

tion; for the segmentation **k^we-s-o* see my analysis *Studia Celtica* x-xi, 1975-6, 68-9.

Frisk *GEW* 2.570 s. v. *πόθεν*, following Schwyzer, thinks that *ποῦ* was a petrified genitive. But aside from the vagueness of such a value for the genitive, it is far preferable on syntactic grounds and on considerations of parsimony if we can derive a locative expression from a locative inflexion and equate it with other attested locatives. I therefore derive **k^woo* from **k^woiō* and *-ov* from **-oiō*, and equate these in segmental content with *ποι* and in function with *πόθι*. This is then to be segmented in the first instance **-oi-o*, with the semantically (nearly) empty **-o* seen in **k^wes-o* > *τέο*, and in the alternative declensional endings in *-ā* of Avestan, etc.

Now we know that **k^woi* cannot be an original IE locative for this pronoun, since the common IE form was **ku*; see *Studia Celtica* x-xi, 66; *Papers from the Parasession on Diachronic Syntax* (Chicago Linguistic Society 1976) 349; *AJP* 97, 1976, 20-1; *ZCP* 37, 1979, 171-3. In any event, it is not certain that **-o* could originally be affixed to a structure with **+i*; on the last, see *Papers . . .* 349. But it is further clear that the earlier structure was *-ei* < **-e-i*; see *IF* 75, 1970, 104-5.

Therefore **k^wo-i-o* must be a later, but common Greek, innovation, as I have argued (*SC* x-xi, 66 footnote 3) for *πόθι* and *πόθεν*. So too for **-oi-o*.

Two Names from the *Dyscolos*

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The name Cnemon in Menander, Lucian and perhaps Heliodorus may be derived not from *κνήμη* or *κνημός*, but from *κνάω*. The emended form Simiche in Menander is partially supported by MSS. evidence in Lucian. Simiche in Lucian's *Cataplus* may be a pretty hetaera but her name involves an etymological joke.

1. The Etymology of Cnemon

The admirable commentary on Menander by Gomme and Sandbach takes the apparently fictitious name Cnemon as derived from *κνήμη* and applied to one with remarkable lower legs, the name

perhaps having some meaning for the audience who possibly take well developed *κνήμαι* as suggesting *εὐρωστοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν* and strength of character, cf. (Pseudo) Aristotle *Phgn.* 810a28. G.-S. also refer to Stoessl's theory that the name is derived from *κνημός* (shoulder of a mountain). Both explanations are at least tenable. As Cnemon has to 'farm rocks' (*Dysc.* 3–4, a humorous phrase as I see it, but topographically accurate), the hard work would certainly develop his *κνήμαι* and he does indeed work among *κνημοί*. Moreover most names ending in *-ων* are formed from nouns or adjectives.

I suggest however the possibility of an etymology from *κνάω* or *κνάομαι*. The name Philemon is formed from the verb *φιλέω*; an even closer analogy is provided by names such as *Ἐὐκτῆμων* or *Φιλοκτῆμων*, formed from the verb *κτάομαι*. Cnemon could be so called as a prickly abrasive personality who grates on, scratches at and wears out any who come into contact with him, cf. the use of *ἀποκναίω* in Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 1087, *Men. Aspis* 425 and *Misoumenos* Fr. 3 (Sandbach), or as one who has to scratch a meagre living from farming rocks. Or perhaps his hard, unsophisticated life as an *ἄγροικος* makes him dirty and itchy, though l. 193 suggests he intends to take a hot bath after work:

The name Cnemon also occurs in Aelian, *Epistulae* 13–16, Lucian, *D. Mort.* 18 (Loeb = 8 Teubner) and Heliodorus, *Aeth.* passim. Aelian's four letters, two from Callipides to Cnemon, making friendly overtures, and two of brusque refusals by Cnemon, are closely modelled on Menander, though Aelian's Cnemon is perhaps even more unwavering in his misanthropy than Menander's character.

In Lucian's dialogue Cnemon is a dead captator who has tried to ingratiate himself with a rich orbus, Hermolaus, by making him his heir, but unfortunately he has died before Hermolaus. The only thing he seems to have in common with Menander's Cnemon is that he is angry and bad tempered about the whole business. Why does Lucian choose the name Cnemon? His names are often significant and can be explained. Thus the name Hermolaus suggests a connection with Hermes; Hermolaus has had a *ἔρμαιον* and moreover has made a profit on the 'transaction'. Lucian's Cnemon may suggest another meaning of *κνάω* viz. 'to tickle', occurring in Plato, *Symp.* 185 E (if the emendation of *κνήσαις* for *κινήσαις* is accepted), *Luc. Bis. Acc.* 1 and *Salt.* 2. Tickling gives pleasure, attracts and tempts, as indicated by Plutarch, *Mor.* 61 D (*How to distinguish a Kolarx from a Friend*), where the flatterer, *τοῦτο* (sc. *τὸ παθητικὸν*

καὶ ἄλογον) κνᾶ καὶ γαργαλίξει καὶ ἀναπείθει; cf. Plut. *ibid.* 786c. (In Luc. *Nec.* 3 as in Plato *Symp.* loc. cit. we have a choice between κινέω and κνάω, but here the reading ἐκνώμην is specious rather than convincing; it has weaker MSS. authority, see p. 264 of vol. 2 of the Oxford text, and probably emanates from a learned conjecture; moreover κινέω in the sense of 'attract' can be paralleled, e.g. by Plato. *Rep.* 474 D.) So Lucian chooses the name Cnemon to signify 'tempter' and then the association with the *Dyscolos*¹⁾ suggests to him the other significant name from the play, Callipides, which he modifies to Damnippus and gives to the other speaker in his dialogue.

Heliodorus' Cnemon is a young Athenian in exile thanks to the machinations of a Phaedra-like stepmother, Demaenete, whose advances he has rejected. Heliodorus may simply have chosen the name Cnemon at random, particularly as a reason for the name is not immediately obvious. If the name has to have a significance, I would suggest, *faute de mieux*, again that of 'tempter', though he was an involuntary tempter, with as little thought of tickling Demaenete's fancy as Hippolytus vis-a-vis Phaedra.

To sum up then, the possibility that the name Cnemon is derived from κνάω is worth consideration.

2. Simiche in Menander and Lucian

Editors seem justified in giving the name Σιμίχη to Cnemon's old slave, although the Bodmer Papyrus consistently has Σιμίχη, as does a Chester Beatty Papyrus of the third or fourth century A. D. with a schoolboy's list of comic names, Clarysse and Wouters, *Ancient Society* i (1970), 201sq. cf. C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta*, Berlin, 1973, p. 123.

Gomme-Sandbach rightly regard the name as a diminutive of σιμός, and therefore reject the spelling Σιμμίχη. Indeed the evidence for Σιμμίχη is weaker than G.-S.'s notes p. 132 suggest. Σιμμίχη may be given by the MSS. in Alciphron, *Ep.* 4.13.11, but in the two Lucianic passages adduced the MSS. are divided. In *Catapulus* 22 we have

Σιμίχη Γ
Σιμμίχη Ωβ

¹⁾ Lucian knew the *Dyscolos*; echoes in his *Timon* are noted in my apparatus criticus, O.C.T., vol. 1, pp. 310sq. Note also *Misanthropos* as alternative title to both plays.

Here Γ is the best single MS. and the best witness of γ , of which Ω is a less reliable member; cf. Lucian, O. C. T., vol. 1, pp. ix-x. In *Dial. Mer.* 4 we have

Σιμίχη L
Σιμίχη Ψ γ

Here L is the best surviving MS. and the leader of β , of which Ψ is an inferior witness; in the absence of Γ , X is the best witness of γ ; on the merits of L see K. Mras' edition of *Dial. Mer.*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 4-5. So read Σιμίχη in both passages of Lucian. Moreover, since Alciphron 4.13 is influenced by *Dial. Mer.* 4 with Melissa playing a prominent role in both Lucian and Alciphron, Σιμίχη should be read in Alciphron too.

Simiche then is a hetaera in *Dial. Mer.* 4 and presumably in *Cataplus* 22 as well; here the scholia, for what they are worth, comment on the names Phryne and Simiche *ὀνόματα πορνῶν*. Simiche need not be a slave as G.-S.'s notes say; many of Lucian's girls seem to be free and indeed Pannychis of *Dial. Mer.* 9 even owns a slave of her own.

The phrase in *Cataplus* 22 ἢ τῷ διαγνῶ τις εἰ καλλίων Φρόνης Σιμίχη; poses the problem of whether Simiche is to be considered ugly or beautiful. In this passage the cynically motivated Micyllus is saying that in the dark world of the dead one can't see enough to distinguish between fair and foul, king and commoner. Some translators, e.g. Fowler and Fowler, Oxford, 1905 ('There would be no telling Simmiche from Phryne'), Harmon, Loeb Vol. 1 ('Who can tell here that Simmiche is not more beautiful than Phryne?') take Simiche to be ugly or much less beautiful than Phryne. In favour of this view it must be admitted that Phryne's beauty was proverbial. Moreover, it could be argued that Lucian has chosen the name Simiche for etymological reasons; (in *Dial. Mer.* 2.2 *σιμήν* and *καλήν* seem diametrically opposed). Whether Simiche be the old slave of the *Dyscolos* or a hetaera, she has an ugly flat face and the beauty contest is as unequal as that of the notoriously ugly *σιμός* Socrates and the handsome Critoboulos of Xenophon *Symp.* 5. I reluctantly reject this interpretation as it seems an unnatural translation of the Greek, though one could cut the Gordian knot by emending the text, e.g. to Φρόνη Σιμίχης.

The alternative is to take Simiche as of at least comparable beauty with Phryne, as perhaps Lionel Casson does, *Select Satires of Lucian*, New York, 1962, p. 188, when he translates 'How could anyone tell down here whether Simmiche is better looking than

Phryne?'. This seems to be the natural meaning of the Greek. Though Plat. *Rep.* 474 D should be taken to suggest that a *σιμός* is ugly and only attractive in the view of an *ἐραστοῦ ὑποκορίζοντος*, (the LSJ entry on the passage seems to me misleading), *σιμός* is found, particularly in Meleager, in a not uncomplimentary sense and a hetaera would hardly call herself Simiche if the name implied a serious defect of appearance. G.-S. also adduce a Delian inscription of 280 B.C. (IG xii. 2.161 B 23) with Simiche as a free woman from Myconos; assuming she got the name at birth and wasn't a freed hetaera who had adopted the name for professional reasons, one could also argue that no parent would give a daughter this name, if it were really uncomplimentary. Moreover the diminutive form would help to ease any discredit implicit in the stem of the name.

I conclude therefore that in *Cat.* 22 Simiche may be pretty and that the implication of the Greek as it stands is that she may be even prettier than Phryne. 'Fairer than Phryne' could even be taken as analogous to such proverbial phrases as 'older than Iapetus', 'dumber than fishes', etc. Simiche could have been a real historical hetaera of whom all record is now gone or perhaps a girl in a lost or incompletely preserved play; if so, it may be this Simiche rather than the old woman of the *Dyscolos* who appears in the Chester Beatty Papyrus list of Menandrian characters.

It remains however to explain why Lucian with such a vast repertoire of girl's names to choose from, chose that of Simiche. He had a finer sense of etymology than the average hetaera or the average parent. If he knew of a beautiful girl from past history or from New Comedy called Simiche, her name could have struck him as incongruous. He could be making an etymological joke. For Lucian Simiche could be the beautiful girl with a rather ugly name.

I offer this alternative explanation with great hesitation. It may be simpler to regard the text of *Cataplus* 22 as a piece of slackly written Greek or as corrupt.