THE WOMAN LEAST MENTIONED[1]:
ETIQUETTE AND WOMEN'S NAMES

'And if I must make some mention of the virtue of those wives who will now be in widowhood, I will indicate all with a brief word of advice. To be no worse than your proper nature, is a great honour for you; and great honour is hers, whose reputation among males is least, whether for praise or for blame.'[2] Nobody who has read these words of Pericles—cold comfort, surely, for the Peloponnesian War widows—or other such expressions, which were commonplace in Athens,[3] will be surprised to find that the list of Athenian citizen women who are known to us from literature is rather short. Large areas of male culture were in fact entirely closed to women: the assembly, the lawcourts, the gymnasium, and even the normal daily social encounters of Athenian men, were not open to the direct participation of women. Fictional women, of course, play important roles in both tragedy and comedy; but those who actually lived tend to be known to us, if at all, from dedications or from tombstones.

In the orators, however, the situation is different. Although women could not themselves plead in court, there were many ways in which they might be connected with a suit, whether civil or criminal—the former especially because of the place they had in succession law: many a speaker's claim to an inheritance was based on the rights of a woman. And in fact, women are mentioned quite often in the extant private orations; but for all that, only a handful are known to us by name. It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that this is not a matter of accident, but the result of a deliberate avoidance of women's names on the part of the orators.

The most obvious cases in which women's names are avoided occur when a speaker, for one reason or another, has occasion to name the members of her family. Thus, for example, one pleader starts from his grandfather: 'Aristarchus, gentlemen, was a man of Sypalettus. He married the daughter of Xenaenetus of Archarnae, who bore him Cyronides, and Demochares, and my mother, and another sister of theirs.'[4] There were four children; the speaker names only the males. His choice is not based on importance to the case: his rival was Cyronides' son, and he the son of one daughter; Demochares and the 'other sister' died while children.[5] Similarly, the speaker against Boeotus tells us that his mother bore to her first husband 'three daughters, and one son, Cleon';[6] neither the daughters nor the son have any particular relevance to the case at hand. Isocrates, writing for an Aeginetan court, shows the same reticence: 'After this he married a woman of Seriphus . . . who bore him Sopolis and Thrasylochus and a daughter

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[1] An earlier draft of this paper was read before the fourth convention of the Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies in Israel, 1 Dec. 1975.

[2] Thuc. 2.45.2.

[3] e.g. Hypereides (ed. Jensen) fr. 205, δεῖ τὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκπορευομένην ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει εἶναι τῆς ἡλικίας, ὥστε τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας πυνθάνεσθαι, μὴ τίνος ἐστὶ γυνή, ἀλλὰ τίνος μήτηρ, or Lys. 3.6,

τῆς τε ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν, αἳ οὕτω κοσμίως βεβιώκασιν ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὁρώμεναι αἰσχύνεσθαι. These represent an ideal, of course, not necessarily reality: cf. e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 4.15 1300[a] 4–7, adduced by G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *CR* 20 N.S. (1970), 278.

[4] Isaeus 10.4.

[5] Ibid.

[6] [Dem.] 40.6.

who is now married to me.'[1]

It would seem that this habit is more than mere brevity, for the women are sometimes identified further—but not by their own names. The speaker of Isaeus 5 goes to the trouble of mentioning all the women's husbands: 'Menexenus, our grandfather, had one son, Dicaeogenes, and four daughters, of whom one married Polyaratus, my father; another Democles of Phrearri; the next Cephisophon of Paeania; and the fourth married Theopompus, the father of Cephisodotus.'[2] And another speaker, who does not even mention their brothers' names, does the same: 'Now, the two brothers he had both died childless; and of his two sisters, one, who was married to Chaereas, had no male child after many years of marriage, while the other, who was married to this Phanostratus, had two sons.'[3]

Most interesting, perhaps, is Euxitheus, who is selective: 'My grandfather, gentlemen of Athens, my mother's father, was Damostratus of Melite. He had four children: by his first wife, a daughter, and a son whose name was Amytheon; and by his later wife, Chaerestrate, [he had] my mother and Timocrates.'[4] Chaerestrate, his grandmother, is named freely; but his aunt and mother are not. Some women, apparently, are more namable than others, a fact to which we shall return.

Now, it is hardly surprising that people do not customarily refer to their own wives and mothers by their given names; but occasionally the avoidance is too pronounced to be mere habit of speech. Mantitheus, suing to prevent his half-brother from calling himself by the same name, describes the confusion that will result if he loses his case, and there are two Athenians named Mantitheus, son of Mantias, of Thoricus:

τί δ', ἂν ἄλλη τις ἀρχὴ καθιστῇ λῃτουργεῖν, οἷον ἄρχων, βασιλεύς, ἀθλοθέται, τί σημεῖον ἔσται πότερον καθιστᾶσιν; προσπαραγράψουσι νὴ Δία, τὸν ἐκ Πλαγγόνος, ἂν σὲ γράφωσιν, ἂν δ' ἐμέ, τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς τοὔνομα. καὶ τίς ἤκουσε πώποτε;[5]

And what if some other official, such as the archon, the king, or the athlothetes, should appoint one of us to perform a liturgy—what indication will there be as to whom they are appointing? Surely they will add on the side, 'the son of Plangon' if it is you they are writing, and if it is me, my mother's name. Why, who has ever heard of such a thing?

He could readily have said, 'they will call each of us by his mother's name', or 'they will call you τὸν ἐκ Πλαγγόνος, and me τὸν ἐκ τῆς δεῖνος' (he never does reveal his own mother's name, so I cannot supply it here); that he chooses to name one and to avoid the other is not accidental.

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[1] Isoc. 19.9. Isaeus 8.7 makes considerable use of kinship terms (τὴν ἐμὴν τήθην οὖσαν ἀνεψίαν, ἐξ ἀδελφῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς [αὐτὴν] γεγενημένην ... τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα ... μιᾶς μόνης οὔσης αὐτῷ θυγατρὸς ... τὴν Διοκλέους ἀδελφήν) rather than mention the names involved; but as he calls his uncles, too, simply ὑεῖς δύο, he may just be trying to avoid burdening his hearers with too many names.

[2] Isaeus 5.5, cf. ibid. 9.

[3] Id. 6.6. Further on, the brothers' names are mentioned without the sisters' ('the children who really were born to him,

Philoctemon and Ergamenes and Hegemon and two daughters, and their mother, whom Euctemon married, the daughter of Meixiades of Cephisia,' ibid. 10). The speaker says that 'all their relatives, and their phrateres, and most of their demesmen' know them, but he does not for that reason name them.

[4] Dem. 57.37. In the next chapter he tells us the names of the aunt's husband and her son, but still not her own.

[5] Dem. 39.9. Cf. [Dem.] 40.27: ἀλλ' ἐκείνη (his own mother) μὲν ... ἡ δὲ τούτων μήτηρ Πλαγγὼν ...

Hiding the name of a woman who is essential to the case may occasionally demand great thoroughness. When Demosthenes sued Onetor, his object was to prove that the marriage between Demosthenes' guardian Aphobus and Onetor's sister was fictitious, part of a conspiracy to prevent Demosthenes from collecting the ten talents that Aphobus owed him. In order to prove his point, he has to mention the woman twenty-two times. Seven times she is ἡ ἀδελφή; thirteen times ἡ γυνή; once αὐτή, and once αὕτη.[1] By the end of the speech—for that matter, by the end of the second speech as well, in which she is mentioned twice more[2]—we still do not know her name. In Mantitheus' second speech against Boeotus, he mentions his mother seventeen times without speaking her name, though Plangon, Boeotus' mother, comes up by name no less than eight times in the speech.[3] In the case of the speech against Spudias, all the principals are women: after Polyeuctus' death, his wife managed the estate, and upon her death, his daughters (whose husbands were the speaker and Spudias) inherited. In a short speech, Spudias' wife is mentioned nine times; the speaker's, four times; both of them together, thrice; their mother, nine times. Twenty-five references in thirty paragraphs, and yet not one of them is mentioned by name.[4]

This hesitation about mentioning a woman's name in court was by no means a universal rule: the cases of Chaerestrate and Plangon have been mentioned, and the speaker of Demosthenes 59 shows no reticence about mentioning— indeed, harping on—the name of Neaera. But by far the most common way of referring to a woman in court was by mentioning the name of a male relative. A few examples will have to suffice: 'First of all Demochares, who is married to my mother's sister—Gylon's daughter—has not concealed his property . . .'[5] 'And when this had been done, Menecles looked for a wife for me, and said I ought to get married; and I took Philonides' daughter.'[6] 'As soon as I was about eighteen years old [my father] persuaded me to marry Euphemus' daughter, since he wanted to live to see children born to me.'[7] 'When he prosecuted Lacedaemonius' sister for impiety, he failed to receive a fifth of the votes.'[8] Particularly noteworthy is the case of the alleged sons of Euctemon: at their first appearance before the archon, says the speaker, when we asked τίς εἴη αὐτῶν μήτηρ καὶ ὅτου θυγάτηρ, they were unable to answer; but at their second appearance, before anyone asked, εὐθὺς ἔλεγον ὅτι Καλλίππη μήτηρ, αὕτη δ᾽ εἴη Πιστοξένου θυγάτηρ, ὡς ἐξαρκέσον εἰ ὄνομα μόνον πορίσαιντο τὸν Πιστόξενον.[9] The boys gave—as they were required to—the name of their alleged mother, and that of her father; but the speaker's comment is only, 'as if it were sufficient for them to supply Pistoxenus by name only'. The mere name of

[1] Dem. 30, *passim.*
[2] Id. 31.10, 11.
[3] [Dem.] 40, *passim.*
[4] Dem. 41, *passim.* That Spudias' wife's name was Cleiocrateia was revealed to us by a dedication discovered some years ago (*Hesperia* 6 (1937), 341). I omit from this section the numerous oblique mentions of Phile and her mother in Isaeus 3, because these are mostly ironical, designed to drive home the point that the women concerned were *not* really, as was claimed, a lawful

wife and her legitimate daughter: Isaeus insistently calls them such, just as Antony calls Brutus an honourable man, but he does not make any effort to hide the name of Phile, which is mentioned at the very beginning of the speech and three times thereafter (Is. 3.2, 30, 32, 60).
[5] Dem. 28.3.
[6] Is. 2.18, cf. ibid. 36.
[7] [Dem.] 40.12.
[8] Dem. 57.8.
[9] Is. 6.12–13.

Callippe does not, apparently, warrant his attention.[1] Once again, however, it is our friend Mantitheus who gives us the most striking example: 'Now my mother, gentlemen of the jury, was the daughter of Polyaratus of Cholargus, and the sister of Menexenus and Bathyllus and Periander. And as her father gave her in marriage to Cleomedon the son of Cleon . . .'[2] Six men and one deme to identify a single woman!

It is not only the number of such examples,[3] but their character, that shows us that the normal way to refer to a woman in court was to call her the relative of such-and-such a man. For these women are precisely those about whom there is nothing extraordinary; they are generally ordinary women of the citizen class, and there does not seem to be any particular reason why their names should be either displayed or hidden.

But there were other women for whom, apparently, no such rule applied. The most notable category consists of women of low reputation. Apollodorus, for one, felt no compunctions about referring to the prostitute Neaera by name, and usually with the contemptuous addition, Νέαιρα αὑτηί.[4] He mentions her daughter, about whom he makes similar allegations, by two names: παιδάριον μικρόν, ἣν τότε μὲν Στρυβήλην ἐκάλουν, νυνὶ δὲ Φανώ.[5] He tells us the name of the madam who taught Neaera her trade, and of seven girls who worked for her,[6] although the names of Neaera's associates, at least, have hardly any bearing on the case; and we learn as well the names of four of her servants, Thratta and Coccaline and Xennis and Drosis.[7] Other members of the same trade seem to have been Antigone the procuress,[8] perhaps the Aristagora whom Hypereides attacked,[9] and certainly the Phryne whom he defended.[10] Under the same heading, for slightly different reasons, may be included Theoris, τὴν Λημνίαν, τὴν φαρμακίδα, who was executed with her entire family,[11] and Ninos, a priestess who was executed for somewhat similar reasons.[12] Women of this sort could be named freely even when one was trying to arouse the judges' indignation on their behalf: 'And in addition to these matters, as if it were permissible for him to do anything at all, he seized securities from Sinope and Phanostrate—women who are whores, but still, they didn't owe taxes.'[13]

There are speakers who permit themselves to name freely women connected with their opponents, but show less candour about their own female relatives. The example of Mantitheus, who would mention his opponent's mother Plangon but not his own, has been noted above; the speaker of Isaeus 3 feels a similar

[1] This, at any rate, is the surface meaning. In fact, he singles out Pistoxenus because he cannot make such a statement about Callippe; the boys had provided some details about her, as he goes on to state. In his summation —by which time the details will have been forgotten—he says, οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴπῃ μητρὸς ὄνομα, γνήσιοί εἰσιν (ibid. 64).

[2] [Dem.] 40.6. Similar is Aeschines 2.152, where he says he has three children 'by Philodemus' daughter, the sister of Philon and Epicrates'.

[3] For more such, cf. Dem. 27.56 (the same at 29.48), 39.2, [Dem.] 59.12, 58, Is. 6.10, 22, 7.18, 8.19, 20, Lys. 19.14, 16 (but here the speaker has a point to make about the families), Andocides 1.124–5.

[4] [Dem.] 59, passim.
[5] Ibid. 50, cf. 121.
[6] Ibid. 19; cf. 116.
[7] Ibid. 120, cf. 35, 124.
[8] Hypereides 5 (ed. Jensen) 2, 4, 5, 34.
[9] Id. frs. 13–26.
[10] Id. frs. 171–80; Timandra, ibid. frs. 164–5, was similar. Of Glycera, ibid. fr. 121, Mika, ibid. fr. 125, and the freedwoman Demetria, ibid. fr. 99, nothing is known.
[11] Dem. 25.79.
[12] Ibid. 39.2, [Dem.] 40.9; cf. scholiast ad Dem. 19.281.
[13] Dem. 22.56; cf. 25.56 for a similar case.

freedom about Phile, the woman whose claims (and legitimacy) he is contesting.
During the reading of the list of Phaenippus' property, the speaker of [Dem.] 42
interrupts at the mention of Phaenippus' mother's dowry, and starts his comment
by telling us that αὕτη ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ Ἀριστονόη τοῦ Φιλοστράτου
θυγάτηρ, μήτηρ δὲ τουτουί.[1]

This use is probably closely connected with the first: though there is no actual
suggestion that the woman is disreputable, it does seem to be a usage which shows
something less than perfect respect on the speaker's part. Thus Andocides tells
us that Callias, who instigated the prosecution of Andocides, married 'the
daughter of Ischomachus', whom he presents as a decent woman scandalized by
what later went on; but her mother, who is presented in a different light (he
claims that she became Callias' mistress within a year of the wedding), is referred
to by name.[2] When Apollodorus mentions Phrastor's marriage to the alleged
prostitute Phano, he mentions the girl by name;[3] but when he describes the
divorce that followed and Phrastor's remarriage, he says, λαμβάνει γυναῖκα
ἀστὴν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, Σατύρου μὲν τοῦ Μελιτέως θυγατέρα γνησίαν, Διφίλου
δὲ ἀδελφήν. This woman, who has no connection with Neaera, is treated respect-
fully and her name omitted.[4] Callippe, whom the speaker's opponents in Isaeus 6
claimed was their mother, is mentioned by name;[5] the woman whom the speaker
himself admits that Euctemon threatened to marry is simply Δημοκράτους τοῦ
Ἀφιδναίου ἀδελφήν.[6] Similarly, the speaker of Isaeus 8 does not mention the
name of Diocles' sister—whom he admits was Ciron's lawful wife—though he does
have some unkind words about her truthfulness.[7] When Mantitheus quotes
Boeotus' claim, it was 'that he was [Mantias'] son by the daughter of Pamphilus':[8]
Boeotus, perhaps, had been more reticent than our speaker is elsewhere about his
mother's name. Even Mantitheus was willing to avoid it when putting on an air
of delicacy: 'But I, though I have had two-thirds of my property snatched from
me because of these men's mother, would nevertheless be ashamed to speak
disparagingly of her.'[9]

It is interesting to note, by the way, that this freedom with the names of one's
opponent's womenfolk does not occur in the authentic private orations of
Demosthenes: that orator, it would appear, was sufficiently polite to avoid
speaking disrespectfully of women even when their relatives had a suit against
his clients. Thus Spudias' wife, and Onetor's sister, always appear anonymously.[10]
Of the two speeches delivered by Mantitheus against Boeotus, the first, which was
written by Demosthenes, mentions Plangon by name only once; in the second

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[1] [Dem.] 42.27. It seems clear that of
the three identifications which we are
given—Aristonoe, Philostratus' daughter,
this man's mother—at least one, and
probably two, were not in the document
being read; and while it may be that
Phaenippus referred to his mother by her
father's name only, from the text before
us it would be just as possible that he
referred to her only by her own, or—
perhaps less likely, since the speaker has
to make a point of the fact—as his mother.

[2] Andocides 1.124, 125, 127.

[3] [Dem.] 59.50.

[4] Ibid. 58. Similarly, our speaker men-
tions the name of Lysias' hetaera,

Metaneira—he could hardly have omitted
it; she was one of the most famous such
women in Greece—but omits that of his
wife, 'the daughter of Brachyllus, and his
own niece' (ibid. 21–3).

[5] Isaeus 6.13–14, 16; the Alce whom
the speaker claims to have been the boys'
real mother belongs in the first category,
since he asserts that she was a prostitute
(ibid. 19, 20, 55).

[6] Ibid. 22.

[7] Id. 8.36

[8] Dem. 39.2.

[9] [Dem.] 40.48.

[10] Dem. 30, 31, 41, *passim*.

speech, which is not Demosthenic, her name is bandied about freely.[1] There was only one woman about whom Demosthenes permitted himself to speak in these terms—the mother of his rival Aeschines. 'And he made out his mother, very nobly, to be Glaucothea, when everybody knows she is called Empusa,[2] since she is willing to do anything';[3] in the same speech he calls his rival 'Aeschines, son of Glaucothea the drummer',[4] an allusion to her functions as a priestess. Against Aeschines, Demosthenes was ready to descend to the most personal of levels; and Aeschines replied in kind.[5]

There appear also to be speakers who are willing to refer after their deaths to women whom they probably would not have named during their lives. Aristodemus' son, in [Dem.] 44, in describing his family, mentions the names of his grandmother, great-grandmother, and great-great-aunt; there is no reason to believe that these women were still alive.[6] This, too, appears to be the reason why Euxitheus, as mentioned above, is willing to mention the name of his grandmother Chaerestrate but not that of his grandfather's first wife, nor that of his mother's aunt, whom he calls simply 'Chaerestrate's sister'.[7] Apollodorus does mention his mother by name once;[8] she is already dead at the time of this speech, but since he shows no shyness about hinting a while later that she committed adultery with her slave, and is even willing to bring witnesses to the fact in another speech,[9] perhaps she should come under the category of disreputable women—at least as far as the claims of Apollodorus, a particularly shameless specimen, go.

These three categories—women of shady reputation, women connected with the speaker's opponent, and dead women—cover almost all of the women mentioned by name in oratory; but there are cases in which women are mentioned who fit none of these classes. In each of these cases—there are three—the speaker has a particular interest in being (or appearing) as open and explicit as possible. The first of these is Andocides, who, in trying to demonstrate that he had nothing whatsoever to do with the profanation of the mysteries, goes to the trouble of naming each of the informants in the matter and exactly what each reported: as one of these was a woman, he mentions her, by name.[10] Andocides was on trial for his life; in only slightly less distress was Euxitheus, who was suing for citizenship, and who would be sold into slavery if he failed in his suit. He had to be as clear as possible about his ancestry: but in spite of this, he mentioned his mother only obliquely until he came to sum up his case. At that point, to make the matter as plain as possible, he began a mock *dokimasia* of himself:

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[1] Ibid. 39.9 (quoted above), [Dem.] 40.2, 8, 10, 11, 20, 27, 51, 61.

[2] A hobgoblin who could assume various forms.

[3] Dem. 18.130.

[4] Ibid. 284; cf. id. 19.281.

[5] Not, however, to the level of naming Demosthenes' mother, though he does impugn her citizen descent (Aeschines 3.171–2). He mentions Demosthenes' (allegedly barbarian) grandmother and her two daughters anonymously, but apologizes only for not naming his

maternal uncle: of the grandmother's two daughters, he says, συνῴκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὁτῳδήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχϑάνωμαι (ibid. 172).

[6] [Dem.] 44.9–10.

[7] Dem. 57.20–1, 37.

[8] Id. 45.74.

[9] Ibid. 84, [Dem.] 46.21. Not everybody was willing to mention dead women: the mother whose name Mantitheus so scrupulously avoids died when he was a child (id. 40.27).

[10] Andocides 1.16.

'Sir, who was your father?'
'Mine? Thoucritus.'
'And who testifies that they were his relatives?'
[At this point he lists the various witnesses he has brought.]
Now, hear what I have to say about my mother. My mother is Nicarete, daughter of
Damostratos of Melite. Which relatives of hers testify? First of all . . .[1]

Euxitheus was not being disrespectful of his mother; it was just that he had at all
costs to prove to the jurors that he had nothing to hide.

In a slightly different position was Sositheus, the speaker of [Dem.] 43. His
suit was simply an inheritance-case—about a large inheritance, to be sure, but he
was not about to lose his life or his freedom because of it. But the case was such
a complex one—in one of the trials surrounding this inheritance there were five
claimants and four voting urns[2]—that there was no hope of explaining matters
to the jury without being extraordinarily explicit; the more so as the opposition
denied the relationship of one of the women on whom Sositheus based his
claim.[3] Sositheus mentions all the names involved, including that of his own wife;
Theopompus, an earlier (successful) claimant on the other side of the same case,
had avoided naming the women.[4] Whether Sositheus was trying to make every-
thing as clear as possible by mentioning all names, or to swamp the jurors under
a profusion of names they could not possibly remember, is far from clear; the
speeches on each side of this case are, to say the least, less than straightforward.
What is clear for our purpose, however, is that Sositheus felt that the demands
of his case took precedence over any delicacy he may have felt about mentioning
women's names in court; he shows no trace of reticence about anyone.

To sum up: one had always known that Athenian men did not publicly discuss
the women of their family very much. What we have tried to demonstrate is that
even when they had to do so in a court of law, they avoided mentioning them *by
name*, unless it was absolutely necessary for the prosecution of the case. There
were, however, three main categories of exceptions, women whose names could
be mentioned freely: disreputable women, opposing women, and dead women.

Now the simplest explanation of this phenomenon would surely be to presume
that the Athenian woman, like the Roman, was practically devoid of a personal
name: that as a Roman woman was called by her family's *nomen*, the Athenian
woman—who had no family name as such—was referred to by the name of her
kyrios, the head of her household, whoever that might be. That this was not the
case, however, is apparent from practically every other source we have: in
comedy, in tragedy, in dedications, and on tombstones, women are regularly
referred to by their given names, and rarely if at all by the names of their fathers,
brothers, or husbands. It is clear that the orators are not calling the women by
their customary names, but avoiding them, when they tell us whom they married.

It might also have been possible to think of a sort of taboo—perhaps a fear of
exposing the women to the evil eye, or a simple feeling that it was indecent to
drag a woman's name into court—were the exceptions not of the sort to exclude
that. For a taboo is not easily waived because of the exigencies of a case; had it
really been scandalous to mention the name of a respectable woman in court,
neither Euxitheus nor Andocides would have helped their cases a bit by doing so.
If the practice outside the lawcourts showed us that the orators were avoiding

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[1] Dem. 57.67–8.

[2] [Dem.] 43.8–10.

[3] Ibid. 29.

[4] Is. 11.8, 9, 16, 17, 21, 30.

women's names within, the exceptions inside the courts show us that their doing so was a preference, not a rule.

The preference becomes understandable if we remember the role distinctions that were at the basis of Greek family life. This is not the place for a detailed discussion; but it is not disputed that the external affairs of the family—producing its income, managing its relationship with other families and with the state, defending it and the state—were the affair of the man, while the woman was expected, ideally, to occupy herself with internal matters: control of the household budget, management of the domestic servants, production and early care of the children.[1] In this structure, a woman had no place—or very little place— outside the family; but within the family, she was an important, and might even be a commanding, figure. 'A woman' was not somebody to respect; but somebody's mother—or sister, or wife, or daughter—that was another matter. The most respectful way to refer to a woman, therefore, was not to say what her name was, but to indicate whose wife, or daughter, or sister she was: for indeed, if she was a proper woman, the jurors would not be expected to know her, but would be expected to know her *kyrios*. In a lawcourt, where one's words and the impression they made were carefully weighed, the overwhelming tendency was to use this oblique form of reference; in everyday life there was no need for it, nor is there any indication that women ever referred to themselves in this way.[2]

This observation, of course, sheds some light on forms of etiquette current in Athens, and on the social reality behind them; but it also has an important implication for further scholarship. For as long as prosopography restricts itself to women whose names are known it is limited, as far as the orators are concerned, to women of particular sorts, and most of them not the most honourable. If we wish to learn about Athenian citizen women, we must take into account not only Plangon, but Mantitheus' mother, Democrates' sister, and Meixiades' daughter. We may, perhaps, find that we know more about them than we had thought.

Tel Aviv University   DAVID SCHAPS

[1] The most striking admission of the woman's importance in the home is in Xen. *Oec.* 3.12: Socrates is trying to persuade Critobulus of the necessity of educating one's wife, and he asks him, ἔστιν ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ τῶν σπουδαίων πλείω ἐπιτρέπεις ἢ τῇ γυναικί; to which Critobulus, who functions in this dialogue as the archetype of the man who gives little thought to women, answers, οὐδενί.

[2] It is worth noting that the avoidance of a woman's name might also indicate a form of contempt, or at least indifference,

if it were replaced with a different circumlocution. The case in [Dem.] 47 revolves around the question of why a certain servant-girl was not delivered for torture. The speaker is not showing particular respect for her when he refers to her forty-one times as ἡ ἄνθρωπος; a freedwoman who was (allegedly) killed by his opponents is referred to more affectionately as ἡ τιτθή (ibid. 55, 56, 58, 81) or ἡ γραῦς (ibid. 59, 62), but equally often she, too, is ἡ ἄνθρωπος (ibid. 62, 67 ter, 69, 70, 72).