

## ATTIC KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

SOME years ago M. Miller began an article in this Journal with the statement, 'Classical Greek kinship terminology, as it is used for example by Isaios, offers few difficulties of meaning in its terms.'<sup>1</sup> She then constructed a chart to show the 'principal usages'. A review of the evidence indicates that this chart was probably based on Pollux' discussion of kinship terms;<sup>2</sup> at any rate it simply does not reflect the actual usage of Attic prose writers (the ten orators, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato). For example the chart shows that the terms for uncle are *μήτρως* (maternal uncle) and *πάτρως* (paternal uncle). Neither of these terms is used in Attic prose at all, and there is only one occurrence in Attic poetry: *μήτρωσιν* (dative plural) in Euripides, referring to a maternal grandfather (plural for the singular) or maternal ancestors in general.<sup>3</sup> The Attic term for uncle (either paternal or maternal) is simply *θείος*. By way of comparison we may note that Herodotus always uses *μήτρως* and *πάτρως*, never *θείος*.<sup>4</sup> Again in the case of terms for one's male affines Miss Miller lists words which do not occur in Attic prose, *πενθερός*, *πενθεριδοῦς*, and *δαήρ*, as well as *γαμβρός*, which occurs but once. The correct term in Attic to describe any male affine is *κηδεστής*, which is used of one's sister's husband, one's daughter's husband, and the father or brother of one's wife.<sup>5</sup> The term is even applied to one's stepfather and to the husband of one's wife's sister.<sup>6</sup> It sometimes is clearly intended to indicate 'a connection by marriage' rather than any specific relative, as when the speaker of Lysias xix says to the jury *ὑμῶν ὁστισοῦν ἂν ἐκείνοις ἤξιωσε κηδεστής γενέσθαι* (xix 13); here *ἐκείνοις* means Konon's friend Nikophemos and the latter's son. In this case too Herodotus does not use the Attic term at all but employs both *πενθερός* (meaning father of one's wife) and *γαμβρός* (husband of one's sister or daughter).<sup>7</sup> Thus it would appear that when Xenophon uses *γαμβρός* (*Hell.* iii 1.14) it is an Ionicism, picked up on his long stay in Asia. Other terms on Miss Miller's chart which do not occur in extant Attic prose are *γάλως*, *νύος*, *ὑϊδῆ*, *ὑνός*, *ἐξάδελφος/η*, *ἀνεψιαδῆ* and *ἐξανέψιος/α*. Miss Miller is also wrong in saying that *ἀνεψιός/ά* can mean nephew or niece. In Attic prose the words always mean first cousin (the child of one's paternal or maternal uncle or aunt) except at [Demosthenes] xliii 41 and 49, where *ἀνεψιός* means one's father's first cousin (one's first cousin once removed). Again *ἀνεψιαδοῦς* as used in Attic prose never means 'Ego's parent's cousin'.<sup>8</sup>

In order to show strictly Attic usage I have compiled the following chart from the works of Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and the orators.

To avoid making the chart too confusing I have omitted the terms applicable to a second marriage. One's stepson or stepdaughter is called *πρόγονος*;<sup>9</sup> one's stepmother, *μητρυνιά*;<sup>10</sup> the term for stepfather is doubtful. Hyperides uses the word *μητρυνιός*,<sup>11</sup> but he is given to

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* lxxiii (1953) 46.

<sup>2</sup> Pollux iii 1-35.

<sup>3</sup> *HF* 43.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus*.

<sup>5</sup> Certain instances include: one's sister's husband, *And.* i 42, 50, 58, 68; *Lys.* xxxii 1; *Isae.* vi 7; *Dem.* xxx 3, 12; one's daughter's husband, *Ant.* vi 12; *Isae.* vi 27; *Isoc.* x 43, xii 72, 169, xvi 31; *Plato Leg.* 773b; *Dem.* xlv 56; father of one's wife, *Lys.* xxxii 5; *Dem.* xxxvi 60, 1 24, 26; brother of one's wife, [*And.*] iv 15; [*Dem.*] vii 32; *Dem.* xviii 312, xxiii 154, 157, xxix 28, xxx 1, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Dem.* xxxvi 31; *Isae.* vi 27; for *συγκηδεστής* meaning the husband of one's wife's sister cf. *Dem.* xxxvi 15.

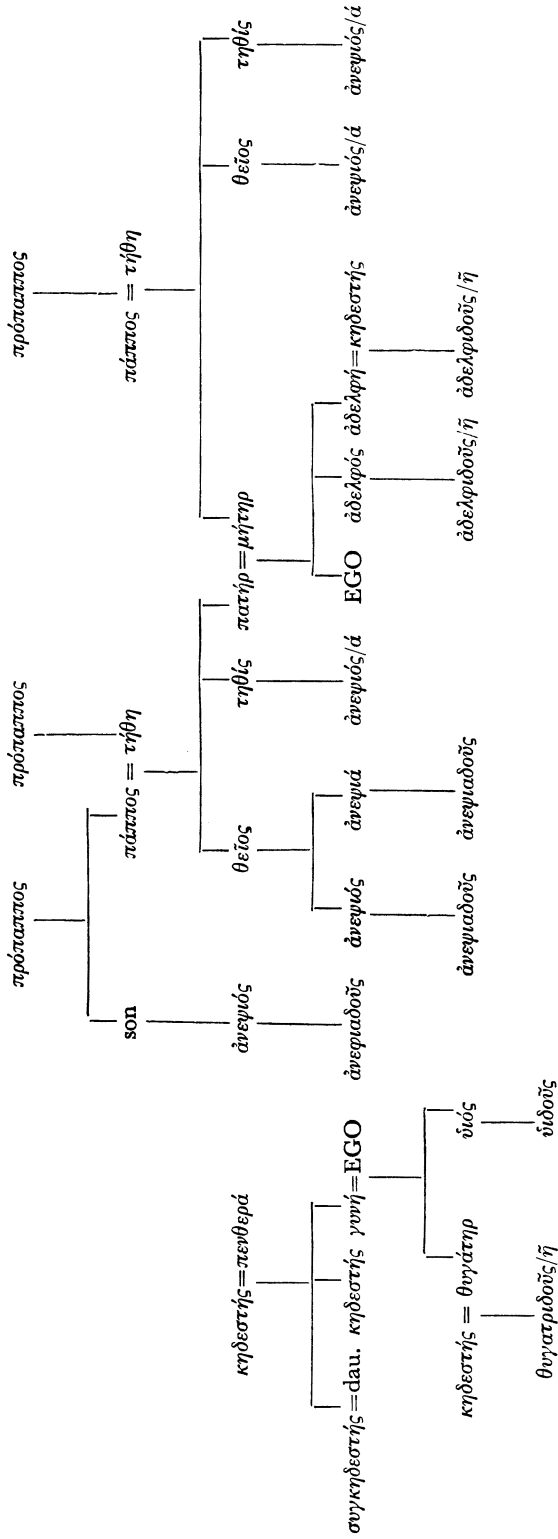
<sup>7</sup> Cf. Powell, *Lexicon*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *CR* lxi (1947) 41-43, Sir John Miles, *Hermathena* lxxv (1950) 69-77, and W. E. Thompson, *Glotta* xlvi (1970). *ἀνεψιαδοῦς* normally means the son of one's own first cousin (*Isae.* ix 2; [*Dem.*] xlv 26; *Dem.* lvii 67) but is also used of second cousins (*Isae.* xi 12); the meaning of the word at *Dem.* xlv 54 is not clear, the reading at [*Dem.*] xlvii 72 is not certain, and *Dem.* lvii 68 involves an emendation. The word also occurs in the text of two laws found in our manuscripts of [*Dem.*] xliii (57, 62). In my opinion the term *ἀνεψιῶν παῖδες* is archaic and thus is excluded from the chart; cf. *Glotta* xlvi (1970).

<sup>9</sup> *Isae.* xii 5; Pollux iii 27.

<sup>10</sup> *Ant.* i 19; *Lys.* xxxii 17; *Isae.* xii 5.

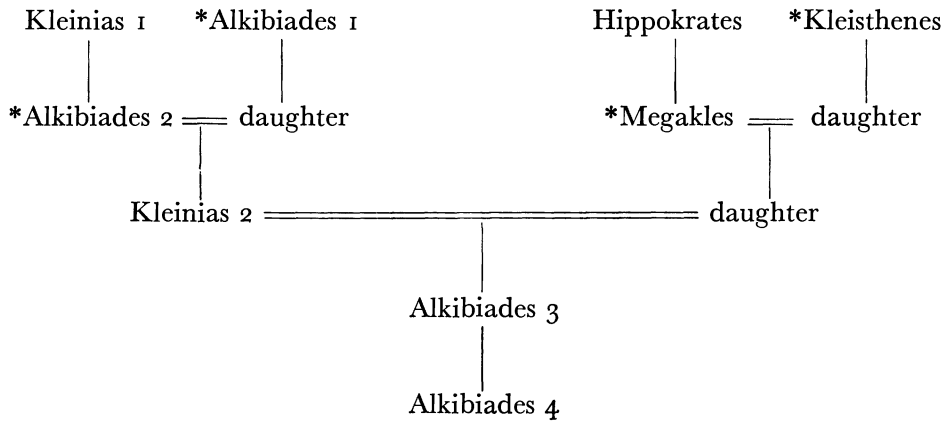
<sup>11</sup> Pollux iii 27.



(At Isac. vi 27 κηδεστής is used for συγκαθηδεστής; and at Isac. xi 12 ἀνεψιαδοὶ means all paternal second cousins, not just the single relationship shown here *exempli gratia*.)

using unusual words. Demosthenes uses *κηδεστής* (xxxvi 31), but he does not seem to be saying that Apollodorus, a grown man, did not want Phormio for a stepfather; rather the point appears to be that Apollodorus could not stand having a freedman for a marriage connection of any sort. A half-brother is an *ἀδελφός*; a half-sister, an *ἀδελφή*; occasionally the word *ἠμοπάτριος* or *ἠμομήτριος* is added when the distinction is important.<sup>12</sup> Again the same terms which apply to relatives by blood also apply to relatives by adoption.<sup>13</sup>

Most of the usages listed on the chart are clear from their context, but the extension of the term *πρόπαππος* is not. The word obviously means great-grandfather, but we must turn to prosopographical considerations to determine whether it can refer to all four types of great-grandfather. Raubitschek has shown that the evidence of Herodotus, the orators, Plutarch, and ostraca concerning the family of Alkibiades is internally consistent and inevitably produces the following stemma:<sup>14</sup>

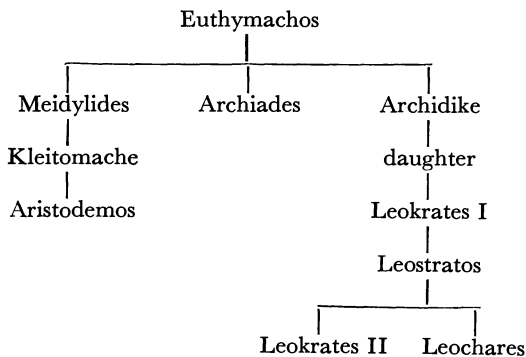


In this stemma the famous Alkibiades is no. 3, and the men called *πρόπαππος* are marked with an asterisk. Both the paternal great-grandfathers of Alkibiades 4 are called *πρόπαππος* by Lysias and the writer of [Andocides] iv,<sup>15</sup> while Isocrates (xvi 26) applies the term to one of the paternal great-grandfathers of the famous Alkibiades and also to one of his maternal great-grandfathers, the father of his maternal grandmother.<sup>16</sup>

Undoubtedly some of the terms on the chart have a wider application; for instance, the fourth type of great-grandfather is surely a *πρόπαππος*, and *ἀνεψιαδοῦς* probably refers to maternal relatives as well as paternal, but these usages are simply not attested in the

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the varied usage in Dem. lvii 20–21.

<sup>13</sup> For instance consider the case of [Dem.] xlv, from which we can reconstruct the following stemma:



Aristodemos claims to be an *ἀνεψιαδοῦς* of Leokrates II. By birth there is no such relationship. But Leokrates II is the adopted son of Archiades and by adoption first cousin to Aristodemos' mother. His claim makes sense only in the light of the adoption; cf. Sir John Miles, *Hermathena* lxxx (1952) 48–57.

<sup>14</sup> *RhM* xcvi (1955) 260 n. 4; cf. T. L. Shear, Jr., *Phoenix* xvii (1963) 99–112 and W. E. Thompson, *GRBS* xi (1971). The argument here is not circular, for once one admits that *πρόπαππος* can mean only great-grandfather, Raubitschek's conclusions necessarily follow.

<sup>15</sup> For the correct interpretation of these texts cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *TAPA* lxxxix (1948) 203 f.

<sup>16</sup> Andocides (i 106, ii 26) and Plato (*Tim.* 20e) also use the word *πρόπαππος*, but the exact relationship involved is not clear.

extant literature. Again certain other terms given by Pollux must be Attic, such as *ὑἰδῆ* and *ἀνεψιαδῆ*, but they do not occur in Attic prose.<sup>17</sup> The chart merely reflects what we actually find in the orators, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plato.

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Aristophanes *fr.* 745: *ἀνεψιαδαῖ*. This, incidentally, is the only kinship term found in Aristophanes which does not appear in the prose authors. I have not included Menander in my survey

because of the strictures of the ancient grammarians on his diction; cf. D. B. Durham, *The Vocabulary of Menander* 12-21.