἡ δημιουργός 1
6 κουρίς 1

Chapter V. CIVIL 132

1 γεννήτης 1
2 κηδεμών 3

3 πολέμιος 7
4 πολίτης 1
5 προστάτης 3
6 σύμμαχος 3

Chapter VI. POLITICAL 138

1 ἄρχων 1
2 βασιλεύς 4
3 γυναικονόμος 1
4 ἐκδοτής 1
5 ἡγεμών (3) 1
6 οἰκιστής 1
7 πεντηκοστολόγος 1
8 σατράπης 3
9 στρατηγός (2) 1
10 σύμβουλος (6) 1
11 τύραννος 2
12 βασίλιννα 1

Chapter VII. JUDICIAL 146

1 ἀρεοπαγίτης 1
2 διαιτητής 1
3 δικαστής 2
4 κλητήρ 1
5 κριτής 4
6 μάρτυς (10) 9
7 ῥήτωρ 1

Chapter VIII. MILITARY 153

1 διμοιρίτης 1
2 διοικητής (2) 1
3 ἔφηβος 1
4 ἡγεμών (3) 2
5 ξένος (10) 7
6 πτεροφόρας 1
7 στρατηγός (2) 1
8 στρατιώτης 8
9 συστρατιώτης 1
10 τετρώβολος 2
11 φρούραρχος 2
12 χιλίαρχος 1

Chapter IX. RELIGIOUS 163

1 ἀλάστωρ (3) 2
2 ζάκορος 1
3 μάντις 3
4 ἡ ζακορος 2
5 θεράπαινα (9) 1
6 ἱερέα 1
7 κορύβας 1

Chapter X. ENTERTAINERS AND SPECTATORS 168

1 ἄνδρες 12
2 ἄνθρωποι 1
3 ἑστιάτωρ 1
4 θεατής 1
5 κιθαριστής 1
6 κυβευτής 1
7 παιανισταί 1
8 σύγκλινος 1
9 τραγῳδός 3
10 αὐλητρίς 2
11 ψάλτρια 7

PART III. THE SOCIAL CLASSES

Chapter I. DEVIATES 175

1 κακοήθης 1
2 κακοῦργος 1
3 κλέπτης 1
4 κόλαξ 2
5 μοιχός 7
6 παράσιτος 1
7 πορνοβοσκός 3
8 πορνοκόπος 1
9 συκοφάντης 4
10 τοιχωρύχος (3) 1
11 ἄνθρωπος 1
12 ἑταίρα 6
13 ἑταιρίδιον 1
14 παλλακή 1
15 πόρνη 3
16 πορνίδιον 2
17 χαμαιτύπη 2

Chapter II. SOCIAL STATUS 188

1 αὐτουργός 1
2 ἐργάτης 4
3 λιμός 1
4 ξένος (10) 1
5 πένης 10
6 πλοῦταξ 1
7 πτωχός 8
8 ἀπελευθέρα 1

Chapter III. YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN 196

1 ἀκουστής 1
2 ἀκροατής 1

3	ἔφηβος 1		
4	μειράκιον 20		
5	μειρακίσκος 2		
6	μειρακύλλιον 2		
7	νεανίσκος 7		
8	τρόφιμος 17		
9		κόρη 36	
10		μειραξ 2	
11		παιδισκάριον 2	
12		ἡ παῖς 10	
13		παρθένος (16) 15	
14		τροφίμη 1	

Chapter IV. AGED 215

1	γέρων 34		
2		γράδιον 1	
3		γραῦς 28	
4		τηθία 1	
5		ὠμόγραυς 1	

Chapter V. ABUSE 224

1	ἄγγαρος 2		
2	ἀλαζών 3		
3	ἀνδραποδοκλέπτης 1		
4	βάσκανος 1		
5	γόης 1		
6	διμοιρίτης 1		
7	ἰδιώτης 1		
8	ἱερόσυλος 6		
9	ἱππόπορνος 1		
10	κακοῦργος 1		
11	καταφαγᾶς 1		
12	κίναδος 1		
13	λῃστοσαλπιγκτής 1		
14	μαστιγίας 6		
15	ὄλολυς 1		
16	πατάγημα 1		
17	τοιχωρύχος 2		
18	υἱός (22) 1		
19	φλήναφος 1		
20		ἄνθρωπος 1	
21		βλιτάς 1	
22		τὸ γύναιον 3	
23		γραῦς (28) 5	
24		ἡ ἱερόσυλος 1	
25		λαικάστρια 1	
26		παίγνιον 1	
27		ἡ τοιχωρύχος 1	
28		χαμαιτύπη 2	

Chapter VI. ENDEARMENT 237

1 μέλημα 1
2 νηττάριον 1
3 παπίας 2
4 πάπας 5
5 πατρίδιον 1
6 νηττάριον 1
7 τέκνον (12) 2

Chapter VII. FRIEND, ADVISOR AND FOE 242

1 ἄγγελος 1
2 γείτων 15
3 ἐπαινέτης 1
4 ἐπίκλητος 1
5 ἑταῖρος 5
6 ἐχθρός 1
7 κοινωνός (2) 1
8 μάντις 3
9 μάρτυς 10
10 ῥήτωρ 1
11 σκοῖδος 1
12 σύμβουλος (6) 5
13 σύμμαχος 2
14 συνεργός 2
15 φίλος 27
16 φίλτατος 7
17 φίλη 4
18 φιλτάτη (9) 6

PART IV. THE SERVILE CLASS

Chapter I. YOUNG MEN'S SLAVE COMPANIONS 263

1 ἀλαζών (3) 1
2 θεράπων (7) 1
3 κατάσκοπος 1
4 κυνηγέτης (2) 1
5 μαστιγίας (6) 1
6 οἰκέτης (15) 2
7 παιδάριον (13) 1
8 παῖς (57) 3
9 συγκυνηγός 1

Chapter II. HOUSEWORK SLAVES 268

1 θυρωρός 1
2 ἄβρα 3

3 γραῦς (28) 5
4 δούλη (2) 1
5 θεράπαινα 9
6 θεραπαινίδιον 2
7 θεραπαινίς 1
8 παιδισκάριον 2
9 παιδίσκη (5) 3
10 τίτθη 6
11 τροφός (2) 1

Chapter III. FARMWORK SLAVES 276

1 ἀνθρακεύς 2
2 θεράπων (7) 1
3 οἰκέτης (15) 5

Chapter IV. LACKEYS AND ROGUES 280

1 ἀλαζών (3) 1
2 ἄνθρωπος (96) 7
3 βάσκανος 1
4 διάκονος 1
5 δοῦλος (9) 8
6 δραπέτης 1
7 θεράπων (7) 3
8 ἰδιώτης 1
9 ἱερόσυλος (6) 5
10 μαστιγίας (6) 4
11 ὀπαδός 1
12 παιδίον (53) 9
13 παῖς (57) 28
14 σύνδουλος 1
15 θεραπαινίδιον (2) 1
16 ἡ ἱερόσυλος 1
17 παιδισκάριον 2
18 πρόσπολος 1
19 ἡ τοιχωρύχος 1

CONCLUSION 294

BIBLIOGRAPHY 297

INTRODUCTION

When one sets out to examine carefully an author's milieu, it seems logical to pay close attention to his vocabulary. This basic element, the words he uses, constitutes a vehicle for his contribution to language, literature and culture of his generation for succeeding generations. It is the evidence for the identification and interpretation of the heritage which the author bequeaths.

The degree to which this milieu can be recaptured in this changing world is conditioned by the author's avowed purpose and the availability or survival of his writings - among other things - as well as careful interpretation. Menander, the comic poet, has made a significant contribution to language, literature and culture as the chief representative and surviver of the literary genre of New Comedy. He has attracted the interest of literary men and lexicographers and grammarians for all these many years and more recently has become again the object of study also by philologists and papyrologists. His avowed purpose is comedy and his survival ranges from one practically complete comedy, the Dyscolus,[1] to many fragments varying in length from 709 lines of the Cairo codex[2] of Epitrepontes to

---

1. The editio princeps is V. Martin, Ménandre: Le Dyscolos, (Papyrus Bodmer IV) Cologny-Genève, 1958.

2. A. Koerte, Menandri Quae Supersunt: Pars Prior: Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis vetustissimis servatae, 3rd ed. corrected with additions by A. Thierfelder, Leipzig, 1957, xvi.

one word identifications by the grammarians and lexicographers, totaling less than 5000 lines remaining of 105 or more comedies.[3]

The range of this study is limited to a classification of the people of Menander's comedies, not as characters or comic types, but as members of social groups or occupations of varied status or station within a lexical limitation of nouns. Thematically, it is restricted to points of reference in what survives of the New Comedy of Menander and it is confined chronologically to the social structure of the period 321 B.C., the date of the Orge,[4] to 292 B.C., the date of the death of Menander. A complete and reliable accumulation of all the nouns designating people has been achieved as a basis for the consideration, with due regard for "Comic Convention and Comic Statement"[5], of Menandrean personnel and the adequate description and classification of the people of Menander's milieu.

Though there are problems, we can be tolerably sure of the text of Menander as we now have it because of the efforts of excellent textual critics. The broken lines and lost portions of papyri which

---

3. Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, XVII, 4, 4 .

4. The evidence is conveniently collected in the Didascalia of A. Koerte, Menandri Quae Supersunt: Pars Altera: Reliquiae apud veteres Scriptores servatae, 2nd ed. corrected and augmented by A. Thierfelder, Leipzig, 1959, 5. The date and the first victory in the contests is more fully discussed in Koerte's article "Menandros", RE, XV, 710, and T. B. L. Webster's review of Koerte's second edition of 1938 in Journal of Hellenic Studies 75(1955) 159.

5. K. Dover, "Greek Comedy", Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship edited by M. Platnauer, Oxford, 1954, 101.

tantalize the editors of Menandrean text and constitute a serious loss of the poetry of New Comedy are a basic limitation of completeness in any Menandrean study. An innate difficulty is presented by the fragments preserved by the anthologists and lexicographers which generally lack sufficient context for adequate identification of people in a manner such as can be effected from the context of the longer fragments of the incomplete plays found in the first volume of Koerte or in the Dyscolus. The particularly striking statement which might be suspected of dramatic exaggeration on Menander's part is often preserved by the anthologist because of his particular interest in such statements just as the non-Attic vocabulary was preserved by the pursuit of the lexicographers. This creates an unreal proportion but does not alter the significance of their contribution to Menander's survival. A preliminary study showed a less marked frequency of non-Attic nouns than of Menandrean non-Attic adjectives, adverbs or verbs. In the existing corpus, there are very few instances where the problem of broken lines involves a noun which can be reconstructed or conjectured as a noun of the class in which we are interested, namely, nouns designating people. The lack of context is more serious and more frequent and makes evaluation more difficult and this is true not only for the fragments preserved by the anthologists and lexicographers but also of the broken lines of the longer fragments.

Even though there are these limitations, we have applied to the remnants of Menander's comedy a perfectly legitimate effort to define more precisely what has either been ignored or vaguely generalized

concerning the people of Menander's milieu by a traditional hypothesis[6] that the characters listed in the dramatis personae are the only people who are to be considered for a realistic depiction of the people of Menander's era and that incidental designations of people in various relationships, occupations and social stations are to be excluded as non-informative. Traditionally, attention has been focused on characterization which involves the inventive genius of Menander simply creating and depicting the characters mirroring his milieu kaleidoscopically in accord with the level of farce or comedy which he wished to employ. The reality concealed under the guise of a created character can be elusive; a dramatist may "introduce purely fictitious details, incidents, situations, and exaggerate the qualities, good or bad, of the characters portrayed."[7] On the other hand, Menander did not invent the personnel or the occupations of the daily life of Athens as he invented the characterizations

---

6. I refer to such excellent studies of the characters as:
P. Dunkin, Post-Aristophanic Comedy. Studies in the Social Outlook of Middle and New Comedy at Both Athens and Rome, (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XXXI, Nos. 3-4, Urbana, 1946) 19-43.

P. LeGrand, Daos: Tableau de la Comédie Grecque pendant la période dite nouvelle, Paris, 1910, 64.

G. Méautis, Le Crépuscule d'Athènes et Ménandre, Paris, 1954, 115-118, passim.

T. Webster, Studies in Menander, 2nd ed., Manchester, 1960, 57-67, passim.

also:

P. LeGrand, The New Greek Comedy, transl. by J. Loeb, London, 1917, 52. This is a translation of his work, Daos: above.

7. G. Garraghan, A Guide to Historical Method, New York, 1946, 326.

which might but need not reflect true life.[8]

The orientation of our effort is lexical and limited to nouns designating people whom we have classified into various artificial categories to indicate stratification of Menandrean society. These nouns and their context convey a basic significance to the study of the milieu and, perhaps may incidentally involve in its scope an interpretation of the characterization of dramatis personae although this is not presented in this study. We are looking at the brush strokes, as it were, of the artist, Menander, and the medium in which he lived and worked (i.e. the people of his day) and not the finished portrait of specific character studies or the over-all effect intended by the artist.[9]

---

8. K. Dover, "Greek Comedy", Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship edited by M. Platnauer, Oxford, 1954, 101 states that "attempts to use Comedy as evidence for Athenian society and economy are valuable and productive, but the material needs very cautious handling. . . . The fidelity of Comedy to ordinary life can be overrated." Claire Préaux establishes a norm in her "Ménandre et la Société Athénienne", Chronique d'Egypte, 35(1957) 100 where she states "que la comédie de Ménandre n'est ni le miroir fidèle d'une société, ni le parti pris d'aventures exceptionnelles, mais qu'elle est, comme toute comédie, un mélange de réalité et d'évasion." Thus she rejects the over-enthusiasm of M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Oxford, 1941, I, 166 and the skepticism of W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, 3rd ed. London, 1952, 273. We prefer the statement of T.B.L. Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy, Manchester, 1953, 116, that "the old men, the young men, the women and the slaves are all recognisable as belonging to the real world and in the main thinking and acting as they would in the real world." L. Post states in "Woman's Place in Menander's Athens", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 71(1940) 458, that "in Menander women have a place far surpassing anything that we could expect from our knowledge of other sources."

9. Obviously, Gorgias as a brother or Sicon as a cook in the Dyscolus would have a radical extension of reference for character study if the points of reference were not limited to specific usages of the noun for brother or cook as the case may be.

Another limitation imposed on this study is our concern with what evidence Menander presents for the milieu of his day and not with what the actual milieu was. We do not determine the extent to which Menander mirrors the ordinary and the popular of the daily life of Athens in any or all of his reflections as a competent, creative, inventive craftsman. We know by his use of some popular language that he strove to be not too foreign in his representation of ordinary citizens in everyday life at Athens. "Carattere principale delle persone del popolo è parlare con tutta semplicità, come se fossero in casa propria, a frasi brevi, periodi staccati, quasi pensandoci su ogni volta, e intercalando ogni tanto alle loro parole imprecazioni o esclamazioni di uso prettamente familiare. Menandro mette sulla scena persone veramente vive che vengono a raccontare i loro casi senza preoccuparsi che vi è un pubblico che li ascolta e che può criticarli".[10] In his comedy, we have a realm of personnel which is known and identifiable in order to establish rapport and association with the audience based "dans le réel du langage et dans un certain réel de situations."[11] Our interest is

---

10. S. Zini, Il Linguaggio dei Personaggi nelle Commedie di Menandro, Florence, 1938, 23. We find such witness also in Plutarch, ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ, 853 D as found in Plutarch's Moralia (Loeb Classical Library transl. by H. N. Fowler, no. 321, London, 1936) X, 466 which states: "Ἡ δὲ Μενάνδρου φράσις οὕτω συνέξεσται καὶ συμπέπνευκε κεκραμένη πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ὥστε διὰ πολλῶν ἀγομένη παθῶν καὶ ἠθῶν καὶ προσώποις ἐφαρμόττουσα παντοδαποῖς μία τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τηρεῖν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ συνήθεσι καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν χρείαν ὀνόμασιν·"

11. C. Préaux, "Ménandre et la Société Athénienne", Chronique d'Egypte, 35(1957) 91.

not in the characterization nor in the actual historical reality but in the evidence presented by Menander in the words he uses to designate people.

Our classification, though synthetic and pragmatic, contains much which had already been classified and interpreted in antiquity by Joannes Stobaeus [12] and in modern times by P. LeGrand.[13] Many of the fragments of Menander are preserved for us through the anthology of Joannes Stobaeus who gathered quotations from Greek literature to document his "pro and con" arguments for his various classifications which give us a neat compendium for the daily life of Athens as preserved in literature. The excellent work of P. LeGrand is the great "repertoire des personnages" for all of New Comedy and the Roman survival but his attention is focused on the characters. A desideratum is a work akin to V. Ehrenberg's The People of Aristophanes[14] for the people of New Comedy and to this end we have effected an initial springboard into the New Comedy of Menander. Rather broad classification of Menander's use of nouns designating people of every stratum of society has been adopted to avoid a purely lexical arrangement and to contribute a unifying aspect to the social significance of associated data. Some categories are inter-related and occasion cross-references of a noun of one category to another

---

12. Joannis Stobaei Anthologium, edited by C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, 5 Vols. Berlin, 1884-1912.

13. P. LeGrand, Daos: Tableau de la Comédie Grecque pendant la periode dite nouvelle, Paris, 1910.

14. V. Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1951.

category e.g. τροφός, ὁ τροφός protector; ἡ τροφός slave, maid, nurse. We have 197 nouns in categories 280 times. A hard and fast rule that a noun belong to only one category is unsatisfactory because certain words have different meanings as context varies.

The reader might well ask: "How far had Athens changed since the time of Aristophanes?" It is not our intent to answer so comprehensive a question but rather to assert that the question does give import to the aspect of our endeavor. Menander was born in 342 B.C.,[15] the same year as Epicurus with whom he served as an ephebe,[16] and produced his first play in 321 B.C.[17] Inherent in New Comedy we have obvious changes and it can be shown that New Comedy is international by the fact "that Menander alone was an Athenian by birth; Diphilos came from Sinope on the Black Sea, Philemon from Syracuse in the West, Apollodoros from Karystos in Euboea." [18] We are told that Menander was a pupil of Theophrastus[19] (372-287 B.C.) who became the successor of Aristotle in the Peripatetic school in 322 B.C. Athens had lost her political independence at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. and in ten years (333-323 B.C.) Alexander succeeded in forming an Empire which stretched from Sardinia to India. After Alexander's

---

15. Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin, 1873 ff., XIV, 1184.

16. Strabo, Geography, XIV, 638 (Loeb Classical Library transl. by H. L. Jones, no. 223, London, 1929, Vol. 6, 219).

17. The evidence is succinctly presented in A. Koerte, Menandri Quae Supersunt Pars Altera: Reliquiae apud Veteres Scriptores Servatae, 2nd ed. by A. Thierfelder, Leipzig, 1959, 5, paragraph 23, and the review of the 1953 edition by T. B. L. Webster in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, 75(1955) 159.

18. T. Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy, Manchester, 1953, 100.

19. Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, V,36 (Loeb Classical Library transl. by R. Hicks, London, 1938, Vol. 1, 483)

death in 323 B.C., his empire collapsed and Athens revolted against Macedonian rule but was defeated. A Macedonian garrison was installed and in 317 B.C. Demetrius of Phalerum was appointed viceroy of Athens, a position he held until 307 B.C. [20] Demosthenes died in 322 B.C. and "in 321 Menander produced his first play, Orge. The classical age is over, and a new epoch begins. . . . We are dealing with an age which, like our own, is consequent upon a great catastrophe. Institutions which seemed settled and secure have been destroyed and old landmarks removed, confidence has been badly shaken, unexpected misfortunes have been experienced. And yet life has somehow to go on. We cannot wonder if the literature of the time reflects what has been called 'a failure of nerve', a lowering of aspiration and withdrawal from high endeavor, a tendency to yield to circumstance rather than strive to control it, and to put safety first." [21] Though somewhat exaggerated a good bit of this is, no doubt, true and suggests the logical expectation that Athens did change and that Menander mirrors the initial Hellenisation of language, style, culture, and specifically, the people of his milieu, even though we might wish to consider him "the last of the Attics". [22] The period is memorable both in its own rights and in its scope for it is the first thirty years of what is referred to as the Hellenistic period when influences were inaugurated which

---

20. T. Webster, Studies in Menander, 2nd ed. Manchester, 1960, 197.

21. C. Angus, "Athens", The Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge, 1954, VII, 224-226.

22. M. Croiset, "Ménandre, le dernier des Attiques", Revue des Deux Mondes, 50(1909) 806-831. So also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Menander, Das Schiedsgericht, Berlin, 1925, 164: "Daher gehört er und mit ihm die neue Komödie noch ganz nach Athen, ein Athen, das nun eine Kleinstadt geworden ist."

in time effected radical changes in language, literature, and culture. Many detailed arguments and studies which we need not delve into here substantiate the change of language and style.[23] Life did go on, but with differences resulting from the interaction of particular influences upon the people.[24] Attica, a country of conquered people, exerted its influence throughout the world conquered by Alexander and had powerful influences exerted upon it and these in turn were modified by Attic and Hellenistic influences. The habitual social order continued to exist, partially the same, partially altered, partially lost or discarded, partially increased or expanded by the mission of Hellenism exerting its pressure upon the "spiritual" head and source of its life and force, Athens.

---

23. Excellent studies on non-Attic or koine vocabulary in Menander are:
C. Brescia, "Lessico aggetivale del DYSKOLOS di Menandro", Menandrea, Miscellanea Philolgica, Genoa, 1960, 113-124.

C. Bruhn, Über den Wortschatz des Menander, Jena, 1910.

W. Dittmar, Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Aristophanes und Menander, Weida, 1933.

D. Durham, The Vocabulary of Menander Considered in its Relation to the Koine, Princeton, 1913.

K. Klaus, Die Adjektiva bei Menander, Leipzig, 1936.

24. The best summary of this can be found in a short treatise by A. Koerte, Die Menschen Menanders (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 89(1937) 3. Heft) Leipzig, 1937. On p. 8 he states: "In den 30 Jahren seiner dichterischen Tätigkeit hat Menander dann die verschiedensten Verfassungen in Athen erlebt. Erst die Oligarchie des Antipater, . . . Dann kam der wilde Freiheitstaumel . . . weiter um die Jahrhundertwende eine kurzlebige Tyrannei des Lachares. Diese politischen Umwälzungen haben Menanders persönliches Leben nicht unberührt gelassen, er geriet nach dem Sturze des Demetrios von Phaleron wegen seiner Freundschaft zu ihm in grosse Gefahr". U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (cf. note no. 22) p. 164 disagrees; "Die gewaltigen Ereignisse . . . haben keine Spur in seinen Werken hinterlassen."

The modern realizes that many social concepts habitual to us did not exist for the Greeks and that some of theirs, even fundamental ones, have no equivalents for us. Their significance can escape us unless we devote ourselves to careful study and interpretation of facts in the context of the surviving literature. The definite stratification of Greek life, the static, hierarchical levels of society with its sharp demarcations insisted upon by Plato in his Republic[25] and codified by Aristotle in his Politics [26] were not strange to an Athenian of the fourth century but Menander does not play the role of a political idealist. Xenophon has Socrates say: "The artisan arts, as they are called, are spoken against and are, naturally enough, held in utter disdain in our states. For they spoil the bodies of the workmen and the foremen, forcing them to sit still and live indoors, and in some cases to spend the day at the fire. The softening of the body involves a serious weakening of the mind. Moreover, these so-called artisan arts leave no spare time for attention to one's friends and city, so that those who follow them are thought to be of little support for their friends and poor defenders of their country." [27] This stigma of inferiority attached to trades and artisans is not expressed by Menander who treats his people and their occupations and social status realistically within the framework of the existing social structure of the gentleman of leisure, the free worker and the slave without the disdain suggested

---

25. Plato, Respublica, IV 434b; VIII 564-565.

26. Aristotle, Politica, I 1254.

27. Xenophon, Oeconomicus, IV 2-3. The translation in the Loeb Classical Library by E. Marchant was freely adapted and revised.

by the political idealists. Snell observes that "the discovery of this humanitas among the Greeks was not the work of philosophy. In fact, the gracious urbanity of the new concept forms a definite contrast to the cold severity of conceptual thought. It springs from the ideals of the Attic society of the last part of the fifth and the fourth centuries before our era. Its most perfect expression is, therefore, to be found where that society appears in its purest form: in the comedies of Menander. His plays are bourgeois spectacles, and yet they portray what was probably the noblest and most refined society ever to have existed in Europe." [28] We readily accept the distinction made when Claire Préaux answers the question she poses: "Les comédies de Ménandre constituent-elles, comme le pensaient déjà les Anciens, un témoignage fidèle de la société athénienne à la fin du IVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ?" and states: "Tout ce realisme de la rue, ce menu peuple d'artisans et d'esclaves qui entourent les fils de famille désoeuvrés, ce ne peut être un public d'esclaves et d'artisans qu'il intéresse, mais le public plus aisé, celui qui aime en général le décor réaliste. Faite ainsi pour le bourgeois, comme l'a bien vu Rostovtzeff, ce n'est cependant pas par ce décor réaliste que la comédie de Ménandre évoque, croyons-nous, la vie de la bourgeoisie d'Athènes. Mais c'est au contraire parce que, dans ce décor, elle insère des situations, des hommes et des problèmes qui sortent du domaine de la vie quotidienne du bourgeois. C'est par la nature de l'évasion qu'elle lui offre que la comédie de Ménandre nous

---

28. B. Snell, The Discovery of the Mind, transl. by T. Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953, 252.

révèle ce qu'etait le bourgeois d'Athènes après la tempête qu'avait fait passer sur lui Alexandre." [29] It is precisely this realistic decor of the comedies of Menander that interests us, not the invented plots and characterizations and comic exaggerations which need not reflect true life or the actual personnel of Athenian society. Decor, however, is not the right word for the evidence that Menander has presented of Athenian life, though "only occasional glimpses are granted of the conditions and facts of real life." [30] Theater and reality are not identical but theater can mirror the real and if we deem "die Stücke Menanders ein getreues Spiegelbild der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit . . . so mag eine erneute Untersuchung, welche die philologischen Voraussetzungen mit der historischen Methode stärker als bisher zu verbinden sucht, als gerechtfertigt erscheinen." [31] A compilation of the people presented by Menander is a logical initial process for gathering the evidence of his milieu and adequately describing it.

We have mentioned above that Theophrastus was Menander's teacher. The intriguing temptation to classify Menander's personnel according to the design of Theophrastus' Characters cannot be justified on several grounds. The date of composition cannot be definitely es-

---

29. C. Préaux, "Ménandre et la Société Athénienne", Chronique d'Egypte, 35(1957) 94.

30. V. Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes 2nd. ed., Oxford, 1951,41.

31. P. Spranger, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes und Socialwissenschaftliche Klasse, 1960 no. 8) Darmstadt, 1960, 36.

tablished although the probable date might well be 319 B.C. "True, there are his fragmentary dramas, recalling Theophrastus by their titles, "Αγροικος, 'Αλαζών, "Απιστος, Δεισιδαίμων ; portrayals of standard comic figures like the first two will naturally show some traits in common. But who will believe that the mannered comic poet owed much to the other's lively portraits, or that frankly Aristophanic types like the βδελυρός are suited to the drama of Menander?" [32] The available evidence does not support any attempt to classify the people of Menander according to "the faults to which they are enslaved; those of Menander are never totally identified with the fault towards which they lean." [33]

The classification which we have employed results from sorting the nouns designating people into groups having reference to the family, occupations, social and servile status and establishing various categories under each of these. The nouns of the family classification include the categories of husband and wife, parents, children, kindred, master or mistress of the house, guards and guides and nurses, and household slaves. Under the classification of occupations there are categories of people whose activities pertain to the country, sea, market, available services, civil and political and judicial life, the military, religious and entertainment practices. Social class includes the anti-social or those who deviated from the Greek idea of the noble, those who can be identified as belonging to

---

32. R. Ussher, The Characters of Theophrastus, London, 1960, 5.

33. K. Reckford, "The Dyskolos of Menander", Studies in Philology, 58(1961) 9.

a simple social grouping of wrong-doers according to our standards, plus others who were self-employed, rich or poor, young or old, friend or foe and those identified by terms of abuse and endearment. The servile class includes the household slaves who are treated under the classification of The Family, Part I, chapter 7, and all other nouns used by Menander to designate a slave.

The context of each usage of a noun is found at the end of each chapter. Words of frequent occurrence, such as πατήρ and μήτηρ and the like, are, however, not presented with their context but are grouped according to various extensions of meaning and cited under headings which indicate the distinct scope of their meaning.

The abbreviations used correspond in general with those used by Koerte [34] and are as follows:

D or Δ ..... Dyscolus

D I ..... Papyrus Didotiana (a)

D II ..... Papyrus Didotiana (b)

E ..... Epitrepontes

Fl. ..... Comoedia Florentina

Fr. ..... fragment found in volume II of Koerte

Fr. d. ..... doubtful fragment of Menander

fr. ..... fragment found in volume I of Koerte

G ..... Georgos

H ..... Heros

I ..... Fabula Incerta

---

34. A. Koerte, Menandri Quae Supersunt Pars Altera: Reliquiae apud Veteres Scriptores Servatae, 2nd ed. by A. Thierfelder, Leipzig, 1959, 300.

K ..... Citharista

Kl ..... Colax

Kn ..... Coneazomenae

M ..... Misumenos

P or Π ..... Periciromene

Ph ..... Phasma

Pn ..... Perinthia

S ..... Samia

Th ..... Theophorumene.

The evidence we present of the people of Menander is admittedly skeletal and stops short of uncovering the great mosaic of life and the people of Menander's Athens. The bare bones of nouns and their context lack the round fullness of flesh of the people whom Menander knew and depicted but we have gathered all these bones which have been preserved for us and reconstruct a proper dimension for the study of the people of Menander. Our object has been to draw from his comedies evidence which for the most part has been passed over in the vigorous pursuit of the character study of "comic types" and the delusion that "the situation on the stage" [35] is historical fact. We have gone behind the scenes of Menander's comedy and initiated "die Untersuchung geschichtlicher Quellen unter soziologischen Gesichtspunkten" [36] in order to also present

---

35. V. Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1951, 39.

36. P. Spranger, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes und Socialwissenschaftliche Klasse, 1960, no. 8) Darmstadt, 1960, 7.

the people who cannot be typified in general as "seduced girls and frivolous youths, crafty slaves, depraved procurers, stupid fathers and so on".[37] For even"his characters show their quality almost instantly, and they are in the briefest space endowed with traits that make them anything but typical fathers, mothers, slaves, mistresses, or sons and daughters."[38] Our classified thesaurus and concordance makes readily available the evidence furnished by Menander in his own words by the nouns he used to designate people. "It is just that kind of evidence we have for the picture we draw of Athens in the fourth and early third centuries. Political and law-court speeches and fragments of speeches, isolated lines quoted from comedies of whose context we know nothing, the tittle-tattle enjoyed by some scribblers of the third century, ... That is what we have to deal with; and with it an immense amount of most valuable work, work which arouses our constant admiration, has been done by modern historians, especially in the reconstruction of the history of the city-states after the death of Alexander. But we must be aware of its limitations; and, perhaps not unexpectedly, our judgement is more often at fault where there is a little more evidence, about the age of Demosthenes and Aristotle, than about the two generations after their death."[39]

---

37. V. Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1951, 41.

38. L. Post, From Homer to Menander, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951, 242.

39. A. Gomme, Essays in Greek History and Literature, Oxford, 1937, 247-248.

PART I

FAMILY

CHAPTER I

HUSBAND AND WIFE

νυμφίος 6

νύμφη 6

ἀνήρ (69) 13

οἰκέτης (15) 1

γαμετή 2

γυνή (116) 29

δέσποινα (4) 2

ἐπίκληρος 3

κοινωνός 2

A highly noble and ideal expression of the love and duties of a spouse is found in Papyrus Didotiana I,14-19, which we accept as Menandrean on the support of the arguments presented by Koerte.[1] In this fragment, the father has determined that his daughter should abandon her husband, now poor, and marry a wealthy man. She objects to her father's requests and states her love for her poor husband "till death", for it is the law for husband and wife that he love her always and that she please him.

ἔστ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ κείμενος νόμος,
τῷ μὲν διὰ τέλους ἣν ἔχει στέργειν ἀεί,
τῇ δ' ὅσ' ἂν ἀρέσκῃ τἀνδρί, ταὐτ'αὐτὴν ποεῖν.
γέγονεν ἐκεῖνος εἰς ἐμ' οἷον ἠξίουν
ἐμοί τ' ἀρέσκει πάνθ' ἃ κἀκείνῳ, πάτερ.

A husband and wife mutually devoted to each other with such sentiments would naturally constitute what would be considered so fittingly homelike.

οἰκεῖον οὕτως οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὦ Λάχης,
ἐὰν σκοπῇ τις, ὡς ἀνήρ τε καὶ γυνή. (Fr. 572)

That this ideal is not usually depicted by Menander is to be expected because "New Comedy is misogynous . . . we cannot expect it to extol marriage."[2] Comic convention led Menander to find humour in other than the ideal family situation and in episodes

---

1. A. Koerte, Menandri Quae Supersunt: Pars Prior: Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis vetustissimis servatae, 3rd. ed. corrected with additions by A. Thierfelder, Leipzig, 1957, lxii.

2. P. LeGrand, The New Greek Comedy, transl. by J. Loeb, London, 1917, 116.

which are in conflict with the sentiments expressed above by such a devoted wife. Furthermore, it is in the fragments preserved by the anthologists that we find the misogynistic and deprecatory attitude toward marriage and the lack of context limits any proper, particular evaluation.

Preliminary to the classification of the Menandrean husband and wife, we note the usage of the words for bridegroom and bride and we find a particularized meaning established by context.

νυμφίος is in no instance used to designate a newly-wedded man but only in reference to a prospective husband or future son-in-law. In the Dyscolus, Gorgias informs Sostratus that Cnemon has decided that only someone with Cnemon's mould of character would be a fit prospective husband for his daughter (D 337); in other words, the urbane Sostratus is not a likely candidate unless he disguises himself as a workman. The father, Cnemon, is exercising the paternal prerogative of determining a possible prospective husband who would have to be a hard-working temperamental peasant farmer like himself. When Cnemon is rescued from the well and reacts as though he is about to die, he entrusts his daughter to her step-brother, Gorgias, and commands him to find a prospective husband, νυμφίον, for her (D 748). After Sostratus has arranged for his own marriage to Gorgias' step-sister, he endeavors to promote the marriage of Gorgias to his sister but Callippides, the father, objects to having a poor son-in-law in addition to a poor daughter-in-law (D 795). In another instance, the man is not yet wedded for he is self-sufficient and needs no dowry which would be furnished ordinarily by the bride (Fr. 89). Insufficient context prevents us from establishing precisely the

meaning in two other instances but the meaning fiancé or prospective husband is probable (Fr. 302, Phasma 3).

νύμφη, in one instance (D 795), is a future bride and specifically a future daughter-in-law. However, context establishes that Pamphila is a bride, the wife or consort of Charisius (E 552, 565). The other three instances of the word lack sufficient context and cannot be defined more clearly.

To this preliminary observation on the words for bride and bridegroom, we add some pertinent Menandrean statements on the preparations and ceremonies involved in becoming husband and wife. The formal betrothal formula, "I give and entrust my daughter to you for the begetting of lawful children", was pronounced by the father who exercised the paternal prerogative of choice and approval of a husband for his daughter (D 842-3, I 18, P 435-6, Fr. 682). The father sought for a husband as is evidenced in Papyrus Didotiana I, 20-42 but here the daughter objects to her father attempting to find a wealthy man to replace her husband who has become poor but whom she truly loves. She concedes that it was necessary for the father to look for a husband for her when she was young but that once he had fulfilled this office, he should cease and not try to find another husband. Confusion resulted when the father arranged for a marriage for his son who already had made his choice of a life's partner and this establishes the "comic situation" to be solved (I 18, 52). Pre-nuptial investigations concerned the matter of lineage, wealth, status and character (D 65-6, Fr. 581, 612). "We ought to do our marrying as we do our shopping. We should not make scrutiny of useless details - 'Who was the grandfather of the girl one is to marry;

who was her grandmother?' - while failing to examine or observe the character of the woman with whom as wife one is to live, nor take the dowry before appraising her qualitites" (Fr. 581). "This 'pedigree' will kill me, mother. Don't insist, if you love me, on 'pedigree'. All who lack inherent goodness take refuge in their monuments and pedigrees and recite the list of their grandsires" (Fr. 612). The man intent to marry is advised to consider "whether her face is pleasing and her disposition good" (Fr. 580). The nuptials are prepared and the wedding of Moschion is to take place in a scene in the Samia 328, 336 and in the Dyscolus 851, the wedding is indicated. That some weddings were a small family affair is attested by the statement "a clever scheme this, not to get a lot of women together and entertain a crowd but to have made your wedding-feast for those who eat their meal at home" (Fr. 384). οἰκοσίτοι γάμοι were weddings at which only the immediate family were present. Other weddings were large feasts with the celebration beginning before the wedding (D 856-7). Such were some of the preparations and ceremonies mentioned by Menander which the young couple might have experienced before becoming husband and wife.

ἀνήρ obviously designates a husband in thirteen instances of sixty-nine occurrences of the word. Cnemon gives the care of his daughter to Gorgias and directs him to provide her with a husband (D 733). The father provides the husband for the daughter while she is still young (D I 35). A man who is poor and marries and begets children lacks rationality (Fr. 335) and one who does not bear the failings of his wife is stupid and hard-hearted (E 598). To force a daughter to leave her poor husband is a shameful deed (E 744).

The secret of happy marriage lies in the wife's considerate treatment of her husband (Fr. 571) and allowing him to rule the house (Fr. 418). The father is greatly concerned that his daughter's husband is consuming all the dowry which he furnished and wishes Pamphila to abandon her husband (E 708). A father seeks another man to replace his daughter's husband who has become a poor man (D I 20). The woman who has a soldier as a husband is unfortunate (P 66). Scanty context leaves doubt in determining a husband-wife relationship in one instance even though an oath is mentioned (Fr. 524). Husband and wife are both mentioned in the text in five instances (Fr. 524, 571, 572, 418, D I 14).

We wish to add here that a man marries, γαμεῖ (Fr. 335) or takes, λαμβάνει (D 792, D I 27), a wife; the woman accepted a husband, ἔλαβεν (P 66); to divorce is ἀπαγαγεῖν (E 744). Onemon's wife left him, ἀπῆλθε (D 22). Legally married men are called τοὺς γήμαντας (Fr. 796) and are thus distinguished particularly from those who might have a mistress or putative wife since they did not enter a formal legal marriage. In one instance, the husband is referred to as not considering himself to be a housemate of his wife, οὐ τῆς γυναικὸς νενόμιχ' αὑτὸν οἰκέτ[ην for he sleeps away from home. In context, the emphasis is on his continued absence from home and the negation of his marital duties. Subservience to a domineering wife is not the point at issue.[3]

---

3. T. Williams, "Menanders Epitrepontes im Spiegel der griechischen Ehevertrage aus Agypten", Wiener Studien, 74(1961) 49 holds that οἰκέτης does not mean slave or servant,"Haussklave, Dienstmann" but companion or housemate, "Hausgenosse".

Some benefits afforded to a husband by a wife are listed, perhaps sardonically, such as children or nursing him carefully when he falls ill; she stays with him through adversity; if death comes, she lays him out properly and buries him (Fr. 276). These blessings, even though she will not allow her husband to live as he wishes, are enough to help the husband endure everything else (Fr. 276 $_{14}$). Nothing is so homelike as husband and wife (Fr. 572). It is the law that husband and wife love each other till the end (D I 14).

γαμετή, a legally-wedded wife, is mentioned four times. Polemon assures Pataecus that he considered the woman, Glycera, who fled from him after being shorn, as his legally-wedded wife though she was not; on this basis Glycera's brother, falsely presumed to be a lover, is considered at fit subject for a legal process (P 252). Habrotonon assures Charisius that the child is his from his wedded wife (E 633) and not the child of another woman. A wife's place is in the home and running out into the street to continue her nagging and reviling is outside the limits to be observed by a married woman (Fr. 592).

γυνή, woman, is mentioned twenty-six times where the context indicates that she is a wife. Cnemon married a widowed woman who finally left him (D 22) and she is the object of his hate (D 33) as well as all the neighbors who live in the district. Gorgias gives his sister, actually his step-sister, to Sostratus to be his wife (D 828). Charisius soliloquises that his father-in-law should end his interference because Charisius' wife Pamphila is not leaving him (E 610). A wealthy wife is a problem; she does not allow the man who married her to do as he wishes (Fr. 276). With such

limitations, he makes recompense to the wrath of the gods (Fr. 38). However, the wealthy wife offers benefits sufficient to make up for these limitations, namely: the blessings of children, of being a nurse and attending to the man's burial (Fr. 276). The wife's dowry is no blessing since, if you wed, you must bear silently the evil of the dowry and the woman (Fr. 593). A large dowry assures neither security nor charm (Fr. 577) nor compensates for the lack of noble qualities and grace (Fr. 333). The wife might fail to secure the fidelity of her husband (E 9) when he sleeps away from home. A poor man who marries to gain his wife's dowry does not take her in marriage but gives himself away (Fr. 579). The epitome of a wife despised and the object of comic abuse is the depiction of the wealthy woman, Corbyle, an heiress, "an ass among apes", with her sixteen talents of dowry and a nose a cubit long who elicits utterances of regret for marriage from her husband who would rather bestow his attentions on a servant-girl (Fr. 333). A home where the wife assumes primacy in all things and does all the talking is destined to ruin (Fr. 418). The true love philtre and the proper way for a woman to manage her husband is considerate treatment (Fr. 571). The evils of having a wife are comically exaggerated (Fr. 718) in the statement that there are constantly paramours and poisons and worst of all, ill-willed envy threatening the husband. Charisius found it impossible to accept his wife's misdeeds (E 594) until a change of heart was effected by consideration of his own misdeeds. A wife's sphere of activity should be limited to the home and the faults of nagging and rebuking a husband in the street were beneath a free woman (Fr. 592). Other usages of the word γυνή

make no specific reference by which it is possible to discern marital status.

δέσποινα, the lady of the house, is specifically designated as wife and mistress of the home once although the word is found four times in Menander (Fr. 333). The other usages are probably references to a divinity (Kolax x23) although mistress of the home is a possible meaning (E 453, Hero fr. 1); the context is too fragmentary to determine definitely.

ἐπίκληρος, heiress, is a woman who acquires the family estate after her father's death because she has no brothers. She is ridiculed (Fr. 333) as very domineering, an ugly , wealthy woman (Fr. 334). Whoever marries an heiress is paying full price to the wrath of the gods or deceives himself as being fortunate while suffering ill (Fr. 582).

κοινωνός, partner, is a term applied to a wife who considered herself a partner for life to share misfortune whenever it might occur (E 600).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER I HUSBAND AND WIFE

νυμφίος 6

Δ 337 τότε φησὶν ἐκδώσειν ἐκείνην, ἡνίκ' ἂν
ὁμότροπον αὐτῷ νυμφίον λάβῃ.

Δ 748 δεῖ δὲ μετὰ σοῦ νυμφίον
ὡς τάχισθ' εὑρεῖν τιν' ἡμᾶς τῇ κόρῃ, σοὶ συνδοκοῦν.

Δ 795 νύμφην γὰρ ἅμα καὶ νυμφίον πτωχοὺς λαβεῖν
οὐ βούλομ', ἱκανὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν θάτερον.

Fr. 302 ΟΜΟΠΑΤΡΙΟΙ ἦν δῆλον οὔτι νυμφίος τε ἀλφάνει†

ΦΑΣΜΑ 3 . . . . . ἐπιτελεῖν συλλαμβάνηις
αὐτῆς νομί[ω]ν νυμφίον σαυτὸν, φρονεῖν
μέμνησο·

Fr. 89 ΔΑΚΤΥΛΙΟΣ οἰκόσιτον νυμφίον
οὐδὲν δεόμενον προικὸς ἐξευρήκαμεν.

νύμφη 6

Δ 795 νύμφην γὰρ ἅμα νυμφίον πτωχοὺς λαβεῖν
οὐ βούλομ', ἱκανὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν θάτερον.

Ε x17 ὁ τῆς [νύμφης πα]τήρ.

Ε 565 ὁ πατὴρ δὲ τῆς νύμφης τι περὶ [το]ῦ [π]ρ[άγματος
ἐλάλει πρὸς ἐκείνην,

ΗΡΩΣ x56 . . . . . δ]ίδωμι νύμφ[η . . . . . .

Ε 552 ἀλλ]' οὐ σὲ τὴν νύμφην ὁρῶ
τὴν ἔνδον οὖσαν;

Fr. 747 δεινῶς . . . οὐ πρᾶγμα νύμφης λέγεις.

ἀνήρ (69) 13

Δ 733 τήνδε σοι παρεγγυῶ,
ἄνδρα <δ'> αὐτῇ πόρισον.

Ε 598 ἐπιδειχθήσει θ' ἅμα
ἀτυχὴς γεγονὼς καὶ σκαιὸς ἀγνώμων τ' ἀνήρ.

Fr. 335 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ὦ τρισκακοδαίμων, ὅστις ὢν πένης γαμεῖ
καὶ παιδοποιεῖθ'. ὡς ἀλόγιστός ἐστ' ἀνήρ,

Fr. 524 γυναικὶ δ' ὅστις ὅρκον ὀμνύων ἀνὴρ
μηδὲν ποιεῖ δίκαιον, οὗτος εὐσεβής;

Fr. 572 οἰκεῖον οὕτως οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὦ Λάχης,
ἐὰν σκοπῇ τις, ὡς ἀνήρ τε καὶ γυνή.

E 744 ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγεῖν παρ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα
ἀγαθὸν σὺ κρίνεις, Σμικρίνη;

D I 35 ὅτ' ἦν ἐγὼ παῖς, τότε σ' ἐχρῆν ζητεῖν ἐμοὶ
ἄνδρ' ᾧ με δώσεις·

Fr. 571 ἓν ἐστ' ἀληθὲς φίλτρον, εὐγνώμων τρόπος
τούτῳ κατακρατεῖν ἀνδρὸς εἴωθεν γυνή.

E 708 ἀλλ' ἢ περιμένω καταφαγεῖν τὴν προῖκά μου
τὸν χρηστὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα καὶ λόγους λέγω
περὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ;

H 66 δυστυχής,
ἥτις στρατιώτην ἔλαβεν ἄνδρα·

Fr. 418 ΥΠΟΒΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΣ τὰ δεύτερ' ἀεὶ τὴν γυναῖκα δεῖ λέγειν,
τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ὅλων τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔχειν.

D I 14 ἔστ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ κείμενος νόμος,
τῷ μὲν διὰ τέλους ἣν ἔχει στέργειν ἀεί,

τῇι δ' ὅσ' ἂν ἀρέσκηι τἀνδρί, ταῦτ'αὐτὴν ποεῖν.

Fifty-three other usages of ἀνήρ are cited and listed under six headings to indicate in general their significance.

Friend(s)	Spectators	Adulthood age of man	Father	Sir, any man	Characteristic of man
D 941	D x194	D 741	P 382	D 921	D 723
Fr. 148	D 659	Fr. 724	Fl 16	E 151	D 767
Fr. 24	D 666	S 135	Fr. 294	Fl 17	D x774
	D 967	P 190		E 13	D 945
	E 567			Fr. 714	G fr. 2
	S 54			E 303	D I 27
	S 338			Fr. 560	Fr. 290
	D II 3				Fr. 476
	D II 13				Fr. 524
	Fr. 396				Fr. 630
	Fr. 656				E 723
					P 382
					Fr. 66
					Fr. 496
					Fr. 552
					Fr. 634
					Fr. 680
					Kl 106
					M l t
					Fr. 633
					Fr. 683 8
					Fr. 762
					Fr. 265
					Fr. 707

οἰκέτης (15) 1

Ε 9 προῖκα δὲ λαβὼν τάλαντα τέτταρ' ἀργύρ[ου
οὐ τῆς γυναικὸς νενόμιχ'αὐτὸν οἰκέτ[ην·
ἀπόκοιτός ἐστι, πορνοβοσκῷ δώδεκα
τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμὰς δίδωσι.

γαμετή 2

Fr. 592 τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι,
διὰ τὴν λαλιάν·

Π 239 ἐγὼ γαμετὴν νενόμικα ταύτην.

γυνή (116) 28

Δ 14 χήραν γυναῖκ' ἔγημε,

Δ 22 ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἡ γυνὴ πάλιν

Δ 33 ἀρξάμενος τῶν γειτόνων
καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς

Δ 828 τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν
δίδωμί σοι γυναῖκα·

Fr. 571 ἔν ἐστ' ἀληθὲς φίλτρον, εὐγνώμων τρόπος
τούτῳ κατακρατεῖν ἀνδρὸς εἴωθεν γυνή.

Fr. 572 οἰκεῖον οὕτως οὐδὲν ἐστιν, ὦ Λάχης,
ἐὰν σκοπῇ τις, ὡς ἀνήρ τε καὶ γυνή.

E 594 ἀκούσιον γυναικὸς ἀτύχημ' οὐ φέρεις,

Fr. 524 γυναικὶ δ' ὅστις ὅρκον ὀμνύων ἀνὴρ
μηδὲν ποιεῖ δίκαιον, οὗτος εὐσεβής;

Fr. 418 ΥΠΟΒΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΣ τὰ δεύτερ' ἀεὶ τὴν γυναῖκα δεῖ λέγειν,
τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ὅλων τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔχειν.

D I 14 ἔστ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ κείμενος νόμος,

E 610 οὐκ ἀπολείπει μ' ἡ γυνή·

Fr. 276 ΜΙΣΟΓΥΝΗΣ γυνὴ πολυτελής ἐστ' ὀχληρόν, οὐδ' ἐᾷ
ζῆν τὸν λαβόνθ' ὡς βούλετ'·

Fr. 333 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ἦ τ' εὔγνωστος οὖσ' ἐμὴ γυνὴ
δέσποινα. καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἣν ἐκτήσατο·
" ὄνος ἐν πιθήκοις "

Fr. 718 γαμεῖ;
λάθριοι <τὸ> λοιπὸν ἆρ' ἐπιθυμίαι <κα>καί,
γαμηλίῳ λέχει τε μοιχὸς ἐντρυφῶν,
{εἶτ' ἐπιβουλαὶ} καὶ φαρμακεῖαι, καὶ νόσων χαλεπώτατος
φθόνος, μεθ' οὗ ζῇ πάντα τὸν χρόνον γυνή.

E 9 προῖκα δὲ λαβὼν τάλαντα τέτταρ' ἀργύρ[ου
οὐ τῆς γυναικὸς νενόμιχ'αὐτὸν οἰκέτ[ην·
ἀπόκοιτός ἐστι,

E 633 τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικός ἐστί σου
τέκνον] γ[ά]ρ, οὐκ ἀλλότριον.

Π 342 τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἐμῆς
ὑφάσ]ματ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα, καὶ μάλ' ἀθλίας.

Fr. 577 πατρῷ' ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα
τὰ μετὰ γυναικὸς εἰσιόντ' εἰς οἰκίαν
οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν κτῆσιν οὐδ' ἱλαρὰν ἔχει.

Fr. 579 ὅταν πένης ὢν καὶ γαμεῖν τις ἐλόμενος
τὰ μετὰ γυναικὸς ἐπιδέχηται χρήματα,
αὐτὸν δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἐκείνην λαμβάνει.

Fr. 592 τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι,
διὰ τὴν λαλιάν· πέρας γὰρ αὔλειος θύρα
ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νενόμιστ'οἰκίας.

E 91 "γυναῖκα", φησί, "γὰρ
ἔχω· τεκούσῃ δ' ἀπέθαν[ε]ν τὸ παιδίον",

E 571 "οἵαν λαβὼν
γυναῖχ' ὁ μέλεος ἠτύχηκα".

Π 237 εἰ μέν τι τοιοῦτ' ἦν, Πολέμων, οἷόν φατε
ὑμεῖς τὸ γεγονός, καὶ γαμετὴν γυναῖκά σου —
οἷον λέγεις, Πάταικε. διαφέρει δέ τι.
(Πο.) ἐγὼ γαμετὴν νενόμικα ταύτην.

Π 303 οὐ, σκοπεῖς,
ἵν]α με λ[άβῃ] γυναῖκα — κατ' ἐμὲ γὰρ πάνυ
γέγ]ον' οὗ[τος]—ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦθ', ἑταίραν δ' ἵνα μ' ἔχῃ;

Fr. 582 ὅστις γυναῖκ' ἐπίκληρον ἐπιθυμεῖ λαβεῖν
πλουτοῦσαν, ἤτοι μῆνιν ἐκτίνει θεῶν
ἢ βούλετ' ἀτυχεῖν μακάριος καλούμενος.

Fr. 593 ἢ μὴ γαμεῖν γάρ, ἂν δ' ἅπαξ λάβῃς, φέρειν
μύσαντα πολλὴν προῖκα καὶ γυναῖκα δεῖ.

Fr. 713 ἔγημε θαυμαστῶς γυναῖχ' ὡς σώφρονα.

Eighty-seven other usages of γυνή are cited and listed under four headings to indicate in general their significance.

Free Woman	Unspecified Woman		Specific Woman	Mother, consort, or maybe wife
E fr. 7	D 385	Fr. 581	D 575	E 288
P 186	D 404	E 127	D 938	K 61
S 232	D 477	E 200	P 365	Ph 20
	D 495	E 538	S 17	Fr. 104
	D 660	E 539	Fr. 493	Fr. 251_1
	D 849	E 544	Fr. 792	E 99
	D 857	E 546	S 216	E 503
	D 872	E 553	P fr. 2	G 11
	D 921	S 73	P 210	Fl 15
	D 932	Ph 54	P 211	P x2
	D 937	Fr. 590	Fr. 679	S 240
	D 948	Fr. d 937	H 69	Fl 39
	E 766	E 276	G 43	E 20
	D I 11	S 195	Fr. d 951_{10}	E 250
	Fr. 343	S 228		S 213
	Fr. 422	E 306		S 235
	Fr. 583	E 298		K 43
	Fr. 589	P 53		Fl 7
	Fr. 591	M 45		Fr. 3
	Fr. 758	Fr. 384		Fr. 575
	E 389	Fr. 586		Fr. 665
	Fr. 584	Fr. 718_5		Fr. 210
	G 139	Fr. 761		Fr. 303
				Fr. 795

δέσποινα (4) 1

Fr. 333$_7$ ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ἢ τ' εὔγνωστος οὖσ' ἐμὴ γυνὴ
δέσποινα.

E 453 εἶν[αι . . . . . .] δέσποιν' οἰκίας.

ΗΡΩΣ fr. 1 δέσποιν', Ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πλέον

ἐπίκληρος 3

Fr. 333 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νῦν ἡ 'πίκληρος ἡ κ<αλὴ>
μέλλει καθευδήσειν.

Fr. 334 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ Ἔχω δ' ἐπίκληρον Λάμιαν·

Fr. 582 Ὅστις γυναῖκ' ἐπίκληρον ἐπιθυμεῖ λαβεῖν
πλουτοῦσαν, ἤτοι μῆνιν ἐκτίνει θεῶν
ἢ βούλετ' ἀτυχεῖν μακάριος καλούμενος.

κοινωνός 1

E 600 κοινωνὸς ἥκειν τοῦ βίου
ἔφασκε κ]οὐ δεῖν τἀτύχημ' αὑτὴν φυγεῖν
τὸ συμβ]εβηκός,

E 418 κοινωνὸ[ς . . . . . .

CHAPTER II

PARENTS

γονεύς 2

πάπας 5

παπίας 2

πατήρ (103) 92

μάμμη 1

μήτηρ 48

Menander considers parenthood from two extreme and opposite points of view, either a blessing beyond compare or a curse on the father of the children. The blessings or evils of being a mother are not mentioned in context with the word for mother. The considerations range from the law requiring that we give parents honors fit for the gods (Fr. 600) to anyone who indicts or sues his parents is mad (Fr. 601); from, how good a thing it is to have been a father (Fr. 145) to where there is nothing more wretched than a father, except one who is the father of more children (Fr. 596) and every father is an idiot (Fr. 131). It is a painful thing for a man who has won success in life to have his home barren of an heir (Fr. 594) and a father can have no greater joy than to see one of his own children both continent and wise (Fr. 595). Opposed to these noble sentiments, we read that either a man ought to live single or die when once he is the father of children, so bitter is the sequel (Fr. 154); to be the father of children is grief, fear, anxiety without limit (Fr. 350); fatherhood brings many cares (Fr. 575).

γονεύς, a begetter, is used in the plural for parents. The law grants them honors fit for the gods (Fr. 600). Anyone who indicts or presents a claim against his parents is mad (Fr. 601).

πάπας, papa, is the term used by the daughter in reference to her father, Cnemon (D 194, x204) and that this a a term of endearment can be determined from Sicon's practice of flattery when he would call a respectable sire "papa" (D x 494). The daughter moans for her dear papa, πάπαν φίλτατον (D 648) and in Misoumenos 15, the daughter bids farewell to dear papa.

παπίας is what Sostratus calls his father (D 856) and Cnemon is

called παπία (D 930), probably in a frivolous manner by Sicon.

πατήρ, father, is used one-hundred times, four times in reference to an unwed father (Samia 39, 53, 99, E 576), three times for an adoptive father (Samia 277, 319, Georgos 59), twice for a step-father (D 241, 254); once it is used as an epithet of Zeus (D 191). In one instance, Pamphila is of a mind to regard her father as a despot and not as a father (E 511). πατήρ is used nine times as a term of respect for a man, equivalent perhaps, to "good sir" (D 107, 171, 494, E 55, 120, 125, 144, 164, 168 and maybe also Citharistes fr. 3, Fr. 213, Fr. 743). It is a generalized term ten times (Fr. 131, Fr. 209_5, Fr. 209_8, Fr. 388, Fr. 606, Fr. 608, Fr. 145, Fr. d $x951_{33}$, Kolax x2, Fr. d 939). Father is used in context with the word for son or daughter twenty-five times [1] and twelve of these are specified fathers. Forty-seven other references to specified fathers can be accounted for to make a total of fifty-nine instances of mention of particular fathers. We emphasize that we are not concerned with fathers as characters in plays or the role they play in the unfolding of the drama with its conflict of interests but rather with the evidence furnished by lexical context.

The father predominates as the head of the house and upon him fall cares and worries (Fr. 575, Fr. 350). At a family dinner party, the father begins the speaking (Fr. 209_5). He is given to anger on occasion (Fr. 599, Fr. 606). Praise and good will from a father exert great influence (Fr. 602, Fr. 607). To be a father is a good

---

1. (D 40, 72, 241, 306, 323, 388, E x17, 360, Misoumenos 61, Fl 8, Fr. 596, Fr. 603, Fr. 604, E 306, Fr. 453, Fr. 602, Fr. d 939, Fr. 54, Fr. 595, Fr. 154, Fr. 294, Fr. 350, Fr. 575, Fr. 607).

thing (Fr. 145) and his greatest joy is a continent and thoughtful child (Fr. 595). Sostratus' father is wealthy (D 774), having possessions worth many talents (D 40). Cnemon, being hostile to everybody, is hostile to any suitor of his daughter (D 338). The father of Sostratus is master of his household and property, a legal κύριος (D 806). Since it was necessary to ask either the father or the master of a girl for her hand in marriage, Sostratus sent Pyrrhias to find the father or master of the girl (D 72). Pamphila is of a mind to consider her father a despot rather than a father (E 511). Charisius thinks of himself as the father of a bastard (E 576) but he does not want his wife to suffer unbecomingly at the hands of her father (E 607). A son who is wrongly accused by his adoptive father considers the possibility of leaving home (Samia 277) and later awaits a petition to remain (Samia 319). The father wishing to secure a second and wealthier husband constitutes unwanted interference in the daughter's interests (Papyrus Didotiana I, 20, E 707-773). Callippides is not happy at the thought of having both a poor daughter-in-law and a poor son-in-law when Sostratus suggests Gorgias as a husband for his sister.

μάμμη, mamma, a child's term for mother, is mentioned once when a report is made of a nurse's musings with an infant (Samia 28).

μήτηρ, mother, is used forty-nine times; twice to designate a divinity such as "mother earth" (Fr. 287) or "mother of the gods" (Theophorumene 27). Father and mother are mentioned together in context once (P 320) when Glycera states that she has kept the tokens of her father and mother. Sicon recommends calling an old woman "mother" to flatter her (D 495). A mother who gave birth to a

daughter out of wedlock (Phasma 11) is rearing the child in secret and the fact remains unknown by her husband. At a dinner party for the family (Fr. 209_6) the mother speaks only after the father has had his say. A mother who exposes her child is mentioned (P 345, 356, E 134-5). Myrrhina is called mother by Moschion although she was not the actual mother of Moschion who had been exposed as a child (P 84, 106, 116, 135, 140, 288, 293, 298, 301). Mother and daughter are mentioned in the same context (Phasma 4, E 393, Fr. 382_5 Fr. 453). A mother insists that her child investigate lineage when contemplating marriage (Fr. 612). Mother is used as a general term (Fr. d 939) when it is stated that conception cannot take place without a mother. Moschion plans to flatter his foster mother: "She will be shy when we enter, naturally, and will cover up her face for this is the custom, but when I enter I must kiss my mother and win her over to my will and flatter her and tell her that I live for her alone for she treats this present matter as if it were her own" (P 121-25). The mention of the "veil as custom" lacks parallels.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER II PARENTS

γονεύς 2

Fr. 600 νόμος γονεῦσιν ἰσοθέους τιμὰς νέμειν.

Fr. 601 δίκας γραφόμενος πρὸς γονεῖς μαίνῃ, τάλαν.

πάπας 5

Δ 194 θερμὸν <δ'> ὕδωρ πρ[οσέταξέ μοι
ποιεῖν ὁ πάπας ἐξιών.

Δ χ204 ἆρ' ὁ [πά]πας ἔρχεται;

Δ χ494 εὐθὺς πατέρ<α> καὶ πάπα[ν καλῶ.

Δ 648 πάπαν φίλτατον
....]υσ' ἀποιμώξει τις.

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ 15 πάππα χαῖρε πολλὰ φίλτατ[ε

παπίας 2

Δ 856 δεῖ πότον
ἡμῶν γενέσθαι, παπία, νυνὶ [κ]αλόν,
καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν παννυχίδα.

Δ 930 ἔστιν ὑμῖν, ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς

τὸ παραπέτασμα, παπία.

πατήρ (103) 79

The word means sir or step-father or fatherhood in the following instances which we list as exceptions to the usual meaning of the word.

Sir	Step-father	Fatherhood
D 107	D 241	Fr. 131
D 171	D 754	Fr. 209_5
D 494	S 277	Fr. 209_8
E 55	S 319	Fr. 388
E 120	G 59	Fr. 606
E 125		Fr. 608
E 144		Fr. 145
E 164		Fr. d $x951_{33}$
E 168		K1 x2
		Fr. d 939

A dramatis persona can be identified by name as father in the following instances: D 182, 213, 556, 754, 761, 773, 774, 781, 784, 802, 806, H 28, E 511, 565, 576, 607, P 371, 389, 414, x424, I 30, M 14, K 58, x66, fr. 3, P 320, E 272, 550, 600, 607, 608. So also where context includes a word for child: D 40, 72, 241, 306, 323, 388, E x17, M 61.

μάμμη 1

ΣΑΜΙΑ 28 ἡ μάμμη δὲ ποῦ;

μήτηρ 48

Non-typical usages of the word are cited .

Δ 495 εὐθὺς πατέρ<α> καὶ πάπα[ν καλῶ.
γρα<ῦ>ς, μητέρ'.

Fr. 287 ὦ φιλτάτη Γῆ μῆτερ,

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ 27 νῦν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐκπηδή[σεται
μητρὸς θεῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ κορυβάν[των πλέα.

Fr. δ 939 ἄνευ δὲ μητρὸς οὐδὲ συλλαβὴ τέκνου.

Π 122 ἡ μὲν αἰσχ[υν]ε[ῖτ', ἐ]πειδὰ[ν] εἰσίωμεν, δηλαδή,
παρακαλύ[ψεταί τ',ἔθο]ς γὰρ τ[ο]ῦτ[ο]· τὴν δὲ μητέρα
εἰσιόντ' εὐθ[ὺς] φιλῆσαι δεῖ μ',

CHAPTER III

CHILDREN

παιδάριον (13) 3

παῖδες 10

τέκνον (12)5

Son	Daughter
διάδοχος (2) 1	
παῖς (57) 3	
υἱός 22	
	θυγάτηρ 25
	θυγάτριον 4
	μεῖραξ 2
	παιδίον (53) 2
	ἡ παῖς (18) 6
	τέκνον (12) 3

παῖδες. The formal betrothal gives as the express purpose of marriage the begetting of noble children (D 842, P 436, I 30, Fr. 682). Children are the one good thing that can result from being married even to a troublesome wife (Fr. 276_9). Children are a source of concern and even grief to the father (Fr. 350, Fr. 154, Fr. 575, Fr. 596).

παιδάριον, an infant, is mentioned three times in context having reference to a family (Samia 304, E 288) and (Samia 196) as an adopted child.

τέκνον, child, is mentioned twelve times by Menander, once in reference to a baby (Samia 27) and perhaps also in the same sense in two other instances (E x634, Fr. d 939) and three times in reference to a grown daughter (P 374, 383, Misoumenos 16).

διάδοχος. A child is an heir, διάδοχος, and to be without an heir is a sorrow to a prosperous man (Fr. 594).

παῖς is used seventy-five times and refers to a son in three instances: Gorgias who lives with his mother (D 28); Moschion, the adopted son of Demeas (Samia 240); and Moschion, the son of Laches (I 10).

υἱός, the specific word for son, is used twenty-two times but in six instances it actually means either step-son or adopted son (D 16, 22, 731, Fl 15, Samia 132 and the strange expression υἱὸς ὀδύνης (D 88) in reference to Cnemon). A son who has common sense is a happiness to a father (Fr. 54). Gorgias is actually the step-son of Cnemon (D 16, 22) and is adopted by Cnemon (D 731) and made heir of half his possessions. A son who is ashamed of his poor

father shows him gratitude (Fr. 294). A father complains of the harshness of his heiress wife to his son and daughter (Fr. 334). A father's threats to a son contain no word of truth (Fr. 603) and though his words be harsh, his deeds are seldom so (Fr. 604). The father chooses a bride for his son (P 447). Praise (Fr. 602) and good will (Fr. 607) by the father are good for the son. A father plans to conceal his misdeeds for his son's sake (Samia 137). Son and daughter, υἱός and θυγάτηρ are mentioned in the same context twice (Fr. 54, Fr. 334).

θυγάτηρ. Cnemon has a daughter who lives with him (D 30) and comforts him (D 740). Callippides gives his daughter in marriage to Gorgias (D 843; cf. Fr. 682 for similar expression). The daughter of Philinus is accepted as a bride for his son by the father (P 448) and a marriage is arranged for the daughter by the father (I 18) and one father sardonically proposes to parade his daughter through the town as a preliminary to the investigation of her character by any willing lads (Fr. 581). A daughter can be troublesome to a father (Fr. 54) and difficult to dispose of in marriage (Fr. 18). Silence is recommended in a marriageable daughter (Fr. 597). Fathers are concerned about their married daughters and attempt to persuade them to leave worthless husbands (E 706, 744; cf. D I 20-35) to gain the return of the dowry (E 721). Exposed girls are adopted as daughters (P 10, 346). A reference is made to the fifty daughters of Danaus (Fr. 88).

θυγάτριον. Cnemon's daughter is called θυγάτριον (D 19) and he calls for her by this term (D 700) which is used four times (Fr. 361, Fr. 753).

μεῖραξ, a girl, is told how she was adopted (P 14) and she is led away from the company of an approaching band of drunken youth (P 73).

παιδίον is used fifty-three times and in two instances it refers to a daughter (P 372, Misoumenos 14).

ἡ παῖς is used eighteen times and means daughter five times; Cnemon's daughter (D 73, 741), Cleaenetus' daughter (I 52), the daughter who tells her father that when she was still a child, it was fitting for him to seek a husband for her (D I 34) and the daughter of Smicrines who failed to observe the state of his marriageable child (E 757).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER III CHILDREN

παιδάριον (13) 3

ΣΑΜΙΑ 304 ἐκύησεν αὕτη· Παρμένων οὐκ α[ἴτιος.
τὸ παιδάριον εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκ[ίαν
τὴν ἡμετέραν·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 196 ἤκουσα καὐτος τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅτι τρέφεις
ἀνελομένη παιδάριον·

Ε 288 τὸ] παιδάριον, ὃ νῦν τιθηνεῖθ' ἡ [γ]υνή,
'Ον]ήσιμ', ἔνδον, οὗτος εὗρεν ἀν[θ]ρακεύς;

παῖδες 11

Δ 842 ἀλλ' ἐγγυῶ παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίων
τὴν θυγατέρ' ἤδη,

Fr. 276 ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ γυνὴ πολυτελής ἐστ' ὀχληρόν, οὐδ' ἐᾷ
ζῆν τὸν λαβόνθ' ὡς βούλετ'· ἀλλ' ἔν ἐστί τοι
ἀγαθὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, παῖδες·

Fr. 450 ΧΗΡΑ δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες

Ε 371 τίνος ἕνεκεν παίδων ἐπιθυμεῖν σοι δοκῶ;

Π 436 ταύτην γν[ησίων
παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότωι σοι δίδωμι.

I 30 μηθὲν βοήσῃς· γνησίων ἐπὶ σπορᾷ
παίδων.

Fr. 154 ΕΠΙΚΛΗΡΟΣ ἢ δεῖ μόνον
ζῆν ἢ γενόμενον πατέρα παίδων ἀποθανεῖν·
οὕτω τὸ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐστ'τοῦ βίου πικρόν.

Fr. 350 ΠΡΟΕΓΚΑΛΩΝ οἷον τὸ γενέσθαι πατέρα παίδων ἦν <ἄρα>
λύπη, φόβος, φροντίς, πέρας ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἕν.

Fr. 575 τὸ γυναῖκ'ἔχειν εἶναί τε παίδων, Παρμένων,
πατέρα μερίμνας τῷ βίῳ πολλὰς φέρει.

Fr. 596 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον πατρός,
πλὴν ἕτερος, ἂν ᾖ πλειόνων παίδων πατήρ.

Fr. 682 παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίων
δίδωμι σοὶ 'γὼ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ θυγατέρα.

τέκνον (12) 5

E χ634 τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικός ἐστί σου
τέκνον] γ[ά]ρ, οὐκ ἀλλότριον.

Fr. δ.939 ἄνευ δὲ μητρὸς οὐδὲ συλλαβὴ τέκνου.

Π 374 ἡ μὲν τεκοῦσ' ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἐκλείπει βίον
εὐθύς, μιᾶι δ' ἔμπροσθεν ἡμέραι, τέκν[ον --

Π χ383 ἔχεις δὲ καὶ] τ[ὰ λοιπ]ὰ τῶν [π]άντ[ω]ν, τέκ[νον;

ΣΑΜΙΑ 27 καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κοινά "φίλτατον τέκνον"
εἰποῦσα καὶ "μέγ' ἀγαθόν· ἡ μάμμη δὲ ποῦ;"

διάδοχος (2) 1

Fr. 594 ὀδυνηρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχοῦντα τῷ βίῳ
ἔχειν ἔρημον διαδόχου τὴν οἰκίαν.

ὁ παῖς (57) 3

Δ 28 ἤδη δ' ἐστὶ μειρακύλλιον
ὁ παῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὸν νοῦν ἔχων·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 240 ἆρ' ὁ σός με παῖς
ἐντεθρίωκεν;

Ι 10 παῖ, Μοσχίων, [τί δέδρακας;

υἱός 22

Δ 16 χήραν γυναῖκ' ἔγημε, τε<τε>λευτηκότος
αὐτῇ νεωστὶ τοῦ λσβόντος τὸ πρότερον
υἱοῦ τε καταλελ<ε>ιμμένου μικροῦ τότε.

Δ 22 ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἡ γυνὴ πάλιν
τὸν πρότερον αὐτῇ γενόμενον.

Δ 731 ποοῦμαί σ' ὑόν·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 132 οὐδ' ε[ἰ δεκάκις ποητός ἐστι, μὴ γόνῳ
ἐμὸς υἱός·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 265 σπεῦδε, τὴ]ν κόρην μέ[τε]ισ[ιν] οὗμος υἱὸς αὐτίκα·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 58 ὁ δὲ σὸς υἱὸς οἰον[εὶ
νομίσας ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα,

Fr. 54 ΑΝΕΨΙΟΙ εὐδαιμονία τοῦτ' ἔστιν, υἱὸς νοῦν ἔχων
ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ κτῆμ' ἐστὶν ἐργῶδες πατρί.

Fr. 294 ΞΕΝΟΛΟΓΟΣ ἀνδρὸς πένητος υἱός, ἐκτεθραμμένος
οὐκ ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων, ὁρῶν ἠσχύνετο
τὸν πατέρα μίκρ' ἔχοντα·

Fr. 607 υἱὸς δ' ἀμείνων ἐστὶν εὐνοίᾳ πατρός·

Fr. 334 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ἅπασι δ' ἀργαλέα ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ
υἱῷ πολὺ μᾶλλον, θυγατρί.

Fr. 603 οὐδέποτ' ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν οὔθ' υἱῷ πατὴρ
εἴωθ' ἀπιλεῖν οὔτ' ἐρῶν ἐρωμένῃ.

Fr. 605 υἱῷ προθύμως τἀξιούμενον ποιῶν
κηδεμόν' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἔφεδρον ἔξεις {τοῦ} βίου.

Π 447 τῷ γὰρ ὑῷ λαμβά[νω
τὴν τοῦ Φιλίνου θυγατέρ'.

Fl 15 τὴν παρθένον
οὗτος συνοικίζειν νεαν[ίᾳ τινὶ
ἔμελλεν ὑῷ τῆς γυναικός, [ὃν ἔτεκεν
ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἑτέρου·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 137 καὶ τάτύχη<μα> μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς κρύφθ' ὅσον
ἔνεστι διὰ τὸν υἱόν.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 172 ἀλλὰ σὺ
υἱὸν πεπόηκας·

Fr. 286 ΝΑΥΚΛΗΡΟΣ ὡς εἰς καλὸν
τὸν υἱὸν εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ σεσωσμένον
πρῶτος λέγω σοι τόν τε χρυσοῦν κάνθαρον.

Fr. 602 οὐκ ἔστ' ἄκουσμ' ἥδιον ἢ ῥηθεὶς λόγος
πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν περιέχων ἐγκώμιον.

Fr. 604 ὁ σκληρότατος πρὸς υἱὸν ἐν τῷ νουθετεῖν
τοῖς μὲν λόγοις πικρός ἐστι, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις πατήρ.

I 45 [...οὐδὲ ἕ]ν
ἄθυμος εἰμ] ἐ[κ τηλι]κούτων νῦν φόβων
τ]ὸν ὑὸν ἐκ[λυσά]μενος.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 2 ....ς ὑόν, ἂς πᾶσιν δο[κ]ε[ῖ.

θυγάτηρ 25

Δ 30 ὁ γέρων δ' ἔχων τὴν θυγατέρ' αὐτὸς ζῇ μόνος
καὶ γραῦν θεράπαιναν,

Δ 740 ἀλλ' κα]τάκλινόν με, θύγατερ.

Δ 843 ἀλλ' ἐγγυῶ παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίων
τὴν θυγατέρ' ἤδη,

Fr. 18 ΑΛΙΕΥΣ χαλεπόν γε θυγάτηρ κτῆμα καὶ δυσδιάθετον.

Fr. 54 ΑΝΕΨΙΟΙ εὐδαιμονία τοῦτ' ἔστιν, υἱὸς νοῦν ἔχων,
ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ κτῆμ' ἐστὶν ἐργῶδες πατρί.

Fr. 597 θυγάτηρ ἐπίγαμος, κἂν ὅλως μηθὲν λαλῇ,
διὰ τοῦ σιωπᾶν πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει.

Ε 26 σαφῶς τε πυθόμενος,
ὅπως ἔχει] τὰ τῆς θυγατρός, βουλεύσομαι,

Fr. 334 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ἅπασι δ' ἀργαλέα ὀτίν, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ,
υἱῷ πολὺ μᾶλλον, θυγατρί.

Ε 462 θυγατέρα [..... παιδίον

Ε 481 κατὰ λόγον ἐξὸν [ἀπιέν]αι τὴν θυγατέρα
λαβόντα.

Ε 486 θυγατέρα .....

Σ 706 προπετῶς ἀπάγω τὴν θυγατέρ', ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

Ε 721 ὦ, Σμικρίνης
ὁ χαλεπός, ἐπὶ τὴν προῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα
ἥκων.

Ε 744 ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγεῖν παρ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα
ἀγαθὸν σὺ κρίνεις, Σμικρίνη;

Π 10 δίδωσι τὴν κόρην ὡς θυγατέρα
αὐτῆς ἔχειν.

Π 346 οὐ τῶν] ἀδυνάτων ἐστί, τουτί μοι δοκεῖ
σκοποῦν]τι, τὴν ἐμὴν τεκοῦσαν μητέρα
ἅμ' ἐμοὶ προ]έσθαι θυγατέρ' αὐτῇ γενομένην·

Π 448 τῷ γὰρ υἱῷ λαμβά[νω
τὴν τοῦ Φιλίνου θυγατέρ'.

Ι 18 ἀναίνει τὴν ἐμὴν
ἔχειν θυγατέρα;

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ 36 ζηλοῖς λαβών τε τὴ[ν .....ἐλ]ήλυθα[ς
θυγατέρα δεῦρο, πλουσίαν θ' [ἡγ]ῆ[ι] μόνη[ν
ταύτην, σεαυτὸν δ' οὐχί;

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ χ41 οὐ δεῖ λαβεῖν με πορνο[βοσκοῦ] θ[υγατέρα.

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ χ100 ἆρα τοῦ κ[ι]θαριστο[ῦ Φανίου
ταύτην λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακ[ας τὴν θυγατέρα
τοῦ γείτονος νῦν ὄντος;

Fr. 220 ΚΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣ ἐδεῖτο χρῆσαι τὴν σεαυτῆς θυγατέρα
ἀντάλλαγον.

Fr. 581 περιάξω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ θυγατέρα
τὴν πόλιν ὅλην·

Fr. 682 παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίων
δίδωμι σοὶ 'γὼ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ θυγατέρα.

Fr. 88 ΔΑΚΤΥΛΙΟΣ πῶς ὁ κακοδαίμων ἔφη,
ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκδοίη θυγατέρας ἄσμενος,
καὶ ταῦτα πεντήκοντα παιδίσκας ἔχων;

θυγάτριον 4

Δ 19 θυγάτριον αὐτῷ γίνεται·

Δ 700 θυγάτριον,
βούλει μ' ἀναστῆσαι λαβοῦσα;

Fr. 361 ΡΑΠΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ τοὔμον θυγάτριον· πάνυ γάρ ἐστι τῇ φύσει
. . . . φιλάνθρωπον τὸ παιδάριον σφόδρα.

Fr. 753 θυγάτριον, ἡ νῦν ἡμέρα δίδωσί μοι
ἢ δόξαν ἤτοι διαβολήν.

μεῖραξ 2

Π 14 λέγει δὲ πρὸς τὴν μείραχ', ὡς ἀνείλετο
αὐτήν, ἐν οἷς τε σπαργάνοις δίδωσ' ἅμα,

Π 73 εἴσω πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσάγει τὴν μείρακα·
τοῦτ' ἔστι μήτηρ.

παιδίον (53) 2

Π 372 πόλλ' ἐστὶν ἔργ' ἄπιστα, παιδίον, Τύχ[ης·

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ 14 πατὴρ ἐμὸς ποῦ; (Δη.) παίδιον Κράτεια. [(Κρ.) τίς
καλεῖ με; πάππα χαῖρε πολλὰ φίλτατ[ε.

ἡ παῖς (18) 6

Δ 73 αὐτῷ τῷ πατρὶ
ἐντευξόμενον τῆς παιδός, ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ

Δ 741 ἀλλὰ κα]τάκλινόν με, θύγατερ. τῶν δ'ἀναγκαίων λέγειν
πλείον]'οὐκ ἀνδρὸς νομίζω, πλὴν ἐκεῖνο·‹πρό›σιθι, παῖ.

Δ 938 τῇ σῇ γυν]αικὶ τῇ τε παιδὶ [περιβ]ολαὶ τὸ πρῶτον,

I 52 οὐ Χαιρέᾳ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεδώκατε
τὴν παῖδα;

D I 34 ὅτ' ἦν ἐγὼ παῖς, τότε σ' ἐχρῆν ζητεῖν ἐμοὶ
ἄνδρ' ὅι με δώσεις·

E 757 οὕτως ἐτήρεις παῖδ ἐπίγαμον;

CHAPTER IV

KINDRED

ἀδελφός 15	
	ἀδελφή 16
θεῖος 1	
	τηθίς 4
θυγατριδοῦς 2	
υἱδοῦς 1	
πάππος 3	
	τήθη 1
ἐξανέψιος 1	
	ἐξανεψία 1

Various degrees of kindred relationship existed which can be recognized in part from the gathering at a family dinner party (Fr. 208, 209). In the closest degree we have brother and sister.

ἀδελφός, brother, is mentioned fifteen times. Daos refers to Gorgias as the brother of Cnemon's daughter (D 226) although he is actually a half-brother, having the same mother (D 318). A younger brother is mentioned (Fl 4); a brother is found through an identified token (E 167); a brother is possibly the only living relative in one instance (P 16). A sister living next door to her brother, Moschion, who does not know that she is his sister, did not inform him of this fact (P 37) though he kissed and hugged her and was suspected as a lover by her husband (P 408). A brother and sister were abandoned and exposed to die (P 356). Harmony and agreement among brothers is a sweet thing (Fr. 610).

ἀδελφή, sister, is mentioned sixteen times. Gorgias refers to his half-sister as sister (D 240, 827) and Cnemon refers to her as Gorgias' sister (D 737) as does Sostratus (D 791) and Callippides (D 848). Sostratus wishes Gorgias to become engaged to his sister (D 760). A half-sister, having the same father, is mentioned once (Georgos 12). A man with no brother or sister or any relative enjoys the fortune of being spared hostile kinfolk (Fr. 208). Gorgias and his sister, Plangon, work to repay the debt incurred by their father (Hero 35). An exposed sister is recognized by tokens (E 165). Two sisters are reared by the father's mistress after their mother died (Fr. 453).

θεῖος, uncle, is mentioned once (Fr. 208).

τηθίς, maternal aunt, is used four times, once as a chatterer (Fr. 209) and also as a possible teacher of faults to a young maid (D 386).

θυγατριδοῦς, grandson, a daughter's child, who is Smicrines' grandson (E 754).

υἱδοῦς, grandson, is a son's child (Samia 209).

πάππος, grandfather, is mentioned three times and is the subject of scrutiny when the grandchildren plan to marry (Fr. $612_{5,7}$) and wish to determine lineage (Fr. 581).

τήθη, grandmother, is mentioned once and she along with grandfather are subjects of appraisal in determining lineage (Fr. 581) although the speaker suggests that a study of the girl's character be substituted for this scrutiny of grandparents (Fr. 581).

ἐξανέψιοι, ἐξανέψιαι, are the terms used by Menander for cousins (Fr. 844).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER IV KINDRED

ἀδελφός 15

Δ 226 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ <τ>ἀδελφῷ γε δεῖ
αὐτῆς φράσαι με τὴν ταχίστην ταῦθ',

Δ 318 οὐκ ἀλλότριος δ' ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀδελφὸς τῆς κόρης
ὁμομήτριος, βέλτιστε, ταῦτά σοι λέγω.

Fl 4 οὗ δ'εἰσελήλυθ' ὁ θεράπων ἐν γειτόνω[ν
ἀδελφὸς οἰκεῖ τοῦδε τοῦ φιλαργύρου
νεώτερός τ[ις] ὤν,

Fl 78 ἀδελφός -- ὦ Ζεῦ, πῶς φράσω;-- σχεδόν τί σου--
τέθνηκεν.

Fr. 208 οὐκ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀδελφὴ παρενοχλήσει,

Π 27 ἐν γειτόνων δ'οἰκοῦσα τἀδελφοῦ τὸ μὲν
πρᾶγμ' οὐ μεμήνυκ'οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον βούλεται

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ χ73 ἀ]δελφου [

ΦΑΣΜΑ χ6 ἐτ]έρωι τοῦθ' ὁμομητρίωι τινὶ
φράσας ἀδελφῷ·]

Ε 167 γαμῶν ἀδελφήν τις διὰ γνωρίσματα
ἐπέσχε, μητέρ' ἐντυχὼν ἐρρύσατο,
ἔσωσ' ἀδελφόν.

Π 16 τὸν ἀγνοούμενόν τ' ἀδελφὸν τῇ φύσει
φράζει,

Π 37 ἢ δὲ τῷ προειδέ[ναι
ἀδελφὸν ὄντ' οὐκ ἔφυγε,

Π 356 οὐ δῆτ', ἀδελφὸν δ' ἐξέθ[ηκ]ε κἀμέ τις.

Π 408 ἐ[φίλησεν τότε
ἀδελφόν, οὐχὶ μοιχόν·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 18 οὐ]κ οἶδα γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰ νῦν ἐξ ἀγροῦ
ἐ]νθάδ' ἐπιδημεῖ·

Fr. 610 {ὡς} ἡδύ γ' ἐν ἀδελφοῖς ἐστιν ὁμονοίας ἔρως.

ἀδελφή 16

Δ 240 †ἀδελφῆς ἐπιμελει
ετμη†

Δ 737 κηδεμὼν εἶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς·

Δ 760 τὸ λο[ιπόν (, σοὶ πάρεστιν ἐγγυᾶν)[1]
τὴν ἀδελφήν.

Δ 791 ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν ἀδελφὴν λήψ[ομαι
τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου,

Δ 827 τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν
δίδωμί σοι γυναῖκα·

Δ 848 τὴν μητέρα
ἤδη σὺ δεῦρο τήν τ' ἀδελφὴν μετάγαγε
πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς παρ' ἡμῖν.

Π 347 εἰ δὲ γεγένητ]αι τοῦτ', ἀδελφὴ δ' ἔστ' ἐμὴ
αὕτη,

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 12 ὁμοπατρία γάρ ἐστί μοι
ἐκ τῆς] <ἐκείνῳ> νῦν γυναικὸς τρεφομένης
γεγονυῖ' ἀ]δελφή.

Fr. 208 ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ οὐκ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀδελφὴ παρενοχλήσει, τηθίδα
οὐδ' ἐώρακεν τὸ σύνολον, θεῖον οὐδ' ἀκήκοεν.

Fr. 446 ΧΗΡΑ ἑκοῦσα <δ'> ἀδελφὴ ποιήσει τοῦτό σοι
ἀντάλλαγον τέξουσα τούτῳ διδομένη.

---

1. Professor Warren E. Blake's conjecture has been included within parentheses to give sense to the context. (Private file of Critical Text, Ann Arbor, 1962) 53.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 70 διερχο]μένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκο[υ] τ[ά] τε
περὶ τ]ῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐμβαλόντος σοῦ <τε> καὶ
τῆς σῆς πενί]ας,

ΗΡΩΣ 35 ἐλθὼν ἀγαγών τε τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπιμένει
τὸ χρέος ἀπεργαζόμενος.

E 165 γαμῶν ἀδελφήν τις διὰ γνωρίσματα
ἐπέσχε, μητέρ' ἐντυχὼν ἐρρύσατο,
ἔσωσ' ἀδελφόν.

Fl 9 [παρ'] ᾧ κατέλιπεν ἔτι νέαν
ὁ μειρακίσκος τὴν ἀδελφήν·

Fr. 449 ΧΗΡΑ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀνάδοχον τῶν χρημάτων.

Fr. 453 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ μήτηρ τέθνηκε ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν ταῖν δυοῖν
ταύταιν· τρέφει δὲ παλλακή τις τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτάς, ἄβρα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν γενομένη.

θεῖος 1

Fr.208 ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ οὐκ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀδελφὴ παρενοχλήσει, τηθίδα
οὐδ' ἐώρακεν τὸ σύνολον, θεῖον οὐδ' ἀκήκοεν.

τηθίς 4

Δ 386 μήδ' οἵδε τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ
τούτῳ κακῶν μηδὲν ὑπὸ τηθίδος τινὸς
†δεδεισαμενη† μαίας τ',

Fr. 209 ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ

εἶτα τηθὶς παραλαλεῖ τις, εἶτα βαρύφωνος γέρων,
τηθίδος πατήρ, ἔπειτα γραῦς καλοῦσα φίλτατον.

Fr. 208 ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ

οὐκ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀδελφὴ παρενοχλήσει, τηθίδα
οὐδ' ἑώρακεν τὸ σύνολον, θεῖον οὐδ' ἀκήκοεν.

θυγατριδοῦς 2

E 754

νῦν δὲ τῶν ἐγκλ[η]μάτων
ἀφίεσο τούτων, τὸν δὲ θυγατριδοῦν λαβὼν
ἔνδον πρόσειπε. (Σμ.) θυγατριδοῦν, μαστιγία;

ὑιδοῦς 1

ΣΑΜΙΑ 209

ὑιδοῦν ὀπτώμενον
ὄψομ[αι].

πάππος 3

Fr. 581

οὐκ ἐξετάξειν μὲν τὰ μηθὲν χρήσιμα,
τίς ἦν ὁ πάππος ἧς γαμεῖ, τήθη δὲ τίς,

Fr. 612

οἷς ἂν τῇ φύσει
ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχῃ μηδὲν οἰκεῖον προσόν,
ἐκεῖσε καταφεύγουσιν, εἰς τὰ μνήματα
καὶ τὸ γένος, ἀριθμοῦσίν τε τοὺς πάππους ὅσοι.
οὐδένα δ' ἔχοις ἰδεῖν ἂν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ὅτῳ
οὐκ εἰσὶ πάπποι· πῶς γὰρ ἐγένοντ' ἄν ποτε

τήθη 1

Fr. 581 οὐκ ἐξετάξειν μὲν τὰ μηθὲν χρήσιμα,
τίς ἦν ὁ πάππος ἧς γαμεῖ, τήθη δὲ τίς,

ἐξανέψιος 1

Fr. 844 Poll. III 29 οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀνεψιαδῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐξανέψιοί τε καὶ ἐξανέψιαι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ὀνόματι οὐ πάνυ τετριμμένῳ κέχρηται Μένανδρος, ᾧ ἀεὶ μὲν οὐ χρηστέον ὡς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς Ἑλληνικῷ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκατονομάστων πιστευτέον.

ἐξανεψία 1

Fr. 844 (vide supra)

CHAPTER V

MASTER AND MISTRESS

δεσπότης (42) 28

δέσποινα (4) 2

κύριος (7) 6

κυρία 3

τρόφιμος 17

τροφιμή 1

A society which avails itself of slavery develops a particular deference to the masters of households which can range from a servant regarding his master as his city, refuge, law and judge of what is right and wrong (Fr. 566) and thinking it better to have a good master than to be a free man of low station (Fr. 564) to servile fear on account of which a slave who did no wrong fears his master's displeasure and runs away (Samia 298).

δεσπότης, master, is mentioned forty-two times and twenty-eight times the context identifies the master with a familial connotation. Simike refers to Cnemon as master four times (D 577, 589, 625, 637). In a confusing passage, we prefer to consider that Daos is addressing himself to Gorgias (D 300) rather than Pyrrhias addressing Sostratus. Charisius, a husband who does not live with his wife, is called master eight times (E 217, 224, 244, 270, 291, 318, 560, 760). Polemon, the jealous soldier who shears Glycera, is called master by Sosia (P 169) who is his soldier's aide and probably his slave. A daughter, Pamphila, thinks of considering her parent Smicrines not as a father but rather as her master (E 511). Comic irony is involved when the master considers himself to be the one real slave in the household (Fr. 716). A slave is concerned about the welfare of his master (Fr. 336_6, Fr. 565) and a master supports a slave whom he had freed (Hero 29). A slave consults his master about permission to marry one of the slave girls (Hero 42). Slaves cheat easy-going masters (Perinthia 14, Perinthia fr. 1b). Masters should not always reject a slave's advice because the slave often has useful information not otherwise available to the master (Fr. 722). The word

occurs twice in the phrase δέσποτ' ἄναξ which is a religious appellation (Fr. 258, Fr. d 932). There are nine other instances of the word where the context suggests no familial connotation which would justify its inclusion here. There are five other instances where the word is conjectured or found in very fragmentary lines.

δέσποινα is used four times and in two instances it refers to the mistress of the house and once it is in religious context. The heiress Corbyle was the wife and mistress of the house of an unhappy man (Fr. 333) and domineers as the δέσποιν' οἰκίας (E 453). In one instance, the mistress is simply addressed and cannot be identified (Hero fr. 1).

κύριος is used seven times and in context it means master of a household four times (D 73, 98, 800, 806) and two of these include a usage implying a legal guardian of a marriageable girl (D 73, 98). The situation involves Sostratus who wishes to marry a girl but does not know her father or legal guardian, κύριος . Sostratus sent Pyrrhias to arrange to meet either the father of the girl or the master of the house who would be the girl's guardian (D 73) and Pyrrhias reports later that after he had asked the old woman if he could see the master, Cnemon chased him down the hill (D 98). Sostratus asserts that his father Callippides is the master of the family fortune and urges him to use some of it to effect the marriage of Sostratus' sister to Gorgias (D 800). κύριος is used once in a metaphorical sense where Love is the master and controlling force of Moschion's will (Samia 287). The charcoal burner, Syriscus, perhaps intends to endow his assertion with the legal connotation of guardian to fortify his claim of custodianship of the child (E 130) and the

meaning here is different from the other usages of the word. Sosia, Polemon's soldier aide, emphasizes his master's rights by inferring that Polemon is the κύριος of his concubine Glycera (P 186).

κυρία, the feminine counterpart of κύριος, is used three times but only once with the meaning of mistress of the house. The heiress, a Lamia, is the mistress of the house and the lands and of everything and is harsh to the husband's son and daughter (Fr. 334). It is used in a sense akin to legal guardian when Pataecus assures Polemon that Glycera is in charge of her own affairs; she is her own κυρία (P 247). Tyche or Fortune as a divinity is the mistress or ruling authority which decides all things (Fl 19).

τρόφιμος is a word used by Menander which, according to Hesychius, was not used by the people of the fifth century A. D. who used the word δεσπόσυνος to designate a young master or the son of the master of the household (Fr. 92). Photius defines τρόφιμος as ὁ νεώτερος οἰκοδεσπότης and Donatus commenting on the Eunuchus 298 of Terence states that erilem filium is the translation of τρόφιμον . Daos, the servant of Gorgias, refers to Sostratus as young master (D 378) as does Geta, the slave of Callippides who is Sostratus' father (D 413, 553, 607). Charisius is called a young master by Cario the cook and by Habrotonon when she speaks to Onesimus, Charisius' slave (E fr. 1, 292) and by Syriscus, the charcoal burner when he tells his wife to take the tokens of identification to the young master Charisius (E 201). We observe that the usage of the word is not limited to a slave referring to the son of the master of the house of which he is a slave. Moschion is called young master by Daos, his slave, (P 74,

102, x139) though an adopted son as is the son of Demeas, Moschion, who is referred to as young master by Parmenon (Samia 301). A slave who might well be a paedagogus or teacher of the master's child calls his charge τρόφιμε (Kolax 86, Phasma 41) and we find the paedagogus philosophizing to the young master that the cruel world has not ended all his blessings (Fr. 740_1, 16).

τροφιμή, the feminine counterpart of τρόφιμος, is found only once when Simike embraces Cnemon's daughter who has been betrothed to Sostratus (D 883).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER V MASTER AND MISTRESS

δεσπότης (42) 28

Δ 300 εὖ γε, δέσποθ'· οὕτω πολλά [σοι
ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο.

Δ 577 τὸν γὰρ κάδον
ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος βουλομένη τοῦ δεσπότου,
εἴ πως δυναίμην, ἐξελεῖν αὐτὴ λάθρᾳ,

Δ 589 ἄκουσα, δέσποτ', ἐνέβαλον.

Δ 625 ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ φρέατι.

Δ 637 πάλιν λέγω,
ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ φρέατι.

ΗΡΩΣ 16 πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων ὁ δεσπότης
παρέχει·

ΗΡΩΣ 31 ὡς οὐκέτ' ἐδίδου τυχὸν ὁ δεσπότης ὁ σός.

Ε 511 οὐκέτι πατὴρ κρίνοι' ἂν ἀλλὰ δεσπότης.

Ε 760 τότε γὰρ οὑμὸς δεσπότης
τοῖς Ταυροπολίοις, Σωφρόνη, ταύτην λαβὼν

Fr. 566 ἐμοὶ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγὴ καὶ νόμος
καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου παντὸς κριτὴς
ὁ δεσπότης.

Fr. 716 εἷς ἐστι δοῦλος οἰκίας ὁ δεσπότης.

HPΩΣ 29 ὁ Τίβειος ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τροφήν γε λαμβάνει
τούτοις παρὰ τοὐμοῦ δεσπότου μνᾶν,

E 217 τοῦ] δεσπότου τοὐμοῦ Χαρ[ι]σίου.

E 224 τοῦ δεσπ[ό]του 'στί, νὴ τὸν 'Απόλλω καὶ θεούς.

E 270 τοῦ μὲν δεσπότου
ἔστ', οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς,

E 291 καὶ τουτονὶ
τ[ό]ν δακτύλιον ἐπόντα τοὐμοῦ δεσπότου.

Fr. 564 ὡς κρεῖττόν ἐστι δεσπότου χρηστοῦ τυχεῖν
ἢ ζῆν ταπεινῶς καὶ κακῶς ἐλεύθερον.

HPΩΣ 42 λάθρᾳ μέν, 'Ηράκλεις
οὐδ' ἐγκεχείρηκ', ἀλλὰ τἀμῷ δεσπότῃ
εἴρηχ',

Ε 244 τὸν δακτύλιον ὥρμηκα πλεῖν ἢ πεντάκις
τῷ δεσπότ[ῃ] δεῖξαι προσελθών.

Ε 318 τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν δεσπότ[ην
φανερὸν ποήσεις.

Ε 560 μαίνεται, νὴ τοὺς θεούς·
τὸν δεσπότην λέγω Χαρίσιον.

Π 169 κακοδαίμον' οὕτω δε[σπ]ότην οὐδ' ἐνύπνι[ον
ἰδὼν γὰρ οἶδ'.

Π 174 καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον οὐδέπω λογίζομαι,
τὸν δεσπότην, [ἂ]ν ἐξ ἀγροῦ θᾶττον [πάλιν
ἔλθῃ.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 298 οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν ἔδεισα καὶ τὸν δεσπότην
ἔφυγον.

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ 14 ναὶ, Δᾶε, τὸν μὲν ἀπράγμονα
καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾶν γάρ ἐστι δεσπότην
φλύαρος.

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ fr. 1b ὅστις παραλαβὼν δεσπότην ἀπράγμονα
καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾷ θεράπων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι
οὗτος μεγαλεῖόν ἐστι διαπεπραγμένος,
ἐπαβελτερώσας τὸν πάλαι <γ'> ἀβέλτερον.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 81 χαῖρε, δέσποτα.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 89 τί δεῖ ποεῖν,
δέσποτα;

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ 16 οὐχι πρὸς σοῦ, δέσποτα.

δέσποινα (4) 2

Ε 453 εἶν[αι .....] δέσποιν' οἰκίας.

Fr. 333 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ἦ τ' εὔγνωστος οὖσ' ἐμὴ γυνὴ
δέσποινα.

ΗΡΩΣ fr. 1 δέσποιν', Ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πλέον
οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ κρατῶν <τῶν> ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν
Ζεύς,

κύριος (7) 6

Δ 73 αὐτῷ τῷ πατρὶ
ἐντευξόμενον τῆς παιδός, ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ
τῆς οἰκίας, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν.

Δ 98 κόψας [τὴν θύ]ραν τῆς οἰκίας
τὸν κύριον ζητεῖν [ἔφ]ην.

Δ 800 φύλαττε, μηδενὶ
ἄλλῳ μεταδιδούς, αὐτὸς ὢν κύριος.

Δ 806 διόπερ ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν ὅσον χρόνον
εἶ κύριος, χρῆσταί σε γενναίως, πάτερ,
αὐτόν, ἐπικουρεῖν πᾶσιν,

Π 186 [ἐλ]ευθέραν
ἔχειν γυναῖκα πρὸς β[ία]ν κυρί[ου
τολμᾶτε κατακλείσαντες;

ΣΑΜΙΑ 287 οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστ' οὐδ' ἐᾶι
ὁ τῆς [ἐ]μῆς νῦν κύριος γνώμης Ἔρως.

κυρία (3) 2

Π 247 ἑαυτῆς ἐστ' ἐκείνη κυρία·

Fr. 334 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ κυρίαν τῆς οἰκίας
καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν καὶ <τῶν ἁ>πάντων ἄντικρυς
ἔχομεν.

Fl 19 πάντων κυρία
τούτων βραβεῦσαι καὶ διοικῆσαι, Τύχη.

τρόφιμος 17

Δ 378 ἀπέσωσας. ὑπάγω, τρόφιμ'· ἐκεῖ διάκετε.

Δ 413 τῷ τροφίμῳ τῷ Σωστράτῳ --
κομψῷ νεανίσκῳ γε --

Δ 553 τρόφιμος. τί πο<ι> εἶτ' ἐνθάδ';

Δ 607 ἀλλ' ὁ τρόφιμος [γ]ὰρ οὑτοσὶ προσέρχεται
ἄγων μεθ' α[ὑτ]οῦ τοὺς ἐπικλήτους.

Ε 292 εἶτ', εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστί σου,
τρεφόμενον ὄψει τοῦτον ἐν δούλου μέρει
κοὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἀποθάνοις;

Ε fr. 1 οὐχ ὁ τρόφιμός σου πρὸς θεῶν, Ὀνήσιμε,
ὁ νῦν ἔχων <τὴν> Ἀβρότονον τὴν ψαλτρίαν
ἔγημ' ἔναγχος;

Π 74 ὁ τρόφιμος ζητητέος·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 301 ὁ τρόφιμος ἐξήμαρτεν εἰς ἐλευθέρα[ν
κόρην·

Ε 201 σὺ δὲ ταυτί, γύναι,
λαβοῦσα πρὸς τὸν τρόφιμον ἐνθάδ' εἴσφερε
Χαιρέστρατον.

Fr. 92 ΔΑΚΤΥΛΙΟΣ

Hesychius.τρόφιμον· ὃν ἡμεῖς δεσπόσυνον, καὶ τρόφιμον <Μέν> - ανδρος Δακτυλίῳ. Photius.τρόφιμος· ὁ νεώτερος οἰκοδεσπότης,

Π 102 — ο]ἰκίαν ἄνοι[γε], τρόφιμε.

Π χ139 — οὐκ ἂν ἦν ψε]ῦδο[ς, τρ]όφ[ι]μέ μου,

ΚΟΛΑΞ 86 — δι'οὗ τὰ πάν[τ'] ἀ[π]όλωλε, τρόφιμε, πράγματα ἄρδην.

ΦΑΣΜΑ 41 — κακὸν ἔχεις οὐδεν, ἡ ν[όσος δέ σου ἔσθ' ἣν διῆλθες -- φορτικώτερο[ν δέ τι ἐπέρχεταί μοι, τρόφιμε, συγγνώ[μην ἔχε, -- τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον οὐκ ἔχεις ὅπο[ι χέσῃς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, εὖ ἴσθι.

Fr. 740_1 — εἰ γὰρ ἐγένου σύ, τρόφιμε, τῶν πάντων μόνος, ὅτ' ἔτικτεν ἡ μήτηρ σ',

Fr. 740_{16} — σὺ δ'οὔθ' ὑπερβάλλοντα, τρόφιμ', ἀπώλεσας ἀγαθά, τὰ νυνί τ' ἐστι μέτρια σοι κακά·

τροφίμη 1

Δ 883 — ἐγὼ δ' ἀποστέλλουσα τροφίμην βούλομα⟨ι⟩ λαλῆ[σαι αὐτῇ, προσειπεῖν, ἀσπάσασθαι.

CHAPTER VI

GUARDS, GUIDES AND NURSES

διοικητής (2) 1

θυρωρός 1

κατάσκοπος 1

κηδεμών 3

κύριος (7) 1

τροφός 1

τροφός 2

μαῖα 1

τίτθη 6

Supervision of young people was common and is clearly implied when Daos censures Cnemon for leaving his daughter alone in the house without the protection of a nurse (D 222-226).

διοικητής was an administrator or trustee appointed to control the family fortune for the father who has gone away (Kolax 7) and therefore unable to fulfill his duty of κύριος . The father's son complains that he has been reduced to the state of poverty under the administration of this guardian.

θυρωρός, the doorkeeper or janitor, by the nature of his work was a familial guard and the word is used only once with a context that offers no further information than Sicon knocking on Cnemon's door and calling out for someone to answer (D 921).

κατάσκοπος, spy, is the role played by Daos for Moschion who wants to gather facts about Glycera through a private investigator (P 105). Pyrrhias, though not identified as a spy, performs a similar role (D 70-74).

κηδεμών. When Cnemon tells Gorgias that he is the custodian of his half-sister, κηδεμὼν εἰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς , Cnemon is actually designating him as the κύριος or legal guardian of his daughter in his stead. In one instance, κηδεμών is equivalent to nurse; master Cleaenetus wounded his leg and was suffering from fever and needed someone to care for him (Georgos 56). A well-treated son will truly be a protector of his father and not be waiting for him to die (Fr. 605).

κύριος. Syriscus claims that he is the rightful guardian, of the trinkets or tokens of the exposed child whom he is now

rearing (E 130). He plans to keep the tokens for the child and wishes them to be kept from Daos who would squander them.

τροφός. Sostratus refers to himself as a nurse, τροφός, which adds a comic overtone to the scene which finds Cnemon at the bottom of the well (D 676) and Sostratus comforting his distraught daughter but doing nothing to help Cnemon.

ἡ τροφός, the nurse of Cnemon's daughter, Simike, let the bucket fall into the well (D 190). Mention is made also of a nurse clothed in a girdle (Fr. 365).

μαῖα, a governess or nurse, is distinguished from an aunt, either of whom is a type of teacher or evil influence which has not spoiled Cnemon's daughter because she has been under the sway of neither (D 387).

τίτθη, nurse, is a word used six times by Menander. Moschion's former nurse, a slave at that time but now free (Samia 22), is overheard by Demeas as she talks to Plangon's child fathered by Moschion (Samia 43) and Demeas suspects the nurse of collusion (Samia 61) in the complicated situation of the plot. A mother gave an illegitmate child to a nurse to rear (Phasma 13). A nurse, Myrtle, talks without limit when someone calls her (Fr. 60) and another nurse is accused of excessive fondness for wine, tippling every day as though it were a festival (Fr. 454).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER VI GUARDS, GUIDES AND NURSES

διοικετής (2) 1

ΚΟΛΑΞ 7 κατέλιπε τὴν μὲν ο]ἰκίαν ἐμοὶ κενὴν
ἐπέτρεψε γὰρ τὸ πᾶ]ν διοικηταῖς τισιν --

θυρωρός 1

Δ 921 παῖ, παι]δίον, γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες, παῖ, θυρωρέ.

κατάσκοπος 1

Π 105 εἰσιὼν δέ μοι σύ, Δᾶς, τῶν ὅλων κατάσκοπος
πραγμάτων γενοῦ,

κηδεμών 3

Δ 737 κηδεμὼν εἶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 56 ἐνταῦθα χρείας γενομένης αὐτῷ τινος
κηδεμ[ό]νος οἱ μὲν οἰκέται καὶ βάρβ[αρ]οι,

Fr. 605 υἱῷ προθύμως τάξιούμενον ποιῶν
κηδεμόν' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἔφεδρον ἔξεις {τοῦ} βίου.

κύριος (7) 1

Ε 130 κἀγὼ συναπαιτῶ, κύριος γεγενημένος
τούτου·

ὁ τροφός 1

Δ 676 τροφὸς πσρεστῶς, ἐδεόμην γε μὴ ποεῖν
ταῦθ', ἱκέτευον ἐμβλέπων ἀγάλματι
οὐ τῷ τυχόντι.

ἡ τροφός 2

Δ 190 τὸν κάδον γὰρ ἡ τροφὸς
ἰμῶσ' ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ.

Fr. 365 ΡΑΠΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τὴν τροφὸν
ζῶμ' ἐνδεδυμένην;

μαῖα 1

Δ 387 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐν γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἡ κόρη
τεθραμμένη, μήδ' οἶδε τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ
τούτῳ κακῶν μηδὲν ὑπὸ τηθίδος τινὸς
†δεδειαμενη† μαίας τ',

τίτθη 6

ΣΑΜΙΑ 22 τοῦ δὲ Μοσχίωνος ἦν
τίτθη τις αὕτη, πρεσβυτέρα, γεγονυῖ' ἐμὴ
θεράπαιν'; ἐλευθέρα δέ νῦν.

ΦΑΣΜΑ 13 τίκτει γὰρ ἡ] μήτηρ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐνθάδε
ἐκ γείτονος] ταύτην, δίδωσί τ' ἐκτρέφειν
τίτθῃ, μεθ' ἧς ν]ῦν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν γ<ε>ιτόνων
λάθρᾳ τρεφομ]ένη καὶ φυλαττομένη κόρη,

ΣΑΜΙΑ 61 πάλιν δ' ἐπειδὰν τὴν λέγουσαν καταμάθω
τίτθην ἐκείν[ο]υ πρῶτον οὖσαν, εἶτ' ἐμοῦ
λάθρᾳ λέγου[σ]αν,

Fr. 60 ΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΟΣ ἐὰν δὲ κινήσῃ μόνον τὴν Μυρτίλην
ταύτην τις, ἢ τίτθην καλῇ, πέρας <οὐ> ποιεῖ
λαλιᾶς.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 43 "αὐτὴ καλεῖ, τίτθη, σε" καὶ "βάδιζε καὶ
σπεῦδ'. -- οὐκ ἀκήκο' οὐδέν. εὐτυχέστατα."

Fr. 454 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ὑπὲρ μὲν οἴνου μηδὲ γρῦ, τίτθη, λέγε.

CHAPTER VII

HOUSEHOLD SLAVES

ἀγοραστής 1

δοῦλος (9) 3

θεράπων 7

μαστιγίας (6) 2

οἰκέτης (15) 14

ὀπαδός 1

παιδάριον (13) 2

παιδίον (53) 5

παῖς (57) 25

ἄβρα 3

γραῦς (28) 10

δούλη 2

θεράπαινα 9

θεραπαινίδιον 2

θεραπαινίς 1

παιδισκάριον 2

παιδίσκη 5

πρόσπολος 1

τίτθη 6

τροφός (2) 1

The dialogue of the household slaves, Geta and Daos, in Menander's Hero offers what we consider a succinct introduction to our classification of household slaves mentioned in familial context. Mention is made of punishments, rations, debts, marriage of slaves, the need of the master's permission to marry (Hero 1-47).

ἀγοραστής, a buyer of provisions, was usually a slave entrusted by the master of the house to go to the market and to buy for the master the items needed by the household. Buying in the market was not a socially acceptable practice for a noble master. We cannot determine from the fragment that the buyer was a slave nor does the context establish a familial connotation though the phrase "he was a thrifty and moderate buyer" (Fr. 433) suggests possibly a master's praise of a faithful slave entrusted with securing provisions.

ἄνθρωπος. A male slave is referred to or addressed as "fellow" in a contemptuous sense seven times, namely, Pyrrhias (D 109), Geta (D 467), Syriscus (E 270), Sosias (P 178, 183, 231) and Parmenon (Samia 143), all of whom can be identified as household slaves. The word, however, is not a technical term for a slave nor of itself is it a term of abuse (e.g. E 270, P 231); when combined with an adjective and in reference to a slave, it is a term of abuse in three instances (D 109, 467, P 183). (cf. pp. 282, 286-287.)

διάκονος. This word is conjectured in a very fragmentary section of the text (E x519) and belongs to this classification by its usual meaning.

δοῦλος, a male slave, is identified once as an οἰκέτης (Fr.722)

but is differentiated from an οἰκέτης (Fr. 562) in an instance where someone is grieved to realize that the former, the δοῦλος reasons better than the latter. We are told that a δοῦλος differs in that an emancipated person was still a δοῦλος and that an οἰκέτης never was freed from ownership.[1] The word δοῦλος is used nine times but can be identified as a slave of the household only three times. A master regards himself as the one real slave of the household (Fr. 716). A slave can have knowledge which is very useful to the master and unavailable to the master other than through the slave because various channels of information are open only to the slave (Fr. 722). If Charisius' child is not identified as being a master's child, it will be brought up as a slave and Habrotonon thinks that Onesimus would rightly be punished with death if he allows this to happen (E 293).

θεράπων is used six times as a personal servant or attendant to the master. Sostratus invited Gorgias and his servant, Daos, to the sacrificial banquet (D 560). The slave, Daos, comes in from the country with some produce (Georgos 32). Sicon shows how to flatter a servant (D 496) and any servant who cheats an easy-going master has not accomplished a great feat (Perinthia 14, Perinthia fr. 1_b). A servant of a miser (Fl 3) is mentioned and servants are status symbols for they are listed among the objects of wealth that one might pray for among such other items as land, houses, silver-plate, friends, jurymen and witnesses (Fr. 614).

---

1. Chrysippus Stoicus, 3,86, who lived 281-201 B.C. On the contrary, that the words were synonymous, see Aristotle, Politica, 1252_b 12.

μαστιγίας is a term applied contemptuously to a household slave (P 134, Samia 109); although the word occurs six times, it is found only these two times in a familial context. Other usages include the instance when Cnemon rails at Geta, a slave of Callippides (D 473) and Smicrines calls Charisius' slave, Onesimus, by this term (E 755).

οἰκέτης is used fifteen times and means household slave although a variant or extension of meaning is presented when Charisius does not consider himself to be an οἰκέτ[ην of his wife [2] (E 9) and Syriscus states that he is οἰκέτης of Chaerestratus (E 232) as well as being a charcoal burner who pays rent to Chaerestratus (E 204). P. LeGrand notes that "Syriskos, des 'Epitréprontes, est de condition servile; sans doute, c'est un privilégié, un χωρὶς οἰκῶν qui a une femme, un menage, qui exerce chez lui son industrie, à charge de payer une redevance au maitre; il est esclave cependant." [3] The one trusty slave inherited by Gorgias from his father, not from Cnemon, is presumably Daos (D 26). Pyrrhias is an οἰκέτης of Sostratus who regrets having entrusted certain social arrangements such as meeting and identifying the father of the girl, namely Cnemon, to his slave Pyrrhias (D 75). Cnemon has no slave to help him with his farm work, no co-worker or οἰκέτης (D 330). Tibeius, when a young man, was a a household slave, but now he is a shepherd (Hero 22). Syriscus

---

2. T. Williams, loc. cit. This usage and meaning has been discussed above, p. 23.

3. P. LeGrand, Daos: Tableau de la Comédie Grecque, Paris, 1910, 146.

is a charcoal burner who pays rent to his master but he calls himself an οἰκέτης of his master (E 232). An οἰκέτης did farm work (D 330, Fr. 560) including such things as fence-fixing (D 376) and digging (D 542). A loyal slave is the best possession in life when one suffers misfortune (Fr. 563) and a slave's advice should not be spurned (Fr. 722). Slaves fail to show any concern for their master who wounded himself and is suffering a fever (Georgos 56). Slaves quarrelled among themselves (Fr. 784) which for some reason or other is considered to be a good thing. It is not fitting to harm slaves if they make accidental mistakes which lack deliberate rascality (Fr. 98).

ὀπαδός is a word attributed to Menander (Fr. 841) and Hesychius defines the term as an attendant, co-worker, slave.

παιδάριον occurs thirteen times and is used twice in the context of a household slave. Onesimus asserts that a young slave, παιδάριον who was the master's attendant, informed him that the master Charisius was drunk at the festival. A master sailed away and left an empty house and a young slave for the son (Kolax 6).

παῖς is used seventy-five times and denotes a household slave twenty-five times and eleven of these refer to a particular male slave. Sostratus calls Pyrrhias παῖ and Sicon, the cook, calls Geta παῖ (D 82, 401). Geta in two different situations calls for slaves, παῖδες and he repeats the term three times (D 461-4, 911-6). Daos is called παῖ (P 126) and Parmenon also (Samia 143) who in another instance is called ἱερόσυλε παῖ (Samia 333). The beating of slaves is implied in two instances (D 502, Samia 106). It would seem that female slaves are designated by παῖδες (D 464) when Geta calls out

and no one answers and then complains that he does not know where a worse group of female slaves, θεραπαινίδια, are kept.

ἄβρα, a young servant girl, is mentioned three times and in one instance the servant girl became the mistress of the father of two children and reared his children after their mother died (Fr. 453). An ἄβρα ranks higher than a θεράπαινα because an enamoured old man would like to buy a certain θεράπαινα and have her as his ἄβραν (Fr. 58) which indicates a favored slave girl. One master bought such a favorite slave girl and did not give her to his wife as a servant but kept her apart as a free woman (Fr. 371).

γραῦς, an old woman, is mentioned twenty-eight times and is found ten times in a familial context where the master refers to an old woman servant. In two instances, γραῦς is not a reference to a slave or servant (Fr. 178, Fr. 209). Cnemon lives alone with his daughter and an old woman servant, Simike (D 31, 427, 455, 502, 868, 925, 926), whom he calls γραῦς. We note a similarity of context (D 31 and Fl 2) in the description of a man living alone and having an old woman as the only slave. The old woman servant, Simike, is indicated in every instance of the usage of the word in the Dyscolus except in one instance where it is a generalized reference (D 495). Pyrrhias refers to Simike as γραῦς τις κακοδαίμων (D 99); Sicon calls her ὦ φιλτάτη γραῦ (D 630) and Geta uses two terms in apposition, ὦ πονηρά and γραῦ (D 587). Onesimus refers to Sophrona as γραῦς (E 759, 771). One old woman slave imbibes frequently (Perinthia fr. 5); another is given to slander (Fr. 222); another must be kept away from the dishes lest she break them (Samia 87). It is worse to arouse the anger of an old woman than of a dog (Fr. 587). (cf.p.216)

δούλη, a slave girl, is mentioned twice by Menander. Geta asks Daos who loves a slave girl where she is (Hero 20) and Daos replies that she is working the wool for her mistress (Hero 37); the other instance is a conjecture (Fl x2) which assimilates the thought of Dyscolus 30 where an old woman is the only slave that the man has.

θεράπαινα, a female servant, can be a γραῦς like Simike who serves Cnemon (D 31) or a nurse, τίτθη, such as Demeas had for Moschion (Samia 23); this servant nurse had been a slave but now has been freed. Glycera claims she was mistreated by Polemon who sheared her locks, in a manner worse than even a female slave would be mistreated (P 318). Of the several slaves serving Glycera, Doris is the one who has been permitted to share the knowledge of where the tokens of recognition are hidden (P 327). An old man enamoured of a certain female servant girl (Fr. 58) would like to buy her and have her as an ἄβρα. At a religious festival, the θεράπαιναι beat the cymbals (Fr. 277).

θεραπαινίδιον is used twice and is obviously a diminuative of the word θεράπαινα, a female servant; in one instance she is told to bathe the baby (Samia 36). The plural is used (D 460) and it seems natural enough to expect female servants to answer the door of a small household like Cnemon's and that the word is not meant to be in apposition with παῖδες which is more commonly used for male slaves.

θεραπαινίς is used only once by Menander and in reference to a handmaid who is weaving in a slovenly manner (Fr. 130).

παιδισκάριον is used twice; a cheap little female slave

enslaved the soldier Thrasonides (Misoumenos fr. 3) whom the enemy could never capture; the heiress shows herself to be the mistress of the house by expelling the servant girl, παιδισκάριον (Fr. 333) to the great disgust of the husband.

παιδίσκη is mentioned five times and is used by Daos to refer to Plangon, the slave girl, whom he loves and who works the wool for her mistress (Hero 18, 38). The little girls are to be told of the pretended death so that they will not weep (Fl 39). This instance and the allusion to the fifty daughters of Danaus confirm Ammonius' comment (Fr 88) that παιδίσκη is used in Attic for a free-born child which is true of Plangon, born of an Athenian maid but given to the slave Tibeius to be reared.

πρόσπολος, a young female slave, veils her face and begins the dance which concludes the Dyscolus (D 950).

τίτθη, a nurse, is a household slave and is mentioned six times. Moschion's nurse had been a θεράπαινα but later was freed (Samia 22, 61). A nurse rears the child for the mother who has placed it in her custody (Phasma 13), perhaps to keep her husband uninformed of its existence. A nurse, Myrtle, talks too much (Fr. 60); another seems too fond of wine (Fr. 454).

τροφός, nurse, is what Cnemon's daughter calls the old servant, Simike (D 190) when she tells who dropped the bucket into the well.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER VII HOUSEHOLD SLAVES

ἀγοραστής 1

Fr. 433 ΦΑΝΙΟΝ φειδωλὸς ἦν καὶ μέτριος ἀγοραστής.

διάκονος 1

E χ519 .....δια]κόνῳ τούτων τι..

δοῦλος (9) 3

Fr. 716 εἷς ἐστι δοῦλος οἰκίας ὁ δεσπότης.

Fr. 722 μὴ καταφρονήσῃς οἰκέτου συμβουλίας·
πολλάκις ὁ δοῦλος τοὺς τρόπους χρηστοὺς ἔχων
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐγένετο σωφρονέστερος.

E 293 εἶτ', εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστί σου
τρεφόμενον ὄψει τοῦτον ἐν δούλου μέρει,
κοὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἀποθάνοις;

Θεράπων 7

Δ 496 εὐθὺς πατέρ<α> καὶ πάπα[ν καλῶ.
γρα<ῦ>ς, μητέρ'. ἂν τῶν διὰ μέσου τ[ις ᾖ γυνή,
ἐκαλεσ' ἱερέαν. ἂν θεράπων [
βέλτιστον.

Δ 560

παραλήψομαι
τὸ μειράκιον τουτί, παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχω,
καὶ τὸν θεράποντ' αὐτοῦ·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 32

κατὰ τ[ύχην] προσέρχεται
ἡμῖν] ὁ θεράπων ἐξ ἐγροῦ Δᾶος.

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ fr. 1b

ὅστις παραλαβὼν δεσπότην ἀπράγμονα
καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾷ θεράπων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι
οὗτος μεγαλεῖόν ἐστι διαπεπραγμένος,
ἐπαβελτερώσας τὸν πάλαι <γ'> ἀβέλτερον,

Fl 3

οὗ δ'εἰσελήλυθ' ὁ θεράπων ἐν γειτόνω[ν
ἀδελφὸς οἰκεῖ τοῦδε τοῦ φιλαργύρου,

Fr. 614

εὖξ' εἴ τι βούλει, πάντα σοι γενήσεται,
ἀγρός, οἰκίαι, θεράποντες, ἀργυράματα,
φίλοι, δικασταί, μάρτυρες.

ΚΟΛΑΞ χ6

κατέλιπε τὴν μὲν ο]ἰκιαν ἐμοὶ κενὴν
θεράποντα δ' ἕν τι] παιδάριον· [α]ὐτὸς τροφήν -
ἐπέτρεψε γὰρ τὸ πᾶ]ν διοικηταῖς τισιν -

μαστιγίας (6) 2

Π 134 (Μο.) μαστιγία,
κατακέχρη]σαί μοι. (Δα.) γελοῖον.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 109 (Πα.) ἀπόλωλα. (Δη.) ποῖ σύ; ποῖ, μαστιγ[ί]α;

οἰκέτης (15) 14

Δ 26 οὗ διατρέφει νυνὶ κακῶς
τὴν μητέρ' αὐτοῦ πιστὸν οἰκέτην θ' ἕνα
πατρῷον.

Δ 75 ἥμαρτον; οὐ γὰρ οἰκέτῃ
ἥρμοστ' ἴσως τὸ τοιοῦτό γ'.

Δ 330 τοῦτ' αὐτὸς γεωργῶν διατελεῖ
μόνος, συνεργὸν δ' οὐδέν' ἀνθρώπων ἔχων,
οὐκ οἰκέτην οἰκεῖον, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου
μισθωτόν, οὐχὶ γείτον', ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος.

ΗΡΩΣ 22 ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦν Τίβειος οἰκῶν ἐνθαδὶ
Πτελέασι, γεγονὼς οἰκέτης νέος ὤν ποτε.

Ε 232 Χαιρεστράτου
εἶμ' οἰκέτης.

Fr. 560 ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερέχειν τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖ,
τὸ γὰρ γεωργεῖν ἔργον ἐστὶν οἰκέτου.

Fr. 562 λυπεῖ με δοῦλος μεῖζον οἰκέτου φρονῶν.

Fr. 563 ὅταν τύχῃ τις εὐνοοῦντος οἰκέτου,
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐθὲν κτῆμα κάλλιον βίῳ.

Fr. 722 ἐμοὶ προσανάθου, λαβέ με σύμβουλον πόνων
μὴ καταφρονήσῃς οἰκέτου συμβουλίας.

Fr. 4 ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ οἰκέτην λαβών

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 56 ἐνταῦθα χρείας γενομένης αὐτῷ τινος
κηδεμ[ό]νος οἱ μὲν οἰκέται καὶ βάρβ[αρ]οι,
ἐφ' [ο]ἷς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, οἰμώζειν μ[ακ]ρὰ
ἔλ[ε]γον ἅπαντες,

Fl 27 τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς εὑρεθή[σετ]αι,
ἕως ἂν οἱ φέροντες ὦσιν οἰκέτ[αι.

Fr. 784 καὶ τοῦτο θύων οὐδεπάποτ' ηὐξάμην
ἐγὼ τὸ σῷζον τὴν ἐμὴν <συν>οικίαν,
ἀλλὰ παρέλειπον, οἰκετῶν εἶναι στάσιν
ἔνδον παρ' <ἐμ>αυτῷ, πρᾶγμα χρησιμώτατον.

Fr. 98 οὐ δεῖ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν οἰκέτας, ἄλλως τε καὶ
ὅταν μετ' εὐνοίας τι μὴ πονηρίᾳ

πταίσωσιν· αἰσχρόν ἐστι τοῦτο γὰρ πάνυ.

ὀπαδός 1

Fr. 841

Philodemus, de Pietate, edited by T. Gomperz, Herkulanische Studien, Leipzig, 1866, II, 42: "λέγουσιν [δέ τι]νες, οὓς καὶ Μέ[ναν]δρος παραινί[ττε]ται, κα[ὶ τ]ὴν Ἑ[κάτην] ὀπαδὸ[ν Ἀρ]τέ[μιδος] εἶναι. Hesychius, ὀπαδός· ἀκόλουθος, συνεργός, δοῦλος.

παιδάριον (13) 2

Ε 297 παροινῶν γ', ὡς ἐμοὶ
τὸ παιδάρι[ο]ν εἶφ' ἀκόλουθος.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 6 πλεύσας γὰρ εἰς Μίλητον ἐπὶ πράξεις τινὰ[ς
κατέλιπε τὴν μὲν ο]ἰκίαν ἐμοὶ κενὴν
θεράποντα δ' ἔν τι] παιδάριον·

παιδίον (53) 5

Δ 459-463 παιδίον. μὰ τοὺς θεούς,
θεραπαινίδια γὰρ ἀθλιάτερ' οὐδαμοῦ
οἶμαι τρέφεσθαι. παῖδες. οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν
κινητιᾶν ἐπίσταται -- παῖδες καλοί --
καὶ διαβαλεῖν ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις. παιδίον.

Δ 498 ὑμεῖς δ'<οἱ> κρεμάνν[υσθ' ἄξιοι --
ὦ τῆς ἀμαθίας -- "παιδίον, παῖ[δες" φατέ.

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ fr. 6 τὸ παιδίον δ' εἰσῆλθεν ἐψητοὺς φέρον.

Ε 718 παῖδες, παιδίον,
ἀνοιξάτω τις.

ὁ παῖς (57) 25

Δ 82, Π 126, ΣΑΜΙΑ 145, Fr. 100 ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ, τί τοῦτο, παῖ;

Δ 401 παῖ Γέ[τα
τοσοῦτ' ἀπολ<ε>ίπῃς;

Δ 461-464 παῖδες. οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν
κινητιᾶν ἐπίσταται -- παῖδες καλοί--
καὶ διαβαλεῖν ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις.

Δ 921 παῖ, παι]δίον, γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες, παῖ, θυρωρέ.

Δ 959 ὦ καλλίνικοι, παῖ Δόναξ, σύ τ', ὦ Σίκων,

Π 370 ὁ μὲν τιθεὶς παῖς, ὁ δὲ τρέφειν ὀκνῶν ἐγώ.

Fr. 375 ΣΙΚΩΝΙΟΣ Στρατοφάνη, λιτόν ποτ' εἶχες χλαμύδιον καὶ παῖδ'

ΣΑΜΙΑ 143 ἀλλ' ἆρα πρόσθεν τῶν θυρῶν ἐστ' ἐνθάδε;
παῖ, Παρμένων. ἄνθρωπος ἀποδέδρακέ με,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μικρὸν συλλαβών.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 333 νουθετήσεις μ', εἰπέ μοι,
ἱερ[ό]συλε παῖ;

ΚΟΛΑΞ fr. 1 σπονδή· φέρ', ὦ παῖ Σωσία· σπονδή·

Ε 718-719 παῖδες, παιδίον,
ἀνοιξάτω τις.

Π 68 παῖδες.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 106 τί λανθάνειν; ἱμάντα, παῖδέ[ς], τις δότω
ἐπὶ τουτονὶ μοι τὸν ἀσεβῆ.

Fr. 94 ΔΑΡΔΑΝΟΣ Δρύα παῖ, δειπνοποιεῖσθαι τί δεῖ;

ἄβρα 3

Fr. 453 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ μήτηρ τέθνηκε ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν ταῖν δυεῖν
ταύταιν· τρέφει δὲ παλλακή τις τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτάς, ἄβρα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν γενομένη.

Fr. 58 ΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ ὤμην, εἰ τὸ χρυσίον λάβοι
ὁ γέρων, θεράπαιναν εὐθὺς ἠγορασμένην
ἄβραν ἔσεσθαι.

Fr. 371 ΣΙΚΩΝΙΟΣ

ἄβραν γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος
ἐρωμένην ταύτην μὲν οὐ παρέδωκ' ἔχειν,
ἔτρεφε δὲ χωρὶς ὡς ἐλευθέρᾳ πρέπει.

γραῦς (28) 10

Δ 31 ὁ γέρων δ' ἔχων τὴν θυγατέρ' αὐτὸς ζῇ μόνος
καὶ γραῦν θεράπαιναν,

Δ 427 γραῦ, τὴν θύραν κλ<ε>ίσασ' ἄνοιγε μηδενί,

Δ 453 γραῦ,
ἄνοιγε θᾶττον τὴν θύραν·

Δ 502 [τὸ]ν ἱμάντα δός, γραῦ.

Δ 868 ὁ Κνήμων δ' οὐδέπω;
ὃς ἱκέτευέ μ' ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν γραῦν ἔτι,

Δ 925 γραῦ· ποῦστιν <ἡ> γραῦς;

Δ 926 γραῦ Σιμίκη.

Fl 2 καὶ ζῇ μονότροπος, γραῦν ἔχων [δούλην μίαν.

E 706 νουθετήσεις καὶ σύ με;
προπετῶς ἀπάγω τὴν θυγατέρ', ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

E 764 τί φησιν, ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

δούλη 2

ΗΡΩΣ 20 δούλη ὅτιν;

Fl χ2 καὶ ζῇ μονότροπος, γραῦν ἔχων [δούλην μίαν.

θεράπαινα 9

Δ 31 ὁ γέρων δ' ἔχων τὴν θυγατέρ' αὐτὸς ζῇ μόνος
καὶ γραῦν θεράπαιναν,

ΣΑΜΙΑ 23 τοῦ δὲ Μοσχίωνος ἦν
τίτθη τις αὕτη, πρεσβυτέρα, γεγονυῖ' ἐμὴ
θεράπαιν', ἐλευθέρα δὲ νῦν.

Π 34 π[έ]μπουσά ποι θεράπαιναν.

Π 318 ἀνόσι[ον δὲ χοῖον ἂν
ο[ὐδ' ἄν, τά]λαν, θεράπαιν[αν ἐργάσαιτό τις

ΣΑΜΙΑ 167 ἔχε]ις τὰ σαυτῆς πάντα· προστίθημί σοι,
ὁρᾷς, θ]εράπαιναν, Χρυσί.

Fr. 58 ΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ ὦμην, εἰ τὸ χρυσίον λάβοι
ὁ γέρων, θεράπαιναν εὐθὺς ἠγορασμένην
ἄβραν ἔσεσθαι.

Fr. 277 ΜΙΣΟΓΥΝΗΣ ἐκυμβάλιζον δ' ἑπτὰ θεράπαιναι κύκλῳ,
αἳ δ' ὠλόλυζον.

Π 327 τίς τῶν θ]εραπαινῶν οἶδε ταῦθ' ὅπου ὁτί σοι;
ἡ Δωρὶ]ς οἶδε.

Fr. 128 ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ λουτρόν, θεραπαίνας, ⟨στρώματ⟩, ἀργυρώματα.

θεραπαινίδιον 2

Δ 460 θεραπαινίδια γὰρ ἀθλιώτερ' οὐδαμοῦ
οἶμαι τρέφεσθαι. παῖδες.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 36 τοιαῦτ' ἐλάλησε] καὶ θεραπαινιδίῳ τινὶ
ἔξωθεν εἰστρέχοντι·

θεραπαινίς 1

Fr. 130 ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ καὶ θεραπαινὶς ἦν μία·
αὕτη συνύφαινεν ῥυπαρῶς διακειμένη.

παιδισκάριον 2

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ fr. 3 παιδισκάριόν με καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές,
ὃν οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν πολεμίων ⟨οὐ⟩πώποτε.

Fr. 333 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ παιδισκάριον θεραπευτικὸν δὲ καὶ λόγου
τάχιον ἀπάγεσθ' ὧδε. τίν' ἄρ' ἂν εἰσάγοι;

παιδίσκη 5

ΗΡΩΣ 38 μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης ἐργάζεται
ἔρια διακονεῖ τε, παιδίσκη πάνυ --

ΗΡΩΣ 18 πέπονθα τὴν ψυχήν τι παιδίσκην ὁρῶν
συντρεφομένην ἄκακον, κατ' ἐμαυτόν, ὦ Γέτα.

ΗΡΩΣ fr. 6 τῶν <δὲ> παιδισκῶν τινι
δούς.

Fl 39 μόνῃ
δεῖ τῇ γυναικὶ ταῖς τε παιδίσκαις φράσαι
αὐταῖς,

Fr. 88 ΔΑΚΤΥΛΙΟΣ πῶς ὁ κακδαίμων ἔφη,
ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκδοίη θυγατέρας ἄσμενος
καὶ ταῦτα πεντήκοντα παιδίσκας ἔχων;

πρόσπολος 1

Δ 950 καί τις βρεχεῖσα προσπόλων εὐήλικος προσώπου
ἄνθος κατεσκιασμένη χορεῖον εἰσέβαινε
ῥυθμὸν μετ' αἰσχύνης,

τίτθη 6

ΣΑΜΙΑ 22 τοῦ δὲ Μοσχίωνος ἦν
τίτθη τις αὕτη, πρεσβυτέρα, γεγονυῖ' ἐμὴ
θεράπαιν', ἐλευθέρα δὲ νῦν.

ΦΑΣΜΑ 13 τίκτει γὰρ ἡ] μήτηρ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐνθάδε
ἐκ γείτονος] ταύτην, δίδωσί τ' ἐκτρέφειν
τίτθῃ, μεθ' ἧς ν]ῦν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν γ‹ε›ιτόνων
λάθρᾳ τρεφομ]ένη καὶ φυλαττομένη κόρη,

ΣΑΜΙΑ 61 πάλιν δ' ἐπειδὰν τὴν λέγουσαν καταμάθω
τίτθην ἐκείν[ο]υ πρῶτον οὖσαν, εἶτ' ἐμοῦ
λαθρᾳ λέγου[σ]αν,

Fr. 60 ΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΟΣ ἐὰν δὲ κινήσῃ μόνον τὴν Μυρτίλην
ταύτην τις, ἢ τίτθην καλῇ, πέρας ‹οὐ› ποιεῖ
λαλιᾶς·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 43 "αὐτὴ καλεῖ, τίτθη, σε" καὶ "βάδιζε καὶ
σπεῦδ".

Fr. 454 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ὑπὲρ μὲν οἴνου μηδὲ γρῦ, τίτθη, λέγε·

τροφός (2) 1

Δ 190 τὸν κάδον γὰρ ἡ τροφὸς
ἰμῶσ' ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ˜

PART II

OCCUPATIONS

CHAPTER I

COUNTRY

P. LeGrand [1] begins his treatment of "personnages" with a discussion of foreigners and rustics. We find only one noun in Menander designating a foreigner or stranger, ξένος, which word is found ten times but only in one instance can we be sure that the meaning is foreigner (Fr. 397). In context, the other usages can or do have the meaning of mercenary soldier, an institution well established at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (Fr. 372, P 280). Menander actually dismisses the distinction of a foreigner with his statement: "I consider no man a foreigner, ἀλλότριος, if he is good" (Fr. 475). "Next to the true foreigners we must place those other persons who, to the eyes of the poets and to those of a good part of their audience, must have appeared as semi-foreigners -- the rustics. In the fourth and third centuries, the towns of Greece had not yet become big cities, but several of them, and above all others, Athens, had developed a city life which was distinctly different from life in the country." [2] V. Ehrenberg begins his investigation of a common social distinction among the people of Attica of the century previous

---

1. P. LeGrand, The New Greek Comedy, transl. by J. Loeb, London, 1917, 52.

2. Ibid., 57-58.

to Menander by noting "among the social and economic contrasts in the life of the farmers that between town and country was the most obvious. No doubt the evidence of comedy on this question is rather one-sided," but he concludes that "there was an undeniable cleavage between townsfolk and countryfolk." [3]

On this point, Menander's Dyscolus is paradoxical in that Sostratus, a city fellow, the son of a wealthy farmer, Callippides, (D 40) falls in love with a country girl (D 52) and also that Callippides agrees to the betrothal of his daughter (D 842) to Gorgias who is a struggling farmer (D 23). This hardly supports the idea of "undeniable cleavage between townsfolk and countryfolk". But on the other hand, at this point Sostratus comments that "I have brought about a marriage nobody thought possible" (D 864) which is significant if it can be limited to an interpretation in agreement with Ehrenberg's statement. In support of Ehrenberg's thesis we note that when Gorgias first caught sight of Sostratus wearing a fine cloak, he calls him an "obvious good-for-nothing" (D 258) who treats with disdain "those of us who are poor"(D 285) and would try to seduce "an innocent girl" (D 290). Furthermore, Sostratus proves himself worthy of Gorgias' friendship by taking up a hoe and digging and "while being rich, taking upon himself the part of a poor man" (D 768). In the third fragment of the Georgos, someone admits that "I am a country fellow, and I do not deny it, and I am not well acquainted with city ways but time will help me to know more". Such statements do indicate a reflection of a

---

3. V. Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1951, 82, 86.

social friction and antagonism between city and country folk. Class distinction is indicated in the statement that "while the master lived in the country, he, as belonging to the class that has no definite position, was not open to much criticism for he had a curtain of solitude" (Fr. 336). We would expect that in Athens where trade and industry were flourishing at this time and the inherited cultural luxuriance was still championed, little sympathy would be shown in the theater to the inelegant, the ill-mannered, the uneducated or the poor who would detract from the public image championed by the aristocracy.

COUNTRY

αἰπόλος 2

ἀνθρακεύς 2

γεωργός 7

κυνηγέτης 2

οἰκέτης (15) 2

ποιμήν 4

συγκυνηγός 1

συνεργός 1

Menander uses eight nouns which can be classified as country occupations by their meaning or from their context.

αἰπόλος, a goatherd, is mentioned twice in the Epitrepontes in reference to scenes in tragedy where an old man, a goatherd, wearing a skin, finds abandoned children (E 152) and through tokens recognizes noble birth and rears the children as goatherds and they later become kings (E 157). Actually there is no goatherd in the Epitrepontes.

ἀνθρακεύς, charcoal burner, wears a skin (E 53) similar to those reportedly worn by goatherds in the tragic scenes (E 152) who find abandoned children of noble birth. Syriscus recounts the scenes of tragedies (E 81, 289) in support of his claim for custody of the tokens of the child whom Syriscus, a charcoal burner, is rearing.

γεωργός, farmer, is mentioned seven times, five times in the Dyscolus. Cnemon is called a "raging-mad farmer" (D 117). Chaereas generalizes that not just Cnemon but any "poor farmer" is given to excessive anger (D 130). Geta identifies Cnemon as an Attic farmer who struggles with stones and weeds and reaps nothing worthwhile (D 604). Cnemon asks Gorgias if Sostratus is a farmer because he is so very sun-tanned (D 754). Sostratus' father, Callippides, "a rich man, an excellent farmer" (D 775), is certainly to be regarded as a gentleman farmer which is a class quite distinct from the poor Attic farmer (D 604) such as Cnemon. Peace is necessary for farmers to fare well (Fr. 556). Even on rocky soil, they can make a living during peace time but during war not even the fertile plains will support a farmer. The farmer's life is a pleasure (Fr. 559) since his hopes can soothe his griefs.

κυνηγέτης, a hunter, both by the nature of his activity and the

context, does his hunting in the country. This activity was not mere recreation or sport for the Greeks although the hunter comes from the city (Hero fr. 8, D 42). The slave, Pyrrhias, is identified as the hunter (D 42) who has accompanied Sostratus as a fellow huntsman, συγκυνηγός, (D 71).

οἰκέτης, in two instances, has an extension of meaning other than simply household slave which may justify its inclusion in this category. Syriscus asserts that he is an οἰκέτης of Chaerestratus (E 232). We know that he is a charcoal burner (E 81, 289) and that he makes payment to his master. We cannot establish that Syriscus is a tenant-farmer and yet we cannot consider him an ordinary household slave. He cuts down trees or possibly grubs out the tree stumps as suggested by the compound ἐκπρίσων and perhaps uses the hard core of the tree stump for making charcoal. This would render a service of land-clearing to the landowner. The sparseness of lumber and its value would support the idea that Syriscus was engaged in grubbing tree stumps as suggested by the compound ἐκπρίσων. The other statement that farming is the work of an οἰκέτης (Fr. 560) implies a limitation to the activity of an οἰκέτης who as a household slave would have as many different works to perform as a master's wishes. To extend the meaning of οἰκέτης to include all the tasks performed by a household slave cannot be justified by any parallel. These two usages of οἰκέτης are such that from context they deserve note in our country category even though they cannot be more precisely defined.

ποιμήν. Tibeios, a shepherd, reared Myrrhina's children (Hero 21). He had been a household slave of Laches before he was

and became a shepherd. He became indebted to Laches by borrowing and his children, Plangon and Gorgias, were indentured and are presented in the play as working to pay the debt (Hero 36). A fellow shepherd of Daos informed Syriscus of the abandoned child found by Daos (E 123). Two other instances of the noun for shepherd offer little information other than some shepherd being pitied and called most sweet (Fr. 676). The perplexing difficulty of assigning the speaker makes dubious any interpretation of "I took to myself a shepherd" (Hero 73).

συγκυνηγός. Sostratus identifies his slave, Pyrrhias, as a fellow huntsman (D 71).

συνεργός, co-worker, is mentioned twice, each time in the context of rural activities; Cnemon has no helper, no household slave, not even a neighbor to help him (D 329); a companion shepherd of Daos is the one who informs Syriscus of the child found by Daos (E 124).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER I COUNTRY

αἰπόλος 2

E 152 Νηλέα τινὰ
Π]ελίαν τ' ἐκείνους εὗρε πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ
αἰπόλος, ἔχων οἵαν ἐγὼ νῦν διφθέραν.

E 157 ἔδωκε δ' αὐτοῖς πηρίδιον γνωρισμάτων,
ἐξ οὗ μαθόντες πάντα τὰ καθ' αὑτοὺς σαφῶς
ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς οἱ τότ' ὄντες αἰπόλοι·

ἀνθρακεύς 2

E 81 ἦλθεν οὗτος, ἐστὶ δ' ἀνθρακεύς,
εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκπρίσων ἐκεῖ
στελέχη·

E 289 τὸ] παιδάριον, ὃν νῦν τιθνεῖθ' ἡ [γ]υνή,
'Ον]ήσιμ', ἔνδον, οὗτος εὗρεν ἀν[θ]ρακεύς;

γεωργός 7

Δ 117 μαινόμενον λέγεις
τελέως γεωργόν.

Δ 130 ὑπέρπικρον δέ τι
ἔστι‹ν› πένης γεωργός, οὐχ οὗτος μόνος,
σχεδὸν δ' ἅπαντες.

Δ 604 τοῦτ' ἐστὶν εἰλικρ[ινῶς] γεωργὸς Ἀττικός·
πέτραις μαχόμ[εν]ος θύμα φερούσαις καὶ σφάκον
ὀδύνας ἐπισπᾶ[τ', ο]ὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν λαμβάνων.

Δ 754 ἐπικέκαυται μέν· γεωργός ἐστι;

Δ 775 νὴ Δία, πλούσιος γ[' ἀνήρ,
<καὶ> δικαίως <γ', ὢν> γεωργὸς ἄμαχος.

Fr. 556 εἰρήνη γεωργὸν κἂν πέτραις
τρέφει καλῶς, πόλεμος δὲ κἂν πεδίῳ κακῶς {ἔφυ}.

Fr. 559 ὁ τῶν γεωργῶν ἡδονὴν ἔχει βίος,
ταῖς ἐλπίσιν τἀλγεινὰ παραμυθούμενος.

κυνηγέτης 2

Δ 42 ἀστικὸν τῇ διατριβῇ,
ἥκο]ντ' ἐπὶ θήραν μετὰ κυνηγέτου τινὸς

HPΩΣ fr. 8 νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεως
κυνηγέταις ἥκουσι περιηγήσομαι
τὰς ἀχράδας.

οἰκέτης (15) 2

Ε 232 Χαιρεστράτου
εἴμ' οἰκέτης·

Fr. 560 ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερέχειν τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖ,
τὸ γὰρ γεωργεῖν ἔργον ἐστὶν οἰκέτου.

ποιμήν 4

ΗΡΩΣ 21 ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦν Τίβειος οἰκῶν ἐνθαδὶ
Πτελέασι, γεγονὼς οἰκέτης νέος ἄν ποτε.

Ε 123 ποιμήν τις ἐξήγγειλέ μοι, πρὸς οὐτοσὶ
ἐλάλησε, τῶν τούτῳ συνέργων, ἅμα τινὰ
κόσμον συνευρεῖν αὐτό[ν·

Fr. 676 ἐλεεῖθ' ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ καλεῖται γλυκύτατος.

ΗΡΩΣ 73 νὴ Δί' εὖγ' ὦ Μυρρίνη,
ἐπ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔλαβον ποιμέν' ὃς βληχώμενον

συγκυνηγός 1

Δ 71 τὸν Πυρρίαν τὸν συγκυνηγὸν οἰκοθεν
ἐγὼ πέπομφα.

συνεργός 2

Δ 329 τοῦτ' αὐτὸς γεωργῶν διατελεῖ
μόνος, συνεργὸν δ' οὐδέν' ἀνθρώπων ἔχων,

E 124 ποιμήν τις ἐξήγγειλέ μοι, πρὸς ὃν οὗτοσὶ
ἐλάλησε, τῶν τούτῳ συνέργων, ἅμα τινὰ
κόσμον συνευρεῖν αὐτό[ν·

CHAPTER II

SEA-FARING

ἁλιεύς 1

ἔμπορος 1

ναύτης 1

Sea-faring men are designated by the nouns for fisherman, merchant and sailor.

ἁλιεύς, fisherman, is mentioned by Menander as an old man who sold a fish-basket (Fr. 696) which suggests that the old fisherman no longer went out to sea to fish but busied himself with the making and selling of fish-baskets.

ἔμποροι, merchants or sea-traders, went from harbor to harbor to buy, sell or trade and arrived at Byzantium, the great trading center of the Greek world. Here the merchants became victims of the port's iniquity which lured them into excessive drinking and intoxication; such is the reputation of Byzantium which Menander presents (Fr. 61).

ναῦται. Sailors are depicted as not beyond the misdeeds which would actually make them pirates. Koerte's reading [ναύτ]ας is generally accepted as preferable to Herwerden's [λῃστ]άς and either reading justifies our inclusion of the word in this category since the context involves perils of the sea. A youth who married a wealthy Greek girl in a foreign city expresses his concern for his bride because she has not yet arrived. He suspects a misfortune such as a storm at sea and ship-wreck or perhaps seduction by the sailors (Citharistes x47).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER III SEA-FARING

ἁλιεύς 1

Fr. 696 ὁ προσιὼν
γέρων ἁλιεύς, παρ' οὗ τὸ φέρνιον τρίτην
ταύτην ἐπριάμεθ' ἡμέραν.

ἔμπορος 1

Fr. 61 ΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΟΣ πάντας μεθύσους τοὺς ἐμπόρους
ποεῖ τὸ Βυζάντιον· ὅλην ἐπίνομεν
τὴν νύκτα διὰ σὲ καὶ σφόδρ' ἄκρατόν μοι δοκῶ·
ἀνίσταμαι γοῦν τέτταρας κεφαλὰς ἔχων.

ναύτης 1

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ χ47 λογίζομαι πᾶν, μή τι κατὰ θάλατταν ἢ
ἀτύχημα γεγονὸς ἢ περὶ [ναύτ]ας.

CHAPTER III

MARKET

ἀγοραστής 1

ἁλιεύς 1

ἀμφορεαφόρος 1

ἰχθυοπώλης 1

κολλυβιστής 1

μελιτόπωλις 1

The market was the center of much activity in Athens and Menander designates various personnel engaged in the buying, selling or trading. He mentions the crowd, the thieves, gamblers, loungers and those who squander their time and wealth in the market (Fr. 416). He mentions a man who is considered prosperous in the market but is wretched when he comes home and faces his bickering wife (Fr. 251).

ἀγοραστής, a buyer of provisions, was usually a slave although this cannot be determined from the Menandrean fragment which describes him as a thrifty and moderate buyer (Fr. 433).

ἁλιεύς, a fisherman, an old man, sold a fish-basket (Fr. 696), which common and useful item for Athenian shoppers perhaps constituted a source of income for an old fisherman although there is no indication that the sale was made in a public market and it might well have been a private or door-to-door type sale as indicated by the participle προσιών, going about.

ἀμφορεαφόρος, a crock-carrier, is carrying his pay (Fr. 364) which suggests that he has performed his service which well might be performed by a slave in connection with a market activity. The meaning given in LSJ is water-carrier.

ἰχθυοπώλης, fish-seller, has a species of gudgeon for sale, priced at four drachmas (Fr. 173).

κολλυβιστής, money-changer, is a term objected to by Phrynichus and Thomas Magister (Fr. 861). By the nature of their service, they would be associated with the agora.

μελιτόπωλις, a honey-seller, is an old woman (P x 97), γραῦς, and perhaps is used contemptuously in the remark made by Moschion to Daos.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER III MARKET

ἀγοραστής 1

Fr. 433 ΦΑΝΙΟΝ φειδωλὸς ἦν καὶ μέτριος ἀγοραστής.

ἁλιεύς 1

Fr. 696 ὁ προσιὼν
γέρων ἁλιεύς, παρ' οὗ τὸ φέρνιον τρίτην
ταύτην ἐπριάμεθ' ἡμέραν.

ἀμφορεαφόρος 1

Fr. 364 ΡΑΠΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ εἶτ' ἀμφορεαφόρος τις ἀποφορὰν φέρων.

ἰχθυοπῶλις 1

Fr. 173 ΕΦΕΣΙΟΣ τῶν ἰχθυοπωλῶν ἀρτίως τις τεττάρων
δραχμῶν ἐτίμα καβιούς.

κολλυβιστής 1

Fr. 861 Phrynichus, p.499 κολλυβιστὴς οὐκ ὀρθῶς· πάλιν οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς μολύνων τι διαπαύεται ὁ Μένανδρος τὸν ἀργυραμοιβὸν κολλυβιστὴν λέγων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ νόμισμα κόλλυβον δόκιμον, τὸ δὲ κολλυβιστὴς παρασεσημασμένον. Hesychius, κολλυβιστής· τραπεζίτης. κόλλυβος γάρ εἶδος νομίσματος καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ κεχαραγμένος βοῦς.

μελιτόπωλις 1

II χ97 εἰδεκ ..... η γένο[ιτ]ο μελ[ιτόπ]ωλις σὺ .....

CHAPTER IV

SERVICES

διδάσκαλος 1

ἰατρός 6

μάγειρος 14

τραπεζοποιός 2

ἡ δημιουργός 1

κουρίς 1

Certain services, some involving special skills, were available in Athens to the people who might wish to take advantage of them for reasons of convenience or the special skill exercised by the persons offering their services.

διδάσκαλος, a teacher, is mentioned in a metaphor which claims that the country, rural life, is humanity's teacher of virtue, life and freedom (Fr. 338).

ἰατρός, physician, is used six times, four times in metaphors. A friend can be the physician who cures the lightest evil, poverty (Citharistes fr. 2). The scene of the pretended death in Comoedia Florentina 45 will not be effected easily if the doctor's accounts of suffering are to be enacted. In this same fragment, the one deceived by the pretended death, Smicrines, asks "if the doctor had come" (Fl 87) and is told that it is too late to summon him. Time is reckoned as the physician of all evils (Fr. 652). Speech is the physician of the ills that men suffer for it alone offers alleviation of mind (Fr. 782). A sick body needs a physician, a sick soul needs a friend (Fr. 642).

μάγειρος, cook, is mentioned fourteen times by Menander and plays an important role in providing the buffoonery of New Comedy. Though as a stock character he is often on stage when the "slapstick" is performed, yet Menander presents the cook at times as offering an element of finesse for social and socio-religious functions. The cook in no instance is a slave but is hired as Sicon is in the Dyscolus (D 264), perhaps hired in the agora (P 418). The cook brings the victim which is to be slaughtered (D 399). He is presented as being revengeful and never forgetting a wrong done to him (D 645);

he is sharp tongued (Samia 68); he moves very slowly and is in no hurry to perform his services (D 888); he is a soft or effeminate man (D 945), always demanding various items (Samia 87, D 923-945). He slaughters the pig (P 418) or porkling (Fr. 451) or sheep (D 393, 776). Cooks inquired about the guests and the number invited (Samia 73, Fr. 238) and their origin so that favorite foods can be served them (Fr. 397). The cooks sphere of activity is detailed and contrasted with the work done by the female confectioner, ἡ δημιουργός (Fr. 451) and fault is found because the cook undertakes to perform services beyond the assigned sphere of activity when he makes moulds, bakes flat cakes, boils porridge and serves these after the fish, and then serves the cheese-omelette and grapes (Fr. 451). He is told that he should not have been concerned with the number of tables or Lydian entrees or fancy sauces as he usually would be. Since his usual tasks seemingly were deliberately or confusedly exchanged, the female confectioner is presented as roasting the meat and the fowl for dessert. The μάγειρος and the δημιουργός seemingly are assigned work which is the opposite of what they would ordinarily do for "comic effect" in the Pseudo-Heracles (Fr. 451). The cook inquires about the number of tables and at what time dinner is to be served; whether he is to supply the table-setter or cooking-ware; if the oven is indoors or not (Samia 72-77). Cooks are expected to arrange that no more guests are present than the law allows (Fr. 238).

τραπεζοποιός, table-arranger, like the cook, was hired to provide his special services (Samia 74-75) but was subject to the whims of the cook (D 647).

ἡ δημιουργός, a female confectioner or cook, was assigned in this instance the work usually performed by the male cook and this reversal of roles is done for the comic effect of a rival to the cook (Fr. 451_{12}). The usual duties of the δημιουργός were assigned to the male cook.

κουρίς, ladies' maid and hairdresser, is a word used by Menander in place of the word κομμωτρία which was the ordinary word according to Helladius as cited by Photius, Bibliotheca, 530, (Fr. 862).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER IV SERVICES

διδάσκαλος 1

Fr. 338 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ — ἆρ' ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς καὶ βίου διδάσκαλος
ἐλευθέρου τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγρός.

ἰατρός 6

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ fr. 2 — τὸ κουφότατόν σε τῶν κακῶν πάντων δάκνει,
πενία. τί γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; ἧς γένοιτ' ἂν εἷς
φίλος βοηθήσας ἰατρὸς ῥᾳδίως.

Fl 45 — ἔξει τιν' ἀμέλει διατριβὴν οὐ[κ εὔκολον
ἀγωνίαν τε, τὸ πάθος ἂν ἐνστῇ [μ]όνον
ὅ τ' ἰατρὸς ἡμῖν πιθανό[τητ]α σχῇ τινα.

Fl 87 — εἰσελήλυθ[εν] δέ τις
ἰατρός;

Fr. 652 — πάντων ἰατρὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κακῶν
χρόνος ἐστίν· οὗτος καὶ σὲ νῦν ἰάσεται.

Fr. 782 — ἰατρός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώποις νόσων·
ψυχῆς γὰρ οὗτος μόνος ἔχει κουφίσματα.

Fr. 642 — τῷ μὲν σῶμα <γὰρ> διακειμένῳ κακῶς
χρεία 'στ' ἰατροῦ, τῷ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν φίλου·
λύπην γὰρ εὔνους οἶδε θεραπεύειν λόγος.

μάγειρος 14

Δ 264 ἀπέσταλκ' αὐτὸν αὐτόθεν τινὰ
μισθωσόμενον μάγειρον.

Δ 399 κατακέκομμ' ἐ[γὼ
ὁ μάγειρος ὑπὸ τούτου νεωλκῶν τὴν ὁδ[όν.

Δ 645 οὐδὲ εἷς
μάγειρον ἀδικήσας ἀθῷος διέφυγεν.

Δ 888 μάγειρε
Σίκων, πρόελ[θε δ]εῦρό μ[ο]ι [κἄκουσ]ον.

Δ 945 μάγειρος ὢν γὰρ τυγχάνω, μέμνησο. μαλακὸς ἀνήρ.

Π 418 ὁ δ' [ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς
μάγειρος ἔνδον ἐστί· τὴν ὗν θ[υέτω.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 87 δίδοτε, Χρυσί, πάνθ' ὅς' ἂν
ὁ μάγειρος αἰτῇ·

Fr. 451 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ μάγειρ', ἀηδής μοι δοκεῖς εἶναι σφόδρα.
πόσας τραπέζας μέλλομεν ποιεῖν, τρίτον
ἤδη μ' ἐρωτᾷς. χοιρίδιον θύομεν,
ὀκτὼ ποιήσοντες τραπέζας δ' ἢ μίαν,
τί σοι διαφέρει τοῦτο; παράθες σημίαν†.
οὐκ ἔστι κανδύλους ποιεῖν οὐδ' οἷα σὺ

εἴωθας εἰς ταὐτὸν καρυκεύειν μέλι,
σεμίδαλιν, φά· πάντα γὰρ τἀναντία
νῦν ἐστιν· ὁ μάγειρος γὰρ ἐγχύτους ποιεῖ,
πλακοῦντας ὀπτῷ, χόνδρον ἕψει καὶ φέρει
μετὰ τὸ τάριχος, εἶτα θρῖον καὶ βότρυς·

E 437 π.....μαγείρου [τις] τύχῃ

Fr. 397 ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΟΣ ξένου τὸ δεῖπνόν ἐστιν ὑποδοχή τινος.
ποδαποῦ; διαφέρει τῷ μαγείρῳ τοῦτο γάρ.

E 206 μάγειρον βραδύτερον
οὐδεὶς ἑόρακε·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 68 μάγειρ' ἐγώ, [μ]ὰ το[ὺ]ς θ[εούς], οὐκ οἶδα σὺ
ἐφ' ὅτι μαχαίρας περιφ[έρεις]· ἱκανὸς γὰρ εἶ
λαλῶν κατακόψαι πάντα.

Fr. 238 ΚΕΚΡΥΦΑΛΟΣ διακονοῦντας ἀπογεγράφθαι πυθόμενος
πάντας μαγείρους κατὰ νόμον καινόν τινα,
ἵνα πυνθάνωνται τοὺς κεκλημένους, ἐὰν
πλείους τις ὧν ἔξεστιν ἑστιῶν τύχῃ,
ἐλθὼν . . .

τραπεζοποιός 2

Δ 647 .....]ς τραπεζοποιὸν ὅτι βούλει πόει.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 75 εἰ πυνθάνομαι, πόσας [τραπέ]ζας μέλλετ[ε
ποεῖν, πόσαι [γυ]ναῖκές ε[ἰ]σι, πηνίκα
ἔσται τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰ δεήσει προσλαβεῖν
τραπεζοποιόν, εἰ κέραμος ἐστ' ἔνδοθεν
ὑμῖν ἱ[κ]ανός,

ἡ δημιουργός 1

Fr. 451 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ἡ δημιουργὸς δ' ἀντιπαρατεταγμένη
κρεάδι' ὀπτᾷ καὶ κίχλας, τραγήματα.

κουρίς 1

Fr. 862 κουρίδα

Helladius apud Photium, Bibliotheca, 530 ὅτι τὰς νῦν λεγομένας κουρίδας οἱ Ἀττικοὶ κομμωτρίας ἐκάλουν. εὕρηται δὲ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ καὶ τὸ κουρίδα.

CHAPTER V

CIVIL

γεννήτης 1

κηδεμών 3

πολέμιος 7

πολίτης 1

προστάτης 3

σύμμαχος 3

Some personnages are identified by nouns reflecting a status resulting from being citizens of Attica with privileges and duties arising from such status. We do not imply that the person referred to is an Athenian citizen but that the duties or privileges exercised are such that the Athenian audience naturally identified them within the limits of their civil status.

γεννῆται, clansmen, is the basic and primitive bond existing in society and it existed in Attica whose citizens would comprehend the loneliness of the man who was not able to find a single one of his many clansmen (Kolax fr. 5).

κηδεμών, a legal guardian or protector, acquired a duty such as was assigned by weary Cnemon to his step-son, Gorgias (D 737), to whom he verbally transfers the concern of his possessions, half of which is be reckoned as a dowry for Cnemon's daughter under the legal guardianship of Gorgias, κηδεμὼν εἶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς. A legal guardianship is neither implied nor excluded in the statement that a son, if properly treated, will be a protector of his father, not just waiting for him to die (Fr. 605). In the Georgos, 56, the master injured himself with a hoe, and when he had need of a nurse or helper, κηδεμών, all his slaves failed to aid him except Gorgias, Myrrhina's son, who washed, fed and comforted the master. κηδεμών, then, is used once in the sense of a legal guardian in accordance with a recognized civil duty of an Athenian citizen and twice in the sense of a filial nurse or helping hand in the time of need according to the demand of charity and duty towards recognized authority.

πολέμιος, the enemy, is mentioned seven times, five times in a civil or military sense. One who leads an army and has never been a

soldier provides victims of slaughter to the enemy (Fr. 555). It is fit for man to fight the enemy and leave farming to the slaves (Fr. 560). A wench enslaved the soldier, Thrasonides, whom the enemy could never capture (Misoumenos fr. 3). A skipper drifting into a foreign harbor is judged an enemy and his cargo is confiscated (Fr. 373). Daos, Moschion's slave, is willing to be subjected to the treatment inflicted on an enemy in order to convince Moschion of his veracity in a particular instance if a reward will be forthcoming when he is proven reliable (P 80). Twice the term, enemy, is used metaphorically; an envious man is his own enemy (Fr. 537) and a reference to the "last foe of the Mysians"(Fr. 50), i.e., of worthless men.

πολῖται, fellow citizens, should have as their leader a powerful speaker who is without envy and of noble character (Fr. 546).

προστάτης, a patron, might support the arts even though he be miserly (Fr. 408) or be a protector of foreigners or metics (Perinthia fr. 1_a), as noted by Harpocration, or on a much larger scale might support and pay for a military expedition (P 89).

σύμμαχοι, allies, as used by Menander, are personal or family friends, such as Gorgias and Daos who are invited by Sostratus to a dinner so that they might be "useful allies for accomplishing the marriage" (D 562). The goddess, Persuasion, is called upon to be present as an ally and give good counsel (E 379).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER V CIVIL

γεννήτης 1

ΚΟΛΑΞ fr. 5 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γεννήτην δύναμ' εὑρεῖν οὐδένα
ὄντων τοσούτων, ἀλλ' ἀπείλημμαι μόνος.

κηδεμών 3

Δ 737 κηδεμὼν εἶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 56 ἐνταῦθα χρείας γενομένης αὐτῷ τινος
κηδεμ[ό]νος οἱ μὲν οἰκέται καὶ βάρβ[αρ]οι,

Fr. 605 υἱῷ προθύμως τάξιούμενον ποιῶν
κηδεμόν' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἔφεδρον ἔξεις {τοῦ} βίου.

πολέμιος 7

Fr. 50 ΑΝΔΡΟΓΥΝΟΣ Μυσῶν ἔσχατος
πολέμιος

Fr. 373 ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΣ ὁ πλέων κατήχθη. κρίνεθ' οὗτος πολέμιος
ἐὰν ἔχῃ τι μαλακόν, ἀγγαρεύεται.

Fr. 537 ὁ φθονερὸς αὐτῷ πολέμιος καθίσταται·
αὐθαιρέτοις γὰρ συνέχεται λύπαις ἀεί.

Π 80 χρῆσαι πολεμίου τοίνυν [τρόπον.

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ fr. 3 παιδισκάριον με καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές,
ὃν οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν πολεμίων (οὐ)πώποτε.

Fr. 555 ὅστις στρατηγεῖ μὴ στρατιώτης γενόμενος,
οὗτος ἑκατόμβην ἐξάγει τοῖς πολεμίοις.

Fr. 560 ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερέχειν τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖ,
τὸ γὰρ γεωργεῖν ἔργον ἐστὶν οἰκέτου.

πολίτης 1

Fr. 546 δεῖ τὸν πολιτῶν προστατεῖν αἱρούμενον
τὴν τοῦ λόγου μὲν δύναμιν οὐκ ἐπίφθονον,
ἤθει δὲ χρηστῷ συγκεκραμένην ἔχειν.

προστάτης 3

Π 89 βούλομαι δὲ προστάτην σε πραγμάτων Ἑλλη[νι]κ[ῶν
κα]ὶ διοικητ[ὴ]ν στρατοπέδων --

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ fr. 1_{α} προστάτης

Harpocration: προστάτης· οἱ τῶν μετοίκων Ἀθήνησι προεστηκότες
. . . Μένανδρος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Περινθίας

Fr. 408 ΥΜΝΙΣ οὐ πάνυ τι γηράσκουσιν αἱ τέχναι καλῶς,
ἂν μὴ λάβωσι προστάτην φιλάργυρον.

σύμμαχος 2

Δ 562 κεκοινωνηκότες

ἱερῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ χρησιμώτεροι
ἡμῖν ἔσονται σύμμαχοι πρὸς τὸν γάμον.

Ε 379 φίλη Πειθοῖ, παροῦσα σύμμαχος
πόει κατορθοῦν τοὺς λόγους οὓς λέγω.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL

ἄρχων 1

βασιλεύς 4

γυναικονόμος 1

ἐκδότης 1

ἡγεμών (3) 1

οἰκιστής 1

πεντηκοστολόγος 1

σατράπης 3

στρατηγός (2) 1

σύμβουλος (6) 1

τύραννος 2

βασίλιννα 1

Menander mentions several people whom the Athenian audience identified as associated with government, either as rulers, statesmen or political leaders or functionaries, ranging from censors to monarch. Many institutions established in democratic Athens continued during Menander's lifetime though many were modified so as to be acceptable to the Macedonian tyrants or viceroys after Alexander, namely, Demetrius of Phalerum (317-307 B.C.) and Demetrius Poliorcetes (307-288 B.C.).[1] In 302/1 B.C., during the archonship of Nikokles,[2] Menander wrote in the Imbrioi: "Each man according to his character is reckoned an archon, a general, a leader of the people, or perhaps a counselor; for the one excelling in reason controls all" (Fr. 213). This expression reflects a democratic Athens and its institutions of the past. The Athenians expected that the "leader of the people should have an ability to speak without being odious and of noble character" (Fr. 546).

ἄρχων, archon, gained his post by virtue of his capacity to reason well; if he excelled in the power to reason, he controlled all (Fr. 213).

βασιλεύς, king, is mentioned four times and once is specifically identified as Alexander the Great in an uncomplimentary reference when a sot is considered to have drunk more than Alexander (Kolax fr. 2). A foreign king is identified when someone is noted as having rendered service to the king of Cyprus (Misoumenos fr. 7). A king

---

1. T. Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy, Manchester, 1953, 103,108.

2. Ibid., 106-107.

who rules with courage and protects the rights of life is a blessing (Fr. 549). Syriscus tells the tale of Pelias and Neleus who were abandoned as children and reared as goatherds but were later identified as being of noble birth by tokens and became kings (E 157).

γυναικονόμοι, censors, were established by Demetrius of Phalerum "to inquire into private extravagance and enforce the new sumptuary laws" [3] which required the cooks to serve no more than the permitted number of guests (Fr. 238).

ἐκδότης, a contractor of public works or taxes perhaps, seemingly on a large scale, to carry out the list of high positions suggested by Moschion to Daos wherein he might appropriate money to himself if he could exchange his servile state.

ἡγεμών, leader, is used three times, twice in military context, once in a context of leaders of political activity. "Each man according to his character is reckoned an archon, a minister of defense, a leader of the people or even a counselor, for the one excelling in reason controls all" (Fr. 213). The phrase ἡγεμὼν δήμου, πάλιν σύμβουλος, as leaders of political causes balances the phrase of archon and minister of defense who were government officials. The role and activity of the ἡγεμὼν δήμου is not further defined in the text other than being a man of great reasoning power, one capable of discerning, perhaps, the issues and causes of the people.

οἰκιστής, a founder of a colony or more probably at this period a successor who established a new constitution for the colony and ruled as vice-regent, a favorite victim to be lead to ruin by the

---

3. Ibid., 103.

activity of the notorious flatterers (Kolax 91).

πεντηκοστολόγοι, tax-collectors, collected a tax of two per-cent on imports or exports at Athens (Fr. 897).

σατράπης, satrap, originally a Persian viceroy or governor having no control over the royal military forces, was an official that Alexander the Great adopted into his hegemony and the satrapal system continued in various areas in the East into the Hellenistic period. The satrap was a victim of the parasites or flatterers (Kolax 91) who brought about his political ruin. He might be betrayed (Kolax 41). Servants ministered to the satraps (Fr. 668).

στρατηγός, minister of defense, was in charge of the government's military matters and policies. The inclusion of στρατηγός in the context of archon, leader of the people, counselor, favors the consideration that the στρατηγός was a political figure active in government rather than a military general which does not seem suitable in this context (Fr. 213). The other usages of στρατηγός are definitely military.

σύμβουλος, counselor or advisor, is mentioned six times and is used once in a context which suggests a political advisor, an advisor in public affairs (Fr. 213). The other five usages suggest an advisor in private affairs.

τύραννοι, tyrants, are listed quite naturally in this category because as absolute rulers or monarchs they controlled political affairs. Menander considers the tyrants in parallel with military men, namely, a general, satrap, garrison commander, founder of a colony, or general (Kolax 90); all these were fit subjects to be ruined by the activity of the flatterers, κόλακες who were found in

the military retinue.

βασίλιννα queen, is mentioned in what seems according to Suidas to have been a comic situation of a girl wanting, among other wedding gifts, to be the queen of Tricorythus, a swampy district of Attica (Fr. 652a).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER VI POLITICAL

ἄρχων 1

Fr. 213$_4$ IMBRIOI τῷ διαθέσθαι πράγματα
ἕκαστός ἐστι καὶ λογίσασθαι κατὰ τρόπον
ἄρχων, στρατηγός, ἡγεμὼν δήμου, πάλιν
σύμβουλος· ὁ λογισμῷ διαφέρων πάντ' ἔχει.

βασιλεύς 4

Fr. 549 καλόν γε βασιλεὺς τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ κρατῶν,
τὰ δὲ τοῦ δίκαια διατηρῶν κρίσει.

ΚΟΛΑΞ fr. 2 Ἀλεξάνδρου πλέον
τοῦ βασιλέως πέπωκας.

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ fr. 7 ἦν ἐκεῖ ὑπό τινι
τῶν βασιλέων.

Ε 157 ἐξ οὗ μαθόντες πάντα τὰ καθ' αὑτοὺς σαφῶς
ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς οἱ τότ' ὄντες αἰπόλοι·

γυναικονόμος 1

Fr. 238 ΚΕΚΡΥΦΑΛΟΣ παρὰ τοῖς γυναικονόμοις δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς γάμοις
διακονοῦντας ἀπογεγράφθαι πυθόμενος
πάντας μαγείρους κατὰ νόμον καινόν τινα,
ἵνα πυνθάνωνται τοὺς κεκλημένους, ἐὰν
πλείους τις ᾖ ἔξεστιν ἑστιῶν τύχῃ,

ἐκδότης 1

Π χ92 ἀλλὰ [κλέψεις] ἐκδό[τ]ης ὤν·

ἡγεμών (3) 1

Fr. 213 4 IMBRIOI τῷ διαθέσθαι πράγματα
ἕκαστός ἐστι καὶ λογίσασθαι κατὰ τρόπον
ἄρχων, στρατηγός, ἡγεμὼν δήμου, πάλιν
σύμβουλος· ὁ λογισμῷ διαφέρων πάντ' ἔχει.

οἰκιστής 1

ΚΟΛΑΞ 91 ὅσοι τύραννοι πώποθ', ὅστις ἡγεμὼν
μέγας, σατράπ[η]ς, φρούραρχ[ο]ς, οἰκιστὴς τόπ[ο]υ,
στρατηγός --οὐ [πάντ'], ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελέως λέγω
ἀπολωλότας [νῦν -- τ]οῦτ' ἀνῄρηκεν μόνον,
οἱ κόλακες ὅτι [σύν]εισιν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοι.

πεντηκοστολόγος 1

Fr. 897 Photius, πεντηκοστολόγοι· τελῶναι. Μένανδρος.

σατράπης 3

ΚΟΛΑΞ 91 ὅσοι τύραννοι πώποθ', ὅστις ἡγεμὼν
μέγας, σατράπ[η]ς, φρούραρχ[ο]ς, οἰκιστὴς τόπ[ο]υ,
στρατηγός -- οὐ [πάντ'], ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελέως λέγω
ἀπολωλότας [νῦν -- τ]οῦτ' ἀνῄρηκεν μόνον,
οἱ κόλακες ὅτι [σύν]εισιν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοι.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 41 κατέπτηκέν ποθε[ν

πόλ[ιν προδούς τι]ν' ἢ σατράπην ἢ στ[ρατόπεδον·

Fr. 668 αὐλὰς θεραπεύειν καὶ σατράπας

στρατηγός (2) 1

Fr. 213 IMBPIOI τῷ διαθέσθαι πράγματα
ἕκαστός ἐστι καὶ λογίσασθαι κατὰ τρόπον
ἄρχων, στρατηγός, ἡγεμὼν δήμου, πάλιν
σύμβουλος· ὁ λογισμῷ διαφέρων πάντ' ἔχει.

σύμβουλος (6) 1

Fr. 213 IMBPIOI τῷ διαθέσθαι πράγματα
ἕκαστός ἐστι καὶ λογίσασθαι κατὰ τρόπον
ἄρχων, στρατηγός, ἡγεμὼν δήμου, πάλιν
σύμβουλος· ὁ λογισμῷ διαφέρων πάντ' ἔχει.

τύραννος 2

Fr. 189 ΘΑΙΣ Ἄρης τύραννος.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 90 ὅσοι τύραννοι πώποθ', ὅστις ἡγεμὼν
μέγας, σατράπ[η]ς, φρούραρχ[ο]ς, οἰκιστὴς τόπ[ο]υ,
στρατηγός -- οὐ [πάντ'], ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελέως λέγω
ἀπολωλότας [νῦν -- τ]οῦτ' ἀνήρηκεν μόνον,
οἱ κόλακες ὅτι [σύν]εισιν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοι.

βασίλιννα 1

Fr. 652a Τρικορυσία βασίλιννα

CHAPTER VII

JUDICIAL

ἀρεοπαγίτης 1

διαιτητής 1

δικαστής 2

κλητήρ 1

κριτής 4

μάρτυς (10) 9

ῥήτωρ 1

The Athenian judicial system was highly developed and because of its democratic nature involved many of the citizens in its functions. The Athenians were well acquainted with the personnel and the technicalities of the court. Menander has expressed a rather simplified philosophy of the motivating force prompting the interest of each good Athenian citizen in the judicial system which can be summarized as follows: if each citizen were agreed on exacting the penalty and considering the injustice as having been done to him, the evil deeds of wicked men would decrease and even be eliminated (Fr. 543). A similar concept is expressed in the Epitrepontes 51-60: justice should rule everyone and everyone should see to it that it does; in the Dyscolus 743-745: if all men were just, there would be no courts nor would they be leading any off to prison and there would be no wars and each would be content having his share. Corruption of the courts by bribery is indicated in a fragment which designates Gold and Silver as the most useful gods for they will get anything you might wish for: lands, houses, servants, silverware, friends, jurors and witnesses; they only requirement is that you pay for them (Fr. 614). Informal judgements and arbitrations are evidenced in the Epitrepontes 47-50 when Smicrines is called upon by Daos and Syriscus to decide the issue about the child and the tokens in an informal manner. For slaves, the master is the judge of everything that is just or unjust (Fr. 566). Most of the judicial personnel mentioned by Menander are involved in the non-formal arbitrations modelled to some extent on the formal legal processes.

ἁρπαγίτης. The Fabula Incerta,6-32, presents a setting involving the comic situation of the father of the wronged girl being

a member of the highest court, an ἀρεοπαγίτης (I 11), and there are many witnesses willing to testify (I 6) that the boy has been seeing the girl. The father of the girl, Cleaenetus, is given no further identification of being or acting like a member of the highest court.

διαιτητής, an arbiter, according to Ammonius, grammaticus, fifth century A.D., differs from a juror, δικαστής, in the fact that the dicast is selected to judge according to the provisions of the law whereas the arbiter is selected according to an agreement of the parties for the sake of establishing harmony.[1] The Menandrean fragment states only "if one of the gods were the dicast or arbiter" (Fr. 316).

δικασταί, dicasts or jurors, were cultivated by wealthy persons who could use their gold and silver to gain land, houses, silver-ware, servants, friends, jurors and witnesses (Fr. 614) on whose favor won by bribery they counted. The dicast each year swore an oath to render any verdict according to the laws and to refuse bribes but this fragment shows that bribery was not unknown.

κλητήρ, a summoner or process-server, did not accompany Geta when he visited Cnemon's home and Geta insists that Cnemon need not refuse him admittance because of fear of the summoner since Geta only wanted to borrow a cooking-pot (D 472).

---

1. L. Whibley, A Companion to Greek Studies, Cambridge, 1916, 473-4, states: "These public arbitrators were an organized body, composed of all Athenians in their sixtieth year, i.e. the last year of military service. ... The first duty of the arbitrator was to seek to effect a compromise. The arbitrator was designated by the chance of the lot, and the weight of his judgment with the litigants and the court must have varied according to his personality. ... a cheap and simple and reasonable means of justice."

κριτής, an umpire, identifies the role of Smicrines (E 47,50), who is called upon to decide impromptu the issue between Daos and Syriscus concerning the abandoned child and its tokens. Daos and Syriscus accept Smicrines as a just and fair umpire (E 50). An umpire looking for only what he wants to see will be an illogical judge (Fr. 69). A slave considers his master to be his refuge, law, and the judge of everything just or unjust (Fr. 566).

μάρτυρες, witnesses, were cited for both parties, plaintiff or defendant, in formal Athenian processes. Menander places an emphasis on having many witnesses (I 6, Fr. 614, Georgos 80). A wealthy man, using his silver and gold, can have acreage, houses, servants, silver-ware, friends, jurors and witnesses (Fr. 614). These witnesses, no doubt, were expected to protect their patron's interest in lieu of the favors received. One who is not rich should live where there are no witnesses to see one's mishaps; the word is prbably not used in a technical or legal sense in this context (Georgos 80). Unfortunate events should not be discussed before witnesses (Fr. 423) since such material might be used as evidence detrimental to the subject. The general impression given by the fragments is that witnesses are unfavorable and that the wealthy can control the witnesses.

ῥήτωρ. Daos reckons Syriscus "no mean orator" (E 60) after he philosophized on the need of justice being established everywhere. The orator is not specifically judicial personnel but he did exercise his oratory in the courts and in the Epitrepontes Syriscus , a principal in the litigation, for comic effect, becomes an orator though his role is actually a charcoal-burner.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER VII JUDICIAL

ἀρεοπαγίτης 1

I 11 ὁ δὲ Κλεαίνετος
ἀρεοπαγίτης ἐσ[τίν.

διαιτητής 1

Fr. 316 ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ εἴ τις δικαστὴς ἢ διαιτητὴς θεῶν.

Ammonius. δικαστὴς καὶ διαιτητὴς διαφέρει. δικαστὴς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ νόμον αἱρεθεὶς κριτής, διαιτητὴς δὲ ὁ κατὰ συμφωνίαν αἱρεθεὶς συμβιάσεως χάριν.

δικαστής 2

Fr. 316 ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ εἴ τις δικαστὴς ἢ διαιτητὴς θεῶν.

Fr. 614 $_{8}$ εἴξ' εἴ τι βούλει, πάντα σοι γενήσεται,
ἀγρός, οἰκίαι, θεράποντες, ἀργυράματα,
φίλοι, δικασταί, μάρτυρες. μόνον δίδου·

κλητήρ 1

Δ 472 τοιγαροῦν
προσελήλυθ' οὐ χρέος σ' ἀπαιτῶν, οὐδ' ἔχων
κλητῆρας, ἀλλ' αἰτησόμενος λεβήτιον.

κριτής 4

Fr. 69 ΑΣΠΙΣ ὃ βούλεται γὰρ μόνον ὁρῶν καὶ προσδοκῶν
ἀλόγιστος ἔσται τῆς ἀληθείας κριτής.

Fr. 566 ἐμοὶ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγὴ καὶ νόμος
καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου παντὸς κριτὴς
ὁ δεσπότης.

E 47 τοῦτον λαβεῖν
βούλει κριτήν;

E 50 ἀντιλέγομεν πρᾶγμα τι.
τί οὖν ἐμοὶ μέλει; (Συ.) κριτὴν τούτου τινὰ
ζητοῦμεν ἴσον·

μάρτυς (10) 9

Π χ195 ἐκεῖν]ος [ἔτυχε] μάρτυ[ς ἂν] λέγει τ' ἔχειν.

Fr. 876
Photius. μάρτυς· ὁ μάρτυρ. καὶ τὸν μάρτυν καὶ τὸν μάρτυρα.
Μένανδρος.

Fr. 614 8 εὖξ' εἴ τι βούλει, πάντα σοι γενήσεται,
ἀγρός, οἰκίαι, θεράποντες, ἀργυρώματα,
φίλοι, δικασταί, μάρτυρες. μόνον δίδου·

E χ651 .....τα]ύτη[ν] ἐπ[εὶ
σοὶ παραδέδ]ω[κε μαρτύρων] ἐναντίο[ν,

Fr. 423 ΥΠΟΒΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΣ "Απολλον, ἀλλὰ σκαιὸν οὐ μετρίως λέγεις,
μετὰ μαρτύρων ἀτυχεῖν παρὸν λεληθέναι.

I 6 μάρτυρα[ς ἐκεῖνος φαίνετ'] οὐκ [ὀλίγους ἔχειν·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 80 δεῖ γὰρ ἢ πλουτεῖν ἴσως
ἢ ζῆν ὅπ[ου] μὴ μάρτυρας τ[ο]ῦ δυστυχεῖν
πολλούς τις ἕξει τοὺς ὁρῶντας·

ΚΟΛΑΞ χ121 δικάσομαι, πραγμαθ' ἕξω, μάρτ[υρας
[παρέχειν δεήσει.]

ῥήτωρ 1

Ε 60 μετρίῳ γε συμπέπλεγμαι ῥήτορι·

CHAPTER VIII

MILITARY

διμοιρίτης 1

διοικητής (2) 1

ἔφηβος 1

ἡγεμών (3) 2

ξένος (10) 7

πτεροφόρας 1

στρατηγός 2

στρατιώτης 8

συστρατιώτης 1

τετρώβολος 2

φρούραρχος 2

χιλίαρχος 1

One of the stock characters of New Comedy, the soldier, is variously presented by Menander who "uses the braggart soldier in his traditional form in the Kolax, but Polemon in the Perikeiromene is idealised." [1] Excluding the stock-character, we find in the Periceiromene scenes where Sosias, a slave-aide of the soldier Polemon, stations his so-called "army" of slaves in front of Pataecus' house which he intends to storm (P 199, 228, 279) in a highly comic situation where the military is given comic treatment by Menander. He designates various military personnel such as top-ranking officers who are listed in Kolax 90-92 and are referred to as tyrants, namely, "the great leader, satrap, post-commander, colonizer, general". These officers are the victims led to ruin by the flatterers who became incorporated into their retinue (Kolax 90-94). The equipment or pack of the soldier is given as "the cuirass, cloak, javelin, leather pouch, helmet, shield, spear, halberd and sheepskin" (Kolax 30-31) which the soldier once carried, but having become rich, it is carried for him muleback.

διμοιρίτης, a soldier receiving double pay, no longer carries his pack which is now transported muleback; he is suspected of double-dealing and is accused of "betraying some city, satrap, or camp, for no one gets rich quickly by being honest" (Kolax 41-43).

διοικητής, a treasurer or paymaster, of the armies, is comically suggested by Moschion as one of the occupations that Daos might prefer to being a slave sent to the mill-house for punishment (P 90).

---

1. T. Webster, Studies in Menander, 2nd. ed. Manchester, 1960, 164.

The innuendo strongly suggests that graft was employed in the exercise of this position which Daos' dishonest propensities cannot quite measure up to. διοικητής is used in another instance in reference to someone appointed by a father to control the family fortune in his absence (Kolax 7).

ἔφηβος. The training of the ephebic program orientated the young Athenian, ἔφηβος, towards becoming a competent citizen and imposed on him light military duties. "After boyhood, he became an ephebe, then a young adult, then a mature man, then an old man" (Fr. 724).

ἡγεμών, the commanding officer of an army, had total charge of his men and could reward or punish his men; Sosias refers to this fact when he assures his master Polemon, the soldier, that Pataecus cannot ruin him because he is no commanding officer (P 230). Commanding officers are brought to ruin by worthless flatterers whom they might have in their retinue (Kolax 90). In one instance, in the phrase ἡγεμὼν δήμου, the word is to be considered as meaning a leader of popular political activity (Fr. 213_4).

ξένοι. Sosias (P 171) and his so-called "army" are mercenaries, ξενοί and Moschion points out to the inebriated Sosias that he seems to have been the only one comprising the army (P 280) attacking Pataecus' house. Daos states the he would not want to be paymaster of the army for the mercenaries would cut his throat if he stole something (P x90). The mercenary was very haughty (Misoumenos 9) and the plan of the soldier and mercenary was open to reproach (Fr. 372). Lack of context leaves us without evidence for a real distinction between the two by Menander. The reference to troops (Kolax 109) identifies the meaning of mercenary soldier rather than foreign

visitor in Kolax 119.

πτεροφόρας. Polemon is called a πτεροφόρας (P 104), perhaps, a soldier of rank wearing a feather-crested helment, by Moschion who uses this term in apposition with χιλίαρχος to express abuse and ridicule.

στρατηγός, a general, in one instance, if not an actual leader of military forces, was a magistrate who functioned chiefly with matters pertaining to the military (Fr. 213_4). This has been discussed more fully above among political occupations. The context of Kolax 92 establishes the στρατηγός as a military leader and one who is subject to ruin by the activities of the flatterers just as the post-commander is. It would seem that a general is preferably a military man who came up through the ranks for "whoever leads an army, never having been a soldier, leads a slaughter to the enemy" (Fr. 555).

στρατιώτης, a soldier, is mentioned eight times, and he might be headstrong and cruel (P 438) in the manner of Polemon who cut off Glycera's locks in a fit of anger; he would never be dainty (Fr. 554). Unfortunate is the woman who marries a soldier (P 66) like Polemon who bought a house (P 26) and kept his mistress Glycera there. Later, he marries her and swears he will never be headstrong again (P 441). The character of the soldier and the mercenary is never beyond reproach (Fr. 372). There are many opportunities for a soldier to die but he needs an excuse to stay alive (Fr. 70), seemingly, because of the questionable situation in which he has become involved.

συστρατιῶται, fellow soldiers, who come to aid a soldier would

create even more difficulty for the procurer as his soliloquy suggests, for he does not know to whom he should give the girl (Kolax x102).

τετραβόλοι, raw recruits, common mercenaries, a derisive term, constitute Sosias' so-called army (P x190) who are stationed around Pataecus' house and are prepared to lay siege to it to rescue Glycera (P 203).

φρούραρχος, post-commander, is a ranking officer, listed together with a "satrap, founder of a colony and general". He, like the others, was a favored victim destined to ruin by the activity of the flatterers (Kolax 91). Metaphorically, character is compared to a post-commander (E 736); "it is assigned to each person by the gods and is ever-present, leading one to ruin or to safety."

χιλίαρχος, Polemon is called a χιλίαρχος, literally an officer of a thousand men, by Moschion in apposition with "the feather-crested commander", πτεροφόρας.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER VIII MILITARY

διμοιρίτης 1

ΚΟΛΑΞ 29

ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ ὄντες οὐδὲ[ν ἀγαθὸν πράττομεν,
ἀλλ' ὅδ' ὁ] διμοιρίτης φέρων αὐτός ποτε
θώρακα, σάγμα, σαύνι]ον, πήραν, κράνος,
ἀσπίδα, σιγύνι]ον, διβολίαν, κώδιον --
νῦν πάντα ταῦθ' ὁ δυστ]υχὴς ὄνος φέρει,

διοικητής (2) 1

Π 90

βούλομαι δὲ προστάτην σε πραγμάτων Ἑλλη[νι]κ[ῶν
κα]ὶ διοικητ[ὴ]ν στρατοπέδων --

ἔφηβος 1

Fr. 724

παῖς γέγον', ἔφηβος, μειράκιον, ἀνήρ, γέρων.

ἡγεμών (3) 2

Π 230

οὐτοσί με γὰρ
ὁ [Π]άταικος ἐξόλλυσιν. (Σω.) οὐκ ἔσθ' ἡγεμών.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 90

ὅσοι τύραννοι πώποθ', ὅστις ἡγεμὼν
μέγας, σατράπ[η]ς, φρούραρχ[ο]ς, οἰκιστὴς τόπ[ο]υ
στρατηγός -- οὐ [πάντ'], ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελέως λέγω
ἀπολωλότας [νῦν -- τ]οῦτ' ἀνήρηκεν μόνον,
οἱ κόλακες ὅτι [σύν]εισιν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοι.

ξένος (10) 6

Π 171 ὁ ξένος ἀφῖκται·

ΚΟΛΑΞ 119 ἡ μία λαμβάνει
ὅσον οὐχ]ὶ δέκα, τρεῖς μνᾶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας
παρὰ τοῦ] ξένου.

Fr. 372 ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΣ εὐλοιδόρητον , ὡς ἔοικε, φαίνεται
τὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου σχῆμα καὶ τοῦ ξένου.

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ 9 σοβαρώ]τερον τούτου, μὰ τὼ θεώ, ξένον
οὐπώπο]τ' εἶδον·

Π 280 ἀλλὰ ξένους, φήσ', εἶχον· εἰσὶ δ'οἱ ξένοι
οἱ περιβόητοι Σωσίας εἰς οὐτοσί.

Π χ90 [οὐ μ]έλε[ι ξένων ἐμοί,
οἵ μ'] ἀποσφά[τ]τουσιν εὐθύς, ἂ[ν τύ]χῃ,[κ]λέ[ψαντα

πτεροφόρας 1

Π 104 ἐ[μὲ δὲ παραμυθεῖσθ'[ἐκεί]ν[ην νῦν προσήκει καὶ γελᾶν
ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῷ πτεροφόρᾳ χιλιάρχῳ.

στρατηγός 2

ΚΟΛΑΞ 92 ὅσοι τύραννοι πώποθ', ὅστις ἡγεμὼν
μέγας, σατράπ[η]ς, φρούραρχ[ο]ς, οἰκιστὴς τόπ[ο]υ,
στρατηγός — οὐ [πάντ'], ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελέως λέγω

ἀπολωλότας [νῦν -- τ]οὔτ' ἀνήρηκεν μόνον,
οἱ κόλακες ὅτι [σύν]εισιν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοι.

Fr. 213 ΙΜΒΡΙΟΙ τῷ διαθέσθαι πράγματα
ἕκαστός ἐστι καὶ λογίσασθαι κατὰ τρόπον
ἄρχων, στρατηγός, ἡγεμὼν δήμου, πάλιν
σύμβουλος· ὁ λογισμῷ διαφέρων πάντ' ἔχει.

στρατιώτης 8

Π 26 αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἀπέθανεν, ὃ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐπρίατο ταύτην ὁ στρατιώτης οὐ πάλαι.

Π 181 μάντιν ὁ στρατιώτης [πε]ρι[άγει
τοῦτον·

Π 438 τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιλαθοῦ στρατιώτης [ὤν, ὅπως
προπετὲς ποιήσῃς μ[η]δὲ ἓν [ἀγριούμενος.

Fr. 554 κομψὸς στρατιώτης, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ πλάττοι θεός,
οὐθεὶς γένοιτ' ἄν.

Fr. 555 ὅστις στρατηγεῖ μὴ στρατιώτης γενόμενος,
οὗτος ἑκατόμβην ἐξάγει τοῖς πολεμίοις.

Fr. 372 ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΣ εὐλοιδόρητον, ὡς ἔοικε, φαίνεται
τὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου σχῆμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ ξένου.

Π 66 δυστυχής,
ἥτις στρατιώτην ἔλαβεν ἄνδρα·

Fr. 70 ΑΣΠΙΣ στρατιώτην, Σμικρίνη, σωτηρίας
ἔστ' ἔργον εὑρεῖν πρόφασιν, ὀλέθρου δ' εὔπορον.

συστρατιώτης 1

ΚΟΛΑΞ χ102 μ[ε]ταπέμψεθ' [ἑ]τέρους [συ]στρατ[ιώτας δηλαδή,
οὗ[ς π]αραφυλάξει·

τετρώβολος 2

Π χι90 ναὶ μὰ Δία, τ[ετρω]β[όλους.

Π 203 οἱ παῖδες οἱ τὰ πελτί' εὐθὺ[ς] πρὶν πτύσαι
διαρπάσονται πάντα, κἂν τετρωβόλους
καλῇς.

φρούραρχος 2

ΚΟΛΑΞ 91 ὅσοι τύραννοι, πώποθ', ὅστις ἡγεμὼν
μέγας, σατράπ[η]ς, φρούραρχ[ο]ς, οἰκιστὴς τόπ[ο]υ,
στρατηγός -- οὐ [πάντ'], ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελέως λέγω
ἀπολωλότας [νῦν -- τ]οῦτ' ἀνῄρηκεν μόνον,
οἱ κόλακες ὅτι [σύν]εισιν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοι.

Ε 736 ἑκάστῳ τὸν τρόπον συν[ῴκισαν
φρούραρχον. οὗτος ἐνδε[λ]εχὴ[ς ἡμῶν φύλαξ
ἐπέτριψεν, ἂν αὐτῷ κακῶς χρη[σώμεθα,

ἕτερον δ' ἔσωσεν.

χιλίαρχος 1

II 104 ἐ[μὲ δὲ παραμυθεῖσθ' [ἐκεί]ν[ην νῦν προσήκει καὶ γελᾶν
ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῷ πτεροφόρᾳ χιλιάρχῳ.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS

ἀλάστωρ (3) 2

ζάκορος 1

μάντις 3

ἡ ζακορος 2

θεράπαινα (9) 1

ἱερέα 1

κορύβας 1

Menander mentions several people whose activities were concerned with religious practices. We note that eight nouns which might usually identify people are used in a sense accommodated to express the anthropomorphic concept of Greek religion according to its traditional phraseology. These words are : ἀλάστωρ, ἄναξ, δεσπότης, ἥρως, κύριος, μακαρίτης, δέσποινα, κυρία.

ἀλάστωρ, a god-driven revenger, a jealous man, is what Polemon considers himself to be (P 408) when he discovers that Moschion is Glycera's brother and not her lover which makes his shearing her locks unjustified. Another usage asks only: "Why do you call me an avenger"? (Fr. 308). The ἀλάστωρ is a person influenced to revenge by the gods or acts as an agent of the gods to remedy the evil done by infliction of punishment. Distinct from this is the purely spiritual concept of the phrase δαιμόνων ἀλαστόρων (Fr. 686b).

ζάκορος, a male temple-attendant, is mentioned but cannot be identified other than that his name was not Megabyzus (Fr. 112).

μάντις, prophet or seer, if he has common sense, makes the best prophet and advisor (Theophorumene fr. 2). Sosias is called a diviner whom the soldier Polemon takes with him on campaigns (P 181) in a comic statement made aside by the slave-woman Doris in ridicule of Sosias. A fragment assigned doubtfully to Menander states that the best prophet is he who guesses well (Fr. d 941).

ζάκορος, a female temple-attendant, cleaned or decorated the temple (Fr. 686) and took care of the fire (Fr. 257).

θεράπαιναι, servant girls, seven of them in a circle, clashed cymbals and shrieked as the sacrifices were performed five times on one day (Fr. 277).

ἱερέα. Sicon's suggestions for flattery include calling a woman of middle age priestess, ἱερέαν (D 496).

κορύβας, a corybant or worshiper of Dionysus and of Cybele, is metaphorically used of an intoxicated person or a member of a chorus, and such a spirit will come over the maiden if she is divinely possessed, full of the spirit of the mother of the gods, or rather, full of the spirit of the corybants (Theophorumene 27).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER IX RELIGIOUS

ἀλάστωρ (3) 2

Π 408 ὁ δ' ἀλάστωρ ἐγὼ
καὶ ζηλότυπος ἄνθρωπος ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκῶν
εὐθὺς ἐπαρύνουν.

Fr. 308 ΟΡΓΗ καὶ τοὔνομα τί λέγεις ἀλάστωρ;

ζάκορος 1

Fr. 112 ΔΙΣ ΕΞΑΠΑΤΩΝ οὐ Μεγάβυζος ἦν,
ὅστις γένοιτο ζάκορος.

μάντις 3

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ fr. 2 ὁ πλεῖστον νοῦν ἔχων
μάντις τ' ἄριστός ἐστι σύμβουλός θ' ἅμα.

Fr. δ 941 μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.

Π 181 μάντιν ὁ στρατιώτης [πε]ρι[άγει
τοῦτον· ἐπιτυγχάνει τι.

ἡ ζάκορος 2

Fr. 686 ἡ ζάκορος ἡ κοσμοῦσα τὸν ναόν, τέκνον.

Fr. 257 ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΑ ἐπίθες τὸ πῦρ, ἡ ζάκορος. οὐτοσὶ καλῶς.

θεράπαινα (9) 1

Fr. 277 ΜΙΣΟΓΥΝΗΣ ἐθύομεν δὲ πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας·
ἐκυμβάλιζον δ' ἑπτὰ θεράπαιναι κύκλῳ,
αἳ δ' ὠλόλυζον.

ἱερέα 1

Δ 496 ἥν τῶν διὰ μέσου τ[ις ἢ γυνή,
ἐκάλεσ' ἱερέαν.

κορύβας 1

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ 27 εἰ θεοφορεῖται ταῖς ἀληθείαισι γάρ,
νῦν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐκπηδή[σεται
μητρὸς θεῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ κορυβάν[των πλέα.

CHAPTER X

ENTERTAINERS AND SPECTATORS

ἄνδρες 12

ἄνθρωποι 1

ἐστιάτωρ 1

θεατής 1

κιθαριστής 1

κυβευτής 1

παιανισταί 1

σύγκλινος 1

τραγῳδός 3

αὐλητρίς 2

ψάλτρια 7

Menander gives evidence that the Greeks witnessed and enjoyed entertainment and amusement furnished by entertainers and participated in various diversionary activities. There are references to spectators: ἄνδρες, ἄνθρωποι, θεαταί. The spectators are bidden by the goddess, Ignorance, to be gracious to the efforts presented on the stage (P 51), a classical plaudite.

ἄνδρες, spectators, are addressed twelve times by this term (D x194, 659, 666, 967; E 567; S 54, 114, 338; D II 3, 13; Fr. 396, Fr. 656).

ἄνθρωποι, spectators, is used once (Samia 235).

ἑστιάτωρ, the host at a banquet, a public banquet, is mentioned once but cannot be identified in the very fragmentary text of this part of the Kolax 12.

θεαταί, spectators, are addressed by the goddess, Ἄγνοια, and she pleads with them to give the following scenes their approval and applause (P 51).

κιθαριστής, cithara player, played an instrument more elaborate than the lyre but akin to it in that the strings were vertically strung and of equal length but differed in that it was squarely built of wood and had more strings.[1] Phanius is specifically named as a cithara player whose daughter is to be married to a neighbor boy (Citharistes 99).

κυβευτής, gambler, is characterized as a wild gambler (Fr. 705).

---

1. J. Mountford, R. Winnington-Ingram, "Music", The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. by M. Cary et al., Oxford, 1949, 588.

παιανισταί, paean chanters, a group of festive-singers, roam through the streets and sing songs during their revelling (D 230).

σύγκλινος, a fellow-banqueter, is the person sharing one's couch at a symposium (Fr. 916).

τραγῳδός, an actor of tragedy, tells the story of how Zeus came to a maiden disguised in a shower of gold (Samia 245) or how Pelias and Neleus were abandoned and reared as goatherds and were later recognized by tokens and became kings (E 149). The occasion for such accounts was the contest of the tragedians, the festival of Dionysus (Fr. 763).

αὐλητρίς, a flute player. Glycera came to the house of Myrrhina, the second wife of Pataecus and step-mother of Moschion, not as a flute player (P x150). The flute girl, and the harpist too, make expensive offerings at the altars, namely, eels, wine of Mende, cheese and honey costing almost a talent (Fr. 264).

ψάλτρια, harpist, is mentioned six times in the Epitrepontes and is identified as the slave-girl, Habrotonon, a courtesan, with whom Charisius shares his company (E 413, x445) and pays her twelve drachmas a day (E 10) while refusing to live with his recently wedded Pamphila (E fr. 1). Habrotonon performed on the harp for the girls celebrating the feast of the Tauropolia (E 301). The harpist, like the flute girl, αὐλητρίς, made expensive offerings at the altars (Fr. 264).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER X ENTERTAINERS AND SPECTATORS

ἄνδρες 12

Δ χ194 ἄνδρε[ς, τί δρῶ;

Δ 659 ἡδέως
ἴδοιμ' ἄν, ἄνδρες, νὴ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονί.

Δ 666 ἄνδρες, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν,
μὰ τοὺς θεούς, οὐπώποτ' ἐν τῷ ἡμῷ βίῳ
εὐκαιρότερον ἄνθρωπον ἀποπε⟨π⟩νιγμένον
ἑόρακα μικροῦ·

Δ 967 μειράκια, παῖδες, ἄνδρες ἐπικροτήσατε.

Ε 567 ἐλάλει πρὸς ἐκείνην, ὡς ἔοιχ', ὁ δ' οἷα μὲν
ἤλλαττε χρώματ', ἄνδρες, οὐδ' εἰπεῖν καλόν.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 54 ὥσθ' ὅτι μὲν αὐτῆς ἐστι τοῦτο γνώριμον
εἶναι, πατρὸς δ' ὅτου ποτ' ἐστίν, εἴτ' ἐμοῦ
εἴτ'-- οὐ λέγω δ', ἄνδρες,

ΣΑΜΙΑ 114 παράβολος
ὁ λόγος ἴσως ἔστ', ἄνδρες, ἀλλ'ἀληθινός.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 338 ἂν δέ μου
μὴ δέη]τ', ἄνδρες, καταμένειν, ἀλλ'ἀποργισθεὶς ἐᾶι

ἀπιένα]ι -- τουτὶ γὰρ ἄρτι παρέλιπον -- τί δεῖ ποεῖν;

D II 3

ἐγὼ τὸν ἄλλον, ἄνδρες, ἐτεθνήκειν βίον
ἅπανθ' ὃν ἔζην, τοῦτό μοι πιστεύετε.

D II 13

τὸν τηλικοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον ἥλιον
νῦν πρῶτον εὗρον, ἄνδρες, ἐν τῇι τήμερον
ὑμᾶς ὁρῶ νῦν αἰθρίαι, τὸν ἀέρα,
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, τὸ θέατρον.

Fr. 396 ΤΙΤΘΗ

ἥδη τις ὑμῶν παιδίον
ἠτήσατ' ἢ κέχρηκεν, ἄνδρες γλυκύτατοι;

Fr. 656

μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄνδρες, εἰκόν' οὐκ ἔχω
<εὑρεῖν> ὁμοίαν τῷ γεγονότι πράγματι,
ζητῶν πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, τί ταχέως ἀπολλύει.

ἄνθρωποι 1

ΣΑΜΙΑ 235

δεινόν], ὦνθρωποι.

ἑστιάτωρ 1

ΚΩΛΑΞ 12

.....ἑστιάτωρ δ'ἔσ[θ'] ὁ τῆς

θεατής 1

Π 51

ἔρρωσθ' εὐμενεῖς τε γενόμενοι
ἡμῖν, θεαταί, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σῴζετε.

κιθαριστής 1

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ 99 ἆρα τοῦ κ[ι]θαριστο[ῦ Φανίου
ταύτην λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακ[ας τὴν θυγατέρα
τοῦ γείτονος νῦν ὄντος;

κυβευτής 1

Fr. 705 ἄγριον κυβευτὴν

παιανισταί 1

Δ 230 καὶ γὰρ προσιόντας τούσδε <παιανιστάς> Πανιστάς τινας
εἰς τὸν τόπον δεῦρ' ὑποβεβρεγμένους ὁρῶ,

σύγκλινος 1

Fr. 916
Pollux, VI, 12, ὁ δὲ παρακατακείμενός τινι συμπότης συγκλίτης,
παρακλίτης· σύγκλινον δὲ Μένανδρος λέγει.

τραγῳδος 3

ΣΑΜΙΑ 245 οὐκ ἀκήκοας λεγόν[των], εἰπέ μοι, [Νικήρα]τε,
τῶν τραγῳδῶν, ὡς γενόμενος [χρυσὸ]ς ὁ Ζ[εὺς]
ἐρρύη
διὰ τέγους, κατειργμένην δὲ παῖδ' ἐμοίχευσέν
π[ο]τε;

αὐλητρίς 2

Π χ150 οὐ γὰρ ὡς αὐ]λ[ητρ]ὶς οὐδ' ὡς πορνίδιον τρισ-
άθλιον
ἦλθε.

Fr. 264 4 ΜΕΘΗ

ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἡγορασμένον
δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα
αὐλητρίδας δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας,
Μενδαῖον, ἐγχέλεις, Θάσιον, τυρόν, μέλι
μικροῦ ταλάντου·

ψάλτρια 7

E 413 τοὔνομ[α .....] ψαλτρίας

E χ445 Χα[ρίσιος ἔνδον ἐστὶ μετὰ τῆς ψαλ]τρίας;

E χ19 ὁ] τρισκακοδ[αίμων ψάλ]τριαν

E χ424 .....καὶ ψάλτρια[ν

E χ657 πάξ, μὴ βλέπ' εἰς τ[ὴν ψάλτριαν.

E fr. 1 οὐχ ὁ τρόφιμός σου πρὸς θεῶν, Ονήσιμε,
ὁ νῦν ἔχων τὴν Ἀβρότονον τὴν ψαλτρίαν
ἔγημ' ἔναγχος;

Fr. 264 4 ΜΕΘΗ

ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἡγορασμένον
δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα,
αὐλητρίδας δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας,
Μενδαῖον, ἐγχέλεις, Θάσιον, τυρόν, μέλι
μικροῦ ταλάντου·

PART III

SOCIAL CLASS

CHAPTER I

DEVIATES

To apply modern terms and concepts to the Greek who deviated consistently from "the path of virtue" and to consider him a social problem is anachronistic. It is fallacious to impose present moral standards on a past age and to render a moral-value judgment with our moral criteria.[1] Yet, since we tend to evaluate past actions by our standards, it is convenient to categorize, according to our moral norm, persons engaging in activities unacceptable by a modern moral code, mindful that πᾶν τὸ λυμαινόμενόν ἐστιν ἔνδοθεν. (Fr. 538) Menander stigmatizes the city with its "thieves, gamblers and amusements" (Fr. 416) and recommends that only a short time should be spent there, for those who delay grow old, poor and are ruined. "Of what use is it for a man to be of good character and noble birth in this day and age for the flatterer, κόλαξ, fares best of all, next, the blackmailing-swindler, συκοφάντης, and the crook, κακοήθης, plays the third part"(Theophorumene fr. 1). The wanton or indiscreet woman is not glamorized by Menander and a legally-wedded wife is never presented as an adulteress in Menandrean Comedy, although Propertius [2] refers to Thais as a moecha (cf. Fr. 185). The courtesan "par un curieux hasard, ce personnage, à qui sont

---

1. P. Dunkin, Post-Aristophanic Comedy: Studies in the Social Outlook of Middle and New Comedy at Both Athens and Rome, Urbana, 1946, 100.

2. Propertius, 4,5,43.

consacrés tant de fragments de la periode moyenne, paraît à peine dans de l'âge suivant."[3] We wish to emphasize again, particularly here in this chapter, that the tendency to generalize and to type the stock character of New Comedy fails to assess the individuality of every Menandrean character.[4] "Niemals findet man bei ihm zwei Figuren, die sich einfach decken. Gewiss arbeitet auch er mit den überkommen Komödientypen, den polternden Vätern, den leichtsinnigen verliebten Jünglingen, den treulosen Hetären, den prahlerischen Soldaten, den schamlosen Kupplern, den frechen listigen Sklaven, aber er gibt den Vertretern dieser Typen immer etwas eigenes Blut, das sie von anderen Figuren derselben Klasse unterscheidet. Ja nicht selten, besonders wohl in seinen reifsten Stücken, macht er aus den alten Typen etwas völlig Neues."[5]

---

3. P. LeGrand, Daos: Tableau de la Comédie Grecque pendant la période dite nouvelle, Paris, 1910, 100.

4. L. Post, "Menander in Current Criticism", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 55(1934) 19-20.

5. A. Koerte, Die Menschen Menanders (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Vol. 89(1937) 3. Heft) Leipzig, 1937, 21.

DEVIATES

κακοήθης 1

κακοῦργος 1

κλέπτης 1

κόλαξ 2

μοιχός 7

παράσιτος 1

πορνοβοσκός 3

πορνοκόπος 1

συκοφάντης 4

τοιχωρύχος (3) 1

ἄνθρωπος 1

ἑταίρα 6

ἑταιρίδιον 1

παλλακή 1

πόρνη 3

πορνίδιον 2

χαμαιτύπη 2

κακοήθης, crook, fares better in this life than a man of character and noble birth though not quite as well as the flatterer or sycophant (Theophorumene fr. 1).

κακοῦργος, scoundrel, is the term used by Gorgias in reference to Sostratus when he first catches sight of him (D 258).

κλέπται, thieves, lurk in the city and they will make the man who lingers there poor (Fr. 416 $_{10}$).

κόλαξ, the flatterer, fares best of all and renders it useless for a man in this life to have good character and noble birth (Theophorumene fr. 1). Worthless flatterers ruin tyrants, anyone who is a great leader, satrap, post-commander, founder of a colony or general (Kolax 94).

μοιχός, adulterer, is an evil that will haunt a man who plans to marry for he will worry about this someone else being in his marriage bed (Fr. 718). To be an adulterer is a very costly thing for the price is death (Fr. 306), and at such a risk, no one would blame the paramour for fleeing and disrupting the scheme (Fr. 16). Moschion is considered to be a paramour and is referred to as such four times in the Periceiromene though he is actually the brother of Glycera and not her lover. The spying Sosias, the aide of the husband of Glycera, Polemon, would like to capture the adulterer in the house (P 167) next door (P 180), taking it by storm (P 200) with his so-called army.

παράσιτος, parasite, is seen entering the women's apartments and it is noted that even the image of Zeus Protector of the Home, no longer averts blatant wantonness (Fr. 452). Pollux makes the statement that the parasites wore black or grey except in the

Sicyonian where the parasite wore white since he is going to be married (cf. Fr. 377).

πορνοβοσκός, a brothel-keeper, is mentioned three times. Smicrines soliloquizes on the reports he has heard of his son Charisius who refuses to live with his wife Pamphila and pays the brothel-keeper twelve drachmas a day (E 10). The instance in Citharistes x41 is very doubtful and Webster finds it implausible and untenable.

πορνοκόπος, fornicator, is the word used by Menander as a substitute for the word πορνότριψ according to Phrynichus (Fr. 902, Fr. 880).

συκοφάντης, sycophant, blackmailer, swindler. A man might appear to be a blackmailer or swindler if he looks at the laws very closely (Fr. 545), perhaps, becoming too eager for litigation involving personal charges. In this evil world, the swindler fares second best, next to the flatterer, faring much better then men of character or of noble birth (Theophorumene fr. 1). The poor man, though having only a worn cloak, is naturally suspected of being a blackmailer since his thought tends towards seeking gain to end his poverty even though he be the one who is suffering injustice (Georgos 132). Sosias is called a συκοφάντης more in the sense of a suspicious or evil minded person (P 188).

τοιχωρύχος, burglar, although it is impossible to determine precisely whether the word is used in the sense of its root meaning or is a generalized term of abuse (D 447, 588) because the context of the fragment is too scanty (Fr. 777).

ἄνθρωπος, a wench, is what the enraged Demeas calls Plangon, the Samian woman, (Samia 133) in apposition with the word

χαμαιτύπη, harlot.

ἑταίρα, female paramour or courtesan, is mentioned six times. Chaereas, the parasite, tells his friend, Sostratus, how he saves his friends from girl friends who are courtesans (D 59). A courtesan who relies on income from wantoness never thinks of self-respect (Fr. 588). "A costly courtesan was walking in step with her man" (Fr. 708) which might indicate that the liaison was public and not just a private affair. Polemon considered Glycera his legally-wedded wife (P 239) and Glycera insists that she should not have been suspected of being a courtesan of her brother, Moschion, at least not while she was staying as a guest in the very house where Moschion's step-mother lived (P 304). Moschion considers himself handsome enough to attract the attention of the courtesans (P xl13).

ἑταιρίδιον, little darling, is the diminutive of ἑταίρα and has a pejorative connotation in its context (E 655).

παλλακή, concubine or common-law wife, in Athenian society enjoyed the social privileges and duties of a wife which the ἑταίρα did not. A slave girl, the personal maid of the mother before she died, became the concubine or common-law wife of the father of two girls, and is rearing these children in the mother's stead (Fr. 453). A slave girl or non-citizen's daughter could not become a legally-wedded wife, γαμετή, of an Athenian citizen.[6]

πόρνη, prostitute, is unscrupulous, unashamed and given to flattery (E fr. 7) which makes it difficult for a free-born woman to keep her man interested solely in her. Smicrines finds fault with

---

6. Demosthenes, Contra Aristocratem, XXIII, 637; Contra Neaeram, LIX, 1350, 17.

Charisius for accepting the paternity of the child which he presumes to be Habrotonon's whom he calls a prostitute (E 470). One usage occurs in unintelligible context (Fr. 177).

πορνίδιον, a little prostitute, diminutive of πόρνη, is mentioned twice. Glycera came to Myrrhina's house as a friend and not as a flute-player or prostitute, πορνίδιον (P 150). Zeus, the Protector of the Home, fails to discourage prostitutes from sharing a home's hospitality (Fr. 452).

χαμαιτύπη, harlot, is what Demeas calls Plangon (Samia 133). They are wont to screech (Fr. 699).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER I DEVIATES

κακοήθης 1

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ fr. 1 17 πράττει δ' ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα πάντων, δεύτερα
ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ κακοήθης τρίτα λέγει.

κακοῦργος 1

Δ 258 κακοῦργος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ βλέμματος.

κλέπτης 1

Fr. 416 10 ΥΠΟΒΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΣ ὄχλος, ἀγορά, κλέπται, κυβεῖαι, διατριβαί.

κόλαξ 2

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ fr. 1 16 πράττει δ' ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα πάντων, δεύτερα
ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ κακοήθης τρίτα λέγει˜

ΚΟΛΑΞ 94 ὅσοι τύραννοι πώποθ', ὅστις ἡγεμὼν
μέγας, σατράπ[η]ς, φρούραρχ[ο]ς, οἰκιστὴς τόπ[ο]υ,
στρατηγός -- οὐ [παντ'], ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελέως λέγω
ἀπολωλότας [νῦν -- τ]οῦτ' ἀνῄρηκεν μόνον,
οἱ κόλακες ὅτι [σύν]εισιν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοι.

μοιχός 7

Fr. 16 ΑΛΙΕΥΣ ἐκλελάκτικεν
ὁ χρηστὸς ἡμῖν μοιχός·

Fr. 718 8 γαμεῖ;
λάθριοι <τὸ> λοιπὸν ἄρ' ἐπιθυμίαι <κα>καί,
γαμηλίῳ λέχει τε μοιχὸς ἐντρυφῶν,

Fr. 306 ΟΡΓΗ οὐκ ἔστι μοιχοῦ πρᾶγμα τιμιώτερον·
θανάτου γάρ ἐστιν ἄνιον.

Π 167 ἀκαρὲς δέω δὲ φάσκειν καταλαβεῖν
τὸν μοιχὸν [ἔ]νδον, ἵν' ἀναπηδήσας τρέχῃ,

Π 180 ἦ δ' οἴχεθ' ὡς τὸν γείτον' εὐθὺς δηλαδὴ
τὸν μοιχόν, οἰμώζειν φράσασ' ἡμῖν μακρὰ
καὶ μεγάλα.

Π 200 κατὰ κράτος τὸ δυστυχ[ὲ]ς
οἰκίδιον τ[ο]ῦτ' αὐτίκ' ἐξαιρ[ήσ]ομεν.

Π 408 ἐ[φίλησεν τότε
ἀδελφόν, οὐχὶ μοιχόν·

παράσιτος 1

Fr. 452 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ νῦν δ' εἰς γυναικωνίτιν εἰσιόνθ' ὅταν
ἴδω παράσιτον, τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Κτήσιον
ἔχοντα τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐ κεκλειμένον,
ἀλλ' εἰστρέχοντα πορνίδια --

πορνοβοσκός 3

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ χ41 οὐ δεῖ λαβεῖν με πορνο[βοσκοῦ] θ[υγατέρα.

Ε 10 ἀπόκοιτός ἐστι, πορνοβοσκῷ δώδεκα
τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμὰς δίδωσι.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 72 τὸν πορνοβοσκό[ν.....

πορνοκόπος 1

Fr. 880, Fr. 902

Phrynichus § 389 p. 491, πορνοκόπος· οὕτω Μένανδρος·
οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι πορνότριψ λέγουσιν. πορνοκόπος· ἑταιρο-
τρόφος πόρνος,

συκοφάντης 4

Π 188 ὡς πο[νηρὸς εἶ
καὶ συκοφάντης, ὃς τ[οιαῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνεις.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 132 καὶ συκοφάντης εὐθὺς ὁ τὸ τριβώνιον
ἔχων καλεῖται, κἂν αδικούμενος τύχῃ

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ fr. 1 17 πράττει δ' ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα πάντων, δεύτερα
ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ κακοήθης τρίτα λέγει.

Fr. 545 καλὸν οἱ νόμοι σφόδρ' εἰσίν· ὁ δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς νόμους
λίαν ἀκριβῶς, συκοφάντης φαίνεται.

τοιχωρύχος (3) 1

Fr. 777 ἐν γειτόνων οἰκῶν γάρ, ὦ τοιχωρύχε.

ἄνθρωπος 1

ΣΑΜΙΑ 133 χαμαιτύπη δ' ἄνθρωπος, ὄλεθρος.

ἑταίρα 6

Δ 59 παραλαμβάνει τις τῶν φίλων
ἑρῶν ἑταίρας· εὐθὺς ἁρπάσας φέρω·

Fr. 588 οὐδέποθ' ἑταίρα τοῦ καλῶς πεφρόντικεν,
ἢ τὸ κακόηθες πρόσοδον εἴωθεν ποιεῖν.

Fr. 708 παρ' αὐτὸν ἴσα βαίνουσ' ἑταίρα πολυτελής.

Π 304 ἵν]α με λ[άβῃ] γυναῖκα -- κατ' ἐμὲ γὰρ πάνυ
γέγ]ον' οὗ[τος]--ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦθ', ἑταίραν δ' ἵνα μ' ἔχῃ;

Fr. x323 ΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΘΗΚΗ πεποιήκατ' ἔργον οὐχ ἑταίρων γὰρ .....
<μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἑταιρῶν>·

Π χ113 οὐκ ἀηδής, ὡς ἔοι[κε]ν, εἰμ' ἰδεῖν οὐδ' ἐντ[υχεῖν,
οἶομαι, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑταίρ[αις προσφιλής.

ἑταιρίδιον 1

Ε 655 οὐ γὰρ ἐσ[τί που
ἑταιρίδιον τοῦτ' οὐδὲ τὸ τυχὸν [παίγνιον,

παλλακή 1

Fr. 453 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ μήτηρ τέθνηκε ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν ταῖν δυεῖν
ταύταιν· τρέφει δὲ παλλακή τις τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτάς, ἄβρα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν γενομένη.

πόρνη 3

E 470 ὑμῶν ἑταῖρος οὗτος οὐ[δ]' ἡσ[χύ]νετο
παιδάρι[ον] ἐκ πόρνης [ποεῖν.....

Fr. 177 $_{3}$ ΗΝΙΟΧΟΣ ἀλλὰ θεὸς οὐδεὶς εἰς τὸ προκόλπιον φέρει
ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν εὔνους γενόμενος
πόρνης βουλὴν† ἔδειξεν εὐπορίας τινός,

E fr. 7 (533) χαλεπόν, Παμφίλη,
ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ πρὸς πόρνην μάχη.

πορνίδιον 2

Π 150 οὐ γὰρ ὡς αὐ]λ[ητρ]ὶς οὐδ'ὡς πορνίδιον τρισάθλιον
ἦλθε.

Fr. 452 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ νῦν δ'εἰς γυναικωνῖτιν εἰσιόνθ' ὅταν
ἴδω παράσιτον, τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Κτήσιον
ἔχοντα τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐ κεκλειμένον,
ἀλλ'εἰστρέχοντα πορνίδια --

χαμαιτύπη 2

ΣΑΜΙΑ 133 χαμαιτύπη δ' ἄνθρωπος, ὄλεθρος.

Fr. 699 ἀλλὰ καὶ χαμαιτύπη

κρίζει τις.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL STATUS

αὐτουργός 1

ἐργάτης 4

λιμός 1

ξένος (10) 1

πένης 10

πλούταξ 1

πτωχός 8

ἀπελευθέρα 1

The use of certain nouns designating people as wealthy or poor, independent or foreign, establishes evidence for social status. Certain statements of Menander make this differentiation more clear and are presented here as a prologue to this category. "Any poor man who wishes to live in the city makes himself more wretched for when he sees another who is able to live in ease, then he sees how wretched his life really is" (Fr. 336). Wealth alone veils a man's ignoble birth and bad character (Fr. 419). The wealthy man can have land, houses, servants, silver-ware, friends, jurors and witnesses by using his money (Fr. 614). Yet wealth is not everything (Fr. 250, Fr. 509, Fr. 615, Fr. 739, Phasma 28-43, Citharistes fr. 1); there is also "pedigree" (Fr. 612, Citharistes 86, Samia 141) and freedom (Fr. 132, Citharistes 39). "I am a country boy and I do not say otherwise, and I am not experienced in city ways but I will learn in time" (Georgos fr. 3). A man who works can become rich or learned and have everything except freedom from grief (Fr. 622, Citharistes fr. 1). Such statements indicate a differentiation among Athenian people which effects a social status.

αὐτουργός, husbandman, is the disguise assumed by Sostratus at the suggestion of Daos. Sostratus seeks Cnemon's favor so that he may marry his daughter (D 369) and as an αὐτουργός he might be acceptable to Cnemon (who hates the idle and finely dressed city-folk) and would be of the same social status as Cnemon who works his land himself.

ἐργάτης, worker, is what Sostratus becomes when he uses the hoe (D 527) just like Gorgias and Daos (D 608). One country worker was bitter, sullen and thrifty (Fr. 11). The child adopted by

Syriscus is being reared among the worker class though, perhaps, of more noble station (E 145).

λιμός, poor wretch. This noun with this meaning (cf. LSJ) is found in a context full of conjectures. A procurer soliloquizes whether he should give the girl to the rich man or to the man having an army of poor wretches, λιμοί, who are carrying cudgels (Kolax 109).

ξένος, a foreign guest, is shown special hospitality at dinner by special servings suited to his taste (Fr. 397). The other usages of ξένοι are references to mercenary soldiers.

πένης, a poor man, is considered to belong to the gods (Fr. 256). Sostratus is praised for having assumed the disguise of a poor man (D 769) for it shows good character. It is easy to despise a poor man even if he says what is just (Georgos 129; cf. D 285 ff.). Wretched is the poor man who marries and begets children (Fr. 335) or wishes to live in the city where he will envy the wealthy at leisure (Fr. 336) or marries a wealthy woman for he surrenders himself and gains nothing (Fr. 579). The pedagogue suggests that Pheidias who has so many blessings disturb his complacency by considering the pedagogue's poverty (Phasma 31). Pataecus became a poor man in one day (P 376) when the ship with all his goods sank. It is impossible to find a relative of a poor man (Fr. 6) for no one wishes to admit that he has poor relatives for he will be asked to help them. The poor man suspects that everyone else despises him (Fr. 8).

πλούταξ, a rich man, from Ionia, is one whom the cook would serve thick soup and stimulating foods (Fr. 397 $_{10}$).

πτωχός, beggar, should not be despised or neglected by a rich man for the rich man can show himself worthy of the good fortune, which he now enjoys but which can change, by his solicitude for the beggar (D 285, Fr. 250_9) although the support of beggars has made many men worthless (Fr. 14). Fortune can change for the rich (P 376) and for the poor who can suddenly become rich (Kolax 50) but the suspicion is that this cannot be done honestly for wealth does not come quickly to an honest man (Kolax 43). The beggar spends sleepless nights, sighing and weeping, thinking that the rich man sleeps peacefully because he has no worries (Citharistes fr. 1_5) but discovers that the rich have worries just as beggars do. A beggar who has been treated with injustice is most discontented (D 296); it is a shame to be a beggar (Fr. 327). Callippides indicates a reluctance at the marriage of his daughter to Gorgias after agreeing to his son's marriage to Cnemon's daughter for he does not want both a beggar bride and a beggar bridegroom in his family (D 795). Pataecus became a beggar (P 381) in one day when his ship sank and after this disaster he exposed his children for he thought it impossible to rear his children as a poor man.

ἀπελευθέρα, a freedwoman, an emancipated female slave, is mentioned by Menander according to Athenaeus.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER II SOCIAL STATUS

αὐτουργός 1

Δ 369 εἰ τύχοι γὰρ τοῦτ' ἰδάν,
ἴσως ἂν ὑπομείνειε καὶ παρὰ σοῦ τινα
λόγον, νομίσας αὐτουργὸν εἶναι τῷ βίῳ
πένηθ'.

ἐργάτης 4

Δ 527 ἐξαίρων ἄνω
σφόδρα τὴν δίκελλαν, ὥσπερ ἐργάτης βαθὺ
†ειγαιλπλειον†

Δ 608 1 ἐργάται
ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τ[ιν]ές εἰσιν·

Fr. 11 ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ἐγὼ δ' ἄγροικος, ἐργάτης, σκυθρός, πικρός,
φειδωλός.

E 145 ὁ πα]ῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς καὶ τραφεὶς ἐν ἐργάταις
ὑπ]ερόψεται ταῦτ', εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν
ἥξ]ας ἐλεύθερόν τι τολμήσει ποιεῖν,

λιμός 1

ΚΟΛΑΞ 109 τ]οῦδ'[ἐστι πλοῦτ]ος φανερός, οὐ λιμοὶ [μοχλοὺς
ἔχον[τ]ες ἐν τ[αῖς] χερσίν, ἄλλο δ'οὐδὲ ἕν.

ξένος (10) 1

Fr. 397 ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΟΣ ξένου τὸ δεῖπνόν ἐστιν ὑποδοχή τινος.
ποδαποῦ; διαφέρει τῷ μαγείρῳ τοῦτο γάρ.

πένης 10

Δ 769 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μέρει μάλιστ' ἀνὴρ
δείκνυτ', ἐξισοῦν ἑαυτὸν ὅ<σ>τις ὑπομένει τινὶ
εὐπορῶν πένητι·

Π 376 πένης ἐγενόμην βίον ἔχειν [εἰθισμένος.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 129 εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστι, Γοργία, πένης,
κἂν πάνυ λέγῃ δίκαια·

Fr. 8 ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ πρὸς ἅπαντα δειλὸν ὁ πένης ἐστὶ γὰρ
καὶ πάντας αὐτοῦ καταφρονεῖν ὑπολαμβάνει.

Fr. 335 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ὦ τρισκακοδαίμων, ὅστις ὢν πένης γαμεῖ
καὶ παιδοποιεῖθ'.

Fr. 336 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ ὅστις πένης ὢν ζῆν ἐν ἄστει βούλεται,
ἀθυμότερον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖ ποεῖν.

Fr. 579 ὅταν πένης ὢν καὶ γαμεῖν τις ἐλόμενος
τὰ μετὰ γυναικὸς ἐπιδέχηται χρήματα,
αὐτὸν δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἐκείνην λαμβάνει.

ΦΑΣΜΑ 31 ἂν τίμιοι, δακέτω σ' ὑπὲρ ἐμ[οῦ τοῦτο τοῦ
πένητος·

Fr. 6 ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ἔργον εὑρεῖν συγγενῆ
πένητος ἐστιν·

Fr. 256 ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΑ ἀεὶ νομίζονθ' οἱ πένητες τῶν θεῶν.

πλούταξ 1

Fr. 397 10 ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΟΣ Ἰωνικὸς πλούταξ· ὑποστάσεις ποιῶ,
κάνδαυλον, ὑποβινητιῶντα βρώματα.

πτωχός 9

Δ 285 πίστευε τούτῳ, μήτε τῶν πτωχῶν πάλιν
ἡμῶν καταφρόνει· τοῦ δι<ε>υτυχεῖν δ' ἀεὶ
πάρεχε σ<ε>αυτὸν τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἄξιον.

Δ 296 τῶν δ' ἁπάντων ἴσθ' ὅτι
πτωχὸς ἀδικηθείς ἐστι δυσκολώτατον.

Δ 795 νύμφην γὰρ ἅμα καὶ νυμφίον πτωχοὺς λαβεῖν
οὐ βούλομ', ἱκανὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν θάτερον.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 50 ἄνθρωπε, πέρυσι πτωχὸς ἦσθα καὶ νεκρός,
νυνὶ δὲ πλουτεῖς· λέγε, τίν' εἰργάζου τέχνην;

Fr. 14 ΑΛΙΕΥΣ ὁ πρῶτος εὑρὼν διατροφὴν πτωχῷ τέχνην
πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀθλίους· ἁπλοῦν γὰρ ἦν
τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ζῆν ἁλύπως ἀποθανεῖν.

Π 381 ἐφόλκια
ἡγησ]άμην δὴ πτω[χ]ὸν ὄντα παιδία
τ[ρέφ]ειν ἀ[βού]λου παντελῶς ἀνδρὸς τρόπ[ον.

Fr. 327 ΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΘΗΚΗ αἰσχρὸν γενέσθαι πτωχὸν ἀσθενῆ θ' ἅμα.

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ fr. 1 ᾤμην ἐγὼ τοὺς πλουσίους, ὦ Φανία,
οἷς μὴ τὸ δανείζεσθαι πρόσεστιν, οὐ στένειν
τὰς νύκτας οὐδὲ στρεφομένους ἄνω κάτω
οἴμοι λέγειν, ἡδὺν δὲ καὶ πρᾷόν τινα
ὕπνον καθεύδειν· ἀλλὰ τῶν πτωχῶν τινα.

Fr. 250 ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΑΙ (This passage is identical with D 285). τί οὖν λέγω; μήτ' αὐτὸς εἰ σφόδρ' εὐπορεῖς,
πίστευε τούτῳ, μήτε τῶν πτωχῶν πάλιν
ἡμῶν καταφρόνει, τοῦ δὲ γ' εὐτυχεῖν ἀεὶ
πάρεχε σεαυτὸν τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἄξιον.

ἀπελευθέρα 1

Fr. 370 Athenaeus III 115b Μένανδρον δ' ἐν Ῥαπιζομένῃ καὶ ἀπελευθέραν εἰρηκέναι (εἶπέ τις).

CHAPTER III

YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN

ἀκουστής 1

ἀκροατής 1

ἔφηβος 1

μειράκιον 20

μειρακύλλιον 2

νεανίσκος 7

τρόφιμος 17

κόρη 36

μεῖραξ 2

παιδισκάριον 2

ἡ παῖς 10

παρθένος (16) 15

τροφίμη 1

Traditionally, the Athenians regarded various social groupings as basic age groups. "Hippocrates, we are told, divided human life into eight periods of seven years each"; [1] "there are two periods of life with reference to which education has to be divided, from seven to the age of puberty, and onwards to the age of one and twenty. The poets who divide ages by sevens are in the main right".[2] Our category of young men and women is an attempt to list the nouns designating youth from ages fourteen to twenty-one. Their activities formed an integral part of the social pattern presented by Menander in his comedies and are a necessary adjunct to various occupations and social status.

ἀκουστής, pupil. Pollux states that Menander used the word ἀκουστής in place of the word ἀκροατής (Fr. 818). We include these words in this category on a natural supposition that it is a likely reference to a person in this age group although not necessarily so. There is no sufficient context on which the meaning of the usage can be based.

ἀκροαταί, pupils, audience. The fragment implies a distinction between pupils or an audience who eat at home and those who do not (Citharistes fr. 6).

ἔφηβος, ephebe, was a young man who had completed his eighteenth

---

1. H. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, New York, 1956, 102. He identifies the first three periods as "παιδίον 'small child' (up to seven years of age); παῖς 'child' (from seven to fourteen); and μειράκιον 'adolescent' (from fourteen to twenty-one)." We treated the first two periods in Part I, Family.

2. Aristotle, Politics, transl. by B. Jowett (The Modern Library, New York, no. 228) VII, 17, 1336b.

year at which time he became a citizen and undertook light military training and duties. This period marked the transition from boyhood to young adult (Fr. 724).

μειράκιον, young adult, twenty years of age or more, had finished his ephebic training (Fr. 724). Of such an age is Gorgias who is to be married (D 843) and who had never loved before (D 342); he is called μειράκιον six times (D 299, 311, 342, 559, 729, 843). Sostratus is called μειράκιον three times (D 219, 269, 539). A band of drunken young men proceed in front of the house of Pataecus (P 71). One young man seemingly is concerned about wealth and is told that it is not the only thing of importance (Fr. 250); jealousy is the evil which will destroy another young man (Fr. 538). The word is used twenty times.

μειρακίσκος, youth. A young man about to be married recalls when he was but a youth (Georgos 4). Another youth left his sister behind and she was adopted by some man (Comoedia Florentina 9). It is a diminutive of μεῖραξ which can mean lad or stripling.

μειρακύλλιον, lad. Gorgias, Cnemon's step-son, has grown up to be a hard-working lad, μειρακύλλιον, having a mind more mature than his age (D 27). Elsewhere Gorgias is called μειράκιον (D 299, 311, 342, 559, 729, 843). It is best to avoid meeting a band of drunken lads (E 33).

νεανίσκος, youngster. Sostratus is called a youngster from the city (D 39), a dainty youth (D 414). Gorgias is called a youngster by Sostratus (D 792). One youngster is in love and of an age to be wed (P 9); Myrrhina's son who works on Cleaenetus' farm is intent on marrying (Georgos 69); Moschion is a youngster who is

already a father (I 54). Insufficent context makes it impossible to identify the youngster who is being called by the maiden possessed by a divinity as she bemoans the misfortune which has fallen upon her (Theophorumene 20).

τρόφιμος, young master, is what Sostratus is called by Geta who is the servant of Callippides, Sostratus' father, (D 413, 553, 607). Charisius is the young master (E fr. 1) who keeps Habrotonon, the harpist, although he is married to Pamphila. His slave, Onesimus, calls him master (E 292); slave Daos seeks his master Moschion (P 74) and calls him master (P 102); Parmenon refers to Moschion as his master who has wronged a free born maiden (Samia 301); Syriscus tells his wife to take the tokens to their young master Chaerestratus and that they will pay him the rent on the next day (E 201). Daos can be identified as the speaker in a fragment on the basis of this appellation of his master (Kolax 86) and a pedagogue calls Pheidias his master (Phasma 41). The word is used seventeen times by Menander.

κόρη, a maiden, is identified as free born in three instances (D 64, Samia 302, Georgos fr. 4). A maiden should not be left alone (D 222) but should be protected (D 228, 235) in this instance, by her step-brother from the attentions of a youth like Sostratus (D 220). A maiden might have a nurse to watch over her (Phasma 14) so that she might not be violated (Samia 302). The word is used thirty-six times.

μεῖραξ, a young girl, is told by her step-mother how she was adopted (P 14). She is led indoors away from a gang of drunken youth (P 73).

παιδισκάριον, a wench, captured her soldier boy whom no enemy could capture (Misoumenos fr. 3), probably a servant wench (Fr. 333).

ἡ παῖς, girl, is a free born girl (D 50, E 320) in two instances and the former is Cnemon's daughter who attracted Sostratus' attention and he sets out to win her hand. Sostratus and the girl watch Gorgias pull Cnemon out of the well (D 672). Habrotonon played the harp for the girls (E 301) at the Tauropolia. The word παῖς is used ten times to refer to a young girl who is old enough to marry (Georgos 74).

παρθένος, virgin. Sostratus is accused of trying to seduce a free born virgin (D 290) and while looking at her (D 682) he is so smitten with love that he allows the rope to fall from his hands and fails to help Gorgias pull Cnemon out of the well. Habrotonon discloses that Charisius raped a virgin, Pamphila, at the Tauropolia (E 277). The word is used sixteen times, once, however, in reference to the deity Nike (D 968).

τροφίμη, young mistress of the house, is what Simike calls Cnemon's daughter (D 883) as she bids her farewell before the marriage.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER III YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN

ἀκουστής 1

Fr. 818 Pollux II 82 φαῦλον δ' ὁ Μενάνδρου ἀκουστὴς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκροατής.

ἀκροατής 1

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ fr. 6 οὐκ οἰκοσίτους τοὺς ἀκροατὰς λαμβάνεις;

ἔφηβος 1

Fr. 724 παῖς γέγον', ἔφηβος. μειράκιον, ἀνήρ, γέρων.

μειράκιον 20

Δ 219 μειράκιον διακονεῖ
κόρῃ· πονηρόν.

Δ 269 μειράκιον, ἐθελήσαις ἂν ὑπομεῖναι λόγον σπουδαιότερόν μου;

Δ 299 μειράκιον, οὕτως εὐτυχοίης, βραχύ τί μου ἄκουσον.

Δ 311 ἢ βουλόμενος ὑμῶν <τι> κακοτεχνεῖν λάθρᾳ, οὗτός μ' ὁ Πάν, μειράκιον, αἱ Νύμφαι θ' ἅμα ἀπόπληκτον αὐτοῦ πλησίον τῆς οἰκίας ἤδη ποήσειαν.

Δ 342 πρὸς τῶν θεῶν οὐπώποτ' ἠράσθης τινός,
μειράκιον;

Δ 539 οὐ δοκεῖ μοι νῦν, ἔφη,
ἥξειν ἐκεῖνος, μειράκιον.

Δ 559 παραλήψομαι
τὸ μειράκιον τουτί, παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχω,
καὶ τὸν θεράποντ' αὐτοῦ·

Δ 729 τί δ' ἐστί, μειράκιον;

Δ 843 ἀλλ' ἐγγυῶ παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίων
τὴν θυγατέρ' ἤδη, μειράκιον, σοι,

Δ 967 φιλοφρόνως
μειράκια, παῖδες, ἄνδρες ἐπικροτήσατε.

ΗΡΩΣ 25 τὸ μειράκιον θ', ὁ Γοργίας.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 46 ὁ Κλεαίνετος γάρ, οὗ τὸ μειράκιον [τὸ σὸν
ἐ]ργάζεται, πρώην ποτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμ[πέλοις
σκ[ά]πτων διέκοψε τὸ σκέλος χρηστῶς πάνυ.

Fr. 724 παῖς γέγον', ἔφηβος, μειράκιον, ἀνήρ, γέρων.

Fr. 878 καὶ τὸ οὐδέτερον Μένανδρος εἴρηκε μελαγχρὲς μειράκιον, Schol. Hom. π 175.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ χ 67 τοῦ μειρ]ακίου τὰ πράγματ' ἀνέκρινεν,

ΣΑΜΙΑ 57 σύνοιδα γὰρ τῷ μειρακίῳ, νὴ τοὺς θεούς, καὶ κοσμίῳ τὸν πρότερον ὄντι χρόνον ἀεὶ

Fl. 6 νεώτερός τ[ις] ὤν, προσήκων κατὰ γένος τῷ μειρακίῳ χρηστός τε τῷ τρόπῳ πάνυ καὶ πλούσιος,

Fr. 250 ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΑΙ τἀργύριον εἶναι, μειράκιόν, σοι φαίνεται οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθ' ἡμέραν μόνον τιμὴν παρασχεῖν δυνατόν, ἄρτων, ἀλφίτων,

Fr. 538 μειράκιον, οὔ μοι κατανοεῖν δοκεῖς, ὅτι ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἕκαστα κακίας σήπεται,

Π 71 παῖδες, μεθύοντα μειράκια προσέρχεται π[ά]μπολλ'.

μειρακίσκος 2

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 4 ἦν δ' οὐ πονηρὸς οὐδ' ἐδόκουν ⟨ἁμαρτάνειν⟩, καὶ γὰρ τόθ'] ὁ μειρακίσκος ἐν ἀγρῷ διετέλει.

Fl. 9 [παρ'] ᾧ κατέλιπεν ἔτι νέαν
ὁ μειρακίσκος τὴν ἀδελφήν·

μειρακύλλιον 2

Δ 27 ἤδη δ' ἐστὶ μειρακύλλιον
ὁ παῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὸν νοῦν ἔχων·

Ε 33 ὡς καὶ μειρακυλλίων ὄχλος
εἰς τ]ὸν τόπον τις ἔρχεθ' ὑποβεβρεγμέν[ων,

νεανίσκος 7

Δ 39 νεανίσκον τε καὶ μάλ' εὐπόρου
πατ[ρ]ός,

Δ 414 τῷ τροφίμῳ τῷ Συστράτῳ --
κομψῷ νεανίσκῳ γε --

Δ 792 ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν ἀδελφὴν λήψ[ομαι
τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου,

Π 9 ἐραστοῦ γενομένου τε τοῦ σφοδροῦ
τούτου νεανίσκου γένει Κορινθίου
ὄντος,

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 69 διερχο]μένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκο[υ] τ[ά] τε
περὶ τ]ῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐμβαλόντος σοῦ <τε> καὶ
τῆς σῆς πενί]ας, ἔπαθεν τι κοινόν,

I 54 π]άνυ γελοῖον· οὐκ ἀκήκοας;
τῷ σῷ νεανίσκῳ.

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ 20 τί δὲ νεανίσκο[ν καλεῖς;

τρόφιμος 17

Δ 378 ὑπάγω, τρόφιμ'· ἐκεῖ διώκετε.

Δ 413 τῷ τροφίμῳ τῷ Σωστράτῳ --
κομψῷ νεανίσκῳ γε --

Δ 553 τρόφιμος. τί πο<ι>εῖτ' ἐνθάδ';

Δ 607 ἀλλ' ὁ τρόφιμος [γ]ὰρ οὑτοσὶ προσέρχεται
ἄγων μεθ' α[ὑτ]οῦ τοὺς ἐπικλήτους. ἐργάται
ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τ[ιν]ές εἰσιν· ὦ τῆς ἀτοπίας.

Ε 292 εἶτ', εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστί σου,
τρεφόμενον ὄψει τοῦτον ἐν δούλου μέρει,
κοὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἀποθάνοις;

E fr. 1 οὐχ ὁ τρόφιμός σου πρὸς θεῶν, Ὀνήσιμε,
ὁ νῦν ἔχων <τὴν> Ἀβρότονον τὴν ψαλτρίαν
ἔγημ' ἔναγχος;

Π 74 ὁ τρόφιμος ζητητέος·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 301 ὁ τρόφιμος ἐξήμαρτεν εἰς ἐλευθέρα[ν
κόρην·

E 201 σὺ δὲ ταυτί, γύναι,
λαβοῦσα πρὸς τὸν τρόφιμον ἐνθάδ' εἴσφερε
Χαιρέστρατον.

Fr. 92 ΔΑΚΤΥΛΙΟΣ
Hesychius. τρόφιμον· ὃν ἡμεῖς δεσπόσυνον, καὶ τρόφιμον <Μέν>ανδρος Δακτυλίῳ. Photius. τρόφιμος· ὁ νεώτερος οἰκοδεσπότης.

Fr. 170 ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΣ Donatus ad Ter. Eun. 289 "erilem filium".

Π 102 ο]ἰκίαν ἄνοι[γε], τρόφιμε.

Π χ139 οὐκ ἂν ἦν ψε]ῦδο[ς, τρ]όφ[ι]μέ μου σοῦ κατα-
ψεύδεσ[θ' ἕ]τι
μεῖζον.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 86 δι'οὗ τὰ πάν[τ]' ἀ[π]όλωλε, τρόφιμε, πράγματα
ἄρδην.

ΦΑΣΜΑ 41 κακὸν ἔχεις οὐδέν, ἡ ν[όσος δέ σου
ἔσθ' ἣν διῆλθες -- φορτικώτερο[ν δέ τι
ἐπέρχεταί μοι, τρόφιμε, συγγνώ[μην ἔχε, --
τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον οὐκ ἔχεις ὅπο[ι χέσῃς
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, εὖ ἴσθι.

Fr. 740 $_1$ εἰ γὰρ ἐγένου σύ, τρόφιμε, τῶν πάντων μόνος,
ὅτ' ἔτικτεν ἡ μήτηρ σ',

Fr. 740 $_{16}$ σὺ δ'οὔθ' ὑπερβάλλοντα, τρόφιμ', ἀπώλεσας
ἀγαθά, τὰ νυνί τ' ἐστι μέτρια σοι κακά.

κόρη 36

Δ 64 γάμον λέγει τις καὶ κόρην ἐλευθέραν.

Δ 220 μειράκιον διακονεῖ
κόρῃ.

Δ 222 ἄκακον κόρην μόνην ἀφεὶς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ
ἐᾷς,

Δ 228 ἵνα
ἐν ἐπιμελ<ε>ίᾳ τῆς κόρης γενώμεθα.

Δ 235 ἔδει σε νὴ δία
τὸν τῇ κόρῃ προσιόντα ⟨τόνδ'⟩ ὅστις ποτ' ἦν,

Δ 302 κόρην τιν' εἶδ[ον ἐνθαδί· τ]αύτης ἐρῶ.

Δ 318 οὐκ ἀλλότριος δ' ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀδελφὸς τῆς κόρης
ὁμομήτριος, βέλτιστε, ταῦτά σοι λέγω.

Δ 333 μεθ' αὑτοῦ τὴν κόρην ἐργάζεται
ἔχων τὰ πολλά·

Δ 349 οὐκ ἂν λά]βοιμι τὴν κόρην;

Δ 353 λόγον τιν' ἐμβαλῶ
εἰκῇ περὶ] γάμου τῆς κόρης·

Δ 359 ὦ τᾶν, τὴν [κ]όρην
ἄγων μεθ' αὑτοῦ, φῄς;

Δ 380 ἀποθανεῖν ἤδη με δεῖ
ἢ ζῆν ἔχοντα τὴν κόρην.

Δ 384 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐν γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἡ κόρη
τεθραμμένη,

Δ 530 εἶτα καὶ μετεστρεφόμην τι, πηνίκα
ὁ γέρων πρόσεισι τὴν κόρην ἄγων ἅμα

σκοπούμενος.

Δ χ687 οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνάμην ἔ[τ]ι
κατέχειν ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλὰ μικροῦ [τὴν κόρην
ἐφίλουν προσιών·

Δ 749 δεῖ δὲ μετὰ σοῦ νυμφίον
ὡς τάχισθ' εὑρεῖν τιν' ἡμᾶς τῇ κόρῃ, σοὶ συν-
δοκοῦν.

Δ 752 βούλεται γὰρ ἐντυχεῖν σοι--μηδαμῶς, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν.
τὴν κόρην αἰτῶν--τίς;

Ε 392 ταχέως ἐὰν γὰρ εὑρεθῇ πατρὸς κόρ[η
ἐλευθέρου μήτηρ τε τοῦ νῦν παιδί[ου
γεγονυῖ', ἐκείνην λήψεται, ταύτην [ἀφείς.

ΦΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ 17 ἡ κόρη
"τὰ δῶρα," φησί, "τἀμά μ' ἐξεῖλον."

ΦΑΣΜΑ 14 δίδωσί τ' ἐκτρέφειν
τίτθῃ, μεθ' ἧς ν]ῦν ἐστιν ἐν τῶν γ<ε>ιτόνων
λάθρᾳ τρεφομ]ένη καὶ φυλαττομένη κόρη.

Fr. 760 α) ὁμοῦ δὲ τοῦ τίκτειν παρεγένεθ' ἡ κόρη.

β) ἤδη γὰρ <ἡ κόρη> ὅτι τοῦ τίκτειν ὁμοῦ.

I 14 ἦρα μὲν ἀεὶ τῆς κόρης [καὶ] πολλά μοι
πράγματα παρεῖχεν,

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ fr. 4 ἐμβεβρόντησαι; γελοῖον, ὃς κόρης ἐλευθέρας
εἰς ἔρωθ' ἥκων σιωπᾷς καὶ μάτην ποιουμένους
περιορᾷς γάμους σεαυτῷ.

Fr. 428 ΥΠΟΒΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΣ Μοσχίων, μήτηρ ἑώρα τῆς κόρης ἐφ' ἅρματος.

Ε 361 τὴν κόρην ζητήσομεν
κατὰ σχολήν.

Π 10 δίδωσι τὴν κόρην ὡς θυγατέρα
αὐτῆς ἔχειν.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 214 τὴν γυναῖκά μου πέπεικε μηδὲν ὁμολογεῖν ὅλως
μηδὲ τὴν κόρην·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 241 λήψεται μὲν τὴν κόρην,
ἔστι δ' οὐ τοιοῦτον.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 265 σπεῦδε, τὴ]ν κόρην μέ[τε]ισ[ιν] οὑμὸς υἱὸς αὐτίκα·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 278 εἰ μὲν καλῶς οὖν εἶχε τὰ περὶ τὴν κόρην
καὶ μὴ τοσαῦτ' ἦν ἐμποδών·

ΣΑΜΙΑ 302 ὁ τρόφιμος ἐξήμαρτεν εἰς ἐλευθέρα[ν
κόρην·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 30 γαμεῖ
ὁ μι]αρὸς οὗτος ἠδικηκὼς τὴν κόρην.

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ 96 εἶδον κόρην ἐνταῦθα Φανίου [τινὸς
Εὐωνυμέως.

Fr. 5 ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ εἰ δ' ἔστιν οὗτος τὴν κόρην <ὁ> διαφθορώς.

Fl. χ9 [αἱ κόραι
αὗται [παρ' αὐ]ταῖς εἰσιν ἐκτεθραμμ[έναι.

μεῖραξ 2

Π 14 λέγει δὲ πρὸς τὴν μείραχ', ὡς ἀνείλετο
αὐτήν,

Π 73 εἴσω πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσάγει τὴν μείρακα·

παιδισκάριον 2

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ fr. 3 παιδισκάριόν με καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές,
ὃν οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν πολεμίων <οὐ>πώποτε.

Fr. 333 15 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ παιδισκάριον θεραπευτικὸν δὲ καὶ λόγου
τάχιον ἀπάγεσθ' ὦδε. τίν' ἄρ' ἂν εἰσάγοι;

ἡ παῖς 10

Δ 50 τί φῄς; ἰδὼν ἐνθένδε παῖδ' ἐλευθέραν

Δ 672 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ
ἡ παῖς ἄνωθεν οὐδὲν ἐποοῦμεν·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 87 ἡ παῖς ἐστι τοῦ τόκου, Φίλη,
ἐγγύς] .....

ΦΑΣΜΑ 9 ἢ δ' οὐχὶ φάσμ' ἔστ', ἀλλὰ παῖς ἀληθινή,

Ε 320 εἰ γάρ ἐστ' ἐλευθέρα[ς
παιδός, τί τοῦτον λανθάνειν δεῖ τὸ γε[γονός;

Π 7 ἡ γραῦς ἀπορουμένη σφόδρα,
τεθραμμένης τῆς παιδός, ἣν νῦν εἴδετε

Ε 304 τὴν δὲ παῖδ<ά γ'> ἥτις ἦν
οἶσθας;

ΣΑΜΙΑ 246 ὁ Ζ[εὺς] ἐρρύη
διὰ τέγους, κατειργμένην δὲ παῖδ' ἐμοίχευσέν π[ο]τε;

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 74 τὴν γὰρ παῖδ' ὑπέσχ[ητ]αι γαμεῖν.

Ε 301 .π]αισὶν γὰρ ἔψαλλον κόραις
αὑτ[ῇ] θ' [ὁμοῦ συ]νέπαιζον·

παρθένος (16) 15

Δ 34 ἡ δὲ παρθένος
γέγον' ἀνομοία τῇ τροφῇ τις, οὐδὲ ἓν
εἰδυῖα φλαῦρον.

Δ 290 ἔργον δοκεῖς μοι φαῦλον ἐζηλωκέναι,
πείσειν νομίζων ἐξαμαρτεῖν παρθένον
ἐλευθέραν,

Δ 682 τὸ σχοινίον γάρ, ἐμβλέπων τῇ παρθένῳ
ἀφῆκ' ἴσω‹ς› τρίς.

E 341 φήσω Ταυροπολίοις παρθένος
ἔτ' οὖσα,"

Fr. 694 ἑκάθηντ' ἐπὶ δίφρου μήτηρ τε καὶ
παρθένος.

E 277 κατὰ λόγον
ἐστὶν βιασμὸν τοῦτον εἶναι παρθένου·

ΦΑΣΜΑ 4 μὴ τῆ]ς παρθένου τὴν μητέρα
βλάψῃς σύ γ', ἑτ]έρωι τοῦθ' ὁμομητρίωι τινὶ
φράσας ἀδελφῷ·]

Fl. 7 γυναῖκ' ἔχων καὶ παρθένου
μιᾶς πατήρ·

I 27 Μοσχίων τὴν παρθένον
ἑλ]ὼν ἔχει, Κλεαίνετ'.

I 46 ἔχει τὴν παρθένον
ὁ Μοσχίων.

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ 87 εἰ παρθένον δὴ π[ρ]ότε[ρον .....

Fl. 13 τὴν παρθένον
οὗτος συνοικίζειν νεανί[ᾳ τινὶ
ἔμελλεν ὑῷ τῆς γυναικός,

Π 391 χορός τε παρθέ[νω]ν ἐνταῦθά τις.

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ 95 τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἦν τῆς Ἐ[φεσίας γὰρ τότε
δεισιδαιμονία τις παρθένω[ν ἐλευθέρων.

Fr. 683 9 δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα χρήσιμον πεφυκέναι
μὴ παρθένους φθείροντα καὶ μοιχώμενον,
κλέπτοντα καὶ σφάττοντα χρημάτων χάριν.

τροφιμή 1

Δ 883 ἐγὼ δ' ἀποστέλλουσα τροφίμην βούλομα‹ι› λαλῆ[σαι
αὐτῇ, προσεῖπεῖν, ἀσπάσασθαι.

CHAPTER IV

AGED

γέρων 34

γρᾴδιον 1

γραῦς 26

τηθία 1

ὠμόγραυς 1

γέρων, old man, is described as grey-haired (Fr. 553, D 946), as sixty years of age (Misoumenos 21), as difficult and troublesome (D 628, 747, Fr. 645), deep voiced (Fr. 209), foolish in love (Fr. 58, 442), intent on marrying (Georgos 73, Fr. 58), childish (Fr. 450). Cnemon is called an old man nine times. One old man had been a fisherman but now sells baskets (Fr. 696) and old Tibeius received a small dole from his master for his support (Hero 27). The word is used thirty-four times.

γρᾴδιον, old hag, named Philinna, is told to keep silent (Georgos 54).

γραῦς, old servant woman. Simike (D 926) is an old servant of Cnemon's (D 31, 99, 427, 453, 502, 587, 630, 868, 925). She is called a servant, γραῦν θεράπαιναν, (D 31); she is told to shut the door (D 427) and to open the door (D 453) and to bring Cnemon his whip (D 502). She summons aid when Cnemon falls into the well (D 620-637). Sicon would flatter an old woman by calling her "mother" (D 495). One old woman was probably a honey-seller (P 98); another drank too much wine (Perinthia fr. 5); another broke dishes and was to be kept out of the kitchen (Samia 87); one is addressed with the epithet of "temple-looter" (E 706, 764). It is worse to arouse the anger of an old woman than to arouse a dog (Fr 587). [1]

τηθία, an old woman, is Cratea's nurse (Misoumenos 13).

ἠμίγραυς, an old woman, is grey-haired (Fr. 734).

Aged grandparents are treated in Part I above, p. 61.

---

1. H. Oeri, Der Typ der komischen Alten in der griechischen Komödie seine Nachwirkungen und seine Herkunft, Basel, 1948, 38-39. See also above, p. 91.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER IV AGED

γέρων 34

Δ 30 ὁ γέρων δ' ἔχων τὴν θυγατέρ' αὐτὸς ζῇ μόνος
καὶ γραῦν θεράπαιναν,

Δ 123 ἀνήμερόν τι πρᾶγμα τελέως ἀνόσιος
γέρων.

Δ 247 ὦ τᾶν, τὸν γέροντα, Γοργία,
δέδοικ'.]

Δ 530 εἶτα καὶ μετεστρεφόμην τι, πηνίκα
ὁ γέρων πρόσεισι τὴν κόρην ἄγων ἅμα
σκοπούμενος.

Δ 575 ἄπαγ' εἰς τὸ βάραθρον· τοῦ γέροντός τις γυνὴ
προελήλυθεν.

Δ 628 οὐ γὰρ ὁ χαλεπὸς γέρων σφόδρα
οὗτος;

Δ 661 εὔχεσθε τὸν γέροντα σωθῆναι κακῶς,
ἀνάπηρον ὄντα, χωλόν·

Δ 747 ἐκποδὼν ὑμῖν ὁ χαλεπὸς δύσκολός τ'ἔσται γέρων.

Δ 852 κ[αὶ τὸν] γέροντα, [Γορ]γία,
κομίσατε δε[ῦ]ρ'.

Δ 946 ἄλλος δὲ χερσὶν εὔιον γέροντα πολιὸν ἤδη
ἔκλινε κοῖλον εἰς κύτος,

Δ 966 συνησθέντες κατηγωνισμένοις
ἡμῖν τὸν ἐργώδη γέροντα, φιλοφρόνως
μειράκια, παῖδες, ἄνδρες ἐπικροτήσατε.

ΗΡΩΣ 27 ὧν ἤδη γέρων
ὁ Τίβειος ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τροφήν γε λαμβάνει
τούτοις παρὰ τοὐμοῦ δεσπότου μνᾶν,

Ε 40 ὁ γέρω[ν .....

ΣΑΜΙΑ 146 μαινόμενος εἰσδεδράμηκεν εἴσω τις γέρων,
ἢ τί τὸ κακόν ποτ' ἐστ';

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 66 ἀπαλλαγεὶς δικέλλης καὶ κακῶν —
οὕτω] τίς ἐστι σκληρὸς ὁ γέρων τῷ βίῳ —

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 73 μόνος τ' ὢν καὶ γέρων
ν]οῦ[ν] ἔσχε· τὴν γὰρ παῖδ' ὑπέσχ[ητ]αι γαμεῖν .

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ 21 γέρων οὗτός γε πολιὸς φαίνε[ται,
ἑτῶν τις ἐξήκονθ'·

Fr. 58 ΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ ὤμην, εἰ τὸ χρυσίον λάβοι
ὁ γέρων, θεράπαιναν εὐθὺς ἠγορασμένην
ἄβραν ἔσεσθαι.

Fr. 163 ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΣ οὐτοσὶ δὲ γαλεώτης γέρων.

Fr. 209 ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ εἶτα τηθὶς παραλαλεῖ τις, εἶτα βαρύφωνος γέρων
τηθίδος πατήρ,

Fr. 363 ΡΑΠΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ ὁ μυόχοδος γέρων
λεληθέναι σφόδρ' οἰόμενος.

Fr. 427 ΥΠΟΒΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΣ γέρων ἀ<πε>μέμυκτ' ἄθλιος, λέμφος.

Fr. 553 οὐχ αἱ τρίχες ποιοῦσιν αἱ λευκαὶ φρονεῖν,
ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος ἐνίων ἐστὶ τῇ φύσει γέρων.

Fr. 645 πικρὸν <γάρ> ἐστι θρέμμ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ γέρων.

Fr. 648 ὅταν ᾖ γέρων τις ἐνδεής τε τὸν βίον

Fr. 696 ὁ προσιὼν
γέρων ἁλιεύς, παρ' οὗ τὸ φέρνιον τρίτην
ταύτην ἐπριάμεθ' ἡμέραν.

Fr. 724 παῖς γέγον', ἔφηβος, μειράκιον, ἀνήρ, γέρων.

Fr. 442 ΧΑΛΚΕΙΑ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτ' ἐρῶντος ἀθλιώτερον
οὐθὲν γέροντος πλὴν ἕτερος γεραίτερος.

Fr. 736 πικροῦ γέροντος, αὐθεκάστου τὸν τρόπον.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 51 ἀπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἕλκους, ὡς τριταῖον ἐγένετο,
βουβὼν ἐπήρθη τῷ γέροντι, θέρμα τε
ἐπέλαβεν αὐτόν, καὶ κακῶς ἔσχεν πάνυ.

Fr. 402 ΥΔΡΙΑ γέροντα δυστυχοῦντα τῶν θ' αὑτοῦ κακῶν
ἐπαγόμενον λήθην ἀνέμνησας πάλιν
ἐπὶ τάτυχεῖν τ' ἤγειρας.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ χ145 ὡς τάχιστά μοι, γέρ[ον,

Fr. 450 ΧΗΡΑ δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες

Fr. 17 ΑΛΙΕΥΣ δύ' οἰκίας
φηλῶν γερόντων, ὡς λέγεις, ἀβελτέρων.

γράδιον 1

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 54 σιώπα, γράδιον.

γραῦς 26

Δ 31 ὁ γέρων δ' ἔχων τὴν θυγατέρ' αὑτὸς ζῇ μόνος
καὶ γραῦν θεράπαιναν,

Δ 99 προσῆλθέ μοι
γραῦς τις κακοδαίμων·

Δ 427 γραῦ, τὴν θύραν κλ<ε>ίσασ' ἄνοιγε μηδενί,

Δ 453 γραῦ,
ἄνοιγε θᾶττον τὴν θύραν·

Δ 495 εὐθὺς πατέρ<α> καὶ πάπα[ν καλῶ.
γρα<ῦ>ς, μητέρ'.

Δ 502 [τὸ]ν ἱμάντα δός, γραῦ.

Δ 587 φεῦγ', ὦ πονηρά, φεῦγ'-- ἀποκτενεῖ σε -- γραῦ·

Δ 630 ὦ φιλτάτη γραῦ, νῦν σὸν ἔργον ἐστὶ --

Δ 868 ὃς ἱκέτευέ μ' ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν γραῦν ἔτι,

Δ 925 γραῦ· ποῦστιν <ἡ> γραῦς;

Δ 926 ἀπαλλάγητε δή. γραῦ Σιμίκη.

Ε 759 ἡ γραῦς δέ γε
οἵδ', ὡς ἐγῷμαι·

E χ771 εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι
ἡ γραῦ]ς προτέρα συνῆκε.

Π 6 ἡ γραῦς ἀπορουμένη σφόφρα,

Π 98 ειδεκ.....η γένο[ιτ]ο μελ[ιτόπ]ωλις εὐ.....
γραῦς.

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ fr. 5 οὐδεμίαν ἡ γραῦς ὅλως
κύλικα παρῆκεν, ἀλλὰ πίνει τὴν κύκλῳ.

Fr. 209 ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ ἔπειτα γραῦς καλοῦσα φίλτατον.

Fr. 222 ΚΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣ γραῦς τις κακολόγος, ἐκ δυοῖν Αἰξωνέοιν.

Fr. 803 οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε διάβολος
γραῦς ἔνδον.

Fr. 178 ΗΝΙΟΧΟΣ οὐθείς μ' ἀρέσκει περιπατῶν ἔξω θεὸς
μετὰ γραός,

ΣΑΜΙΑ 87 τὴν δὲ γραῦν φυλάττετε
ἀπὸ τῶν κεραμίων, πρὸς θεῶν.

Fl. 2 καὶ ζῇ μονότροπος, γραῦν ἔχων [δούλην μίαν.

Fr. 587 πολὺ χεῖρόν ἐστιν ἐρεθίσαι γραῦν ἢ κύνα.

E 706 προπετῶς ἀπάγω τὴν θυγατέρ', ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

E 764 τί φησιν, ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

τηθία 1

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ 13 τί βούλει, τηθία, τί μοι λαλεῖς;

ὠμόγραυς 1

Fr. 734 σπαρτοπόλιος ὠμόγραυς

CHAPTER V

ABUSE

ἄγγαρος 2

ἀλαζών 3

ἀνδραποδοκλέπτης 1

βάσκανος 1

γόης 1

διμοιρίτης 1

ἰδιώτης 1

ἱερόσυλος 6

ἱππόπορνος 1

κακοῦργος 1

καταφαγᾶς 1

κίναδος 1

ληστοσαλπιγκτής 1

μαστιγίας 6

ὄλολυς 1

πατάγημα 1

τοιχωρύχος 2

ὑός (22) 1

φλήναφος 1

ἄνθραπος 1

βλιτάς 1

τὸ γύναιον 3

γραῦς (28) 5

ἡ ἱερόσυλος 1

λαικάστρια 1

παίγνιον 1

ἡ τοιχωρύχος 1

χαμαιτύπη 2

Terms of abuse are included in this classification which, simply stated, deals with the social distinctions of good and bad, young and old, friend and foe. The hostility expressed by a term of abuse might be very slight and actual hostility might be non-existent but social non-acceptance is definitely implied. Terms of abuse are interesting references to social evaluations without necessarily implying the existence or non-existence of personnel indicated by the appellation or allegation.

ἄγγαρος, stupid dupe, is incontinent (Fr. 186) and barbarous (Fr. 349), having no foresight.

ἀλαζών, braggart, does not tell the truth (P 78) and bores his neighbors with his stories and advice (Fr. 746). Philinna is determined to tell a braggart what she thinks of him (Georgos x27).

ἀνδραποδοκλέπτης, slave stealer, is what someone is called in Menander according to Photius (Fr. 822).

βάσκανοι, wizards, sorcerers, describes Sosias' so-called army, a group who could not even capture a swallow's nest (P 279).

γόης, cheat, is conjectured in Misoumenos x30.

διμοιρίτης, a soldier who receives double pay, is subjected to ridicule (Kolax 29) for he no longer carries all the items of his equipment but puts them on a pack animal. The suspicion arises that he is a turncoat or a traitor (Kolax 41) and as such receives his double pay by which he can maintain a pack animal to carry his burdens.

ἰδιώτης, simpleton, is what the cook calls the slave, Parmenon, whom he suspects of poking fun at him (Samia 71).

ἱερόσυλος, temple-looter, is used in reference to Cnemon (D 640) by the cook, Sicon, who is peeved because he was refused the use of a cooking vessel. Onesimus is called a temple-looter by his master (E 632) when he accuses him of eavesdropping (E 615) and also by Smicrines (E 742). The slave, Parmenon, is called a temple-looter by Moschion (Samia 333) when the slave offers unwanted advice. Someone who had gotten to the wine jug and reeks of wine (Fr. 192) is called the same.

ἱππόπορνος, lecher, cannot be identified by name or reference because of insufficient context (Theophorumene 19).

κακοῦργος, scoundrel, is what Gorgias considers Sostratus to be when he catches his first sight of him (D 258).

καταφαγᾶς, glutton, is a term used by Menander which is censured by Phrynichus (Fr. 357).

κίναδος, a rogue, is what Smicrines is called because he plans to have his daughter divorce Charisius (E 27) so that he can get his dowry back.

λῃστοσαλπιγκταί, robber-trumpeters, (Fr. 869) is a term used by Menander according to Pollux ; Photius considers this term to have reference to Etruscans who are said to have invented the trumpet.

μαστιγίας, rascal, is what Cnemon calls Callippides slave, Geta, (D 473) and Smicrines refers to Onesimus by the same term (E 755) as does Moschion in reference to Daos (P 34). Demeas decided to flog the rascal Parmenon (Samia 109) who, however, managed to escape.

ὄλολυς, an effeminate or superstitious person, (Fr. 99) accord-

ing to Photius.

πατάγημα, a chatter-box, prattles incessantly (Fr. 732).

τοιχωρύχοι, burglars or house-breakers, is what Cnemon calls those who have come to celebrate a sacrifice and who are coming with mattresses and pitchers (D 447).

ὑὸς Ὀδύνης, **son of grief,** (D 88) a curious expression, is a reference to Cnemon expressed by Pyrrhias.

φλήναφος, babbler, broke the strap on his sandal and is unwilling to buy a new one (Fr. 97).

ἄνθρωπος, wench, is what Demeas calls the Samian in apposition to harlot (Samia 133)

βλιτάς, worthless woman, is what husbands sometimes called their wives in Menander's comedies according to Pliny the Elder in his comment on the insipid, savourless herb, blitum (Fr. 832).

τὰ γύναια, females, annoy Geta because they have a big feast and refuse to give him any food (D 568). Onesimus calls Habrotonon a sagacious female (E 381).

γραῦς, old woman or hag, is a contemptuous reference to Simike made by Pyrrhias (D 99). At times, they are foulmouthed (Fr. 222) and it is worse to anger them than a dog (Fr. 587). Sophrone is called a temple-looting hag (E 706, 764) by Smicrines.

ἱερόσυλος, a female temple-looter, is compelled to drink first (Fr. 138).

λαικάστρια, strumpet, is what Polemon calls Habrotonon (P 235) as she leaves, ashamed.

παίγνιον, pet. Habrotonon is not a common hetaera or chance pet or plaything as stated by Simias (E x655).

τοιχωρύχος, burglar, housebreaker, is what Cnemon calls Simike (D 588) while looking for the hoe which she has dropped into the well.

χαμαιτύπη, harlot, is what the Samian woman is called by her nominal husband, Demeas (Samia 133).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER V ABUSE

ἄγγαρος 2

Fr. 186 ΘΑΙΣ ὁ ἀκρατής,
ἄγγαρος, ὄλεθρος· ἡδέως ἄν μοι δοκῶ
ὅμως πεπονθὼς ταῦτα νῦν ταύτην ἔχειν.

Fr. 349 ΠΡΩΤΑΜΩΝ βάρβαρος,
ἄγγαρος, ὄντως κούδενὸς προορώμενος.

ἀλαζών 3

Π 78 Δᾶε, π[ολλ]άκις μὲν ἤδη πρός μ' ἀπήγγελκας λόγο[υς
ο]ὐκ ἀληθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀλαζὼν καὶ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς εἶ.

Fr. 746 σφάττει με, λεπτὸς γίνομ' εὐωχούμενος·
τὰ σκάμματθ' οἷα τὰ σοφὰ καὶ στρατηγικά·
οἷος δ' ἀλαζὼν ἐστιν ἀλιτήριος.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ χ27 καί, νὴ τὼ θεώ,
ἔγ]ωγ' ἀκούουσ', ὦ τέκνον, μικροῦ δέω
πρ]ὸς τὴν θύραν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ καλέσασα τὸν
ἀλα]ζόν' ἔξω τοῦτον εἰπεῖν ὅσα φρονῶ.

ἀνδραποδοκλέπτης 1

Fr. 822

Photius, 126, 1, ἀνδραποδοκλόπος· Σοφοκλῆς, ἀνδραποδοκλέπτης δὲ Μένανδρος.

βάσκανος 1

Π 279 οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο δ' ἐξελεῖν νεοττιὰν
χελιδόνων, οἷοι πάρεισ' οἱ βάσκανοι.

γόης 1

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ χ30 .....γό]ητος ἐκτόπου

διμοιρίτης 1

ΚΟΛΑΞ 29 ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ ὄντες οὐδὲ[ν ἀγαθὸν πράττομεν,
ἀλλ' ὅδ' ὁ] διμοιρίτης φέρων αὐτός ποτε
θώρακα, σάγμα, σαύνι]ον, πήραν, κράνος,

ἰδιώτης 1

ΣΑΜΙΑ 71 π[ροσπαίζεις ἐμο]ί,
ἰδιῶτ';

ἱερόσυλος 6

Δ 640 οὐ δίδως
λεβήτιον θύουσιν, ἱερόσυλε σύ,
ἀλλὰ φθονεῖς;

Ε 615 οὗτος ἐπακροώμε[νος
ἔστηκας, ἱερόσυλε, μου[;

Ε 632 τί σύ μ]ε περισπᾶις, ἱερόσυλε;

E 742 εἶθ' οὑμός, ἱερόσυλε, νῦν τρόπος ποεῖ
ἀμαθές τι;

ΣΑΜΙΑ 333 νουθετήσεις μ', εἰπέ μοι,
ἱερ[ό]συλε παῖ;

Fr. 192 ΘΕΤΤΑΛΗ καὶ τὸ κεράμιον
ἀνάψχας· ὄζεις, ἱερόσυλ', οἴνου πολύ.

ἱππόπορνος 1

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ 19 τὸ δὲ
τί[ς] ἔλαβέ σ', ἱππόπο[ρ]νε;

κακοῦργος 1

Δ 258 κακοῦργος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέμματος.

καταφαγᾶς 1

Fr. 357 ΠΩΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ

Bekk. Anecd. 105,20 καταφαγᾶς· πόθεν Μένανδρος συσσύρας τὸν τοσούτων ὀνομάτων συρφετὸν αἰσχύνεις τὴν πάτριον φωνήν; τίς γὰρ τῶν πρὸ σοῦ τῷ καταφαγᾶς κέχρηται;

κίναδος 1

E 29 οἷον κίναδος, οἰκίαν ποεῖ
ἀνάστα]τον.

ληστοσαλπιγκτής 1

Fr. 869

Pollux, IV, 87, Μένανδρος δέ τινας καλεῖ ληστοσαλπιγκτάς . . .

Photius, ληστοσαλπίγκτας· τοὺς Τυρρηνούς, ἀπὸ Πισαίου τοῦ εὐρόντος, Hesychius, s.v., ληστοσάλπιγγες· οἱ Τυρρηνοί, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτοι σάλπιγγος εὑρεταὶ γεγόνασιν.

μαστιγίας 6

Δ 473 μαστιγία,
θύειν με βοῦς οἵοι ποιεῖν τε ταὔθ' ἅπερ
ὑμεῖς ποεῖτ';

Fr. 669a ἀφόρητός ἐστιν εὐτυχῶν μαστιγίας

Ε 755 θυγατριδοῦν, μαστιγία;

Π 134 μαστιγία,
κατακέχρη]σαί μοι.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 109 ποῖ σύ; ποῖ, μαστιγ[ί]α;

ΚΟΛΑΞ 114 ἄν σε μή, μαστιγία·

Ὄλολυς 1

Fr. 99 ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ

Photius, Ὄλολυν· Μένανδρος τὸν γυναικώδη καὶ κατάθεον καὶ βάκηλον τοὺς δεισιδαίμονας ἐκάλουν οἰωνιζόμενοι.

πατάγημα 1

Fr. 732 οἷον πατάγημ' ἥκεις.

τοιχωρύχος 2

Δ 447 ὡς θύουσι δ' οἱ τοιχωρύχοι
κοίτ]ας φέροντες, σταμνί', οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἕνε]κ', ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν.

Fr. 777 ἐν γειτόνων οἰκῶν γάρ, ὦ τοιχωρύχε.

ὑός (22) 1

Δ 88 Ὀδύνης γὰρ ὑὸς ἢ κακοδαιμ<ον>ῶν τις ἢ
μελαγχολῶν ἄνθρωπος.

φλήναφος 1

Fr. 97 ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ ὑποδούμενος τὸν ἱμάντα <γὰρ> τῆς δεξιᾶς
ἐμβάδος ἀπέρρηξ'. εἰκότως, ὦ φλήναφε·

ἄνθρωπος 1

ΣΑΜΙΑ 133 χαμαιτύπη δ' ἄνθρωπος, ὄλεθρος.

βλιτάς 1

Fr. 832

Suda. βλιτάδας οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰς εὐτελεῖς γυναῖκας,
Pliny, nat. hist. XX, 252 Blitum iners videtur ac sine sapore aut acrimonia ulla, unde convicium feminis apud Menandrum faciunt mariti.

γραῦς (26) 5

Δ 99 προσῆλθέ μοι

γραῦς τις κακοδαίμων·

Fr. 222 ΚΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣ γραῦς τις κακολόγος, ἐκ δυοῖν Αἰξωνέοιν.

Fr. 587 πολὺ χεῖρόν ἐστιν ἐρεθίσαι γραῦν ἢ κύνα.

Ε 706 προπετῶς ἀπάγω τὴν θυγατέρ', ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

Ε 764 τί φησιν, ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

τὸ γύναιον 3

Δ 568 ἀλλὰ ‹τὰ› γύναια ταῦτά μοι,
ἔχει γὰρ ἀστείως, μεταδοίη γ' ἄν τινος;

Ε 381 τοπαστικὸν τὸ γύναιον·

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ II q τὰ γύναι' ἵν' ἔξωθεν, †επιθεωρο†

ἡ ἱερόσυλος 1

Fr. 138 ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ πεῖν ἀναγκάσω
τὴν ἱερόσυλον πρῶτα.

λαικάστρια 1

Π 235 ποῖ στρέφει,
λαικάστρ'; ἠσχύνθης;

παίγνιον 1

E χ655 οὐ γὰρ ἐσ[τί που
ἑταιρίδιον τοῦτ' οὐδὲ τὸ τυχὸν [παίγνιον,
σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ παιδάριον ἥδ]' ἔσωσ'.

ἡ τοιχωρύχος 1

Δ 588 ποῦ 'στιν ἡ τοιχωρύχος;

χαμαιτύπη 2

ΣΑΜΙΑ 133 χαμαιτύπη δ' ἄνθρωπος, ὄλεθρος.

Fr. 699 ἀλλὰ καὶ χαμαιτύπη
κρίζει τις.

CHAPTER VI

ENDEARMENT

μέλημα 1

νηττάριον 1

παπίας 2

πάπας 5

πατρίδιον 1

νηττάριον 1

τέκνον (12) 2

Just as some personages are identified by terms of abuse, so also, others are identified by terms of endearment. We have a fragment of a scene where a dinner party is comically exaggerated with the father beginning the conversation and with the mother, aunt and grandfather adding their bit, and, finally, some old woman calling the young man "my dear", φίλτατον (Fr. 209).

μέλημα, darling. Sosias suspects that Moschion is Glycera's lover and that she has gone next door to meet her darling (P 214) although she actually went there to stay with Myrrhina, Moschion's step-mother.

νηττάριον, duckling, a diminutive, is a term of flattery and is used for both boys and girls, according to the scholiast on Homer, Dionysius of Thrace, (Fr. 885).

παπίας, dear papa, is what Sostratus calls his father, Callipides (D 856) and Sicon, the cook, in comic jest, calls Cnemon the same (D 930).

πάπας, papa. Sicon would flatter an old man by calling him father and papa (D x494) and sarcastically refers to Cnemon as dear papa who might as well be dead as far as Sicon is concerned (D 648). Cnemon's daughter is told by papa to heat some water (D 194) and she fear papa (D x204) will punish her for having delayed this task to talk with Sostratus. Cratea recognizes and embraces her dear papa, Demeas, (Misoumenos 15).

πατρίδιον, dear daddy, is a diminutive. Sicon, while knocking on Cnemon's door, calls for the daddy to come out (D 499).

νηττάριον, duckling, is a term of endearment used for boys and girls (Fr. 885).

τέκνον, child. Philinna, an old servant and nurse, calls her former charge, Myrrhina, child (Georgos 25, 84).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER VI ENDEARMENT

μέλημα 1

Π 214 οὗ τὸ μέλημ' ἐστ', ἐνθά[δ]ε.

νηττάριον 1

Fr. 885

Schol. Dion. Thr., p. 227, 27, Hilgard τὸ ὑποκοριστικὸν ἐλάττωσίν τινα σημαίνει· εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τοὺς κόρους . . . ἢ τὰς κόρας· τούτους γὰρ πολλάκις ἢ ταύτας ὑποθωπεύοντες τοιούτοις κεχρήμεθα ὀνόμασιν, ὡς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ νηττάριον.

παπίας 2

Δ 856 δεῖ πότον
ἡμῶν γενέσθαι, παπία, νυνὶ [κ]αλόν,
καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν παννυχίδα.

Δ 930 ἔστιν ὑμῖν, ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς
τὸ παραπέτασμα, παπία.

πάπας 5

Δ 194 θερμὸν ‹δ'› ὕδωρ πρ[οσέταξέ μοι
ποιεῖν ὁ πάπας ἐξιών.

Δ χ204 ἆρ' ὁ [πά]πας ἔρχεται;

Δ χ494 εὐθὺς πατέρ‹α› καὶ πάπα[ν καλῶ.

Δ 648 πάπαν φίλτατον

....]υσ' ἀποιμώζει τις.

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ 15 πάππα χαῖρε πολλὰ φίλτατ[ε.

πατρίδιον 1

Δ 499 ἐγὼ -- προέλθε, πατρίδιον -- σε β[ούλομαι.

τέκνον (12) 2

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 25 καί, νὴ τὼ θεώ,

ἔγ]ωγ' ἀκούουσ', ὦ τέκνον, μικροῦ δέω

πρ]ὸς τὴν θύραν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ καλέσασα τὸν

ἁλα]ζόν' ἔξω τοῦτον εἰπεῖν ὅσα φρονῶ.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 84 τί πέπονθας, τέκνον;

CHAPTER VII

FRIEND, ADVISOR AND FOE

ἄγγελος 1

γείτων 15

ἐπαινέτης 1

ἐπίκλητος 1

ἑταῖρος 5

ἐχθρός 1

κοινωνός (2) 1

μάντις 3

μάρτυς 10

ῥήτωρ 1

σκοῖδος 1

σύμβουλος (6) 5

σύμμαχος 2

συνεργός 2

φίλος 27

φίλτατος 7

φίλη 4

φιλτάτη (9) 6

In this category, we list such nouns as designate a friend, advisor, neighbor, guest or foe. The value of a friend is often stated; it is better to have a true friend than to have buried riches (D 811); each man thinks that he has found something remarkable if he beholds the presence of a friend (Fr. 743); a friend is the refuge from slander and malefactions with whom a man can share his misery and not be scorned (Fr. 639). Just as sick bodies need a doctor, disturbed souls need a friend (Fr. 642). A baser attitude toward friendship is seen in several references to winning friends with money (D 811, 816, Citharistes fr. 2, Fr. 614 g).

ἄγγελος, messenger. The messenger can, on occasion, be an advisor and the context of the single instance of this word establishes only that an Arabian messenger was set in motion (Fr. 30), the meaning lying in the proverbial interpretation that an Arabian was considered to talk incessantly and that some messenger was monopolizing the conversation (cf. Fr. 757, an Arabian counselor).

γείτων, neighbor, lives next door (Citharistes 101, Phasma 13, P 179, 213, E 555, P 27, Fl. 3) as required by stage convention or lives in the general vicinity (D 25, 32, Fr. 777, I 8). Gorgias, step-son of Cnemon, lives with his mother and a slave in the neighborhood of Cnemon (D 25). Cnemon hates all his neighbors, which includes his wife who now lives with Gorgias, and all those living in the surrounding area (D 32), namely, the deme of Phyle, twenty kilometers north of Athens on the Attic-Boeotian border, to the deme of Cholarges which was in the immediate environs of Athens.[1]

---

1. Jean Martin, Ménandre, L'Atrabilaire, Paris, 1961, 33, 38.

Laches asks his son, Moschion, if was thinking of marrying the daughter of Phanias, the neighbor next door, (Citharistes 101). One woman has a neighbor rear her child, born before her marriage to her present husband, in order to conceal the fact from him (Phasma 13). Sosias saw Glycera enter into the house next door and suspects that she went there to be with her lover (P 179) but Daos assures Sosia that she went there to be with Myrrhina because she was frightened (P 213). One of the neighbors opens a door which, when the bar or latch is unloosed, makes a creaking sound (E 555). A nurse wonders why the soldier, Thrasonides, collected all the weapons of the neighbors and has them stored in his house (Misoumenos 11). The brother of a miser lives next door to him (Comoedia Florentina 3). Neighbors are all willing to testify and be witnesses that they saw the young prisoner with the girl (I 8).

ἐπαινέτης, praiser. Geta states that he is a praiser or an admirer of Sicon, the cook, and his art but that he never trusts in his promises (D 425).

ἐπίκλητοι, guests, is the first thought that comes to Geta when he sees Sostratus in the distance, accompanied by two men (D 608) but then he identifies the workmen, Gorgias and Daos, and wonders why they are accompanying Sostratus.

ἑταῖρος, male companion or friend, is a true friend if he does not ask "When is dinner?" as all others do or "Why not start dinner now?" or seek an invitation for the next dinner (Fr. 309). A play on the words and deeds of an ἑταῖρος, friend, and ἑταίρα, courtesan, (Fr. 323) shows that the deed changes its decency just

as the accent changes the gender and the meaning of the word. A procurer fears to sell a girl to one of the men for the other will come with sixty companions, raging and storming as Ulysses did at Troy (Kolax 112). Moschion harmed his friend, Chaereas, (I x12) by seducing his girl friend. Charisius, friend of Chaerestratus and Simias, is unashamed of his affair with Habrotonon (E 409).

ἐχθρός, foe, enemy. It is best not to linger in the market or one will meet enemies (Fr. 416 $_{15}$). Three other instances of the word are adjectival.

κοινωνός, companion, partner, is found once in a mutilated section of Epitrepontes 418.

μάντις, seer, prophet, is a good advisor when he has common sense (Theophorumene fr. 2, Fr. d. 941). Doris refers sarcastically to Sosia, Polemon's soldier-aide, as a seer (P 181).

μάρτυς, witness, also μάρτυρ, according to Photius (Fr. 876), is a person whom the wealthy would entice into their friendship and service along with dicasts (Fr. 614) in order to gain favourable court decisions. The poor hope to avoid witnesses to their misdeeds (Georgos 80, Fr. 423). The witnesses are often neighbors (P x195, E x651, I 6, Georgos 80) to the parties involved.

ῥήτωρ, orator, and in context synonymous with opposition or foe, for Syriscus is considered by Daos to be no mean orator as he pleads for the custody of the tokens of recognition in opposition to the wishes of Daos (E 60).

σκοῖδος, steward, is a Macedonian word and synonymous with ταμίας and διοικητής according to Photius (Citharistes fr. 9).

σύμβουλος, counselor, is of value when he uses common sense (Theophorumene fr. 2). If he excels in reasoning, he should be reckoned among such as an archon, general or leader of the people (Fr. 213). A slave offers himself as a counselor to his master and hopes that his advice will not be despised (Fr. 722). One young man asks another to be his counselor and to advise him while they walk to the market place for he is worried about his girl who might have suffered a mishap at sea (Citharistes 51). One counselor is called an Arabian counselor (Fr. 757) which suggests that he talked without ceasing according to the ancient proverb which tells of an Arabian flutist who played throughout one night while any interruption would have signalled something amiss.

σύμμαχος, ally. Sostratus invited Gorgias and Daos to the banquet for he wishes by this act of kindness to win their assistance in his plans to arrange his marriage (D 562). The goddess, Persuasion, is called upon by Onesimus to be his ally and direct his words and actions as an accomplice to Habrotonon's plan to reveal Charisius as the father of his wife's child (E 379).

συνεργός, a fellow worker, in one instance a shepherd, the man who told Syriscus that Daos had found tokens of recognition with the exposed infant adopted by Syriscus (E 124). Cnemon does his farm work alone, having no helper or slave or anyone to assist him in his toils (D 329).

φίλος, friend, is used seventeen times as general term with no particular person designated as friend and ten times where a particular friend is intended or can be identified (D 317, 481, 615, 823, E x653, Samia 193, I x37, Coneazomenae x9, Perinthia fr. 3,

Fr. 683). Chaereas speaks of his assistance to friends who consort with hetaerae (D 58, 67). Gorgias accepts Sostratus as a friend (D 317, 823) and Sostratus acknowledges this friendship (D 615). There is a suggestion that money is important in gaining friendship (D 811, 816, Citharistes fr. 2, Fr. 614 $_{g}$). Friends are an aid to those who suffer distress of mind and body (Citharistes fr. 2, Fr. 518, Fr. 640, Fr. 642, Fr. 639 $_{3}$). Ungrateful men (Fr. 476) and Corinthians (Fr. 662) are not fit subjects of friendship. A congenial friend is desirable and to be sought for (P fr. 1) and shares all in common (Fr. 10). Cnemon would prefer not to be considered a friend (D 481) because they disturb and bother him.

φίλτατος, dear friend, is used as a noun seven times (D 632, Fr. 209 $_{g}$, P x301, 340, Samia 78, I x26, Fr. 405). The cook is called φίλτατε by Simike (D 632) and Parmenon (Samia 78). Glycera, who does not yet know that Pataecus is her father, calls him φίλτατε (P x301, 340) and an old woman calls a young man "dear" at a family dinner party (Fr. 209 $_{g}$).

φίλη. friend, is used as a noun four times (E 306, P x403, Georgos x33, 87); Habrotonon speaks of Pamphila as a friend of the family with whom Habrotonon lived (E 306) and Myrrhina calls her former nurse, Philinna, dear,friend,(Georgos x33, 87). In one instance a man calls a woman φίλη ; Polemon calls Doris, a slave, φίλη and tells her that he will free her the next day (P x403).

φιλτάτη, dear friend, is used as a noun nine times. Habrotonon refers to Pamphila as φιλτάτη (E 540, 545, 551) and Pataecus refers to his daughter, not yet identified as such, Glycera, by this

term (P 323, x394) as does the husband, Polemon, who is now reconciled with his wife, Glycera (P 442). Moschion refers to his step-mother by this term once (P 115).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER VII FRIEND, ADVISOR AND FOE

ἄγγελος 1

Fr. 30 ANATIΘEMENH 'Αράβιον ἄρ' ἐγὼ κεκίνηκ' ἄγγελον.

γείτων 15

Δ 25 χωρίδιον
τούτῳ δ' ὑπάρχον ἦν τι μικρὸν ἐνθαδὶ
ἐν γειτόνων, οὗ διατρέφει νυνὶ κακῶς
τὴν μητέρ' αὐτοῦ πιστὸν οἰκέτην θ' ἕνα
πατρῷον.

Δ 32 ἀπὸ τούτων ἀρξάμενος τῶν γειτόνων
καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς μέχρι Χολαργέων κάτω
μισῶν ἐφεξῆς πάντας.

ΚΟΛΑΞ 111 ὠνεῖθ' ὁ γείτων·

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ 101 ἆρα τοῦ κ[ι]θαριστο[ῦ Φανίου
ταύτην λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακ[ας τὴν θυγατέρα
τοῦ γείτονος νῦν ὄντος;

ΦΑΣΜΑ χ12, 13 τίκτει γὰρ ἡ] μήτηρ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐνθάδε
ἐκ γείτονος] ταύτην, δίδωσί τ' ἐκτρέφειν
τίτθῃ, μεθ' ἧς ν[ῦν ἐστιν ἐν τῶν γ‹ε›ιτόνων
λάθρᾳ τρεφομ]ένη καὶ φυλαττομένη κόρη,

Π 179 ἦ δ' οἴχεθ' ὡς τὸν γείτον' εὐθὺς δηλαδὴ
τὸν μοιχόν, οἰμώζειν φράσασ' ἡμῖν μακρὰ
καὶ μεγάλα.

Π 213 καὶ γὰρ οἴχεθ' ὡς τὴν Μυρρίν[η]ν,
τὴν] γείτον', οὕτω μο[ι] γένοιθ' ἃ βούλομαι.

Ε 555 -- τὴν θύραν
τῶν γειτόνων τις ἐψόφηκεν ἐξιών·

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ 11 τί βούλεται
.....]ρ οἴκῳ τὰς σπάθας τῶν γειτόνων

Π 27 ἐν γειτόνων δ' οἰκοῦσα τἀδελφοῦ τὸ μὲν
πρᾶγμ' οὐ μεμήνυκ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον βούλεται
εἶναι δοκοῦντα λαμπρὸν εἰς μεταλλαγὴν
ἀγαγεῖν,

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 111 ἐγ γειτόνων ὄντ.....

Fr. 3 οὗ δ' εἰσελήλυθ' ὁ θεράπων ἐν γειτόνω[ν
ἀδελφὸς οἰκεῖ τοῦδε τοῦ φιλαργύρου,

Fr. 777 ἐν γειτόνων οἰκῶν γάρ, ὦ τοιχωρύχε.

I 8 ἐπ' αὐτοφ[ώρῳ γὰρ λαβὼν φράζει τισὶν
γείτοσιν·

ἐπαινέτης 1

Δ 425 ἐπαινέτης μέν εἰμι σοῦ καὶ τῆς τέχνης
ἔγωγ' ἀεί ποτ'-- οὐχὶ πιστεύω δ' ὅμως.

ἐπίκλητος 1

Δ 608 ἀλλ' ὁ τρόφιμος [γ]ὰρ οὗτοσὶ προσέρχεται
ἄγων μεθ'α[ὑτ]οῦ τοὺς ἐπικλήτους.

ἑταῖρος 5

Ε 469 ὑμῶν ἑταῖρος οὗτος οὐ[δ]' ἡσ[χύ]νετο
παιδάρι[ον] ἐκ πόρνης [ποεῖν .....

Fr. 309 ΟΡΓΗ τοῦθ' ἑταῖρός ἐστιν ὄντως· οὐκ ἐρωτᾷ πηνίκα
δεῖπνόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, καὶ τί δειπνεῖν κωλύει
τοὺς παρόντας, εἶτα δεῖπνον ἕτερον εἰς τρίτην βλέπει
.....εἶτα περίδειπνον πάλιν.

I χ12 ἔ[τι] γάρ [σ' ἑ]τ[α]ῖρ[ον ὄντ' ἀδικεῖ.

Fr.χ323 ΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΘΗΚΗ πεποιήκατ' ἔργον οὐχ ἑταίρων γὰρ.....
<μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἑταιρῶν>·

ΚΟΛΑΞ 112 ἀλλ' ἐὰν αἴσθηθ' ὅδ[ε
πρόσεισιν ἐξήκ[ο]νθ' ἑταίρους παραλαβ[ών,
ὅσ]ου[ς] Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦλθεν εἰς Τροίαν ἔχω[ν,
βο]ῶν, ἀπειλῶν·

ἐχθρός 1

Fr. 416 ΥΠΟΒΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΣ ὁ προσδιατρίβων δ' ἐκοπίασεν ἀπολέσας,
κακῶς δὲ γηρῶν ἐνδεής του γίνεται,
ῥεμβόμενος ἐχθροὺς εὗρ', ἐπεβουλεύθη ποθέν,
οὐκ εὐθανάτως ἀπῆλθεν ἐλθὼν εἰς χρόνον.

κοινωνός (2) 1

E 418 κοινωνὸ[ς.....]λη

μάντις 3

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ fr. 2 ὁ πλεῖστον νοῦν ἔχων
μάντις τ' ἄριστος ἐστι σύμβουλός θ' ἅμα.

Fr. δ. 941 μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.

Π 181 μάντιν ὁ στρατιώτης [πε]ρι[άγει
τοῦτον·

μάρτυς 10

Π χ195 ἐκεῖν]ος [ἔτυχε] μάρτυ[ς ὧν λέγει τ' ἔχειν.

Fr. 876

Photius, μάρτυς· ὁ μάρτυρ. καὶ τὸν μάρτυν καὶ τὸν μάρτυρα. Μένανδρος.

Fr. 614 $_{8}$ εὖξ' εἴ τι βούλει, πάντα σοι γενήσεται,
ἀγρός, οἰκίαι, θεράποντες, ἀργυρώματα,
φίλοι, δικασταί, μάρτυρες.

E χ651 .....τα]ύτη[ν] ἐπ[εὶ
σοὶ παραδέδ]ω[κε μαρτύρων] ἐναντίο[ν,

Fr. 423 ΥΠΟΒΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΣ "Απολλον, ἀλλὰ σκαιὸν οὐ μετρίως λέγεις,
μετὰ μαρτύρων ἀτυχεῖν παρὸν λελῆθέναι.

I 6 μάρτυρα[ς ἐκεῖνος φαίνετ]'οὐκ [ὀλίγους ἔχειν·

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 80 δεῖ γὰρ ἢ πλουτεῖν ἴσως
ἢ ζῆν ὅπ[ου] μὴ μάρτυρας τ[ο]ῦ δυστυχεῖν
πολλούς τις ἔξει τοὺς ὁρῶντας·

ΚΟΛΑΞ χ121 δικάσομαι, πράγμαθ' ἕξω, μάρτ[υρας
[παρέχειν δεήσει.]

ῥήτωρ 1

E 60 μετρίῳ γε συμπέπλεγμαι ῥήτορι·

σκοῖδος 1

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ fr. 9 σκοῖδον Διόνυσον

σύμβουλος (6) 5

ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ fr. 2 ὁ πλεῖστον νοῦν ἔχων
μάντις τ' ἄριστός ἐστι σύμβουλός θ' ἅμα.

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ 51 πρὸς ἀγορὰν δ' οὕτως ἅμα
προάγων ἀκούσηι καὶ τὰ λοίφ' ὧν μοι γενοῦ

σύμβουλος.

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ 88 σύμβουλον ἂν καλῇς [με γὰρ περὶ τῶν γάμων
αὐτὸς κεκρικὼς [κατὰ σαυτὸν ἣν βούλει γαμεῖν,

Fr. 722 3 ἐμοὶ προσανάθου, λαβέ με σύμβουλον πόνων·
μὴ καταφρονήσῃς οἰκέτου συμβουλίας.

Fr. 757 Ἀράβιον ἐξεύρηκα σύμβουλον.

Suidas. τίθεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαυστὶ διαλεγομένων.

σύμμαχος 2

Δ 562 κεκοινωνηκότες
ἱερῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ χρησιμώτεροι
ἡμῖν ἔσονται σύμμαχοι πρὸς τὸν γάμον.

Ε 379 φίλη Πειθοῖ, παροῦσα σύμμαχος
πόει κατορθοῦν τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἂν λέγω.

συνεργός 2

Δ 329 τοῦτ' αὐτὸς γεωργῶν διατελεῖ
μόνος, συνεργὸν δ' οὐδέν' ἀνθρώπων ἔχων,

Ε 124 ποιμήν τις ἐξήγγειλέ μοι, πρὸς ὃν οὗτοσὶ
ἐλάλησε, τῶν τούτῳ συνέργων, ἅμα τινὰ
κόσμον συνευρεῖν αὐτό[ν·

φίλος 27

Δ 58 παραλαμβάνει τις τῶν φίλων
ἑρῶν ἑταίρας· εὐθὺς ἁρπάσας φέρω·

Δ 67 εἰς πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον
μνείαν γὰρ ἤδη τῷ φίλῳ καταλείπομαι,

Δ 317 ἅμα γὰρ μεταπείθεις ταῦτα καὶ φίλον μ' ἔχεις.

Δ 481 ὥσπερ πρὸς φίλον
κόπτουσιν.

Δ 615 εἰμὶ γάρ, ἀκριβῶς ἴσθι, σοι πάλαι φίλος,
πρὶν ἰδεῖν.

Δ 811 πολλῷ δὲ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἐμφανὴς φίλος
ἢ πλοῦτος ἀφανής, ὃν σὺ κατορύξας ἔχεις.

Δ 816 βούλει περιποήσασθαί τινα
φίλον δοκιμάσας;

Δ 823 ἐγώ σ', ⟨ὦ Σ⟩ώστρατ', εἶναι μὲν φίλον
ὑπολαμβάνω σπουδαῖον ἀγαπῶ τ' ἐκτόπως.

Ε χ653 ἤδη τὸ μετὰ τα[ῦ]τα σκεπτέ[ον
ὅπως [δια]μενεῖς ὢν Χαρισίῳ [φ]ί[λος,

Π fr. 1 οὕτω ποθεινόν ἐστιν ὁμότροπος φίλος.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 193 ἐκβέβληκέ με
ὁ φίλος ὁ χρηστός σου.

ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ fr. 2 τὸ κουφότατόν σε τῶν κακῶν πάντων δάκνει,
πενία. τί γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; ἧς γένοιτ' ἂν εἷς
φίλος βοηθήσας ἰατρὸς ῥᾳδίως.

Fr. 476 ἀνὴρ ἀχάριστος μὴ νομιζέσθω φίλος·

Fr. 640 ἡδύ γε φίλου λόγος ἐστὶ τοῖς λυπουμένοις.

Fr. 642 τῷ μὲν τὸ σῶμα <γὰρ> διακειμένῳ κακῶς
χρεία 'στ' ἰατροῦ, τῷ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν φίλου·

Fr. 743 οὐ περιττὸν οἴετ' ἐξευρηκέναι
ἀγαθὸν ἕκαστος, ἂν ἔχῃ φίλου σκιάν;

I χ37 ἀναδέξομ[αι 'γὼ τοῦτο· συλλαβεῖν] ἐμοὶ
φί[λ]ωι δίκαι[όν ἐστι γάρ.

ΚΩΝΕΙΑΖΟΜΕΝΑΙ χ9 κ]αθήμενος λαλεῖ
τῷ σῷ φίλῳ.]

Fr. 662 Κορινθίῳ πίστευε καὶ μὴ χρῶ φίλῳ.

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ fr. 3 ὅσ' ἔστι μαλακὰ συλλαβῶν
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸ σύνολον ἐκπήδα, φίλος,
θᾶττον.

Fr. 683 μηδὲ βελόνης ἔναμμ' ἐπιθυμήσῃς, φίλε,
ὁ γὰρ θεὸς βλέπει σε πλησίον παρών.

Fr. 614 εὖξ' εἴ τι βούλει, πάντα σοι γενήσεται,
ἀγρός, οἰκίαι, θεράποντες, ἀργυρώματα,
φίλοι, δικασταί, μάρτυρες. μόνον δίδου·

Fr. 639 Δέρκιππε καὶ Μνήσιππε, τοῖς εἰρημένοις
ἡμῶν ὑπό τινος ἢ πεπονθόσιν κακῶς
ἔστιν καταφυγὴ πᾶσιν, οἱ χρηστοὶ φίλοι.

Fr. 10 ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ κοινὰ <γὰρ> τὰ τῶν φίλων.

Fr. 612 εἰ μὴ λέγειν δ' ἔχουσι τούτους διά τινα
τόπου μεταβολὴν ἢ φίλων ἐρημίαν,
τί τῶν λεγόντων εἰσὶ δυσγενέστεροι;

ΣΑΜΙΑ 188 πέμψω δὲ γεύσασθαι κατακόψας τοῖς φίλοις
τὸ κῴδιον·

Fr. 673 εἰστίων τοὺς φίλους

φίλτατος 7

Δ 632 φίλτατε,
κατάβα.

Fr. 209 ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ ἔπειτα γραῦς καλοῦσα φίλτατον.

Π χ301 ἔγωγε πρὸς τὴν μ]ητέρ' αὐτοῦ, φί[λτ]ατε
ἐνταῦθα κα]ταφυγοῦσ' ἐδυνάμην;

Π 340 ἔλαφος, φίλτατ', ἐστίν, οὐ τράγος.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 78 κατακόπτεις γέ με,
εἰ λανθάνει σε, φ[ί]λτατ', εἰς περικόμματα,
οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν.

Ι χ26 τί βοᾶις, [φίλτα]τε;

Fr. 405 ΥΔΡΙΑ οἳ δὲ κατὰ χειρῶν λαβόντες περιμένουσι, φίλτατοι

φίλη 4

Ε 306 πυθοίμην ἄν· παρ' αἷς γὰρ ἦν ἐγὼ
γυναιξί, τούτων ἦν φίλη.

Π χ403 οὐκ ἐνλίποιμ' ἂν οὐθέν· εὖ το[τ', ὦ φίλη,
ὑπέρευ λέγεις, βάδιζ'· ἐγώ σ' ἐλ[ευθέραν
αὔριον ἀφήσω, Δωρί.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ χ33 βραχύ,

φίλ]η, μεταστῶμεν.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 87 ἡ παῖς ἐστι τοῦ τόκου, φίλη,

ἐγγύς].....το δὲ

φιλτάτη 9

Ε 540 αὐτή 'στιν [ἣν] ἐό[ρ]ακα. χαῖρε φιλτάτη.

Ε 545 ὁρᾷς τι, φιλτάτη, σοι γνώριμον

ὃν] τοῦτ' ἔχει; μηδέν με δείσῃς, ὦ γύναι.

Ε 551 τοῦτ' οἶσθ' ἀκριβῶς, φιλτάτη;

Π 115 Μοσχίων, ἡ μὲν λέλουται καὶ κάθηται. φιλτάτη.

Π 323 τί βούλει, φιλτάτη;

Π χ394 οὐ[κέ]τι καθέξω, φιλτάτ[η....]

Π 442 διαλλάγηθι, φιλτάτη, μό[νον.

Fr. 37 ΑΝΔΡΙΑ καὶ τεττάρων

ᾠῶν μετὰ τοῦτο, φιλτάτη, τὸ νεόττιον.

Fr. 87 ΓΛΥΚΕΡΑ Γλυκέρα, τί κλάεις; ὀμνύω σοι τὸν Δία

τὸν 'Ολύμπιον καὶ τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν, φιλτάτη,

PART IV

THE SERVILE CLASS

Many of the nouns designating slaves have already been considered, particularly in Part I, chapter 7 in our treatment of the household slave. These nouns are now included in our grouping of all nouns designating slaves into various categories. P. LeGrand states that "the comic writers of the new period brought a whole host of slaves upon the stage. First, there are pedagogues, active or retired, trustworthy men to whom the master confides the duty of looking after his son, ... Then there are the old servants acquainted with the secrets and the worries of the family, old serving maids who have brought up their mistress; and, not to mention the courtesans who are slaves, there are the abigails and the duennas and the major-domos or heads of the household. These constitute the aristocracy of the slaves, as it were. By their side we find lackeys who accompany the young men on their amorous exploits and wait for them as they come from their festive gatherings; military servants, farmers and field labourers, servants engaged in various kinds of household work, little urchins who run on errands, or guards who at a signal from their master lay hands on a guilty comrade, bind him and drag him off to prison, etc. We have already met with some these persons whose occupation stamps them with the characteristic mark of their profession, but the majority have not been included in my analyses hitherto, and even those who were included have merely been touched upon casually. We must, therefore,

examine how the New Comedy depicted the mentality of the slave as a whole."[1] He then begins his discussion of the faults and morals of the characters of the plays. His list of "a whole host of slaves upon the stage" is almost sufficient to establish the categories under which we list the nouns which Menander used for slaves. The usual approach, however, is to classify them according to their character and dramatic function as servi rusticani, urbani, paedagogi, boni, callidi, fallaces, fraudulenti, stolidi, ignavi, honesti ac probi, libertini, the πρόσωπον προστατικόν,[2] and public and private slaves.[3]

The best possession one could have was a well-disposed or kindly slave (Fr. 563). Slaves were considered to be a symbol of wealth and could be obtained by payment like land, houses, silverplate (Fr. 614) or by inheritance when a father would bequeath his property and slaves to his eldest son (D 26, Kolax x6). A slave might regard his master as his city, refuge, law and the judge of what was right or wrong (Fr. 566) and be permitted to speak freely for a slave who is subservient in every respect is worthless (Fr. 312). On the other hand, when the master had wounded himself and was in need of help, the slaves did nothing but bid him farewell

---

1. P. LeGrand, The New Greek Comedy, transl. by J. Loeb, London, 1917, 104-105.

2. P. Spranger, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz, (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1960, No. 8) Darmstadt, 1960, 16, and E. Roth, Novae Comoediae Adulescentes Amatores, Senes, Servi quomodo congruant cum Julii Pollucis Personis, Leipzig, 1913, 52-58.

3. V. Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes, Oxford, 1951, 175-191.

as he appeared to be dying (Georgos 56). Mistakes made by slaves with good intent and without rascality do not merit a punishment for this would be unjust and disgraceful (Fr. 98). Whipping of slaves is indicated in a scene where Demeas asks for a lash and Parmenon takes to his heels to escape (Samia 106-109, 317) and when Cnemon appears at the door to face Geta and Sicon (D 502). The millhouse and shackles are referred to as a punishment which might be causing the anguish of spirit exhibited by Daos (Hero 3).

Menander gives evidence for a hierarchy or classification of slaves by the statement that it pains to have a δοῦλος thinking better or higher than an οἰκέτης (Fr. 562) and that an enamoured old man, if he had enough money, would buy a certain servant girl, θεράπαινα and have her as his favorite slave, ἄβρα (Fr. 58). "Syriskos, des Epitrepontes, est de condition servile; sans doute, c'est un privilégié, un χωρὶς οἰκῶν qui a une femme, un ménage, qui exerce chez lui son industrie, à charge de payer une redevance au maître; il est esclave cependant." [4]

---

4. P. LeGrand, Daos: Tableau de la Comédie Grecque pendant la Période dite nouvelle, Paris, 1910, 146.

CHAPTER I

YOUNG MEN'S SLAVE COMPANIONS

ἀλαζών (3) 1

θεράπων (7) 1

κατάσκοπος 1

κυνηγέτης 1

μαστιγίας (6) 1

οἰκέτης (15) 2

παιδάριον (13) 1

παῖς (57) 3

συγκυνηγός 1

This category includes not only those who can properly be called paedagogues but also those for whom we cannot ascertain a specific assignment to accompany and protect a young master.

ἀλαζών, braggart, liar, is what Moschion calls his slave, Daos, (P 78) when he is told by Daos that Glycera has come to live with Moschion's step-mother and he accuses Daos of often being a rascally liar.

θεράπων, servant. Sostratus plans to invite Gorgias and his servant, Daos, to the sacrifical feast (D 560) for Sostratus seeks their cooperation in his marriage plans.

κατάσκοπος, spy. Moschion wishes Daos to act as a spy (P 105) and discover what Glycera is doing and where his step-mother is for he wishes to meet Glycera again.

κυνηγέτης, hunter, identified as the slave, Pyrrhias (D 71), accompanied Sostratus (D 42) on a hunt which occasioned the chance meeting with Cnemon's daughter.

μαστιγίας, worthless slave, is the appellation addressed to Daos by Moschion (P 134) who is angry because Daos failed to favorably influence his step-mother that he might again meet Glycera.

οἰκέτης, a household slave. Gorgias struggles to support his mother and Daos, a slave bequeathed to him by his father (D 26) and always accompanies him. Daos is presented as having domestic responsibilities (D 240) and conscientiously concerned about Gorgias' interests (D 226). It was a mistake for Sostratus to send Pyrrhias to find out the girl's father (D 75).

παιδάριον, a young slave, accompanied Charisius to the festival and reported that he was drunk (E 297).

παῖς, slave. Pyrrhias rushes onto the stage in escape of Cnemon and Sostratus inquires about his excitement (D 82). Moschion asks frightened Daos about the unsuccessful visit with Moschion's step-mother (P 126). Parmenon's advice is unwanted by Moschion (Samia 333).

συγκυνηγός, fellow huntsman, Pyrrhias, was sent by Sostratus (D 71) to find out who might be the father or the guardian of the girl whom he met on the previous day.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER I YOUNG MEN'S SLAVE COMPANIONS

ἀλαζών (3) 1

Π 78

Δᾶς. π[ολλ]άκις μὲν ἤδη πρός μ' ἀπήγγελκας
λόγο[υ]ς
ο]ὐκ ἀληθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀλαζὼν καὶ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς εἶ.

θεράπων (7) 1

Δ 560

παραλήψομαι
τὸ μειράκιον τουτί, παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχω,
καὶ τὸν θεράποντ' αὐτοῦ· κεκοινωνηκότες
ἱερῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ χρησιμώτεροι
ἡμῖν ἔσονται σύμμαχοι πρὸς τὸν γάμον.

κατάσκοπος 1

Π 105

εἰσιὼν δέ μοι σύ, Δᾶς, τῶν ὅλων κατάσκοπος
πραγμάτων γενοῦ, τί ποιεῖ, π[ο]ῦ 'στιν ἡ μήτηρ,
ἐμὲ
εἰς τὸ προσδοκᾶν ἔχουσι πῶς·

κυνηγέτης 1

Δ 42

ἀστικὸν τῇ διατριβῇ,
ἥκο]ντ' ἐπὶ θήραν μετὰ κυνηγέτου τινὸς

μαστιγίας (6) 1

Π 134

μαστιγία,
κατακέχρη]σαί μοι.

οἰκέτης (15) 2

Δ 26 οὗ διατρέφει νυνὶ κακῶς
τὴν μητέρ' αὐτοῦ πιστὸν οἰκέτην θ' ἕνα
πατρῷον.

Δ 75 ἥμαρτον; οὐ γὰρ οἰκέτῃ
ἥρμοστ' ἴσως τὸ τοιοῦτ<ό γ'>.

παιδάριον (13) 1

Ε 297 παροινῶν γ', ὡς ἐμοὶ
τὸ παιδάρι[ο]ν εἶφ' ἀκόλουθος.

παῖς (57) 3

Δ 82, Π 126 τί τοῦτο, παῖ;

ΣΑΜΙΑ 333 νουθετήσεις μ', εἰπέ μοι,
ἱερ[ό]συλε παῖ;

συγκυνηγός 1

Δ 71 ὄρθριον
τὸν Πυρρίαν τὸν συγκυνηγὸν οἴκοθεν
ἐγὼ πέπομφα.

CHAPTER II

HOUSEWORK SLAVES

θυρωρός 1

ἄβρα 3

γραῦς (28) 5

δούλη (2) 1

θεράπαινα 9

θεραπαινίδιον 2

θεραπαινίς 1

παιδισκάριον 2

παιδίσκη (5) 3

τίτθη (6) 3

τροφός (2) 1

Household work performed by slaves according to Menander included caring for and nursing children (Samia 32, Phasma 13), working wool (Hero 37, Fr. 130), drawing water (D 190), carrying mattresses (D 405) and utensils used for a sacrificial feast (D 420, 448), bringing in or serving food (Perinthia fr. 6) and answering the door (D 427, 454, E 719).

θυρωρός, janitor or doorkeeper, is called upon to answer the door at Cnemon's house which is a comic and ironic appellation considering that Cnemon has been depicted as a poor Attic farmer (D 921).

ἄβρα, a female slave, seemingly ranked in favor above other slaves for in one instance an old man would, if he had sufficient gold, buy a slave girl, θεράπαινα, and have her as his favorite slave girl, ἄβραν (Fr. 58). In Menander, each instance of the word is found in context connoting romantic involvement; the father of two girls whose mother died takes to wife the slave girl who was her ἄβρα (Fr. 453); another man keeps a slave girl he bought for his wife away from home in the manner of a free girl (Fr. 371).

γραῦς, an old woman slave, such as Simike (D 92ϵ), lived with Cnemon (D 31) and besides drawing water and dropping the bucket (D 190) and the hoe (D 579) into the well, is presented as performing such tasks as shutting and opening the door (D 427, 453) and bringing a whip to her master (D 502) and summoning aid to pull the master out of the well (D 620-ϵ37). She censures Cnemon for refusing the invitation to the sacrificial feast (D 874-878) and leaves him in his misery so that she might bid farewell to his daughter (D 883). The only other reference to housework performed by an

old woman slave is found in the warning to a cook to keep the old slave away from the pottery (Samia 87).

δούλη, a slave girl, in bondage to pay for debts incurred for her father's funeral by her brother (Hero 20-40) works the wool for her mistress (Hero 37).

θεράπαινα, slave woman. Simike is specifically identified as an old woman and a slave (D 31). Moschion's nurse had been Demeas' slave (Samia 23) but was freed. Glycera sent her maid on an errand which occasioned Moschion to kiss her (P 34) for which her husband, Polemon, punished her more than was customary for a slave (P 318). An old man would, if he could afford it, buy a certain slave girl and have her as his favorite (Fr. 58). Doris is the slave who knows where Glycera kept in store the tokens of recognition (P 327). Seemingly, slave women accompanied their mistresses to religious festivals and participated by banging the cymbals (Fr. 277).

θεραπαινίδιον, a slave girl, is told to wash the baby (Samia 36). Geta complains that he knows of no more worthless group of female slaves than those which he ironically attributes to Cnemon (D 460); he accuses them of always thinking of lasciviousness.

θεραπαινίς, a slave girl, was sitting and weaving crudely (Fr. 130).

παιδισκάριον, a slave girl, is expelled from the household by her mistress, an heiress (Fr. 333) and another subjugates to her wishes the soldier, Thrasonides (Misoumenos fr. 3).

παιδίσκη, a young girl, perhaps free born (Hero 23), accompanied her brother into bondage (Hero 18) to pay for debts incurred

by the brother (Hero 34) and works wool for her mistress (Hero 38).

τίτθη, nurse. A former slave of Demeas' who reared Moschion (Samia 22) is overheard while musing with a baby (Samia 43, 61) and arouses Demeas' suspicions.

τροφός, nurse. Cnemon's daughter states that her nurse or guardian, Simike, dropped the bucket into the well (D 190).

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER II HOUSEWORK SLAVES

θυρωρός 1

Δ 921 παῖ, παι]δίον, γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες, παῖ, θυρωρέ.

ἄβρα 3

Fr. 453 ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ μήτηρ, τέθνηκε ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν ταῖν δυοῖν
ταύταιν· τρέφει δὲ παλλακή τις τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτάς, ἄβρα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν γενομένη.

Fr. 58 ΣΠΙΣΤΟΣ ὤμην, εἰ τὸ χρυσίον λάβοι
ὁ γέρων, θεράπαιναν εὐθὺς ἠγορασμένην
ἄβραν ἔσεσθαι.

Fr. 371 ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΣ ἄβραν γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος
ἐρωμένην ταύτῃ μὲν οὐ παρέδωκ' ἔχειν,
ἔτρεφε δὲ χωρὶς ὡς ἐλευθέρᾳ πρέπει.

γραῦς (28) 5

Δ 31 ὁ γέρων δ' ἔχων τὴν θυγατέρ' αὐτὸς ζῇ μόνος
καὶ γραῦν θεράπαιναν,

Δ 427 γραῦ, τὴν θύραν κλ<ε>ίσασ' ἄνοιγε μηδενί,

Δ 453 γραῦ,
ἄνοιγε θᾶττον τὴν θύραν·

Δ 502 [τὸ]ν ἱμάντα δός, γραῦ.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 87 τὴν δὲ γραῦν φυλάττετε
ἀπὸ τῶν κεραμίων, πρὸς θεῶν.

δούλη (2) 1

ΗΡΩΣ 20, 37 δούλη 'στιν;
37 μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης ἐργάζεται
ἔρια διακονεῖ τε,

θεράπαινα 9

Δ 31 ὁ γέρων δ' ἔχων τὴν θυγατέρ' αὐτὸς ζῇ μόνος
καὶ γραῦν θεράπαιναν,

ΣΑΜΙΑ 23 τοῦ δὲ Μοσχίωνος ἦν
τίτθη τις αὕτη, πρεσβυτέρα, γεγονυῖ' ἐμὴ
θεράπαιν', ἐλευθέρα δὲ νῦν.

Π 34 π[έ]μπουσά ποι θεράπαιναν.

Π 318 ἀνόσι[ον δὲ χοῖον ἂν
ο[ὐδ' ἄν, τά]λαν, θεράπαιν[αν ἐργάσαιτό τις

Fr. 58 ΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ ᾤμην, εἰ τὸ χρυσίον λάβοι
ὁ γέρων, θεράπαιναν εὐθὺς ἠγορασμένην
ἅβραν ἔσεσθαι.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 167 ἔχε]ις τὰ σαυτῆς πάντα· προστίθημί σοι,
ὁρᾷς, θ]εράπαιναν, Χρυσί.

Fr. 277 ΜΙΣΟΓΥΝΗΣ ἐκυμβάλιζον δ' ἑπτὰ θεράπαιναι κύκλῳ,
αἱ δ' ὠλόλυζον.

Fr. 128 ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ λουτρόν, θεραπαίνας, ⟨στρώματ⟩α, ἀργυρώματα.

Π 327 τίς τῶν θ]εραπαινῶν οἶδε ταῦθ' ὅπου 'στί σοι;
ἡ Δωρὶ]ς οἶδε.

θεραπαινίδιον 2

Δ 460 θεραπαινίδια γὰρ ἀθλιώτερ' οὐδαμοῦ
οἶμαι τρέφεσθαι.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 36 τοιαῦτ' ἐλάλησε] καὶ θεραπαινιδίῳ τινὶ
ἔξωθεν εἰστρέχοντι·

θεραπαινίς 1

Fr. 130 ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ καὶ θεραπαινὶς ἦν μία·
αὕτη συνύφαινεν ῥυπαρῶς διακειμένη.

παιδισκάριον 2

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ fr. 3 παιδισκάριόν με καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές,
ὃν οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν πολεμίων ⟨οὐ⟩πώποτε.

Fr. 333 ΠΛΟΚΙΩΝ παιδισκάριον θεραπευτικὸν δὲ καὶ λόγου

τάχιον ἀπάγεσθ' ὧδε. τίν' ἄρ' ἂν εἰσάγοι;

παιδίσκη (5) 3

ΗΡΩΣ 38 μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης ἐργάζεται
ἔρια διακονεῖ τε, παιδίσκη πάνυ --

ΗΡΩΣ 18 πέπονθα τὴν ψυχήν τι παιδίσκην ὁρῶν
συντρεφομένην ἄκακον, κατ' ἐμαυτόν, ὦ Γέτα.

ΗΡΩΣ fr. 6 τῶν <δὲ> παιδισκῶν τινι
δούς.

τίτθη (6) 3

ΣΑΜΙΑ 22 τοῦ δὲ Μοσχίωνος ἦν
τίτθη τις αὕτη, πρεσβυτέρα, γεγονυῖ' ἐμὴ
θεράπαιν', ἐλευθέρα δὲ νῦν.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 43 "αὐτὴ καλεῖ, τίτθη, σε" καὶ "βάδιζε καὶ
σπεῦδ".

ΣΑΜΙΑ 61 πάλιν δ' ἐπειδὰν τὴν λέγουσαν καταμάθω
τίτθην ἐκείν[ο]υ πρῶτον οὖσαν, εἶτ' ἐμοῦ
λάθρᾳ λέγου[σ]αν,

ἡ τροφός (2) 1

Δ 190 τὸν κάδον γὰρ ἡ τροφὸς
ἰμῶσ' ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ.

CHAPTER III

FARMWORK SLAVES

ἀνθρακεύς 2

θεράπων (7) 1

οἰκέτης (15) 5

It is interesting that in Menander "we hear little of agricultural slavery, and slaves were in fact little employed on the land. Most of Attica was cultivated by small peasant proprietors who had no need for slave labour, even if they could have afforded it. There was a small class of wealthier landlords who did not work their own land, but their estates often consisted of a number of scattered farms, some of which were let to free tenants. Only the home farm where the landlord resided was normally cultivated by slaves." [1]

ἀνθρακεύς, charcoal burner. Syriscus presents himself as a slave of Chaerestratus (E 232) but pays him rent (E 204) and occupies himself with sawing out tree stumps (E 81). He persuaded Daos to let him adopt the exposed child found by Daos (E 289).

θεράπων, slave. Sostratus planned to invite Gorgias and his slave, Daos, to the sacrificial feast (D 560) and win their support for his intended wedding. Previously, Daos had been hoeing or digging (D 375, 542) and fixing fence (D 376).

οἰκέτης, slave, is the one who should do the farm work (Fr. 560). Cnemon does not have a slave (D 330) or anyone to help him with his farm work. Syriscus states that he is Chaerestratus' slave (E 232) although his servitude is not typical. Gorgias' slave, Daos, was bequeathed to him by his father (D 26). Tibeius was once a slave but then became a shepherd (Hero 22).

---

1. A. Jones, "Slavery in the Ancient World", The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 9(1956) 187.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER III FARMWORK SLAVES

ἀνθρακεύς 2

E 81 ἦλθεν οὗτος, ἐστὶ δ' ἀνθρακεύς,
εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκπρίσων ἐκεῖ
στελέχη·

E 289 τὸ] παιδάριον, ὃ νῦν τιθηνεῖθ' ἡ [γ]υνή,
'Ον]ήσιμ', ἔνδον, οὗτος εὗρεν ἀν[θ]ρακεύς;

θεράπων (7) 1

Δ 560 παραλήψομαι
τὸ μειράκιον τουτί, παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχω,
καὶ τὸν θεράποντ' αὐτοῦ·

οἰκέτης (15) 5

Δ 26 οὗ διατρέφει νυνὶ κακῶς
τὴν μητέρ' αὐτοῦ πιστὸν οἰκέτην θ' ἕνα
πατρῷον.

Δ 330 τοῦτ'αὐτὸς γεωργῶν διατελεῖ
μόνος, συνεργὸν δ'οὐδέν' ἀνθρώπων ἔχων,
οὐκ οἰκέτην οἰκεῖον, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου
μισθωτόν, οὐχὶ γείτον', ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος.

E 232 Χαιρεστράτου
αἴμ' οἰκέτης·

ΗΡΩΣ 22

ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦν Τίβειος οἰκῶν ἐνθαδὶ
Πτελέασι, γεγονὼς οἰκέτης νέος ὢν ποτε.

Fr. 560

ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερέχειν τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖ,
τὸ γὰρ γεωργεῖν ἔργον ἐστὶν οἰκέτου.

CHAPTER IV

LACKEYS AND ROGUES

ἀλαζών (3) 1

ἄνθρωπος (96) 7

βάσκανος 1

διάκονος 1

δοῦλος (9) 8

δραπέτης 1

θεράπων (7) 3

ἰδιώτης 1

ἱερόσυλος (6) 5

μαστιγίας (6) 4

ὀπαδός 1

παιδίον (53) 9

παῖς (57) 28

σύνδουλος 1

θεραπαινίδιον (2) 1

ἡ ἱερόσυλος 1

παιδισκάριον 2

πρόσπολος 1

ἡ τοιχωρύχος 1

Menander, in accord with comic convention, does not present a society concerned with detailed duties and tasks. "Ohne Staatsgefühl, ohne Religion, ohne Pflichten, ohne Arbeit lebt sie nur dem engsten Kreise privater Interessen, selbst das Familiengefühl ist brüchig geworden, Besitz und Genuss sind fast die einzigen Triebfedern ihres Handelns." [1] This is true when applied to the Athenian bourgeoisie of Menander's day and can also be applied to the servile class, a great number of whom can simply be described as lackeys and rogues.

Dependence on a master for the necessities of life exerted a considerable social pressure upon a slave's compliance and obedience to his master's wishes. One miser relies on this principle when he allows only his slaves to carry his wealth and states that slaves must be honest and law-abiding, for, if they are not, no one will furnish their support (Comoedia Florentina 26-30). Although servants cheated their masters (Perinthia fr. 1_b, 13-15), they lived in fear of punishment (Samia 91, 108, 308, 333, Hero 1-5, P 144, 318, Perinthia 3-20) and in fear of being sold (Fr. 171). "Punishment looms large in Menander. In the Samia, for instance, Parmeno escapes punishment at Demea's hands only by running away (Samia 109-112); and later the Young Man, Moschio, beats him cruelly (Samia 477). Onesimus of the Epitrepontes is in constant fear of punishment because of his meddling, and finally he receives it (Ep. 725). Moschio of the Periceiromene also

---

1. A. Koerte, Die Menschen Menanders (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse 89(1937) Leipzig, 1937, 20.

threatens the Slave Davus. The fragments of the Perinthia show the Old Man, Laches, actually torturing the Slave Davus, with fire when the Slave has been caught in his trickery and has fled to the altar for refuge."[2] The most safe thing for a slave to do, was to do what was ordered (Fr. 351) which appears to have been a proverbial statement. To run away (Comoedia Florentina 54, Samia 110) only added to a slaves misery.

ἀλαζών, braggart or liar, is the term applied to Laos after Moschion accuses of often telling him falsehoods (P 78).

ἄνθρωπος, fellow, applied contemptuously to slaves, is the term with which Cnemon addressed Pyrrhias as related by him (D 109) and also Geta (D 467). Onesimus, a slave, addressed Syriscus by this term (E 270); Doris and Daos, slaves, addressed Sosias, Polemon's soldier-aide, in the same manner (P 178, 183), and Polemon, the master, applied the same term to him (P 231).

βάσκανος, sorcerer, knave. Sosias' so-called army is a group of knaves who would not be able to capture even a swallow's nest (P 279).

διάκονος, attendant, is a term found in a fragmentary line (E x519).

δοῦλος, slave, is identified as an οἰκέτης (Fr. 722) who is willing to offer advice to his master which might be very useful and otherwise unavailable to the master. However, in one instance, a distinction is drawn between a δοῦλος and an

---

2. P. Dunkin, Post-Aristophanic Comedy, Studies in the Social Outlook of Middle and New Comedy at both Athens and Rome, Urbana, 1946, 36.

οἰκέτης (Fr. 562) when someone is grieved that a δοῦλος reasons better than an οἰκέτης.[3] A god is equally fair to both the free and to the slaves (Fr. 681). To be slavish in all things makes a slave worthless (Fr. 312) but it is best to do what is ordered (Fr. 351). Contentment is what a slave relishes most (Fr. 194). It is a serious crime, worthy of death, to rear a free child as a slave (E 293).

δραπέτης, a run-away slave, had to be cunning and crafty to survive and avoid recapture and Smicrines attributes such qualities to Daos who all too quickly brought the goods and the invoice which Smicrines suspects has been altered to conceal appropriated items (Comoedia Florentina 54).

θεράπων, slave, is presented as a rogue who accomplishes nothing worthwhile if he cheats a kind and easy-going master (Perinthia fr. 1_b, 13-15). Daos cooperates in the fraud perpetrated with the miser Smicrines (Comoedia Florentina 3) and in the Georgos, he gossips about the events of the day (Georgos 32).

ἰδιώτης, fool, is a term addressed to Parmenon by the cook who objects to the sarcastic remarks tendered by Parmenon (Samia 71).

ἱερόσυλος, temple-looter or rogue. Onesimus is identified as such a rogue three times (E 615, 632, 742). He is caught eavesdropping (E 615); he vexes Charisius by cooperating in the questioning conducted by Habrotonon (E 632); Smicrines feels insulted by the tenor of Onesimus' philosophizing (E 742). Moschion

---

3. Supra, Part I, Chapter VII, p. 87-88 has fuller treatment.

becomes angry when Parmenon advises him (Samia 333). Someone who has opened a crock of wine and drunk too much of it is also called by this term (Fr. 192).

μαστιγίας, rogue, one who should be whipped, scoundrel. When Geta asks to borrow a cauldron, Cnemon calls him a scoundrel and informs him that it is not his wont to sacrifice bullocks as other people do (D 473). Smicrines is astonished to be told by the slave, Onesimus, that he has a grandson and refers to the slave by this term (E 755). Moschion is angry when Daos fails to effect the plans for meeting Glycera again at his step-mother's home and calls him a scoundrel for having failed him (P 134). Demeas calls for a strap and whips Parmenon who takes to flight (Samia 109).

ὀπαδός, slave, attendant, is a word found in Menander according to Philodemus (Fr. x841)

παιδίον, young slave, is one term used to call out to or to summon or command a slave (D 459, 463, 498, 912, 921, E 718, P 70, 132). In one instance, the slave, a lackey, brought in the cooked food (Perinthia fr. 6).

παῖς, slave, is another term used to summon the attention of a slave (D 464, 498, 912, 916, 967, E 718, 719, P 68, 71, Samia 106) particularly when asking a question (D 82, 401, P 126, Samia 145, 147, 333, Misoumenos 18, Fr. 94, Fr. 100). The slave is mentioned by name, παῖ Γέ[τα, (D 401, 551), παῖ Δόναξ, σύ τ', ὦ Σίκων (D 959), παῖ, Παρμένων (Samia 143), ὦ παῖ Σωσία (Kolax fr. 1). A slave exposed the baby which Pataecus refused to rear (P 370).

σύνδουλος, fellow slave. Daos implores Geta to save him,

a fellow-slave, from the torture he is suffering at the hands of his master (Perinthia x5).

θεραπαινίδιον, female slave. Geta knocks on Cnemon's door and calls out for a slave to answer. No one responds and he complains that he has never seen a more worthless group of slaves (D 460). The context, seemingly, indicates that he is calling for a male slave, παιδίον, παῖδες καλοί, and perhaps this word might also be classified under male slave.

ἱερόσυλος, temple-looter, hag. The word is used adjectivally in reference to Sophrona, an old slave (E 706, 764). Someone is intent upon having the hag drink first (Fr. 138).

παιδισκάριον, wench. The heiress expelled the servant wench from the home (Fr. 333) and Thrasonides expresses that he has been enslaved by a wench, something that the enemy could never do in battle (Misoumenos fr. 3).

πρόσπολος, a female slave attendant, veiled her face and began the dance (950), somewhat affected by the wine, and gets all to join in, even unwilling Cnemon.

τοιχωρύχος, burglar, house-breaker. Cnemon uses this term in reference to Simike (D 588) after she has dropped both the bucket and the hoe into the well and he is looking for the hoe.

CONTEXT OF CHAPTER IV LACKEYS AND ROGUES

ἀλαζών (3) 1

Π 78 Δᾶε, π[ολλ]άκις μὲν ἤδη πρός μ' ἀπήγγελκας λόγους
ο]ὐκ ἀληθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀλαζὼν καὶ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς εἶ.

ἄνθρωπος (96) 7

Δ 109 <ὁ δ'> εὐθύς, "ἀνόσιε
ἄνθρωπε," φησίν,

Δ 467 τί τῆς θύρας ἄπ<τ>ει, τρισάθλι'; εἰπέ μοι,
ἄνθρωπε.

Ε 270 τοιουτονί
ἐστιν τὸ πρᾶγμ', ἄνθρωπε·

Π 183 ἄνθρωπε κακόδαιμον, τί βο[ύ]λει;

Π 231 π]ρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθ'.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 143 παῖ Παρμένων. ἄνθρωπος ἀποδέδρακέ με,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μικρὸν συλλαβών.

Π 178 [ἀ]νασ[τρέ]φ[ει
ἄνθ]ρωπος ὀργιζόμ[εν]ος·

The other usages of ἄνθρωπος are summarily grouped and cited.

Spectators	Female Slave	A Specific Man	Nature of Man	General
S 235	S 133	D 6	D 325	D 271
	M 1_p	D 89	E 592	D 329
		D 213	Fr. 303_6	D 332
		D 271	Fr. 432	D 613
		D 325	Fr. 467	D 865
		D 410	Fr. 484	S 211
		D 480	Fr. 740_{10}	Th fr. 1,4
		D 668	Fr. d 944	Th fr. 1,14
		D 702	Fr. 213_1	Fr. 198_4
		D 903	Fr. 251_3	Fr. 210_3
		E 1	Th fr. 1,7	Fr. 322
		E 257	Ph 32 (bis)	Fr. 419
		P 409	Fr. 46	Fr. 484
		S 205	Fr. 620_2	Fr. 622_1
		Fr. 176	Fr. 625	Fr. 624
		Fr. 215	Fr. 626	Fr. 636
		Fr. 304_2	E 344	Fr. 210
		P 323	Fr. 338	Fr. 295
		Fl 57	Fr. 498	Fr. 518
		Fr. 392	Fr. 499	Fr. 621
		Fr. 799	Fr. 569	P 286
		Kl 50	Fr. 627	Fr. 509
		M 19	Fr. 728	Fr. 718_6
		M fr. 6	Fr. 786	Fl 74
		S 172		Fr. 210_6

βάσκανος 1

Π 279 οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο δ' ἐξελεῖν νεοττιὰν
χελιδόνων, οἷοι πάρεισ' οἱ βάσκανοι.

διάκονος 1

Ε χ519 .....δια]κόνῳ τούτων τι..

δοῦλος (9) 8

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ Ι 1r ἆρ' οὗτός ἐστι δοῦλος καὶ ...

Fr. 312 ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ ἂν πάντα δουλεύειν ὁ δοῦλος μανθάνῃ,
πονηρὸς ἔσται.

Fr. 562 λυπεῖ με δοῦλος μεῖζον οἰκέτου φρονῶν.

Fr. 722 μὴ καταφρονήσῃς οἰκέτου συμβουλίας.
πολλάκις ὁ δοῦλος τοὺς τρόπους χρηστοὺς ἔχων
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐγένετο σωφρονέστερος.

Ε 293 εἶτ', εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστί σου,
τρεφόμενον ὄχει τοῦτον ἐν δούλου μέρει,
κοὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἀποθάνοις;

Fr. 351 ΠΡΟΣΓΚΑΛΩΝ τὸ δὲ
κελευόμενον μέν ἐστιν ἀσφαλέστατον
δούλῳ ποεῖν, ὡς φασιν.

Fr. 194 ΘΕΤΤΑΛΗ εὐθυμία, Τίβειε, τὸν δοῦλον τρέφει.

Fr. 681 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς <ς> πᾶσι, τοῖς <τ'> ἐλευθέροις
καὶ τοῖσ<ι> δούλοις, ἐστίν, ἂν σκοπῇς, ἴσος.

δραπέτης 1

Fl 54 ἐγὼδα τούτου τὰς τ[έ]χνας τοῦ δραπέτου.

θεράπων (7) 3

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ fr. 1b ὅστις παραλαβὼν δεσπότην ἀπράγμονα
καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾷ θεράπων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι
οὗτος μεγαλεῖόν ἐστι διαπεπραγμένος,
ἐπαβελτερώσας τὸν πάλαι <γ'> ἀβέλτερον.

Fl 3 οὗ δ' εἰσελήλυθ' ὁ θεράπων ἐν γειτόνω[ν
ἀδελφὸς οἰκεῖ τοῦδε τοῦ φιλαργύρου,

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ 32 κατὰ τ[ύχην] προσέρχεται
ἡμῖν] ὁ θεράπων ἐξ ἀγροῦ Δᾶος.

ἰδιώτης 1

ΣΑΜΙΑ 71 π[ροσπαίζεις ἐμο]ί,
ἰδιῶτ';

ἱερόσυλος (6) 5

E 615 οὗτος ἐπακροώμε[νος
ἔστηκας, ἱερόσυλέ, μου[;

E 632 τί σύ μ]ε περισπᾶις, ἱερόσυλε;

E 742 εἶθ' οὑμός, ἱερόσυλε, νῦν τρόπος ποεῖ
ἁμαθές τι;

ΣΑΜΙΑ 333 νουθετήσεις μ', εἰπέ μοι,
ἱερ[ό]συλε παῖ;

Fr. 192 ΘΕΤΤΑΛΗ καὶ τὸ κεράμιον
ἀνέῳχας· ὄζεις, ἱερόσυλ', οἴνου πολύ.

μαστιγίας (6) 4

Δ 473 μαστιγία,
θύειν με βοῦς οἵει ποιεῖν τε ταῦθ' ἅπερ
ὑμεῖς ποεῖτ';

E 755 θυγατριδοῦν μαστιγία;

Π 134 μαστιγία,
κατακέχρη]σαί μοι.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 109 ποῖ σύ; ποῖ, μαστιγ[ί]α;

ὀπαδός 1

Fr. χ841
Philodemus; ed. Gomperz, Herculanea Studia, II, 42.
Hesychius. ὀπαδός· ἀκόλουθος, συνεργός, δοῦλος.

παιδίον (53) 9

Δ 459 παιδίον. μὰ τοὺς θεούς,
θεραπαινίδια γὰρ ἀθλιώτερ' οὐδαμοῦ
οἶμαι τρέφεσθαι.

Δ 463 παιδίον.
τουτὶ <τί> τὸ κακόν ἐστι;

Δ 498 "παιδίον, παῖ[δες" φατέ.

Δ 912 παῖδες καλοί, παῖ, παιδίον, <παῖ,> παῖδες.

Δ 921 παῖ, παι]δίον, γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες, παῖ, θυρωρέ.

Ε 718 παῖδες, παιδίον,
ἀνοιξάτω τις.

Π 70 παιδίον, κέλευέ μοι

Π 132 ἀλλ'[, ἀσχολῶ γάρ, νῦν] βάδιζε, παιδίον,
ἐκ]ποδών.

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ fr. 3 τὸ παιδίον δ' εἰσῆλθεν ἔψντους φέρον.

παῖς (57) 28 cf. Part I, Chapter VII, p. 101-102

σύνδουλος 1

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ χ5 ἀφείητ' ἄν, Γέτα
σύν]δουλον ὄντα καὶ διασώσα[ντ' c]ὺ πάνυ;

θεραπαινίδιον 2

Δ 460 θεραπαινίδια γὰρ ἀθλιώτερ' οὐδαμοῦ
οἶμαι τρέφεσθαι. παῖδες.

ΣΑΜΙΑ 36 τοιαῦτ' ἐλάλνσε] καὶ θεραπαινιδίῳ τινὶ
ἔξωθεν εἰστρέχοντι·

ἡ ἱερόσυλος 1

Fr. 138 ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ πιεῖν ἀναγκάσω
τὴν ἱερόσυλον πρῶτα.

Ε 706 προπετῶς ἀπάγω τὴν θυγατέρ', ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

Ε 764 τί φησιν, ἱερόσυλον γραῦ;

παιδισκάριον 2

ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ fr. 3 παιδισκάριόν με καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές,
ὃν οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν πολεμίων <οὐ>πώποτε.

Fr. 333 ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ παιδισκάριον θεραπευτικὸν δὲ καὶ λόγου
τάχιον ἀπάγεσθ' ὧδε. τίν' ἄρ' ἂν εἰσάγοι;

πρόσπολος 1

Δ 950 καί τις βρεχεῖσα προσπόλων εὐήλικος προσώπου
ἄνθος κατεσκιασμένη χορεῖον εἰσέβαινε
ῥυθμὸν μετ' αἰσχύνης,

ἡ τοιχωρύχος 1

Δ 588 ποῦ 'στιν ἡ τοιχωρύχος;

CONCLUSION

The pursuit of character studies of the dramatis personae and comic types based on invented characterizations and plots fails to present a proper dimension for a sociological commentary on life in Athens as mirrored by New Comedy. Such studies of Menander's comedies, interesting though they be, do not contribute full value to the significant evidence presented in genuine source material for a well-defined and documented picture of people living in Athens from 321 B.C. to 292 B.C.

Our approach to the study of the people of Menander concerned itself with answering two basic questions in order to establish a framework and the scope of the study; namely, What nouns does Menander use to designate people? and, What social groupings are implied by a definition of the nouns in their context?

We systematically collected, interpreted and defined 197 nouns designating people and classified them in various categories of social and occupational units 280 times. The 197 nouns are listed as 144 masculine, 59 feminine nouns (6 nouns have common gender); they designate people 1297 times (909 males, 375 females, 13 unidentified infants). These statistics have no significance; what is significant is the fact that it is necessary, if one wishes to study the people of Menander's Athens scientifically, to properly identify and define all of the people whom Menander mentions. This is what we have done to secure an answer to our first question.

The answer to the second question is the evidence presented under the four major classifications of family, occupations, social

and servile class. The nouns and their context which designate people belonging to a family give evidence for facets of the life of bridegroom and bride, husband and wife, father and mother and children, relatives; there are masters of a household and guardians and household slaves. Mention is made of the dowry, the marriage ceremony, the legally wedded husband and wife as well as common law marriages and the marrying of wealthy heiresses. We note the familiar terms for father and mother and the difficulties of being a father but, in general, a high regard for children. There are aristocratic families and poor families; household slaves are found in both but it is usual for a poor family to have only one old woman servant, if any.

The people were engaged in various occupations in the city, in the country and on the sea. The country had its goatherds, shepherds, farmers and charcoal-burners; the sailor, trader and fisherman went to sea. There were buyers and sellers in the market and those who offered special services, such as cooks and table setters and physicians. Citizens might be political leaders, tax-collectors, military officers, jurymen. There were servants of religion and entertainers for both public or private celebrations.

The social classes are treated according to a simple grouping equivalent to a distinguishing of the good and bad, rich and poor, young and old, friend and foe, terms of endearment and abuse. Hatred for an adulterer, sycophant and flatterer looms large. Poverty is the greatest of all evils and old age gains little respect.

Most slaves can be identified as belonging to a household and serving a master; they are frequently the young master's companion

and show great concern for the young master's welfare. Most of the female slaves are engaged in doing household work. Evidence for slaves doing farm work is less frequent than one might expect. In general, the greater part of the slaves were merely lackeys and, at times, rogues.

There are a multitude of details lacking in Menander's picture of Athenian life; we have not, however, ignored any evidence that Menander presents for the people of his day within a lexical limitation of nouns. We have established an initial and proper dimension for a due study of the people of Menander's milieu and a sociological commentary on life in Athens as mirrored by New Comedy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

EDITIONS: Text of Menander Cited in this Work.

A. Koerte, Menandri Quae Supersunt: Pars Prior: Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Vetustissimis Servatae, 3rd ed. with additions by A. Thierfelder, Leipzig, 1957.

Menandri Quae Supersunt: Pars Altera: Reliquiae apud veteres Scriptores Servatae, 2nd ed. with additions and corrections by A. Thierfelder, Leipzig, 1959.

H. Lloyd-Jones, Menandri Dyscolus, Oxford, 1960.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

F. Allinson, Menander, The Principal Fragments (Loeb Classical Library No. 132) London and Cambridge, Mass., 1921, revised and reprinted 1930, reprinted 1959.

J. Edmonds, The Fragments of Attic Comedy, Leiden, 1961, Vol. IIIB, Menander.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Menander, Das Schiedsgericht, Berlin, 1925, photo-reprinted 1958.

GENERAL: Histories of Literature and Literary and Social Studies.

W. Becker, Charicles, London, 1889.

C. Benoît, Essai historique sur la comédie de Ménandre, Paris, 1954.

E. Burck, "Die Kunst Menanders und ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der Komödie", Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung, 9(1933) 417-431.

W. Christ, W. Schmid, O. Stählin, Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur (Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft, VII Abteilung) Munich, 1920, 2 Teil, I Hälfte, 38-46.

M. Croiset, "Ménandre, le dernier des Attiques", Revue des Deux Mondes, 50(1909) 806-831.

K. Dover, "Greek Comedy", Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship edited by M. Platnauer, Oxford, 1954, 96-129.

M. Dosi, "Menandro drammaturgo e creatore di caratteri", Dioniso, 17(1954) 101-127.

A. Gomme, Essays in Greek History and Literature, Oxford, 1957, 249-295.

C. del Grande, "Menandro e la sua commedia", Dioniso, 15(1952) 38-48.

G. Guizot, Ménandre; Étude historique et littéraire sur la comédie et la société grecques, Paris, 1855.

A. Koerte, "Menandros", Realencyclopädi, der classischen Altertumswissenschaft edited by A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, Stuttgart, Vol. XV, 1932, 707-761. (cited as RE hereafter.)

Hellenistische Dichtung, Leipzig, 1925.

Hellenistic Poetry transl. by. J. Hammer and M. Hadas, New York, 1929.

Die Griechische Komodie, Leipzig, 1930.

A. Lesky, Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur, Bern, 1957/58, 591-610.

K. Lever, The Art of Greek Comedy, London, 1956, 186-205.

G. Méautis, Le Crépuscule d'Athènes et Ménandre, Paris, 1954

H. Perry, Masters of Dramatic Comedy and their Social Themes, Cambridge, Mass., 1939.

L. Post, From Homer to Menander (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 23) Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951.

"Menander in Current Criticism", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 65(1934) 13-34.

F. Quadlbauer, "Die Dichter der griechischen Komödie im literarischen Urteil der Antike", Wiener Studien, 73(1960) 40-82.

M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Oxford, 1941, Vol. I, 150, 163-171, II, 1026-1312.

W. Tarn, G. Griffith, Hellenistic Civilization, 3rd ed. revised, London, 1952, 79-125.

T. Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy, Manchester, 1953, 98-124, 184-204.

Art and Literature in Fourth Century Athens, London, 1956.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Menander, Das Schiedsgericht, Berlin, 1925, photo-reprint 1958, 119-172.

S. Zini, Il Linguaggio dei Personaggi nelle Commedie di Menandro, Florence, 1938.

SPECIFIC: Social Studies of People in Menander's Comedies.

P. Dunkin, Post-Aristophanic Comedy: Studies in the Social Outlook of Middle and New Comedy at both Athens and Rome, (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 31) Urbana, 1946.

A. Koerte, Die Menschen Menanders (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 89(1937) 3. Heft) Leipzig, 1937.

P. LeGrand, Daos: Tableau de la Comédie Grecque pendant la période dite Nouvelle, Paris, 1910, 64-234.

The New Greek Comedy transl. by J. Loeb, London and New York, 1917.

M. Pohlenz, Der Hellenische Mensch, Göttingen, 1950.

C. Préaux, "Ménandre et la Société Athénienne", Chronique d'Égypte, 35(1957) 84-100.

E. Roth, Novae Comoediae Adulescentes, Amatores, Senes, Servi, quomodo Congruant cum Julii Pollucis Personis, Leipzig, 1913.

T. Webster, Studies in Menander 2nd ed., Manchester, 1960.

FAMILY: Part I.

F. Buddenhagen, Περὶ γάμου, Antiquiorum poetarum philosophorumque graecorum de matrimonio Sententiae, Basel, 1919.

E. Duparc, Vrouwenfiguren in de werken van Menander, Amsterdam, 1937.

W. Erdmann, Die Ehe im Alten Griechenland (Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 20 Heft) Munich, 1934. 33-85, 117-135, 189-196, 204-249.

A. Gomme, "The Position of Women in Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.", Classical Philology 20(1925) 1-24.

L. Post, "Woman's Place in Menander's Athens", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 71(1940) 420-459.

P. Roussel, "La famille athénienne", Lettres d'humanité, Supplement à Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé, 9(1950) 5-59.

C. Savage, The Athenian Family, A Sociological and Legal Study based chiefly on the Works of the Attic Orators, Baltimore, 1907.

R. Tolles, Untersuchungen zur Kindesaussetzung bei den Griechen, Breslau, 1941.

E. Weiss, "Kinderaussetzung", RE, XI(1922) 463-471.

T. Williams, "Menanders Epitrepontes im Spiegel der griechischen Ehevertrage aus Ägypten", Wiener Studien, 74(1961) 43-58.

H. Wolff, "Marriage Law and Family Organization in Ancient Athens", Traditio, 2(1944) 43-95.

OCCUPATIONS: Part II.

R. Bonner, G. Smith, The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle, Chicago, 1930-1938, Vol. I, 346-378; II, 117-144.

L. Bunsmann, De piscatorum in Graecorum atque Romanorum litteris usu, Münster, 1910.

C. Calhoun, The Business Life of Ancient Athens, Chicago, 1926.

J. Cronin, The Athenian Juror and his Oath, Chicago, 1936.

G. Glotz, Le Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne, Paris, 1920.

Ancient Greece at Work: An Economic History of Greece from the Homeric Period to the Roman Conquest, London and New York, 1927.

G. Griffith, Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World, Cambridge, 1935.

W. Heitland, Agricola: A Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the Viewpoint of Labour, Cambridge, 1921, 61-65.

P. Herfst, Le travail de la femme dans la Grèce ancienne, Utrecht, 1922.

J. Mahaffy, Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander, London, 1907, 251-247, 385-428.

E. Rankin, The Role of the Μάγειρος in the Life of the Ancient Greeks, Chicago, 1907.

O. Ribbeck, "Agroikos" Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 10(1885) 1-68.

H. Wysk, Die Gestalt des Soldaten in der griechisch-römisch Komödie, Giessen, 1921.

British Museum. A Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life, 3rd ed., London, 1929.

SOCIAL CLASS: Part III.

A. Hauschild, Die Gestalt der Hetäre in der griechischen Komödie, Leipzig, 1933.

A. Koerte, "Habrotonon und das Freundespaar in den Epitrepontes", Hermes 79(1944) 207-214.

A. Jones, "The Social Structure of Athens in the fourth Century B.C.", The Economic History Review, 8(1955) 141-155.

H. Oeri, Der Typ der komischen Alten in der griechischen Komödie seine Nachwirkungen und seine Herkunft, Basel, 1948, 33-66.

A. Müller, "Die Schimpfwörter in der griechischen Komödie", Philologus, 72(1913) 321-337.

R. von Pohlmann, F. Oertel, Geschichte der sozialen Fragen und des Sozialismus in der Antiken Welt 3rd ed. Munich, 1925, Vol. I, 317.

O. Ribbeck, Alazon, ein Beitrag zur antiken Ethologie, Leipzig, 1882.

G. Schiassi, "De temporum quaestionibus ad Atticas IV saeculi meretrices et eiusdem comicas fabulas pertinentibus", Rivista di filologia, 79(1951) 217-245.

K. Schneider, "Hetairai", RE, VIII (1913) 1331-1372.

SERVILE CLASS: Part IV.

M. Finley, Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies, Cambridge, 1960.

P. Harsh, "The Intriguing Slave in Greek Comedy", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 86(1955) 135-142.

M. Lambertz, Griechische Sklavennamen, Vienna, 1907.

C. Langer, De servi persona apud Menandrum, Bonn, 1919.

D. Lotze, Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων. Studien zur Rechtsstellung unfreier Landbevölkerungen in Griechenland bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr., (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin, Schriftum der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft, XVII) Berlin, 1959.

G. Morrow, Plato's Law of Slavery in its Relation to Greek Law (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 25, no. 3) Urbana, 1939, 45, 134.

F. Spranger, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1960, no. 8) Darmstadt, 1961.

W. Westerman, "Sklaverei", RE, Supplementband 6(1935) 927-944.

The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, no. 40) Philadelphia, 1955, 24-27.