

## MENANDER'S CHARACTERS: THEIR NAMES, ROLES AND MASKS

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τῶν Μενάνδρου πεποιημένων προσώπων Μοσχίων μὲν ἡμᾶς παρεσκεύασε  
παρθένους βιάζεσθαι, Χαιρέστρατος δὲ ψαλτρίας ἐρᾶν, Κνήμων δὲ  
δυσκόλους ἐποίησεν εἶναι, Σμικρίνης δὲ φιλαργύρους ὁ δεδιὼς μὴ τι  
τῶν ἔνδον ὁ καπνὸς οἴχοιτο φέρων.

This passage of Choricus,<sup>1</sup> a rhetorician of the sixth century A.D., through the resemblance of the smoke motif with Plautus' *Aulularia* 300, has long been used to prove Menander the author of Plautus' original.<sup>2</sup> Some have seen in it references to specific plays: Chairestratos and Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes*,<sup>3</sup> Moschion in the *Samia*<sup>4</sup> and Knemon, of course, in the *Dyskolos*. No one has suggested, however, that Choricus' observations on these four characters might be construed as evidence for consistency of characterization by name in Menander's comedy, i.e., that Smikrines is always a miser, Moschion always attempts to rape free girls, and Chairestratos always has a predilection for harp-girls.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Choricus, *Apol. Mim.* (RPh [1877] 228).

<sup>2</sup> W. Ludwig, "Aulularia-Probleme," *Philologus* CV (1961) 44-71, 247-62; 253.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* (Leiden, 1961) III B, 993.

<sup>4</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Menander* (Manchester 1950) (henceforth cited as Webster, *Studies*) 100, note 1, points out how difficult it is to pin down the Moschion since characters of that name appear in several plays and have traits in common. It is characteristic of Professor Webster's work in Menander that he should prophesy what later discoveries would suggest. Like all students of Menander I am greatly indebted to his reconstructions of fragmentary plays and his researches into the use of masks; also I have had the advantage of his suggestions for improving this paper.

<sup>5</sup> H. J. Mette, "Die heutige Menander," *Lustrum* 10 (1965) 5-211 (henceforth cited as Mette) 22 f., gives a catalogue of the characters appearing in more than one play; he did not, of course, have access to the new fragments of the *Aspis*, *Dis Exapaton* and *Samia*. See now, however, "Nachtrag zu H. J. Mette, Der heutige Menander," *Lustrum* 11 (1966) 139-43; and "Zweiter Nachtrag," *Lustrum* 13 (1968) 535-68.

The "conventionality" of Menander's characters was much disputed by the ablest critics after the publication of the Cairo papyrus; this dispute seems to culminate in the sensitive appraisal of Gomme.<sup>6</sup> He laments the identification of Menander with Plautus and Terence: "The Romans saw things in black and white; not so the Greeks. In Plautus there is little real observation of character . . . It is what interested Menander most."<sup>7</sup> He warns against "typing" Menander's characters: "Greek comedy-writers did not bother to make use of more than a few stock names for their characters: Moschion or Pheidias will do for *any* young man of this class. But it has psychological effect upon us, by creating a feeling that all Moschions must be alike; which is a very different matter."<sup>8</sup> With the publication in April, 1969, of substantial portions of the *Aspis* and *Samia*,<sup>9</sup> and other recent additions to the corpus of extant fragments, it is now possible to introduce substantial evidence that Menander's characters were not only "typed" but were indeed, to a degree, identical in play after play. If these characters were consistent in this sense, one would expect the same mask to have been assigned to the same character for each appearance.

One need only examine the different plays in which these four characters appear for indications of such consistency, marking not only the similarities among their roles but also the variations. In doing so one must take into account, but use with caution, the reconstructions of the fragmentary plays and close examinations of Latin adaptations which recent scholarship has provided, never forgetting that Rome is not Athens and Plautus is not Menander.

Smikrines appears in two plays which have been preserved in large part, the *Aspis* and the *Epitrepontes*.<sup>10</sup> The Smikrines who is described

<sup>6</sup> A. W. Gomme, "Menander" *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford 1937) 249-95 (henceforth cited as Gomme).

<sup>7</sup> Gomme 286.

<sup>8</sup> Gomme 265, note 1.

<sup>9</sup> R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XXV—Menandre: La Samienne* (Geneva 1969); R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XXVI—Menandre: Le Bouclier* (Geneva 1969). All line references to the *Aspis* and *Samia* are to these editions, although there is coincidence with the previously published *Samia* fragments and the so-called Comoedia Florentina; Kasser also supplies lines from these sources which are not found in the Bodmer Papyrus. C. Austin, *Menandri Aspis et Samia* (Berlin 1969) follows this numbering.

<sup>10</sup> A. Koerte, *Menander: Reliquiae* (Leipzig 1938-53) (henceforth cited as Koerte) I 9-45. All line references to plays other than *Aspis*, *Dyskolos*, *Samia* and *Sikyônios*, and Mette's *Fabulae Incertae*, are to this edition.

as *φιλάργυρος* in the prologue speech of Tyche in the *Aspis* (line 123) later emerges as the main character. It is against him that the machinations of Daos are directed: to prevent Smikrines from marrying Kleostratos' sister for the money she receives after hearing a false report of his death, Chairestratos, Smikrines' younger brother, will feign death himself, so that Smikrines will attempt to marry Chairestratos' daughter, thinking her much richer. Smikrines' character is developed in a subtle manner: he appears first in conversation with Daos, and his response to the news of Kleostratos' death only suggests the plans his avarice is leading him to make; the prologue speech follows; he then delivers a monologue which shows he is aware of his reputation—*ἵνα μή τις εἴπῃ μ' ὅτι φιλάργυρος σφόδρα* (lines 149 ff.) and in a second interview with Daos reveals his plans (lines 164 ff.); he emerges as his whole horrible self in a later interview with Chairestratos (lines 250 ff.) and in the attitude of Chairestratos towards him (lines 308 ff.) and finally in his reaction to news of his brother's death (lines 391 ff.).

That he is *philargyros* cannot be denied. Why he is so perverse and how he came to be so are questions for which the fragments supply no answers. One would expect such answers in the last act, which is not preserved, since explanations of similar characteristics are found in the last acts of the *Epitrepontes* and *Dyskolos*. One would also expect an *apologia* (cf. *Dyskolos* 702 ff.)<sup>11</sup> and perhaps a scene of abuse at the end when slave and cook force Smikrines to attend the double wedding (cf. *Dyskolos* 874 ff.).<sup>12</sup> (Smikrines at the end of the *Epitrepontes* is upbraided by slaves (lines 628 ff.), but whether he joins the celebration of Charisios' reconciliation with Pamphile is uncertain.) At any rate, Smikrines in the *Aspis* is the central character around whom the romantic intrigues revolve. His perversity is in direct contrast with the philanthropy and benevolence of the other characters, especially that of the slave Daos, and he is the barrier which must be removed before the *komos-gamos* ending.

Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes* is better represented by the fragments. It is clear from remarks scattered throughout the play that he has been

<sup>11</sup> All *Dyskolos* references are to the edition of E. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965).

<sup>12</sup> Kasser, *Le Bouclier* (see supra note 9) 19, note 1: "... peut-on imaginer ici une conclusion à celle du *Dyskolos*?"

a poor man, who has worked hard and saved up a large dowry for his daughter. He now believes that his savings have been squandered by his profligate son-in-law Charisios. There is thus a social argument at the center of the play which is very similar to that which must have been central to the Menandrian original of Plautus' *Aulularia*: can the rich and poor classes mix? Like Euclio, Smikrines hates the rich and thinks they want only his money; like Euclio, he has a foil for his wrath in the old slave woman who is his only companion; like Euclio, perhaps, his miserliness is more the product of fear and distrust in difficult circumstances than a flaw of character.<sup>13</sup>

A piece of ancient evidence which complements Choricus' labeling of Smikrines' character in general is the scholiast's comment on *Odyssey* 7.225 f.: κομιδῇ γὰρ σμικρολόγος φαίνεται προτάσσω τῶν φιλάτων τὴν κτῆσιν, ὡς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ Σμικρίνης ἐν Ἐπιτρέπουσιν.<sup>14</sup> The significance is that Odysseus, in his lament to Alkinoos, places more value on his house and goods than on Penelope, just as Smikrines seems to regard the loss of his money as more important than his daughter's happiness, i.e., that there are specific similarities between the two situations beyond the general truth that miserliness is involved in both.

While the Smikrines of the *Aspis* is an actual barrier to the romantic arrangements of his relatives, Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes* only interferes with such arrangements. The perversity of their respective natures is in direct proportion to this difference in dramatic function: the Smikrines of the *Aspis* is presented in starker outline than his *Epitrepontes* counterpart. He is φιλάργυρος to the point of being insensitive to the human emotions of grief and love which surround him; whereas, in the *Epitrepontes* Smikrines only meddles where he does not understand the situation; and, ironically, in the arbitration scene, he makes a judgment which clears up others' misunderstanding of that situation. In making this judgment he demonstrates a strong sense of justice if not of sympathy. There is a parallel scene in the *Aspis*: Smikrines believes Chairestratos will trick him out of the booty by allowing him to have it without marrying Kleostratos' sister, but then will take him to court and require its return for the child to be born after the girl marries

<sup>13</sup> Webster, *Studies* 118 ff. develops a convincing argument for the *Apistos* of Menander as the original of the *Aulularia*, but see now Mette, *Lustrum* 13 (1968) 534.

<sup>14</sup> W. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* (Oxford 1855) I 344.

Chaireas (270 ff.). Here Smikrines is shown to be not only a despicable miser but one whose world view is so distorted that he sees his own pettiness and greed in others.

Mette, prior to the publication of the new fragments of the *Aspis*, noted the essential nature of the Smikrines character, listing him under the *senes* heading with *philargyros* in parentheses.<sup>15</sup> He cites the *Aspis*, the *Epitrepontes* and the original of the *Aulularia* as plays in which Smikrines appears. In his discussion of stage setting, plot and motivation in the original of Plautus' *Stichus*—adapted from Menander's *First Adelphoi*—he presumes that Plautus' Antipho was a Smikrines in Menander.<sup>16</sup> Certainly the character of Antipho closely resembles that of Smikrines in the *Aspis* and *Epitrepontes* and the action of the play is similar to that of the *Epitrepontes*: Antipho tries to persuade his daughters to forsake their absent husbands and take new ones, but when the husbands return rich he is all flattery and obsequiousness. (It is possible that the problematic last scene of the *Stichus*—the slave banquet—was, in the original, something similar to the last scene of the *Dyskolos* and that Plautus simply removed the old man and gave it all over to the slaves.) Despite the lack of direct evidence—Koerte gives only two short fragments for the *First Adelphoi*—it seems safe to believe that Smikrines was the Menandrian original for Antipho, just as one believes that Smikrines was the original for Euclio.

The name Smikrines has been restored in line 156 of the *Sikyonios* and thus belongs to the old man who is recognized as father of Stratophanes. He is accused there of being an oligarch and of misbehaving with regard to someone's possessions, presumably Stratophanes'. Theophrastos describes *his* oligarchical character (xxvi) as "one anxious for power, not gain," and this description of one perversity in terms of others which are closely related to *philargyria* (cf. Character xxx, *aischrokerdeia*; Character x, *mikrologia*; Character xxviii, *apistia*) puts one in mind of Smikrines in the *Aspis*, *Epitrepontes* and the original of the *Aulularia*, respectively.

Smikrines, then, is established in two well-preserved plays, in one large fragment, and possibly in two Latin adaptations, as a miser or a man who shares traits with the miser. Thus, Choricus' description of

<sup>15</sup> Mette, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Mette, pp. 24, 36 f., 104.

him fits all available evidence. His name suggests this trait, being formed from (s)mikros; one thinks of *mikrologos*, *mikrothumos*, *mikropsychos* and other similar compounds found frequently in Aristotle and Theophrastos. Webster is probably right in assigning the Lycomedian mask (Pollux' no. 7) to Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes*<sup>17</sup> since Pollux describes this type as "interfering"<sup>18</sup> and in the two Menandrian plays, and the two Plautine plays, interference of some sort is the dramatic function of the protagonist and this function is directly motivated by his primary character trait, miserliness.<sup>19</sup> If all characters in all plays named Smikrines shared this same trait, then it is likely they all wore the same mask.

The character of Knemon in the *Dyskolos* is unique in Menander; at least the extant fragments give no indication of another character of that name in another play. His primary character trait has been analyzed in two splendid articles, one by Schmid, in which the character of Timon is proved an important influence,<sup>20</sup> the other by Görler, who is concerned with the philosophical implications of the misanthrope type before and in Menander.<sup>21</sup> Knemon in the *Dyskolos*, like Smikrines in his plays, is the central character, the barrier to a solution of romantic confusions. The idea of the play—anti-social behavior is understandable but ultimately unsatisfactory—is inextricably bound up with his character, its development and the possibilities for change or accommodation. Menander did not create "comic heroes" in the sense that Cedric Whitman uses this term to describe certain Aristophanic characters;<sup>22</sup> he did, however, create in Knemon, and several times in Smikrines, characters on whom all attention is focused, around whom all action revolves. These characters do not manipulate the action of their plays the way Dicacopolis and Lysistrata do; they are,

<sup>17</sup> T. B. L. Webster, "The Masks of New Comedy" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 32 (1949-50) 100.

<sup>18</sup> Pollux, *Onomasticon* 4.145: ὁ δὲ Λυκομήδειος . . . πολυπραγμοσύνην παρενδείκνυται.

<sup>19</sup> Euclio in the *Aulularia* can hardly be described as a busybody since his sole wish is to be left alone, but his distrust of first Megadorus and then Lyconides does amount to interference in his daughter's chances for happiness.

<sup>20</sup> G. W. Schmid, "Menanders Dyskolos und die Timon Legende," *RhM* 102 (1959) 157-82.

<sup>21</sup> W. Görler, "Knemon," *Hermes* 91 (1963) 268-87.

<sup>22</sup> C. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge, Mass. 1964) 278.

rather, manipulated by Pan, Tyche and the Menandrian original of Plautus' *Lar Familiaris*. With Knemon, more than with any Smikrines, one is forced to sympathize, even identify; his *apologia* (702 ff.) is the climax of the play and all that follows is indicated by the comic convention for all characters to be reconciled at the end or at least accounted for. After renouncing his last link with society, his daughter, this Timon figure must be forced back into society, which the slave Getas and the cook Sikon accomplish by harassing him until he agrees to attend the marriage celebration.

Knemon is labeled, like Smikrines in the *Aspis* and Euclio in the *Aulularia*, by the prologue: *Dyskolos*—ἀπάνθρωπος, δύσκολος; *Aspis*—μονότροπος, φιλάργυρος; *Aulularia*—(avos) ita avido ingenio fuit... is ex se hunc reliquit qui hic nunc habitat filium / pariter moratum ut pater avos-que huius fuit. He is further described by Pyrrhias in his running slave speech (87 ff.), then briefly by Sostratos (147 ff.). Knemon's first appearance on stage (153 ff.) fully justifies the worst that has been said of him. A series of brief encounters and reported off-stage action continues to develop his character until one is prepared for the long speech of self-recognition. He emerges as a man not so much the agent and product of *misanthropia* as of *misoponêria*: he cannot abide the petty knavery of other men and therefore has withdrawn from them. When Gorgias gives him an example of *eleutheria* at work by saving his life and repaying injustice with kindness, Knemon admits his mistake, but finds himself incapable of change (735). This recognition of the shortcomings of his personal philosophy is what sets Knemon apart from the misers named Smikrines whom the fragments of the *Aspis* and *Epitrepontes* present; the *Aulularia* fragments suggest, of course, a similar recognition for Euclio.<sup>23</sup> The involvement of the central character in the *komos-gamos* ending of his play would seem to have been required by Menander's comic form, unless one believes the poet to have been capable of those unsettled endings which Molière uses for his more serious comedies of character.<sup>24</sup> Knemon remains unique,

<sup>23</sup> W. M. Lindsay, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae "Aulularia" Fr. IV* (Nonius 98).

<sup>24</sup> The parallels with Molière's *L'Avare* are striking and suggestive: Harpagon tries to marry for money, is tricked and goes off to count his coins while others celebrate the two marriages. See also the similar ending of *Le Misanthrope*. Would Menander have allowed an incomplete circle at the end of a comedy? Tyche suggests as much in *Aspis* 147: ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὰρχαῖα.

whatever endings one reconstructs for the Smikrines plays, in the completeness of his character development.

His name is evidence of the influence of Menander's historical and literary model, Timon of Athens, for some character traits:<sup>25</sup> *knémê* is perhaps the part of the leg in which Knemon is crippled by his fall in the well, a result of his anti-social behavior, just as Timon is crippled by his fall from the pear tree. Webster suggests for Knemon Pollux' mask no. 6,<sup>26</sup> derived from a Middle Comedy mask, and described as "the wedge-bearded old man who has receding hair, raised brows and a sharp chin; he is *hypodystropos*."

Chairestratos is not a leading character in the plays in which he appears: *Epitrepontes*, *Eunouchos*, *Aspis*. The extant fragments of the *Epitrepontes* seem to indicate that his love for the harp-girl Habrotonon was a minor theme in the complete play: Simias makes an enigmatic remark on the arrangements in Chairestratos' house (30 ff.), and warns Chairestratos against making overtures to Habrotonon (657); Chairestratos takes a more than routine interest in her freedom as a reward for her part in resolving the confusion which has separated Charisios from Pamphile (773 ff., 815 ff.); he has a high regard for her and will not violate her (848 ff.). It seems safe to say that Chairestratos in the *Epitrepontes* does "love a harp-girl."

The Chairestratos in the Menandrian *Eunouchos* is, of course, Phaedria in the Terentian. In the Latin play he loves a courtesan Thais, who is called Chrysis in the original.<sup>27</sup> If one is to understand Choricus' reference to Chairestratos as appropriate to his parts in all Menander, then it can be argued that Chrysis, though not a harp-girl, is a foreign courtesan, and that a distinction is implied between her type and the free-born Athenian maiden whom Moschion is wont to rape.

Choricus' description of Chairestratos is more difficult to reconcile with the role which a character of that name plays in the *Aspis*. Here Chairestratos is the brother of Smikrines, married, and the father of a marriageable daughter. He is not necessarily a *senex*, however, since Smikrines claims an advantage of age (255), and a large enough gap can

<sup>25</sup> See Schmid and Görler, *opp. cit.* (supra notes 20 and 21) for the traits; neither mentions the name.

<sup>26</sup> T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy* (BICS Supplement 11) (London 1961) 15.

<sup>27</sup> Persius, *Satires* 5. 161 and scholia *ad loc.*



be understood to put Chairestratos in the *adulescens* category. Nevertheless one would have to imagine an affair with a harp-girl in Chairestratos' youth to force him into Choricus' mold. This would not be overly imaginative if either of the romances which make up the situation of the play—his stepson Chaireas loves his niece while his nephew loves his daughter—were irregular; then he could quite possibly have sympathized with an errant lover the way Philoxenus does in the *Bacchides*: *feci ego istaec itidem in adulescentia* (410). That Chairestratos' wife was formerly a harp-girl is a possibility but it is difficult to see how such a background would be relevant in the play.<sup>28</sup>

The Chairestratos in Caecilius' *Hypobolimaia* was most likely a Moschion in Menander's play of that name;<sup>29</sup> he is involved with a maiden<sup>30</sup> and has a rustic half-brother who is Eutychus in Caecilius but probably Gorgias in Menander (cf. the rustic youth Gorgias in *Georgos*, *Dyskolos* and *Heros*).

In the three certain appearances of a character named Chairestratos, then, one loves a harp-girl, one loves a courtesan and one is married. All they have in common is their youth, but even that is relative: Simias should be taken as Chairestratos' pedagogue in the *Epitrepontes*,<sup>31</sup> so the latter is very young there; in the *Eunouchos* he is the older brother of an *adulescens* and in the *Aspis* the younger brother of a *senex*. Whether all these characters wore the same mask is doubtful; if they did it was probably the *melas* (Pollux' no. 11) or the *oulos* (Pollux' no. 12)<sup>32</sup> and not the *episeistos deuterus* (Pollux' no. 16)<sup>33</sup> since characters

<sup>28</sup> Though un-named in the fragments she is probably Myrrhine, the name common in Menander for married women (*Georgos*, *Heros*, *Perikeiromene*, *Dyskolos*).

<sup>29</sup> On Caecilius' play see Cicero *Pro Roscio Amerino* 16.46; changing of the names in their Greek originals is well attested for Plautus and Terence—see notes 27 and 49.

<sup>30</sup> Koerte, Fr. 494.

<sup>31</sup> Webster, *Studies* 36 f. H. Lloyd-Jones, in an unpublished paper delivered at Stanford in November, 1969, has suggested that Chairestratos is middle-aged in all his appearances. Simias would then be simply an old family retainer.

<sup>32</sup> Webster, *op. cit.* (see note 17) 100 quotes Robert (*Die Masken der neueren Attische Komodie* 60) as giving the μέλας to Chairisios, the οὔλος to Chairestratos, in the *Epitrepontes*. If anything Chairisios is high-spirited, which a high color was thought to indicate (Aristotle, *Physiognomica* 806b); Pollux describes the οὔλος as ὑπέρυθρος. Also, Pollux' description of the οὔλος suggests Aristotle's of the φιλολοίδωρος type (808A) and Chairisios could be more fairly called abusive than Chairestratos. One should, then, give the οὔλος, if not the πάγχρηστος (Pollux' no. 10) to Chairisios and the μέλας to Chairestratos (πεπαιδευμένω ἢ φιλογυμναστῇ εἰοικώς) at least for this play.

<sup>33</sup> Webster, *op. cit.* (see supra note 17) 100.

no. 15, 16, and 17 seem to be all military types and Chairestratos' name should not be taken as an indication of occupation (cf. Stratophanes in the *Sikyonios*, Bias in the *Kolax*) but simply as a name appropriate to the upper classes (cf. Chairippos in the *Hypobolimaïos*, Kallippides in the *Dyskolos*).

Moschion appears more frequently than any other Menandrian character and his traits and activities seem fairly consistent. His part is clear in the *Perikeiromene*, *Sikyonios* and *Samia*; at least outlined in fragments of the *Kekruphalos*, *Koneiazomenai*, *Kitharistes*, *Hypobolimaïos*, Mette's *Fabula Incerta IV* and *Plokion*; attested by the mention of his name in Mette's *Fabula Incerta III*.

In the *Perikeiromene* Moschion does not rape a maiden but he is enamoured of Glykera, who is later revealed to be his sister, a free-born Corinthian. Glykera, aware of their relationship, allows Moschion to kiss her; she is punished for this in the manner indicated by the title, resenting which she flees the house of Polemon, her lover, and seeks refuge with Moschion's adoptive mother. Moschion is then convinced by his slave Daos that attempted seduction is in order. At the end of the play Moschion is married to the daughter of Philinos, who is here mentioned for the first time, by his recognized father Pataikos. Moschion's character is not developed to the extent that Polemon's and Glykera's are, yet he emerges as a weak, not altogether attractive young man. Taking advantage of a courtesan seems to have been conventional behavior in Menander (see Chairea's attitude in Terence's *Eunouchos*) but to do so in one's own house at the instigation of a scurrilous slave is a bit excessive. Moschion spends much of the play eavesdropping (301-97, when Glykera is recognized) or lamenting (276-300, when he recounts the torture of waiting for Daos to arrange a meeting for him with Glykera) or being told what to do (77-163, when Daos instructs him in intrigue; 447 ff., when Pataikos arranges his marriage). He is then to be described in the *Perikeiromene* as weak-willed, plaintive, a loser in love and adopted.

In the *Samia* one finds the same Moschion but more completely developed: he is the main character in the play. His long opening monologue (1-55) gives details of his relations with Chrysis and his adoptive father Demeas. His attitude towards them, Nikeratos, and the latter's daughter, whom he has raped, is finely depicted in a series

of interviews which lead up to his marriage. The outburst of self-righteous indignation at the end of the play (616 ff.) is well prepared for and clears Moschion from the charge of being easily manipulated, which is so readily made against his counterpart in the *Perikeiromene*. Moschion in the *Samia* stands to Moschion in the *Perikeiromene* as Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes* does to Smikrines in the *Aspis*: if one knows enough of the circumstances which have molded a character, from him and from others, one is more likely to sympathize with him, even when he behaves in a less than noble fashion. (Of course it could be simply an accident of preservation which gives one a greater intimacy with one character than another, but this seems unlikely in these relatively complete plays.)

Moschion in the *Sikyonios* tries to rape a maiden and loses her to his new-found brother Stratophanes. He is the *μειράκιον λευκόχρων* in the long messenger speech (200, 258)<sup>34</sup> who tries to prevent Stratophanes—*τις ἀνδρικός* (215)—from putting Philoumene in the care of a priestess until he can establish his identity.

In the *Kekruphalos* (Koerte, Fr. 951)<sup>35</sup> Moschion is involved with a girl who is recognized, probably by her mother. Perhaps he has raped her and will now be able, or forced, to marry her. In the *Koneiazomenai* (Koerte, 1.87ff. = *Fabula Incerta*)<sup>36</sup> Moschion has raped the daughter of Kleinetos and will marry her. In the *Kitharistes* he has raped the daughter of Phantias and is finally persuaded—by his mother, in lines 19–26—to send for the girl's father, confess and marry her. In the *Hypobolimaïos* Moschion is at least involved with a maiden;<sup>37</sup> that he has raped her and is then forced to marry her is probable. (It is the rustic of the sub-title—*Hypobolimaïos* or *Agroikos*—who is supposititious and involved in an intrigue with a clever slave to get money from his father,<sup>38</sup> probably for a courtesan or a slave girl. One thus has the double plot—one son in love with a courtesan, the other with a maiden—familiar from Terence's *Adelphoe* and *Heauton Timoroumenos*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> References are to R. Kassel, *Menandri Sicyonius* (Berlin 1965).

<sup>35</sup> T. B. L. Webster, Review of Koerte, *JHS* 75 (1955) 159.

<sup>36</sup> Webster, *Studies* 53 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Koerte, Fr. 494.

<sup>38</sup> Koerte, Fr. 493.

<sup>39</sup> W. Ludwig, *GRBS* 9 (1968) 169 ff. has succinctly stated the case against those who would believe that Terence, through wholesale borrowing or original *contaminatio*, created Latin plays with double plots out of Greek plays with single plots.

In *Fabula Incerta* IV (Mette) (Papyrus Antinoopolis 55),<sup>40</sup> Thraso says that Moschion, though wealthy, will obtain the daughter of a pauper.<sup>41</sup> Dromon has two speeches of self-agitation which seem almost parodies of this type of conventional monologue.<sup>42</sup> They have that decadent flavor of certain slave speeches in Plautus, especially *Pseudolus* 394 ff. and *Epidicus* 81 ff.,<sup>43</sup> which have long been thought to be largely Plautine expansion. If this fragment is taken as a portion of some Menandrian play, then Moschion would seem to need the help of his slave Dromon in winning approval of his plans to marry a poor girl. Thraso must not, however, be considered Moschion's father; he is a soldier, like Thrasonides in the *Misoumenos*, and is probably Moschion's rival for the love of the poor girl or of some other girl. Whether Moschion has raped a girl in this play cannot be determined, nor can his family background be established.

Moschion is now known to be the young man in the *Plokion* who has raped the daughter of a poor man<sup>44</sup> on the evidence of a new mosaic from Mytilene.<sup>45</sup> Is it possible that she is discovered the daughter of a richer man and thus allowed to marry Moschion?<sup>46</sup> Moschion always gets the girl he has raped, loses the girl he has tried to rape.<sup>47</sup>

Moschion's presence in *Fabula Incerta* III (Mette) (Papyrus Hibeh 180) is suggested by the line beginning *μοσ* . . .

Choricus' statement on Moschion, then, holds true for all ten of the

<sup>40</sup> J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliaccus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri* (London 1960) II 8–29.

<sup>41</sup> Barns, *op. cit.* (see supra note 39) fr. b. verso 14–15: τὸν Μ[οσχί]ων' ἔ[γω] γὰρ φημι θυγατέρα / πέ[νητ]ος εὖρ[ή]σειν ἔχοντά του . . . There might be an *apographus* at line 13; see Barns 23 and plate II.

<sup>42</sup> Barns, *op. cit.* (see supra note 40) 55, fr. a recto col. 2 and fr. d. recto. The occurrence of *τρόφιμος ἐρῶν* in the eleventh line of the former would seem sufficient warning to those who want to accept these fragments as Menander. Menander's characters might have been conventional but nowhere else does one find him pointing up this fact so blatantly. Should not one suspect a late imitator of Menander?

<sup>43</sup> T. Williams, "On Antinoopolis Papyrus 55," *RhM* 105 (1962) 193–225 cites these passages in presenting an emendation of fr. a recto col. 2 line 8, but the fact that such a monologue is standard in Plautus and unparalleled in Menander does not bother him. Should one not suspect a late imitator of Menander?

<sup>44</sup> Koerte, Fr. 404.

<sup>45</sup> S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginovès, *Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (*Antike Kunst Beiheft* VI, Berne 1970).

<sup>46</sup> cf. Webster, *Studies* 99 f.

<sup>47</sup> This is simply another way of stating what has long been known: free-born girls always marry the men who violate them.

plays in which his part is recognizable, if one can take *βιάζεσθαι* as intentional as well as factual. Furthermore, he is always a weak character manipulated by circumstances, slaves and fathers. He is clearly contrasted with a "manly" brother in the *Sikyonios* and labeled "pale"<sup>48</sup> with connotations of cowardice. He therefore probably wore the *hapalos* mask (Pollux' no. 13; *νεώτατος, λευκός, σκιατροφίας ἀπαλότητα ὑποδηλών*). His name suggests a diminutive of *moschos* which would seem to have derogatory significance.<sup>49</sup> Young lovers are often compared to the calf with its look of open-faced stupidity.

This survey of the roles of the four characters mentioned by Choricus confirms the suggestion that he was speaking of the Menandrian corpus as a whole, not of one or two plays only, when he attributed a certain trait to each.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, they have been found to possess other traits which follow them from play to play. Other characters too seem fairly consistent: Gorgias is always a rustic (*Georgos, Dyskolos, Heros, Fabula Incerta* II (Mette)) as his name indicates—he would wear the *agroikos* mask (Pollux' no. 14); Myrrhine is always older and married (*Georgos, Dyskolos, Perikeiromene, Heros*) probably wearing Pollux' no. 35; Pamphile, Plangon and Philoumene are often raped, but always marry well, and must have worn Pollux' no. 31;<sup>51</sup> Chrysis appears as a courtesan in the *Eunouchos, Samia* and *Kolax* and must have worn the golden mask (Pollux' no. 40), while Habrotonon has roles in the *Epitrepontes* and *Perinthia*, probably wearing the "blooming" mask (Pollux' no. 39); the slave parts are much more numerous and more complicated and have been treated elsewhere.<sup>52</sup>

The significance of these observations lies, of course, in the possibility for an extension of one's understanding of the conventions of Menander's comedy. To say that Menander's characters were true to type and name, and masked accordingly, does not go against the spirit of

<sup>48</sup> The messenger further describes him as *ὑπόλειον, ἀγένειον* (201).

<sup>49</sup> There is a *Moschos* in the new *Dis Exapaton* fragment published by E. Handley in his "Inaugural Lecture," (London 1968). He is Pistoclerus in Plautus' *Bacchides* and of a different nature from any of Menander's *Moschions*.

<sup>50</sup> The only notable exception to Choricus' summary is Chairestratos in the *Aspis*, who does not seem likely to have loved a harp-girl.

<sup>51</sup> If Pollux' labels for no. 32 and 33, *ψευδοκόρη* and *ἑτέρα ψευδοκόρη*, could be understood as "maidens who seem to be something else" rather than the opposite, as the names suggest, then closer distinctions among the girls mentioned could be made.

<sup>52</sup> W. T. MacCary, "Menander's Slaves," *TAPA* 100 (1969) 277-94.

Gomme's essay, for his objection to contemporary Menander criticism was in its tendency to over-simplify Menander and his characters and ignore the fine variations of mood and attitude which these figures, with essentially the same background and sphere of activity, display. By introducing immediately recognizable characters whose behavior, in broad outline, could be predicted, Menander was freed from tiresome explication but not bound by the types he used; his characters were of more interest to his audience because that audience could recognize them, and, most important, could appreciate the subtle variations that are Menander's mark of genius: Smikrines is always a miser but his motives and feelings are never the same.

Thus, when actors stepped upon the scene in the Theatre of Dionysos the spectators knew from their masks what to expect from them, i.e., what their names were, what romantic inclinations they had (harp-girls or free girls), moral shortcomings, if any (miserliness, weakness), and whether or not they would play a leading role in the play. In short, third century Athenians knew as much from spectacle—masks and costumes—and were as intimate with their characters through long acquaintance as were seventeenth century Italians. Patrons of the *Commedia dell' Arte* knew Harlequin, by his black mask and checkered tights, to be a wise fool, sometimes in love with Columbine, sometimes a valet, but always clever enough to get the best of the bearded miser Pantaloon, though he might be beaten in the process. Pulcinella would be stupid and Brighella—in his olive, hook-nosed mask—would be tricky and villainous. *Commedia dell' Arte* was improvisational, as was Atellan Farce, so there is little literary evidence for either; but the second century audience probably knew Pappus as a miserly old man, Maccus as a fool, Bucco as a braggart and Dossennus as a trickster. Menander, then, has a cast of characters in common with these two periods of popular Italian comedy; he has depth of characterization and philosophical point of view in common with Molière and intricacy of plot, with comic form representing cosmic order, in common with Shakespeare. One needs to take all these aspects of his art into consideration in coming to a full appreciation of his genius; it is no wonder the ancients ranked him second only to Homer.