NEW VALUES IN TRADITIONAL FORMS
A STUDY IN MENANDER'S 'ASPIS'*

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THE OPENING SCENE OF THE ASPIS

In a dramatic scene, it is not so much the author's skill in adapting himself to various styles which one admires, but the skill and the power with which he makes these styles comply with what he wishes to say. In an examination of the opening scene of the Aspis, one is, therefore, faced with the difficult tasks of penetrating to the meaning which it conveys and then attempting to analyse the means by which the author has produced his dramatic effects.

The classical scholar, right at the outset of the description of the opening scene, is hampered by the missing opening verses. What could the contents of these have been? May we assume that the place of action was revealed, as this is not done elsewhere in the first act? If this was done, one is tempted to suggest that Daos, the slave of Kleostratos, who presumably died in a battle, appears on the stage, followed by a train of captives and baggage animals and sombrely hailed the Athenian land before invoking his dead master (v. 2). This suggestion, however, leads to further difficulties. The colloquy of Daos and Smikrines, the elder uncle of Kleostratos (v. 18–22)

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2. It seems that the place of action was regularly revealed in the opening scenes. Cf. Dyskolos 1–4, Samia 101, Heros 22 and Perikeiromene 5. U. von Wilamowitz suggests that this may also have been done in the Prologue of the Epitrepontes: Menander, Das Schiedsgericht, Berlin 1925, 50.

3. E. W. Handley, 'Ménandre', Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique XVI, Fondation Hardt, Genève 1970, 24 suggests that 'the effect was heightened by the implicit comparison with tragic spectacle'. He notes that according to a scholiast on Eur. Or. 57, productions of this play were started with a procession in which Helen arrived with the spoils of Troy.

4. See Kleostratos' salutation of the land on his arrival, Aspis 491. This ritual greeting which home-comers direct to the land persisted into New Comedy from the time of Aeschylus. Cf. Pers. 249, Ag. 503 and 810, see further F. Leo, 'Monolog im Drama', AGG, N.F. 10.5 (1908) ?.
seems to indicate that the two have already met briefly, either on the stage or off the stage before entering together. If we may assume that this is true, a highly emotive scene was portrayed here: the faithful slave enters with an old man; he is holding a shattered shield; the trophies of a victor follow — captives of war, baggage animals laden with booty — the victor himself, however, has not returned. The slave, overcome by emotion, turns aside to express his sorrow in a soliloquy (v. 1–18).

The monologue tells the tale of this tragic setting: Daos experiences the full impact of his loss at the moment of homecoming and sombrely addresses his former lord. He recalls the hopes he had originally nurtured when they set out on their expedition (v. 2–3). In 3–10, closely connected by γάρ, he first dwells on unrealised expectations he had had for his master, and then his thoughts converge in an expression of his own loss:

εμοὶ τ' ἐσέσθαι τῶν μακρῶν πόνων τινὰ ἀνάπαυσιν ἐλς τὸ γῆρας εὔνοιας χάριν (v. 11–12)

The τέ ‘and so, accordingly’ implies that 4–10 express a necessary condition for this sequel and tinges the monologue with a sense of personal frustration.

The reality which has intruded on his dreams forms the climax of the monologue:

νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν οἶχει παραλόγως τ' ἀνήρπασαι (13)

Line 14 introduces the speaker and in 15 attention is vividly drawn to the shield, which is to become a focal point in the structure of the comedy.


6. This type of soliloquy, spoken in the presence of others but directed to dead persons, gods, or the surrounding nature, was employed by the tragedians to express great pathos. Cf. Wolfgang Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch*, Dublin 1966, 29: ‘Wenn ein Erleben sich zur Leidenschaft steigert und den Menschen ganz erfüllt, vergisst er Zwecke, Haltung, Umwelt, alles, was ihn als geselliges Wesen bindet. Getragen von einem Pathos, lebt er ganz sich selbst und diesem Pathos, In Gegenwart anderer einsam, spricht er aus sich heraus oder in sich hinein’. The epistrophe is found especially in Sophocles: *El.* 1126ff., *Aj.* 996ff., *Ant.* 842ff., *Phil.* 1081ff., etc.

7. For this use of τέ see K.-G. Il,519,2 and Denniston, *Particles* 487ff.

8. We note the deictic τῇδε and the chiasmus, 15–16. Moreover, the threefold resolution of an arsis may be intended to accentuate his agitation.
The account of the battle (v. 23–82) is suspended by a brief interlude of dialogue (v. 18–22). Smikrines, who has been listening to the monologue, pronounces an appropriate sentiment and this is echoed by Daos (v. 18–19). Smikrines’ question concerning the vital point of the account, the death of Klesoreres, follows naturally, but Daos responds with a general statement about the uncertain tenor of a soldier’s life (v. 20–21). Smikrines hereupon demands the full story, with a note of impatience (δωμετέρ). This demand marks the formal introduction to the narrative which follows.9

The dialogue is no formal transition, but every line is justified by its dramatic value. The intense monologue has gripped our interest in the dramatic situation. Through the dialogue we glide into a slower movement in the battle narrative. The γνώμη, in particular, has a retarding effect. It appears that Menander often employed such utterances to introduce a narrative.10 Here, however, the γνώμη briefly delays it – its function will be discussed fully later.

Daos solemnly opens his account with a geographic specification and proceeds to describe their initial success in battle (v. 23–26). At this point, however, the natural flow of the narrative seems to be interrupted. A statement which favours the enemies’ point of view and a γνώμη which explains this intrudes before the story is resumed:

\[\text{ήμᾶς δ' ἀτάκτας πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἰγαγε τὸ καταφρονεῖν: πολλοὶ γὰρ κτλ.} \]

(v. 29–30).

The intention of the narrator is clear: he wishes to cast an ominous light on their initial good fortune by forewarning, in a way that is well known from Thucydides as well as the tragedians, that, though they gained by the plundering which followed their victory, they were acting in a spirit of ἀτάκτησις and consequently were ἄτακτοι. When Smikrines, on the other hand, hears about the booty, his interjection: ὀς καλὸν (v. 33) forms a momentary relief from the bleak atmosphere which Daos wants to predominate in his narrative.

Daos proceeds, unruffled,11 to enumerate the different items of booty

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9. The questions which Smikrines interjects during the narrative also act as punctuation marks: 39 marks a transition, 68–69 and 72 highlight the important features of the story.

10. A kind of generalisation in which the speaker excitedly presents his particular experience in an exaggerated form to arrest the attention of the audience often precedes a narrative. See Dyskolos 153ff., 639ff., 666; Georgos 35ff.; Perikeiromene 282; Samia 206; cf. Samia 616. W. Gorler, MENANAPOY ΠΝΩΜΑΙ, Berlin 1963, 43ff. indicates that this technique derives from Aristophanes.

11. This cannot be established with certainty as the first letters of the line have dropped from the text. Jacques (quoted ad loc. in Austin II) supplies ἀτός δ'. Compare line 63 in which Daos ignores Smikrines’ comment.
which his master obtained and explains that he was sent to Rhodes with the
booty before they were attacked (v. 34-40). The calamity which Daos has
carefully foreshadowed is now imminent: the enemy had learnt the extent
of their ἀναζή (τὴν δύναμιν ἐσκεμμένη) and occupied a hill nearby (v.
40-44). The army of the mercenaries on the other hand neglected to post
guards;12 all retired to their tents with abundant supplies and started
carousing (v. 45-48). We now await, apprehensively, the full impact of the
disaster for which Daos has carefully prepared us. But Smikrines anticipates
him. When he hears about the revelry he reacts with great alarm,13 πονηρὸν
γε σφόδρα (v. 48), and dampens the effect of Daos’s climax in this part of
the narrative.

Unfortunately the text is mutilated at this point and we cannot see how
Smikrines responded to the catastrophe.14 One wonders if Smikrines here
asked Daos how he had progressed on his journey, as such a question would
provide a smooth transition to the second part of the story (v. 53ff.).15

When Daos relates how he became an eyewitness of the sequel to the
disaster (v. 53-62) he excels in dramatic description. His narrative resumes
in a slow tempo. He explains that at midnight he had been arranging a
guard for the booty and, while walking in front of the tent of the prisoners
of war, was suddenly shaken from his quietude. The tempo abruptly rises
with asyndeta:

[ākou metašeron olimaβhν dromov
dównw, anakalobntas autoς thvmati]

(v. 56-57).

He graphically represents the action in its progress. He hears an uproar,
shouts of anguish, the sound of running; hereupon he can distinguish
sorrowful moaning and as the soldiers get still closer he hears 'men calling
each other by name'.16 He explains that there was a hill nearby. Then, as

12. Cf. Sandbach quoted ad loc. in Austin II.
13. Daos, in contrast to this reaction, relates the event with resignation — olov ekōς
γίγνεται, 47.
14. The bottom and top edges of the first and second pages have disintegrated.
Consequently only the dicolon at the end of v. 49 of the next line(s) (indicating that Smikrines
is the speaker) and the last three letters of 52 (ευο) at the top of page 2 can clearly be read.
15. Cf. the question which the chorus interjects during the Phrygian’s narrative in Eur.
Or, 1425. K. Gaiser in his German translation of the Aspās: Menander, Der Schild oder die
Erbtochter, Artemis Verlag, 1971, reconstructs as follows: ‘Warst du nicht schon weit weg?
Dass du mir nichts erfindest!’
16. The assonance of o-sounds and the repetition of d,r,m,n at the end of 56 and the
beginning of 57 is striking. This may be calculated to portray the thunderous sound
produced by a stampeding crowd.

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his narrative reaches a resolution, he briefly emerges into a poetic consciousness:

| πρός τοῦτ’ ἄνω |
| ήθροιζόμεθα πάντες, οί δ’ ἐπέρρεον |
| ἐπεις ὑπασπισταί στρατιῶται τραύματα |
| ἔχοντες |

(v. 59–62)

We are, however, once more plunged into bathos when we hear Smikrines’ prosaic comment: ὅς ὄνησ’ ἁποσταλεῖς τότε (v. 62).

The remark is ignored, and the issue of the disaster unfolds with a stark inevitability. Daos explains that they erected a make-shift camp on the hill and remained there (v. 63ff.). On the fourth day they advanced after learning that the enemy had departed with those whom they had taken captive (v. 66–68). Smikrines’ question now extorts the inevitable:

| ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεκροῖς |
| πεπτωκότ’ εἶδες τοῦτον; |

(v. 68–69)

Daos’ reply does not spare us the gruesome realities of war: it was not possible, he says, to identify Kleostratos with certainty. The corpses had been exposed to the sun for four days and their faces were ‘bloated out of recognition’ (v. 69–72). He did, however, find Kleostratos’ shattered shield

17. The tragic form (ἡθροιζόμεθα), the strict verse (resolution only in the fourth foot of 61) and the striking assonance both of the vowel sounds (i and u) and of the consonants (s, st, tr and t) are most expressive. The action is again represented progressively. Cavalry armies were most vulnerable to attack at night since they were easily thrown into confusion. See Xenophon, Cyr. 3.3. 26–27. Consequently they were the first to flee and, once in flight, the fastest. See Xenophon, Anab. 7, 3.26. The wounded soldiers, naturally, arrive last. The position of ὑπασπισταί presents a slight problem. At this time they were not employed as light infantry in the armies. They acted as phalanx in the army of Eumenes when he did battle with the elder Antigonus at Paraitacene in 319 B.C. See Diodorus 19,28,1. This might explain why Daos does not mention any other phalangites and suggests that Kleostratos might have served in a phalanx of hypaspists. More surprisingly, however, is Daos’ omission of the ψιλοί, the light-armed infantry. These are the τοξόται, the ἄκοντισται and the σφενδόνηται. Although they were numerically inferior they were nevertheless a regular force in the armies of the Successors. They would have reached Daos before the ὑπασπισταί because they were more nimble. The omission appears to be deliberate. It suggests that Daos is conscious of the effect which the music of poetry has on our ears and that this also plays a rôle in his choice and juxtaposition of words.

on one of the corpses (v. 72–73). His description of the mass burial which followed is characterised by the same tone of stark realism (v. 75–79). He finally explains that the army was disbanded after this, that he sailed to Rhodes and from there to Athens, and he closes his account with a rhetorical formula:

\( \text{ákēkoúz mou pánta} \)

(v. 82).

We have seen how Daos has attempted to transport us to a level of tragic intensity but Smikrines with his short, rather brusque, ejaculations has repeatedly dampened the attempt. When Smikrines now expresses no appropriate comment but bluntly demands the details of the booty, we descend, now more securely, to the level of comedy. Daos answers Smikrines’ questions with dignity, but cannot suppress his chagrin and exposes him: γλυρονήμε (v. 85). Smikrines has been caught off guard and his response is comical. He protests indignant that he is not after the possessions, but nevertheless demands further information regarding these (v. 85–86).

At the end of the scene a sombre tone creeps into the dialogue as we are once more reminded of the report of the death in the family (v. 91 ff.).

I have attempted to demonstrate how the dramatist has alternately increased and checked the flux of our emotion and has gradually transported us from one level of reality to another. What we did not notice, while the lines were having this effect on us, is that the scene contains a careful blend of well-known tragic ‘forms’. The soliloquy of Daos contains all the information we require for a proper understanding of the play. We learn that Kleostratos set out on an expedition with Daos to acquire wealth (v. 4–7), but with the basic purpose of acquiring a dowry for his sister (v. 8–10). Daos wished to obtain his freedom had Kleostratos survived the expedition and attained his ambitions (v. 11–12). The shattered shield which is then displayed has a twofold function. It symbolises the ἀρετή of Kleostratos as it bears witness

18. In an inaugural lecture printed in the University of Leeds Review, Vol. 13,1, 1970, G. Arnott notes: ‘It would have been possible, however, for a playwright of Menander’s imaginative powers to devise a dozen different bromidic explanations for Daos’ false assumption. But Menander lived in an Athens tortured by war, famine and disease; and the explanation he chose was appropriate to his civilization and to his own harsh humanity’, (v. 17f.). Daos’ account is perhaps owing not so much to ‘harsh humanity’ as to a propensity for gruesome realism (cf. Perithīa 3 ff., Körte I), but the fragments are too scanty to allow a conclusive judgement. It is interesting to see how dispassionately Xenophon glosses over the state of the corpses: καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς πλείστους ἐνθαμρ ἔπεσον ἐκάστους ἔθαψαν· ἥδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμματοὶ καὶ οὐχ ὁδὸν τε ἀναμανεῖ ἔτι ἦν. Anab. 6,4,9.

19. For a historical example of a mass burial see Xenophon, Anab. 6,5,6: ἐκεῖ δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν καμάν, ἐνθα ἐκεῖνο ἄθροι, συνενεκόντες ἄντων ἔθαψαν.

to a brave death amidst violent fighting. This is clearly brought out by 17–18 which are connected by γάρ. But our attention is also focused on the shield because, as we will gradually realise (in 69–73, and finally in 107–110), this is the source of Daos’ mistake in identifying the corpse as his dead master.

The monologue, accordingly, fully reveals the circumstances from which the action starts and, as such, fulfils the function of an explanatory Sub- Prologue in the structure of the comedy. It is, however, no formal exposition of the facts. On the contrary, the ‘form’ is carefully disguised and through the characterisation of Daos, who addresses his master with spontaneous grief, we are made to experience the complex desires and emotions which are necessary for a proper understanding of the different strands of action.

It is possible that Menander found examples for this type of Prologue in the early tragedies of Euripides; for example those of Medea, Stheneboia and Philoctetes. These prologues fulfil the same function as Daos’ monologue: they orientate the audience with a full exposition of the events preceding the dramatic situation. At this stage of Euripides’ art the dramatist took pains to overcome the formality of his expositions: the inner tension of the speakers vivifies the prologues, and the exposition emerges as something natural and spontaneous. But it has to be emphasised that the basic information is more carefully disguised through the characterisation of Daos and that the Euripidean chronological pattern, which he never disguised completely, has been deliberately avoided by Menander. One is also struck by the constraint which distinguishes this monologue from those of tragedy. This is shown clearly by a comparison with Electra’s famous soliloquy (Soph. El. 1126ff.).

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21. For a full discussion of these Prologues see F. Leo op. cit. 16ff.; 20ff. and W. Schadewaldt, op. cit., 8 ff. The same prologue technique may also be found in Cyclops 1ff. Cf. Leo op. cit., 26.

22. The guard’s soliloquy in the beginning of Aeschylus’ Agam., 1–39, which is the prototype of these Prologues, may in this respect be compared with Daos’ monologue. In this Prologue the information is also conveyed more indirectly than in those of Euripides.

23. Electra addresses the supposed mortal remains of Orestes and like Daos (Asp. 2–3) she is immediately reminded of the hopes she nurtured when she sent him away:

εἰς συν αὐτῇ ἐπιθίδον
οὐχ ἄνπερ ἔξεπείσαν εἰσεδεξάμην
(v. 1126–7).

Unlike Daos, however, she is too anguished to develop this vision further and the reality of Orestes’ death intrudes, 1129, 1136, 1141–42. This theme reaches a resolution in 1149–1151:

τῶν δὲ ἐκλέλουσε ταῦτα ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾶς
θανόντι σὺν σοί. πάντα γὰρ συναρπάσας
τῶν ὥσπερ βέβηκας· οἶχεται πατήρ.

The climax of Daos’ monologue may be compared to this:

τῶν δὲ σὺ μὲν οἶχει παραλόγως τ’ ἀνήρπασαι

Electra’s sorrow, however, reaches a greater intensity and culminates in the most vehement cries, 1160ff.
The lengthy battle narrative of the *Aspis* (v. 23–82) reminds one of another tragic convention, the Messenger Speech. These speeches report on events which have taken place off stage, normally during the course of the tragedy but sometimes preceding it, like the battle described in *Aspis*. This general observation of common characteristics calls for closer analysis.

These Messenger Speeches are preceded by a short introductory dialogue. In Euripides this dialogue follows a typical structure:

a) The messenger addresses an actor or the chorus. If the latter is not the party concerned, he enquires where the addressee may be found. This address is mostly attended by passionate ejaculations which qualify the event which has taken place.

b) An anxious question of the addressee follows.

c) The messenger summarises the essential information.

d) The addressee now demands a full account of the event.

The literary connection is clear. The exact scheme may be found in the introductory dialogue of *Aspis* (v. 18–22). The qualification of the event, here divided between Smikrines the ‘addressee’ and Daos the ‘messenger’ (a), the question of Smikrines (b), and the demand for a full report (d) correspond exactly to the tragic scheme. Part (c) in which the messenger summarises the report, however, shows a neat individual touch.

In tragedy the event is here unleashed with a great emotional impact.

There are verbal similarities and similar tendencies in the development of the thoughts which may not be fortuitous. The comparison, however, also indicates the restraint and economy with which Menander treats the dramatic theme. The basic difference in purpose between these two monologues must also be emphasised. Sophocles is concerned solely with the ἔθος of Electra, Orestes’ death means her death (1152, 1163 ff.). To Menander the characterisation of Daos is equally important, but he also wishes to acquaint the audience with the basic facts from which the drama starts in a concise synopsis.

24. This applies to all Messenger Speeches in the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides which have been transmitted.


26. This structure is, of course, not binding and some variations of the scheme may be found, cf. *Supp.* 399 ff.


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Menander, however, has already attained the dramatic effect which he requires. He now softens the effect by presenting the essentials of this particular 'Message' – the death of Kleostratos on the field of battle – in the form of a general reflection: Death, Daos asserts, is a constant threat in the life of every soldier.

Menander has thus employed the tragic 'form' in every detail and yet he completely reverses the emotional effect for which the structure was created and adapts it to suit his own dramatic purposes.

Further formal characteristics of the Messenger Speech may be observed in the opening and closing verses of Daos' narrative (v. 23–24 and 82). These speeches are often opened with a geographic specification. They are conventionally closed, on the other hand, with a return to direct speech.

In the conclusion of the Aspis speech, however, another individual touch may be noted. When the messengers of tragedy turn to the addressee they often conclude with a moralising judgement drawn from the event on which they have reported. In Menander narratives are indeed also rounded off with sententious reflections and Daos as we have seen, is rather prone to such moralisations. Nevertheless, the absence of such a reflection is probably to be explained by the subtle characterisation of Daos. His previous reflections have made no impression on Smikrines and he is now not going to waste more wisdom, but concludes abruptly: ἀκήκοας πάντα μου.

In comparing the narrative of Daos with the Messenger Speeches of tragedy one is struck by the economy, the restraint and the realism with which the story is presented. The climax of the Euripidean Messenger Speeches is often heightened by quoting the direct words of the tragic victims. None of the florid poetic effects of the tragic Messenger Speeches are to be found in Menander. On the contrary, whenever the tone rises and a slight suggestion of a poetic flight emerges, this is checked, and we descend to a lower emotional level. Yet the long description completely escapes monotony. The narrative is vivified partly by Smikrines' questions which are interposed in the narrative. The same effect is attained through the questions which the chorus interjects during the second Messenger Speech of Euripides' Orestes (v. 1395ff.).


The true diversity, and the purely Menandrean innovation, however, is to be found in the dampening comments of Smikrines (v. 33, 48 and 62). With these comments, Smikrines gradually reveals what aspects of the story really interest him. In his very first comment he expresses a certain smugness at the thought of acquiring wealth. This in spite of the fact that so positive a sentiment does not suit the context in which Daos casts the story. The sentiment is counterbalanced by 48. When he hears that the soldiers, enriched by supplies which they had obtained, naturally gave themselves to gay abandon, he expresses vehement disapproval. His last comment, δος δινηστο θαυματείσ τοτε, may reflect concern for Daos' safety, but in view of his previous reactions, one suspects that the safety of the booty may be his main concern. All doubt, however, is dispelled when Smikrines' questions, at the end of the narrative, are concerned only with the possessions and when Daos explicitly exposes his greed (v. 82–85). Up to the point where Daos exposes him, Smikrines has, therefore, without expressing too much character, nevertheless gradually unmasked himself.

It is tempting to look for the origins of such a gradual self-revelation of character.

A comparable development in characterisation has been detected in the late works of Aristophanes by G. Maurach. A similar gradual unmasking of the characters, in which the comic effect is not suppressed, may be found in Euripides.

33. Acta Classica XI, 1968, 1 ff. He indicates that in contrast to Aristophanes' earlier comedies in which well-known urban characters—generals, poor farmers, weapon dealers, etc.—are portrayed, we find a 'Gesinnungstyp' in Ecclesiazusae 727 ff. The character gradually emerges as a sensible man who wishes to wait for the others to act first in giving up their possessions to the new communistic state. Hereupon he appears to be quite greedy and also does not want to yield his possessions at all because he is sceptical about the Athenians who are so fickle in their decisions (791 ff. 799, cf. 811). When, however, it is announced that the public meal is ready, he nevertheless rushes off to profit from these laws. Apart from a gradual development in the characterisation we find here also the 'Spielform' of unmasking. Further examples of this type of characterisation may be found in the Plutus, cf. Maurach, op. cit. 34. Maurach, op. cit. 20 ff. compares the characterisation of Pentheus in Bacchai, Menelaus in Orestes and Menelaus in Helena. To these examples the burlesque unmasking of Silenus in Cyclops may be added. After he is tempted to sell some food in exchange for wine, he decides to defy the 'stupid', 'middle-eyed' Cyclops, 173–4. But when the latter arrives, he dashes into the cave with great alarm, 193. To his cowardice, another characteristic—deceit—is finally added. He pretends that he was thrashed by Odysseus and his men who wished to steal his master's goods, 228 ff.

Odysseus similarly exposes himself as a coward. Asked by the Satyr Chorus whether they captured Troy, he answers proudly that they overthrew the whole house of Priam, 178. But when the Cyclops arrives, he responds with great alarm—ἀπολόλαμην γάρ, ὁ γέρον· ποτ ἡρὴ φυγεῖν, 194. Silenus suggests that the cave is a good hiding place, but Odysseus realises that this means walking 'straight into the snare', 196, and remains outside. Because he has lost face, he tries to cover up by boasting like a 'miles gloriosus', 132
The dramas of Euripides and the later works of Aristophanes are, however, far removed from New Comedy in time. It is therefore difficult to establish a direct influence on the portrayal of the characters of New Comedy.

On the other hand it may be argued that the characters of both Middle and New Comedy are taken from everyday life and that it was Euripides and, as it appears, the elder Aristophanes who taught the comedy writers to portray these characters. It is therefore probable that Menander, in the gradual revelation of Smikrines, was dealing with something which had become a fixed convention in his time.

It appears finally that the vitality and freshness of the opening scene have been achieved through a skilful adaptation and blend of different tragic conventions.

At this point, however, we wonder if the analysis has penetrated fully to the meaning of the opening scene. Was the dramatist concerned only with adapting and mixing well-known forms to attain his dramatic effects, or did his characters mean more to him? A full discussion of the characterisation must therefore be attempted. Menander was, it is said, mainly concerned with characterisation; A. Körté, for example in RE 15 (1931), 759ff. has stated: 'Menander . . . stellt die Charakterzeichnung in den Mittelpunkt seines Kunswollens'. Since especially the opening scene of the Aspis has led me to believe that this view is one-sided I have, as a corrective, made an investigation into Menander's adaptation of tragic form and diction. Bearing in mind this twofold aspect I shall now examine the characterisation of Daos.

**THE CHARACTERISATION OF DAOS**

From antiquity onwards, Menander has been praised for the realism of his characterisation. The characters of his dramas reveal a remarkable likeness to real people because of the author's ability to vivify dramatic characters, both by projecting himself into their position and by transfusing his humanity into them. Consequently, conventional views concerning stock characters, which had hardened through the literary tradition, are constantly reassessed in his dramas through a more sympathetic portrayal of these characters. These observations also apply to the characterisation of Daos.

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198–202. He does, however, take care to hide well enough and the Cyclops does not see him for some time.

35. One remembers, of course, the famous praise of Aristophanes of Byzantium (Körte II, Test. 32,7). For modern discussions of this see C. Préaux, Ménandre et la société athénienne, Chron. d'Egypte 32, 1957, 63 and 84–100, and: Les fonctions du droit dans la comédie nouvelle, ib. 35, 1960, 222–239.
His character and his rôle will firstly be examined in the structure of the comedy and then an attempt will be made to assess his characterisation in the context of the literary tradition.

I

In my discussion of the opening scene it has been noted that Daos is deeply disturbed by his master's death, because he had his master's interests at heart and also because the death of his master has frustrated his own hopes to retire comfortably in old age:

\[ \text{διοι τ' ἔσεσθαι τῶν μακρῶν πόνων τινά ἀνάπαυσιν εἰς τὸ γῆρας εὐνοιάς χάριν} \]

(v. 11–12)

These lines at once characterise his fidelity and express his present predicament. As a slave he is merely part of his master's estate and can only have the faint hope of passing over to a lenient new master.36 That loyal slaves could in reality expect such a reward for their εὔνοια is attested by a passage in Demosthenes.37 The notion that εὔνοια should be rewarded had strong political connotations at this time and it may be suggested that the Athenians heard an echo of the rhetorical speech in Daos's words.38 It is, however, more likely that the notion had attained common usage in the everyday speech and in the domestic relations between free men and slaves.

More interesting is the fact that Daos characterises his master as μεγαλόψυχος (v. 17). Μεγαλοψυχία here denotes military ἀρετή. The ideal, however, has a wide range of association and it happens to be the most prominent virtue in the Peripatetic Philosophy which represented the advanced thought in Menander's time. In Aristotle's catalogue of virtues it is described as κόσμος τῶν ἀρετῶν and ἀρετῇ παντελῆς.39

36. Slaves are listed among other κτήματα of an estate in Dem. 27,9 and Aesch. 1.97, see W. L. Westermann, The slave systems of Greek and Roman antiquity, New York2 1957, 8ff.
37. Dem. 47,55: ἔτυχεν ἢ γυνὴ μου μετὰ τῶν παιδίων ἀριστώσα ἐν τῇ ἀλή, καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τιτῇ τις ἐξ ἑμή γενομένη πρεσβυτέρα ἄνθρωπος εὔνους καὶ πιστὴ καὶ ἄρειμέν ἔλευθρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός τοῦ ἐμοῦ. The notion is also expressed in two grave inscriptions (W. Peek, Griech. Grabgedichte, Berlin 1960, 240 resp. 474):

- ἔκ τιμής Φυλίνῳ θυσία χρήμα θεράποντι
- ἵπποκράτης Πάσης ἐννεκέν εὐνοῖς

Even a dog could claim a reward for her εὐνοια!

- ἕσαν θεσιά στοργής ἄρα καὶ κυσίν, ὥς νυ καὶ ἢδε
- εὔνους οἴδον τροφεῖ σήμα λέγοντι τοῦδε

38. E. Skard, Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe: Euergetes-Concordia; Oslo 1932, 29ff.
39. E.N. 4,1124 a, 1 and 8. See the discussion in U. Knoche, 'Magnitudo Animi'

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Line 17 may, therefore, convey the slightest suggestion that Daos has snatched this word up from the current philosophical dialectic. This, like his literary ability, leaves us with the impression that he is an educated pedagogue.

An acute perception which enables him to see through the intentions of others may be added to these qualities. The fact that he exposes Smikrines as κληρονόμος indicates that he has grasped his purpose fully.40

The experienced reader of Menander is justified in asking how these characteristics of Daos are related to his characterisation and function in the rest of the comedy.

At the end of Act One, Daos is approached by Smikrines for support. The latter then reveals the intention of marrying his niece, Kleostratos’ sister, as by law he can claim the first right to do so (v. 181 ff.).

Daos refuses support on the strength of the γνώθι σαυτόν principle, 190–191: He wishes to resign himself to the humble position of δοῦλος because this is the mark of an ἄγαθός οἰκέτης (v. 192–193). He first explains the practical application of his ideal and proves that he has scrupulously followed it in the past.41 As a δοῦλος, 194, he has been a passive instrument in the financial dealings of his master and can merely report on these accurately, 198–200. Secondly, he applies the ideal to the private dealings of the έλευθεροι: When it comes to their heritage, weddings and degrees of relationship, he should not be ‘dragged into it’ because such matters befit the έλευθεροι, 200–204.

When Smikrines hereupon asks him whether he disapproves of his intended action on moral grounds, Daos replies with great rhetoric finesse: He first detaches himself from the world of the έλευθεροι by emphasising that he is a Phrygian. He then uses his very Barbarian insight to express his disapproval, but obscures this by presenting his disapproval in the form of a generalisation: πολλα τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν φαίνεται καλῶν ἐμοὶ πάντων καὶ


40. The word means ‘heir apparent’ in this context (LSJ, s.v. κληρονόμος). It is significant that Daos does not expose Smikrines as φιλάργυρος or the like. He has realised that Smikrines’ interest in the booty derives from the fact that he is the elder uncle of the heiress and as such has legal preference to marry her.

41. Two lines are missing after 193 and the development of Daos’ thoughts is therefore not certain. Gaiser, Der Schild, 12 reconstructs as follows:

[...δῶς περὶ τῶν μὴν χρημάτων]

σὸν δὲ μὲ δοῦλον δουλ’ ἀποκρίνεσθ’ ἐπιμελῶς·

πάντας θεράποντας ἡμῖν [σοι καὶ βασινάσαι]

σῶματα μὲ [ίστα λά] ἀμβανοῦμεν [δεῖμας]

σμεῖαν εἴποντε [νῦν ὁς συνήλαξέν τις ἐν (οὐσιν Del Coro)]

ἐκείνως ἀποδημῶν, ἐχὼ φράζειν ἐγὼ

τόδε· ἄν κελάψῃ τίς με, δεῖξο...

διημαρτηκότ’ νοῦς

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Hereupon he invalidates his moral judgement by implying, with bitter irony, that Smikrines is the ἐλέεθερος, he can reasonably claim that he has superior insight; τι προσέχειν δεῖ σ' ἔμοι; φρονεῖς ἔμοι βέλτιον εἰκότως, 208–209.

The unbridgeable gap between the moral perception of the ἐλέεθερος and the barbarian δοῦλος is here pointedly emphasised by Daos. He takes the gap for granted and employs it astutely as a salvo for a design which does not meet with his approval. The irony derives from the fact that Daos is convinced that in his inner attitude he possesses the superior insight, in spite of the external distinction which exists between him and Smikrines.

In the second Act, however, Daos completely abandons this attitude of resignation. He openly condemns Smikrines vehemently (ὁ μυρότατος, 313; τοῦ σφόδρα πονηρός, 316) and involves himself deeply in the matters of the ἐλέεθερος. One is therefore faced with the question: What is Daos' real moral attitude and why does he not act consistently when he instigates his intrigue against Smikrines in Act II?

An analysis of the events which lead up to the intrigue indicates how carefully the intrigue is foreshadowed and how the device which Daos employs is sown in his mind.42

After Smikrines informs his brother, Chairestratos, that he is determined to marry his niece in spite of the latter's attempts to dissuade him, Chairestratos falls into the house and wishes death on himself rather than see this happen, 282–283. Daos finds him lying prostrate in utter dejection and urges him to get up and to leave the house, 299–300, and calls Chaireas, who is standing outside, to open the door. Chairestratos leaves the house reluctantly and expresses his defeatism: κακός ἐχω ... μελαγχολό ... μαίνομαι δ' ἀκαρής πάντοι· ὁ κυλὸς ἀδέλφος τοσώτην ἐκστάσιν ἥδη καθίστησίν με τῇ πονηρίᾳ, 305–309. Finally Chairestratos repeats his death wish, 314–315, and thus provides Daos with the clues to form his scheme.43

42. T. B. L. Webster (Studies in Menander, Manchester 1960, 177) once compared the improbable incidents of Old and Middle Comedy with those of New Comedy and came to the conclusion that ‘the end of the tradition can be seen in the wilder slave intrigues such as the feigned death of Chaireas in the Heauton Penthon’. After the discovery of the Aspis it has become clear, firstly, that the scene in question must be attributed to the Aspis and secondly, that it is Chairestratos, not Chaireas who had to feign death. Furthermore, the scheme is by no means ‘wild’.

43. It is essential to understand that Daos has not planned the intrigue before he leaves the house at v. 299ff. This appears from his shocked questions to Chairestratos, 310–311. The first question is meant to show Chairestratos that he has not yet heard of Smikrines’ intentions in order to avoid Chairestratos’ becoming suspicious. With the second question he wants to bring Chairestratos to the vital point: is he going to oppose Smikrines or not? Once he has established that Chairestratos has given up hope to do so, he dares express a strong disapproval, the main purpose of this being to win Chairestratos’ confidence. After Chairestratos has uttered his death wish in the presence of Daos, the slave starts
With acute perception and amazing quickness he brings the weaknesses of the ἐλεύθεροι into play.

He starts with the φιλαργυρία of Smikrines, 319–327. Smikrines is to be baited with the hope of more money, because he is obsessed with a passion to possess and will easily fall into the trap, 325–327.44

Hereupon he exploits the suicidal tendencies which Chairestratos has just shown, 329ff. He must pretend that he is struck down by one of the sudden shocks which he has just mentioned, 330 and 335, because he is easily upset and naturally melancholic, 338–339. A doctor is to come and to diagnose one of the diseases which are speedily fatal and Chairestratos must feign a sudden death.45

He now explains the purpose of the scheme to the ἐλεύθεροι who simply cannot grasp it and prove to be rather inferior intellectually, cf. 352f.: If Chairestratos should die, his daughter also becomes an heiress, but one who is fifteen times richer than Kleostratos’ sister, 348ff. Accordingly, he hopes that Smikrines will gladly allow this sister to marry Chaireas and will take the other girl, who is fifteen times more attractive to him, as his wife, 353ff.

In this discussion the astute perception, the rhetorical finesse and an acute intelligence which make Daos intellectually superior to the ἐλεύθεροι have been observed. But why does he plan the intrigue against Smikrines and what is his moral attitude?

He is, of course, partly motivated by his moving εὐνοία for his master. This theme is brought out by way of contrast with the characterisation of the Thracian τραπεζομαντής, 238ff. It must be remembered that Kleostratos intended his sister’s dowry, the booty, to go to a husband ‘worthy of himself’, cf. 8–10, and that he was characterised by Daos as μεγαλόψυχος (v. 17). Is he planning. One realises how subtly Menander embodied the intrigue in the natural development of the dialogue.

44. Lines 321–3 are mutilated. Two talents are mentioned in 321. They should refer to the 600 χρυσοῦς which Daos has brought home. Daos may be arguing that Smikrines is now occupied with this money, but if he should be given the hope of more money (322) Chairestratos will ‘see him’ (325) προπετῇ διημαρτυρήσω (cf. Gaiser op. cit. 73 for the meaningless τι of B) so that he will be able to deal with him easily: μεταχειρίζεται τι τόσον (referring to Smikrines) εὐπορίας.

45. In 1.338 Kassel’s change of the papyrus reading (οἶδα to οἴδη) is not convincing. Daos is here not concerned with Smikrines’ weaknesses. This has been dealt with before. He is now concerned with the weaknesses of Chairestratos. He wishes to persuade him that he can act his role convincingly because it merely entails acting out his natural characteristics. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that he introduces Chairestratos’ play-act with ἐπείγοντας ἁρπαξας (330) and that he reiterates words from the previous dialogue: μελαγχόλῳ (306) — μελαγχολικόν (339); ἀδικέων οἶδη κατέθαν (300) — ἀθυμία (331) + προσκέκλησεν (346; cf. 359).

He finally concludes encouragingly: ‘I know well that by nature you are easily upset and melancholic’.
thinking that Chaireas will satisfy this high moral expectation? But Daos’ mind is more complicated. He gives another explanation:

λήγομαι, νη τὸν Δία,
δῶν σὲ ὀδύνηκε πώτερ’ ἀξίαν δίκην·
to γὰρ λεγόμενον ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἔλοκος
χανόν ἀπεισὶ διὰ κενῆς’.

(v. 370–373)46

The principle τέλος of his intrigue is to foil Smikrines with his own weakness. Daos is not concerned with an abstract δίκη nor a similar objective principle, but with Χαιρεστράτω δίκην λαμβάνειν. Ethical considerations do not really weigh heavily in Daos’ aim. But is his µηχανή motivated only by his εὐνοία for his master and his desire to avenge Chairestratos? Such selfless dependence does not normally animate the very human characters of Menander.

After his confrontation with Smikrines in Act II,3, Daos passionately invokes Tyche:

ὀ Τύχη
οἶφ μ’ ἀφ’ οἴου δεσπότου παρεγγυάν
μέλλεις· τι σ’ ἡδίκηκα τηλικοῦτ’ ἐγώ;

(v. 213–215)47

These lines form the link between his passive resignation at the end of the first Act and his active role in the second act. When he uttered these words, Daos was faced with the grim prospect of unending drudgery in the household of Smikrines, the self-centred miser. His invocation of Tyche explains unambiguously not only his refusal to support Smikrines, but also his attempt to lure him to a richer heiress. Should he succeed with his scheme, he has the more favourable prospect of being Chaireas’ slave.

It appears, therefore, that Daos is consistent in his inner attitude. What matters to him is not so much Χαιρεστράτω δίκην λαμβάνειν when he plans the intrigue, but his own σωτηρία and εὐτυχία.

When the intrigue is put into action, Daos’ profound knowledge of tragedy is finally brought into play. The beginning of Act III, 398–432,

46. In 1.371 the reconstructions seem, after inspection of the photographs, safer than is indicated in Austin’s edition. One might argue that Chaireas is the speaker in 1.368. But these words do not suit the character of Chaireas as he expresses no moral judgment of Smikrines although there were opportunities of doing so before, cf. 288ff. Further, if Chaireas had been the speaker of the preceding lines, Daos would not have addressed him by name in 1.374. Whenever he turns from one of these characters to the other, he pointedly addresses them by name (cf. 299,300,304).

47. The strict tragic verse is striking. This becomes the natural vehicle to express his intense emotions.
forms a parallel to Act 1.1. In the first Act Daos’ tragic rendering of Kleostatos’ death made no impression on Smikrines, but only stimulated his obsession to acquire possessions. Daos now gets his revenge. He successfully ensnares the uncomprehending Smikrines with a string of tragic quotations, as he announces that a prospective candidate from whom he can inherit much more than from Kleostratos, is ‘dying’.

We return to the τέλος of the intrigue. Is it morally satisfying? Menander’s main concern is to underline the πονηρία of Smikrines before the intrigue. The sensitive portrayal of Daos serves as a foil to this, and his intrigue, significantly, lends a deeper dimension to Smikrines’ greed. It is Daos, in contrast to Smikrines, who possesses the ‘better insight’, the ἐλεύθερος νοῦς in spite of the bonds of servitude which separate him far from Smikrines.

The impetus which is contained within the framework of Tyche’s Prologue, and the arrival of Kleostratos, is given by the φιλαργυρία of Smikrines. But Daos’s characterisation is counterpoised with this and the whole action within this structure finally revolves around him and Smikrines becomes the victim.

The dénouement of the play, however, makes the intrigue redundant. Daos therefore does not influence the outcome of events at all. But the sensitive characterisation of him, in contrast to the tarnished inhumanity of Smikrines, leaves a memorable impression. Moreover it is significant to Menander’s point of view that Daos’ master is restored to him and, we may be sure, that he gets the well deserved reward for his εὖνομα. It is intensely frustrating that only traces remain of his moving reunion with his beloved master. It is nevertheless a great compensation that we can read some of Daos’ overjoyed words: μετράκτων, ὃ Ζεῦ, 506... and Ἐχω σε, 508.

II

An examination of Daos’ characterisation within the context of the literary tradition yields some interesting results.

Sly and impertinent slaves first appeared on the comic stage when Aristophanes’ Peace was produced. They sometimes act as their masters’ confidants and reveal a particularly good understanding of masters who have base intentions.48 Their masters rely strongly on them, but they are so impertinent that their masters often long for the ‘good old days’ when they could flog and chain them for their insolence.49

In Aristophanes’ later comedies, which are no longer so strongly dependent

49. Eq 1129f., Nub. 6f., Vesp. 439f., 448ff.
on the political world of Athens, but reflect the contemporary life more closely, the slaves are given a more prominent role on the stage. These plays do not reveal a different attitude to the slaves. In the *Frogs*, Xanthias plays a significant part in the action. He is an indispensable companion for Dionysus on his trip to the underworld. He nevertheless remains a vulgar slave. He discovers a soulmate in another, a slave in the underworld, and they chatter about the lowly joys of slavery: cursing, grumbling, intriguing, eavesdropping and gossiping. The much admired *Plutus*, in which a slave remains on the stage for almost the entire duration of the play, does not offer a different picture. Karion acts as a foil to illuminate the character of his master, Chremyllos, who appears to be more idealistic than he actually is. While they follow a blind man, at the command of Apollo, Karion persuades his master that they should pick him up and put him on the edge of a precipice, 67ff. He mocks the chorus of old men, 253ff., he shows no respect to his mistress, 644ff. and he ridicules the gods, 627ff. Their motives in striving after wealth are wholly different. For Chremyllos the aim is literature, honour, courage, ambition, command. For Karion it is bread, sweets, cakes, figs, barley-cakes, lentil soup, 188ff. It never occurs to him that he might buy his freedom. This is strange in view of the fact that he explained earlier that he became a slave only because he had no money, 147–148.

The character portrayals of Aristophanes’ slaves are determined by his desire to provide comic amusement. These portrayals nevertheless reveal a general attitude of contempt for the slave class and it is clear that Aristophanes has not created full human beings in the figures of his slaves.

The prominence which is given to the slave roles in the structure of Aristophanes’ later comedies may be compared to Daos’ function in the *Aspis*. The resemblance, however, is no more than superficial. Daos’ character has nothing in common with these slaves. The relation χρηστός ἐλεύθερος and φαῦλος δοῦλος has been completely reversed by Menander. If we wish to find vestigial traces of the ‘cheeky’ slave in Daos we may do so in *Aspis* 85 and 353. These traces, however, must also be seen in the light of this reversed contrast: 85 exposes the φιλαργυρία of Smikrines and 353 illuminates the quick-witted qualities of Daos in contrast to the slowness of Chairestratos.

Daos’ function resembles that of the slaves of tragedy far more closely than those of the comic slaves. The portrayal of the pedagogue as a loyal and devoted guardian in the household of free men had precedents in tragedy. Manifestations of intimate bonds between pedagogues and their masters may be found in Sophocles’ *Electra* and in the *Medea, Phoenissae* and *Ion*

of Euripides. But intimacy finds its most sensitive expression in the words of the pedagogues' female counterpart, the nurses.

The tragedians, especially Euripides, were alert to the possibilities of employing slaves as foils to the characters of the tragic heroes. The contrast between the devotion of loyal pedagogues/nurses and the callous, self-centered attitudes of the tragic heroes was already implicit in tragedy.

When it came to moral clashes these slaves were, however, faced with the unbridgeable gap which separated them from the ἔλεος. They could not express moral judgements on their masters' actions nor were they allowed to advise them on moral matters. When they do this their judgements are toned down with great apology. The ad hoc morality which Daos adopts in Act 1,3, may be compared to this. The implicit contrast between an ἔλεος and a χρηστός δόθιος, which had its roots in tragedy, is for the first time in transmitted literature explicitly brought out and given great prominence. It is this clash which dominates the entire action.

The collateral ancestor of Daos may also be found in tragedy. The noble pedagogue, as adviser and executant of the intrigue of a fake death, appears as far back as Sophocles' Electra. It was his responsibility to rear Orestes to be his father's avenger and it is he who urges Orestes and Pylades on to action, 15ff. and 77ff. It is, significantly, also his duty to announce the fake death of Orestes to Clytaemestra, 666ff. He is taken into the house, 800, but reappears after Orestes' and Electra's recognition to stop them from their

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51. See e.g. Soph. El. 23–28:

οὗ τέκνη, ἀκολούθοι οἱ δ δόθιος εἰς ἡμᾶς πατήρ;

δολοῦν μὲν μὴ· δεσπότις γὰρ δεῖ· διοίκησ.

υπάρ κακός γ' ὄν ἐς φίλους ἄλλωσκεται

Cf. Eur. Hipp. 1249ff.; Bacch. 668ff. In Hipp. 87–102 a slave does advise his master to greet the statue of Aphrodite, but his approach is also rather reticent. The role of the nurse as a matchmaker between Phaidra and Hippolytus is not relevant here; she does not have the moral relation to Phaidra which Daos has to Smikrines, her function is to offset the αἰθός of Phaidra.

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53. The role of the nurse in Aesch. Choeph, as opposed to Clytaemestra; the pedagogue in Soph. El, as opposed also to Clytaemestra, the nurse and pedagogue in Eur. Med. as opposed to Jason.

54. The following words of the nurse in Med. 82ff. are typical:

δολοῦν μὲν μὴ· δεσπότις γὰρ δεῖ· διοίκησ.

υπάρ κακός γ' ὄν ἐς φίλους ἄλλωσκεται

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impassioned and ill-timed rejoicings and sets the intrigue in motion, 1366ff.

Daos clearly reveals traits which may be traced back to those of the characters of the tragic stage. In one important respect, however, he differs significantly from these slaves. The sorrow and joy of the slaves in tragedy are always inextricably bound up with their masters' fortunes. Like Daos, they serve as foils to the characterisation of their masters. Their entire being is, however, dependent on their masters' destiny and they have no life of their own. This applies also to Daos' ancestor, the pedagogue in Sophocles' *Electra*. The μηρεόμημα of Orestes' fake death was established in the myth and he acts in obedience to Apollo and out of selfless devotion to his master. Once he has fulfilled his function, he disappears from the scene and we hear no more of him.

In Menander's *Aspis*, a slave becomes, for the first time in transmitted literature, the personal victim of the leading character's baseness. For the first time the personal fate of a slave becomes a decisive factor in the structure of a drama. For the first time, also, we see a slave not acting out of extreme devotion to his master, but having his action motivated by a life-like blend of altruism and selfishness. In this respect we have finally found a parallel to the character of Habrotonon in the *Epitrepontes*.

It has been suggested that Menander had the intrigue of Euripides' *Helena* in mind when Daos' intrigue was written, because verbal echoes of *Helena* have been noted in a line of the *Aspis*. Gaiser pursues the argument and notes: 'Aber nicht nur der einzelne Vers enthält eine Ans pielung. Darüber hinaus ist das Intrigenmotiv des fingierten Todes deutlich der euripideischen Tragödie nachgebildet. Hier wie dort wird dem Gegner (Smikrines/Theoklymenos) durch den vorgetäuschten Tod die Möglichkeit einer Heirat in Aussicht gestellt, während das wahre Ziel die Rettung der beiden Liebenden ist.'

The verbal similarities are, however, not so strong and may be purely fortuitous. The device of a sham death was used in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, it was executed by a pedagogue in Sophocles' *Electra* and in the very *Helena* of Euripides it was criticised because 'there is a certain staleness in the

56. Another forefather of Daos may be found in Eur. *Ion*: Creusa's pedagogue who advises her to kill Ion (1.978ff.). His action like that of Sophocles' pedagogue flows from a selfless devotion to his mistress (1.972, 1039ff.). It is not necessary to dwell on his mechanēma as it does not resemble that of the *Aspis*, nor does Creusa's pedagogue resemble the character of Daos. Her pedagogue is devoted but rather foolish. Consequently Creusa rejects all his suggestions, 974ff., 980ff.


suggestion', *ibid.* 1056. We may therefore safely assume that this device was often employed from the time of the pedagogue's false message in Sophocles. Moreover, though the external aim of the scheme is the salvation of the lovers, as it is in the *Helena*, the love theme recedes completely during the planning of the intrigue in the *Aspis*, giving way to a more complex motivation on the part of its author.

Menander indeed employs a device which is firmly rooted in tragedy. But more significant for a correct understanding of his art is that he consciously causes this device to flow naturally from the qualities of his characters. The literary influence of tragedy is clear, but it is embodied in a new and fresh context in which the poet's eye is more alert to the possibilities of individualised characterisation.

III

The typically Menandrean humanity is embodied in the character of Daos, as Gaiser has correctly pointed out. He finds it in a reassessment of the popular view of the Phrygian slaves: 'Die Phrygersklaven galten als besonders unzuverlässig und weichlich; Menanders Daos widerlegt dieses Vorurteil.' The main stigma with which Phrygians were branded was άνδρόγυνον. In the face of danger they were especially cowardly. Daos is rebuked for this quality in the *Aspis* by the Thracian τραπεζοποιός who examines his quality and actions from the Thracian point of view: Daos did not run off with his master's possessions because he was άνδρόγυνος, 234. It is his very Phrygian quality which restrained him from being disloyal to his master! We are, however, on the level of low comedy here and these words need not be taken too seriously. Nevertheless, one of the functions of this scene is clearly to stress Daos' moving loyalty by way of contrasting character portrayal, but the insult will also be remembered when it is this very Phrygian, in contrast to Chairestratos and Chaireas, who is steadfast and has the courage to resist Smikrines. In a far more serious context Daos also refers to his Phrygian nationality, Φρούς εἶμι, 206. On this occasion, Daos is not concerned with the unreliability of the Phrygians which results from their cowardice. He wishes to detach himself from moral judgements of the έλεόθερον by emphasising that he has a different sense of justice and by pretending, ironically, that he does not possess the έλεόθερος νοῦς. Φρούς is used to underline his βάρβαρος νοῦς.

In the structure of the *Aspis* it is Daos' function to illuminate the 'inferior

60. Gaiser 18f.
61. References in Austin II ad *Asp.* 242. The best illustration of the utter contempt with which the Phrygians were held on account of their effeminacy and cowardice may be found in Eur. *Or.* 1522.
insight' of the main character by his own superior intellect, 'better insight', and his rhetorical finesse. It is, finally, Dao's literary abilities which not only heighten Smikrines' 'inferior insight', but also baffle him. Dao's superior perception and quicker wit enable him to exploit the weaknesses of Chair-estratos.

One wonders if we do not penetrate to a deeper level of the meaning of Dao's characterisation when it is also considered as a reassessment of the traditional view of the pedagogue, a reassessment already foreshadowed in tragedy.

The pedagogues were familiar figures on the streets in Athens. They were not concerned with the education of free boys. They were old barbarian slaves whose duty it was to accompany free boys since it was rather dangerous for boys to appear unprotected in public. From a charming scene in Plato's Lysis it appears how staunchly they fulfilled their duties. Socrates reveals an indulgent attitude to the pedagogues of Lysis and Menexenus, but it is notable that they have no regard for his philosophical discourse, but drown it with their vulgar Greek. Consequently he has to yield to the barbarian and breaks up the meeting. In this very dialogue Socrates also says that 'it is disturbing (δεινόν) that one who is free should be ruled by a slave', Lysis, 208c. The objections to the role of these barbarian pedagogues in the upbringing of free boys now become more frequent. It is notable that is is not their lack of loyalty, but their lack of education which are sharply criticized. The criticism reappears with an almost stereotyped repetition and continues from Plato to the Peripatetic School right down to Plutarch.

Menander has created a Phrygian pedagogue who has transcended his παραβάλοντες και τότους ἀκούει κελέσαντες, ἰκανός ἐπιμελεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν. The strongest criticism of the barbarian Pedagogues is to be found in Plut. de lib. ed. 4A f.


63. It was recollected that Pericles after a slave had fallen from a tree and broken his leg had said: 'Now he has become a pedagogue' (Stob. vol. II, 233 Wachsm.-Hense; see further Schuppe 2377).

64. See Plat. Legg. 808 d where they are compared to shepherds. Their main duty was to protect them from corruption by older men, cf. Plat. Symp. 183 c; Ael. V.H. 14, 20.

65. Lys. 233.

66. In Plat. Ale. I, 121 e Socrates contrasts the role of inferior slaves with the education of the princes of the Persian court: their teachers were 'royal pedagogues' and the 'selected noble Persians'. Hieron. apud Stob. loc. cit. criticises the lack of responsibility of the Greek fathers:

αἵτινες πρόων μὲν βαρβάροις παραβάλοντες καὶ τούτους ἀκούει κελέσαντες, ἰκανὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι νομίζοντεν.
of an ἐλεύθερος. Menander’s real purpose may be eloquently expressed in the words of one of his slaves:

πολλάκις ὁ δοῦλος τούς τρόπους χρηστοὺς ἐχων
tῶν δεσπότων ἐγένετο σωφρονέστερος
ei δ’ ἡ τύχη τὸ σῶμα κυτεδολύσατο,
ἀν νοῦς ὑπάρχει τοῖς τρόποις ἐλεύθερος.

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