

THE NURSE IN GREEK LIFE

By

SISTER MARY ROSARIA, M. A.

OF THE

SISTERS OF CHARITY, HALIFAX, N. S.

A DISSERTATION

*Submitted to the Catholic Sisters College of the Catholic
University of America in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy*

BOSTON

JUNE, 1917

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PREFACE

The frequent mention of the nurse in connection with the child and the family and the numerous descriptions of her in Greek art have suggested the investigation of Greek classical literature and the inscriptions with the purpose of ascertaining and presenting the position and characteristics of the nurse as a contribution to the private life of the Greeks. The subject here dealt with is viewed solely from the social standpoint, though the writer recognizes its value from the literary and psychological sides.

The scope of this study practically includes the whole range of Greek literature from Homer to Plutarch. A correct notion of the part played in Greek life by this character could not have been obtained from a narrower field. Certain phases of the nurse's life are discussed by Becker in his "Charicles" (Excursus to Scene I), and references to different aspects of the subject are found in Hermann's "Lehrbuch" (3rd. ed., pt. IV). Friedländer's "Sittengeschichte Roms" (5th. ed., I, p. 468ff.) was of special value in throwing light on some of the $\mu\upsilon\theta\acute{o}\iota$ of Chapter IV. Wherever the works of other modern authors dealing with Greek domestic life have been used, due credit will be given them.

SISTER MARY ROSARIA.

Feast of St. Joseph,
March 19, 1917.

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CHAPTER I TERMS USED FOR NURSE

Of the various terms employed in the literature to designate the nurse we shall speak only of four: τροφός, τιθήνη, μαῖα, and τίτθη. The first three are found in Homer^[1] and the Hymns^[2] with no apparent difference of meaning. τίτθη is of later origin and is used of a wet-nurse by Plato,^[3] Demosthenes,^[4] Aristotle,^[5] Antiphanes,^[6] Plutarch,^[7] Soranus.^[8] The ancient lexicographers generally bear out this meaning of the word. While Herodianus (I, 456, l. 2, Lentz), Hesychius and Photius give τροφός as a synonym for τίτθη, Suidas defines it more at length: τίτθαι, οὕτω καλοῦνται αἱ τοῖς τιθίοις καὶ τῷ γάλακτι τρέφουσαι τὰ παιδία. Eustathius^[9] calls wet-nurses τίτθαι, and those who have the care of children after weaning τιθηνοὶ and τροφοί: τίτθαι ... αἱ τοῦ ἑπιτηθίου παρέχουσαι ... τιθηνοὶ δέ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τροφοὶ ... αἱ τὸν ἄλλον φασί, πόνον μετὰ τὸν ἀπογαλακτισμὸν ἀναεχόμεναι. Pollux defines τίτθαι as αἱ θηλάζουσαι (II, 163) and again (III, 50) he says: τὴν δὲ θηλάζουσαν Εὐπόλις τίττην θηλάστριαν ὠνόμασε. Between τιθήνη and τίτθη he makes this distinction: ἡ δὲ τροφὸς τῆς κόρης, τιθήνη· καὶ ἡ γάλα παρέχουσα τίτθη (III, 41). However, a writer of the second century A. D. plainly referring to a wet-nurse, uses τίθηνη,

κοῦρος ὑπ' ἐκ μαζοῖο τιθήνης
χειλεσιν αὐτῆς ἐρύει λαροῦν γλάγος.^[10]

The Etymologicum Magnum refers τιθήνη to τιθόν: τιθήνας, τροφὸς παρα τὸ τιθόν. According to Brugmann^[11] τίτθη, τιθήνη, τίτθος are formed by reduplication beside θήλη, “mother’s breast.”

As to the word τροφός, Herodianus (I, 225, l. 11, Lentz) refers it to τρέφω. Hesychius^[12] contrasts it with θρέμμα, “nursling.” Pollux

(l. c.) seems to distinguish τροφός and μαῖα and to take the latter as meaning more strictly, “Ea quae lactat,” as Stephanus remarks in his Thesaurus.

Various meanings were attached to the word μαῖα. Besides its use as “mid-wife,” it was employed as a form of address in speaking to nurses:

εἰ δ’ ἄγε δὴ μοι, μαῖα φίλη.^[13]

μαῖα, θεῶν μεῖν δῶρα καὶ ἄχνύμενοι περ ἀνάγκη.^[14]

μαῖα, πάλιν μου κρύψον κεφαλάν.^[15]

The signification was even extended to embrace the true mother, as attested by Euripides, *Alcestis* 393, where the child says of its mother: μαῖα δὴ κάτω βέβακεν.

To distinguish accurately and sharply between the different words for nurse is not our present purpose. Doubtless the differences between them were not broad and clear even to the Greeks themselves. τροφός seems to be employed as the generic term, while τίθη is generally used for “wet-nurse” and τροφός and τιθήνη for “nursery-maid.”

CHAPTER II
SOCIAL STATUS OF THE NURSE

From Homer to Herodotus

The Homeric poems deal wholly with the life of the upper classes. Hence we do not get from them a complete picture of how all classes lived. Even for the aristocrat therein described, the habits of life were simple. Mothers nursed their own children: thus Hecuba speaks to her son, Hector:

Ἕκτορ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε τ' αἶδεο καὶ μ' ἐλέησον
αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζῶν ἐπέσχον.^[16]

Still, there is one instance which points to a different practice. Odysseus in addressing his old nurse Eurycleia says:

μαῖα, τίη μ' ἐθέλεις ὀλέσαι; συ δέ μ' ἔτρεφες αὐτήν
τῷ σῶ ἐπιμαζῶ.^[17]

The expression ἐπιμαζῶ here employed is used in another place of the relation between mother and child:

παῖς δέ οἱ ἦν ἐπιμαζῶ
νήπιος, ὅς που νῦν γε μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἴζει ἀριθμῶ.^[18]

However this may be, nurses were employed as the attendants of the children whom they amused and brought up as long as they remained in the house of the parents.

Whatever function she performed, the Homeric nurse was a slave, either a captive:

τὴν ποτ' Ἀλεῖρηθεν νέες ἤγαγον ἀμφιέλισσαι.^[19]

or purchased as an ordinary slave:

τὴν ποτε Λαέρτης πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἑοῖσι,
πρωθήβην ἔτ' ἐοῦσαν, ἑικοσάβοια δ' ἔδωκεν.^[20]

The Phrygian nurse of Hector's son may be taken as a model of the Greek nurse of an infant. Nothing is said as to her social standing, but we infer from her occupation^[21] that she was a slave.

The Phoenician woman, nurse to Eumaeus, gives us an instance of the nurse of an older child. She had been captured and sold as a slave to a master, whose hard bonds she feared:

ἀλλά μ' ἀνήρπαξαν Τάφιοι ληϊστορες ἄνδρες
ἀγρόθεν ἐρχομένην, πέρασαν δέ τε δεῦρ' ἀγαγόντες
τοῦδ' ἄνδρο' ς προ' ς δῶμαθ'· ὁ δ' ἄξιον ὤνον ἔδωκε.

μή τις ποτι` δῶμα γέροντι
ἐλθῶν ἐξείπη, ὁ δ' οἴσάμενος καταδήση
δεσμῶ ἐν ἀργαλέῳ, ὑμῖν δ' ἐπιφράσσετ' ὄλεθρον.^[22]

In striking contrast to this unfaithful slave is Eurycleia, the nurse of the grown son, whose rank is higher than that of the ordinary slave, for she had general supervision over the fifty female slaves of the household and assisted the mistress in teaching them:

πεντήκοντά τοί εἰσιν ἐνι` μεγάροισι γυναῖκες
δμωαί, τα` ς μὲν τ' ἔργα διδάξαμεν ἐργάζεσθαι,
εἴριά τε ζαίνειν καὶ ἰδουλοσύνην ἀνέχεσθαι.^[23]

It is she, too, who fills the important office of ταμίη.^[24] Indeed, she is treated as a member of the family, is the friend and confidante of the mistress who shows her great deference.^[25]

The nurse of the grown daughter is seen in Eurymedusa who had been a captive, the prize of King Alcinous.^[26]

Penelope's nurse, Eurynome, has much the same office as Eurycleia.^[27] Like her, she is a trusted slave devoted to her mistress.

In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, the duties which the goddess takes upon herself when she assumes the form of a nurse are identical with those performed by Eurycleia in the Odyssey:

καὶ κεν παῖδα νεογνο`ν ἐν ἀγκοίνησιν ἔχουσα
καλα`τιθηνοίμην, καὶ δῶματα τηρήσαιμι,
καὶ κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῶ θαλάμων εὐπῆκτων
δεσπόσουν, καὶ κ' ἔργα διδασκῆσαιμι γυναῖκας.^[28]

Still, she is not the slave of the people for whom she works, and is promised such compensation (θρεπτήρια) for her services as would make her an object of envy to the women of the household.^[29]

Aphrodite learned Anchises' language from her Trojan nurse:

γλῶσσαν δ' ὑμετέρην καὶ ἡμετέρην σάφα οἶδα·
Τρῶα ἔς γὰρ μεγάρω με τροφῶς τρέφεν, ἡ δὲ διαπρό-
σμικρῆν παῖδ' ἀτίταλλε φίλης παραμυθητρῶς ἐλοῦσα.^[30]

The nurse is probably a slave, for wherever slave-trading was known it must have been usual to employ a foreign nurse.

The historians naturally have but little occasion to speak of domestic life. Herodotus, however, introduces into his narrative not only political history, but also matters of purely social interest. Hence we are not surprised to find a nurse in his sixth book.^[31] This nurse is presumably a slave, for she receives the commands of the parents to show the child to no one.

In Tragedy.

The nurses of Tragedy are old women who have spent years in the service of their masters (παλαιοὶ ἢ οἴκων κτῆμα).^[32] Even after the child they had nursed had grown up, they were still retained in the household.^[33] There can be no doubt that like the nurses of Homer they were slaves.^[34] Medea's nurse is addressed as κτῆμα δεσποίνης^[35] and when speaking to the παιδαγωγός, she calls herself σύνδουλος.^[36] Then, too, the fall of the mistress involved that of the nurse, a calamity hinted at in Hippolytus:

οὐ δῆθ' ἔκοῦσά γ', ἐν δεῖ σοι λελείπομαι;^[37]

and in Medea:

χρηστοῖσι δούλοις ξυμφορὰ τὰ δεσποτῶν
κακῶς πίτνοντα, καὶ φρενῶν ἀνθάπτεται.^[38]

Hecuba, bewailing her fate, foresees that she who had once been Queen of Troy will be forced to become the nurse of children.^[39]

In Athens

But it was not only captives and slaves who nursed children. In the fourth century we find at Athens free women performing the office of nurse. Euxitelos in pleading against Eubolides answers the reproach they attach to his mother of having been a nurse. He says that his father had gone to the war, leaving his mother with two small children to support. Hence she was obliged to take Cleinias to nurse: αὐτὴ δ' οὐ σ' ἐν ἀπορίαις, ἠναγκάσθη τὸν Κλεινίαν τὸν τοῦ Κλειδίκου τιθεῖσθαι.^[40] He admits that it is a mean employment, but affirms that he can give the names of free-born women, who, like his mother, were compelled by stress of poverty to become nurses: καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἄστας γυναῖκας πολλὰς εὐρήσετε τιθεούσας.^[41]

In another Oration of Demosthenes, In Evergum, there is an instance of an old and poor nurse living with the man she had nursed as a child. The father of this person, in recompense for her care, had given her her freedom: καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τίθη τις ἐμοὶ γενομένη πρεσβυτέρα, ἄνθρωπος εὖνους καὶ πιστή, καὶ ἀφειμένη ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ.^[42] She married and on the death of her husband returned to her nursling, who received her all the more willingly inasmuch as he was about to leave home and was pleased to have such a sure companion for his wife. When Euvergus and his accomplices break into the house, they find the old woman seated at table with the mistress and children. The nurse, trying to conceal a vase in her dress, is seen by the robbers who fall upon her and beat her until she gives it up. Some days afterwards she dies from injuries received, but not before having been cared for by a doctor summoned especially for her.

No instance is given by Plato or Aristotle of the manumission of a nurse. The former, on the contrary, speaks of the δούλεια ἦθη τροφῶν.^[43]

The nurse of New Comedy is usually a slave; still she sometimes receives her freedom, as in the case of Moschio's nurse in the *Samia* of Menander:

τοῦ δε` Μοσχίωνος ἦν
τίτθη τις αὐτῆ πρεσβυτέρα, γεγονυῖ ἔμη`
θεράπαιν', ἐλευθέρα δε` νῦν.^[44]

“Though emancipated, she yet remained in the service of her former master,” her status being similar to that of the metic.^[45] We also have inscriptional evidence that women belonging to the metic class were employed as nurses who being free-born must have received wages: Ἀπολλοδώρου ἰσοτέλου θυγάτηρ Μέλιττα τίτθη.^[46]

Foreign Nurses

Though the Athenians had a natural repugnance to the severity of the Spartan discipline, still the aversion was not so intense but that some of the Lacedemonian customs found ready acceptance in Athens. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1281,^[47] makes it clear that the Athenians were “Spartan-mad.” For this reason, no doubt, Spartan women whose robust health was famed throughout Greece,^[48] were sought to inaugurate that regimen peculiar to the Spartan nurse. Hence Plutarch: Διοῖ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἔνιοι τοῖς τέκνοις Λακωνικὰς ἐωνοῦντο τιθάς,^[49] and he also records that Amycla, the nurse of Alcibiades was a Spartan: Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ καὶ τίθην, γένος Λάκαιναν, Ἀμύκλαν ὄνομα.^[50] The virtue of these Spartan women and the esteem in which they were generally held are attested to by a monument erected by Diogeitus to the nurse of his children. On it we find the following inscription:

Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει τίθην παιδίων Διογείτου ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου τῆν δὲ δικαιοτάτην.
Μαλίχα Κυθηρία.^[51]

But it was not only from Sparta that the Athenians obtained nurses for their children. We have an inscription from the monument of the Corinthian nurse Φάνιον.^[52] And there is an epigram of Callimachus on a Phrygian nurse whose master cared for her during her life-time, and when she was dead set up her statue, that posterity might see how the old woman received in full the thanks for her nurture.^[53] Thrace, too, furnished its share of types of nurses:

καὶ μὲν Ἀθευχαρίδα Θραῖσσα τροφὸς ἁμακαρίτις
ἀγχίθυρος ναίωισα, κατεύξατο καὶ λιτάνεσε
τὰν πομπὰν θάσασθαι.^[54]

Such was the honor in which they were held that one Cleita was considered worthy of a monument, as we learn from an epigram of Theocritus:

ὁ μίκκος τόδ' ἔτευξε τᾶ Θραῖσσα,

Μήδειος το μνᾶμ' ἐπι τᾶ ὀδῶ κήπέγραψε Κλείτας.^[55]

The fact that the Greeks employed foreign nurses may also be inferred from the essay, *De Liberis Educandis*, attributed to Plutarch, in which the author loudly inveighs against the practice of entrusting children to any nurse whatsoever. He insists on her being selected with the utmost care, laying down as a fundamental qualification that she be of the Greek race: ἄλλα τὰς γε τίθας καὶ τὰς τροφούς, οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα σπουδαίας, δοκιμαστέον ἐστί. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἤθεσιν Ἑλληνίδας.^[56] According to the same author these women received wages for their work: αἱ τίθαι δὲ καὶ αἱ τροφοὶ τὴν εὖνοιαν ὑποβολιμαίαν καὶ παρέγγραπτον ἔχουσιν, ἅτε μισθοῦ φιλοῦσαι.^[57]

Such was the social status of this Greek nurse, a picture necessarily composite since the details are drawn from so many sources; but from what has been said, it may be concluded that the nurse, though usually a slave, was sometimes manumitted, that a preference was frequently shown at Athens for the foreign-bred nurse and that on occasion free women resorted to nursing as a means of gaining a livelihood.

CHAPTER III

THE NURSE AND THE FAMILY

The helpless condition of infancy has always called for special offices to tide the child over the first years of life. These offices are performed either by mother or nurse. Among the Greeks, the nurse was a familiar figure in the household; and although our knowledge of Greek domestic life must necessarily be limited from the fact that the women's apartments are so persistently closed against us, nevertheless from side-lights furnished by our threefold source of information—the literature, the art and the inscriptions—we cannot help being impressed by the important place which the nurse held in the family.

Let us now turn to a more exact consideration of the various duties of the nurse in relation to the children, to the grown daughter, the grown son and lastly to the household. In this way we shall be led to a clearer conception of the general characteristics which marked the nurse's dealings with her charge.

DUTIES TO THE CHILD

Bathing

Among the principal duties incumbent on the nurse of an infant was the giving of the bath. That it was given immediately after birth, we infer from Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 309, where a child dies $\pi\rho\iota\ \nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \lambda\omicron\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \gamma\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \chi\upsilon\tau\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota\ \delta\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega$, and also from Plautus, *Amphitryo*, 1103: "Postquam peperit pueros lavere iussit nos." The heroine nymphs of Libya, acting as nurses, bathed Athena when she leaped in gleaming armor from the head of Zeus.^[58] Some nurses preferred pure water,^[59] others, like the Spartans, bathed the child in wine as a test of its strength, they being of the opinion that the weakly ones would faint, but the more vigorous would acquire firmness and hardness after a bath of this kind.^[60] On a vase portraying the life of Achilles one of the scenes shows the nurse giving the infant son of Thetis his first bath.^[61] The vessel in which this bath is given is mentioned by Pindar:

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \nu\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\ \text{Κλωθῶ}.$ ^[62]

Swaddling Clothes

Attic nurses wrapped the infant in swaddling clothes ($\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\alpha\nu\alpha$).^[63] As far as we can gather from the grave-reliefs these seem to have been long narrow strips of cloth bound like bandages around the child's body, which they completely covered from head to foot, leaving nothing but the face uncovered.^[64] White,^[65] purple,^[66] and saffron^[67] are mentioned as colors of these bands. The practice of swaddling children is alluded to by Hesiod,^[68] and frequent reference is made to it by the Tragedians.^[69] The Theban children given over to the state were swaddled.^[70] The nurse in the *Amphitryo* complained that Hercules was so large she could not swathe him.^[71] How long the children were kept thus bound we do not know; but we can hardly

suppose that it was until they had reached the age of two years, as Plato advises.^[72] The Spartan nurses dispensed with these bands, allowing the children to grow up unrestrained in limb and form.^[73] Exposed children were sometimes recognized by the swaddling clothes.^[74]

Food

The child was suckled either by mother^[75] or nurse.^[76] Naturally the practice of employing wet-nurses prevailed chiefly among well-to-do mothers.^[77] The author of the *De Liberis Educandis* counsels mothers to nurse their own children, and dilates on the advantages accruing therefrom; nevertheless he permits the employment of wet-nurses wherever the mothers cannot perform the duty themselves.^[78] Antiphanes considered the Scythians the wisest of men because they fed their children on mare's and cow's milk, and did not entrust them to nurses as did the Greeks.^[79] In the *Menaechmi* of Plautus distinction is made between "mater quae mammam dabat" and "mater quae pepererat,"^[80] and in the *Adelphi* of Terence the services of a nurse are secured for a courtesan.^[81] We have ample evidence from Demosthenes that this employment was resorted to by poor women as a means of livelihood during the hard times which followed the Peloponnesian War.^[82] We read besides that nurses were allowed to nurse but one child at a time.^[83] Plato refers to definite laws regarding the nurture of children,^[84] and speaks of the time when they were fed with milk: ἐκ νέων παίδων ἔτι ἐν γάλαξιν τρεφόμενοι.^[85] In the community of wives and children, he would have the mothers, from a feeling of humanity, assisted in the nurture of the children by wet-nurses: καὶ ἄλλας γάλα ἔχουσας ἐκπορίζοντες.^[86] Aristotle associates infantile maladies with the physical condition of the nurse: εἴωτε δὲ τὰ παιδία τὰ πλεῖστα σπασμοὶς ἐπιλαμβάνειν καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ εὐτραφέστερα καὶ γάλακτι χρώμενα πλείονα ἢ παχυτέρω καὶ τίτθαις εὐσάρκοις,^[87] and φύει δὲ πρῶτον τοὺς προσθίους, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοὺς ἄνωθεν πρότερον, τὰ δὲ τοὺς κάτωθεν. πάντα δὲ θᾶπτον φύουσιν, ὄσων αἱ τίτθαι θερμότερον ἔχουσι τὸ γάλα.^[88] He objects to the use of wine for young children,^[89] and deems it unsuitable for the nurses as well:

διο` τοῖς παιδίοις οὐ συμφέρουσιν οἱ οἴνοι, οὐδὲ ταῖς τίτθαις.^[90] Dion Chrysostom speaks of its use: ὡσπερ ὑπο` τίτθης γάλακτι καὶ οἴνω καὶ σιτίοις,^[91] but Hippocrates says: ἀμείνον εἶναι τοῖς παιδίοισιν το`ν οἶνον ὡς ὑδαρέστατον διδόναι.^[92] After being weaned,^[93] children were fed on milk,^[94] and honey.^[95] According to Athenaeus, young children thrive well on the juice of figs.^[96] They were also fed on morsels: “αἱ τα` παιδία ψωμίζουσι τροφοί.”^[97] The practice of first chewing the food before giving it to the child seems to have been usual, for we have several allusions to it. Democritus likens the orators to nurses αἱ το` ψώμισμα καταπίνουσαι, τῷ σιάλω τα` παιδία παραλείφουσι,^[98] and Sextus Empiricus has a similar statement: εἰκότως ταῖς τίτθαις, αἱ μικρο`ν τοῦ ψωμίματος τοῖς παιδίοις διδοῦσαι το` ὅλον καταπίνουσι.^[99] Nor did it escape the ridicule of Aristophanes who says:

καθ' ὡσπερ αἱ τίτθαι γε σιτίζεις κακῶς
μασώμενος γὰρ τῷ με`ν ὀλίγον ἐντίθης
αὐτὸ`ς δ' ἐκείνον τριπλάσιον κατέσπακας.^[100]

Athenaeus tells the absurd story of a man who had his nurse chew his food for him all his life: Σάγαριν το`ν Μαριανδυνὸν ὑπο` τοῦ τρυφῆς σιτεῖσθε με`ν μέχρι γήρωσ ἐκ τοῦ τῆς τίτθης στόματος, ἵνα μη` μασώμενος πονήσειεν.^[101]

The Child in the Nurse's Arms

In the beautiful idyllic scene of Iliad, vi, 389 ff., where Hector bids farewell to Andromache and his darling son, it is to the familiar arms of the nurse that the child turns when frightened by the glancing helm:

ἄψ δ' ὁ παι`ς προ`ς κόλπον εὐζώνιοιο τιθήνης
ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων.^[102]

In those arms he had been carried,^[103] and when tired out from his childish play there he had slept on a soft cushion satisfied with every comfort:

αὐτὰ`ρ ὄθ' ὕπνος ἔλοι, παύσαιτό τε νηπιαγεύων,

εὔδεσκ' ἐν λέκτροισιν, ἐν ἀγκαλίδεσσι τιθήνης,
εὐνήν ἐνι μαλακῇ, θαλέων ἐμπλησάμενος κῆρ.^[104]

In the *Odyssey*, too, the faithful Eurycleia is spoken of as carrying Odysseus and laying him in the arms of his grandsire, that the latter might choose for him a name.^[105] The author of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter puts these words into the mouth of the goddess-nurse:

καὶ κεν παῖδα νεογνὸν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἔχουσα
καλαῖ τιθηνοίμην.^[106]

The nurse in Herodotus carried the child each day to the temple of Helen.^[107] Iphigenia speaking of Orestes says that she left him at home a young child in the arms of his nurse:

ἔλιπον ἀγκάλαισι νεαρὸν τροφοῦ.^[108]

At the festival of the Amphidromia, it was the nurse who carried the child around the hearth,^[109] and in the Nurse-festival (τιθηνίδια) at Sparta, the nurses carried the male children to the temple of Artemis.^[110] We know that nurses walked the floor with fretful children in order to soothe them. A good instance of this is given in Menander's *Samia*, 26–30 (Capps), where an old nurse fondles a child to her heart's content, kissing it and calling it soft names, walking around with it until it is quieted. “The homeopathic cure of morbid ‘enthusiasm’ by means of music was, it may be incidentally observed, known to Plato. In a passage of the *Laws*,^[111] where he is laying down the rules for the management of infants, his advice is that infants should be kept in perpetual motion, and live as if they were always tossing at sea. He proceeds to compare the principle on which religious ecstasy is cured by a strain of impassioned music, with the method of nurses, who lull their babes to sleep not by silence but by singing, not by holding them quiet, but by rocking them in their arms.... An external agitation (κίνησις) is employed to calm and counteract an internal. But Plato recognized the principle only as it applied to music and to the useful art of nursing.”

This perpetual motion used by the nurse is referred to in the *Timaeus*,^[112] and Aristotle thinks “it is of advantage to have all the movements made (of the bodies of infants) that it is possible to have made in the case of creatures so young.”^[113] Plato lays down

regulations for the nurses to carry the children into the fields, to the temples, and on visits to their acquaintances until they are able to stand alone. He would have them carried until the end of the third year, lest their limbs should be distorted by standing on them too soon: και` δη` και` τα` ς τροφου` ς ἀναγκάζωμεν νόμω ζημιούντες τα` παιδία ἢ προ` ς ἀγρου` ς ἢ προ` ς ἱερα` ἢ προ` ς οἰκείους ἀεί πη φέρειν, μέχριπερ ἂν ἰκανῶς ἴστασθαι δυνατὰ γίνηται, και` τότε διευλαβουμένας, ἔτι νέων ὄντων μή πη βία ἐπεριδομένων στρέφεται τα` κῶλα ἐπιπονεῖν φερούσας, ἕως ἂν τριέτες ἀποτελεσθῆ το` γενόμενον;^[114] This is doubtless the reason why there is no mention made of a contrivance to keep the children's limbs straight like the "serperastra"^[115] in use among the Romans.^[116] The Greeks were careful to develop the body and to have it well-shapen. In the Pseudo-Plutarchian Essay, De Liberis Educandis, the writer thinks it necessary for the members of children to be shapen aright as soon as they are born: ὡσπερ γὰρ τα` μέλη τοῦ σώματος εὐθυ` ς ἀπο` γενέσεως πλάττειν τῶν τέκνων ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι.^[117] In the De Virtute, the author tells us that this is the work of the nurses: αἱ τίτθαι ταῖς χερσι` το` σῶμα πλάττουσι.^[118] Plato, speaking of the influence of stories on the minds of children, says that we must persuade the nurses and the mothers to form the souls of their children by these stories πολυ` μάλλον ἢ τα` σώματα ταῖς χερσι` ν.^[119] This practice continued down to the days of Galen as is shown from the following: τα` κῶλα διαπλάττουσι αἱ τροφοί` τῶν βρεφῶν ὡσπερ κήρινα.^[120]

Cradles

The nurse had various contrivances in which to place the children after they were lulled to sleep. We read that Alcmena cradled her children in a shield:

χάλκειον κατέθηκεν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα.^[121]

The scholiast on Callimachus, Jove, 48, alluding to this passage of Theocritus, says that military men were accustomed to place their children in shields after birth that they might become vigorous and strong. A specimen of a Greek cradle, that of the infant Hermes, a little two-handled basket shaped like a shoe, is seen on a vase.^[122]

The σκάφη, another kind of cradle, is mentioned as being instrumental in the ἀναγνώρισις of children: καὶ οἶνον ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ δια τῆς σκάφης.^[123] Children were also exposed in a σκάφη: ἐνθέμενος οὖν εἰς σκάφην τὰ βρέφη.^[124] Adrasteia, the nurse of Zeus, lulled him to sleep in a golden winnowing-fan:

Λίκνω ἐνὶ χρυσέω.^[125]

It was considered an omen of future wealth and prosperity to place children in these λίκνα.^[126] Bacchus is called λικνίτης,^[127] and is represented as carried in a λίκνον between a faun and a Bacchante.^[128] Hermes is conceived to have been cradled in the same manner.^[129] Another kind of cradle shown on a vase looks like a bed on rollers,^[130] and answers very well to the description given by Plutarch, *Fragm. in Hesiod*, 45: οἷά τισιν εὐκίνητα κλινίδια μεμηχάνηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν παιδίων εὐνήν. The rocking of the cradle is mentioned by Athenaeus: ἡ τροφὸς ... ἐτίθει αὐτὸ ἐν σκάφῃ ... ὅτε δεκλαίοι ... τὴν σκάφην ἐκίνει καὶ κατεκοίμιζεν αὐτό.^[131]

Amusements Furnished by the Nurse

It was natural for the nurse to amuse the children with the various kinds of toys in use in antiquity. Of these, both the literature and the art of Greece furnish many examples. We shall here consider only the toys which are mentioned in direct connection with the nurse. That the nurse sometimes made toys for the children, we learn from Apollonius Rhodius, *iii*, 131 ff., where the wonderful ball of Zeus τὸ οἰποίησε φίλη τροφὸς Ἀδράστεια is described. The shaking of rattles (κρόταλα) before children by the nurse is spoken of by Stobaeus,^[132] and Pollux has preserved a passage dealing with the same subject: τὸ κρόταλον καὶ τὸ σεῖστρον, ὧ καταβαυκαλῶσιν αἰτίθαι ψυχαγωγοῦσαι τὰ δυσπνοῦντα τῶν παιδίων.^[133] We have a vase-painting which portrays a nurse holding in her arms a child, while before its face she dandles a fruit.^[134] Plutarch's little daughter used to ask her nurse to give her dolls the breast.^[135] We learn from Plautus that the nurses took the children to the theatres:

Nutrix ...

Me spectatum tulerat per Dionysia.^[136]

And in the Poenulus, the nurses are bidden to refrain from bringing the children to that play.^[137] In Vitruvius' account of the origin of the Corinthian Capital, there is mention made of a Corinthian nurse who gathers in a basket the playthings which had served for the amusement of her nursling in life, in order to adorn the tomb with them after death.^[138]

General Care Over Children

To keep the child clean and to attend to all its wants were the principal occupations of the nurse. Cilissa recalls in touching terms the childhood of her dear nursling whose death she had just learned. She ran to him by night, at his least cry, anticipating all his wishes and foreseeing all his needs. Careful for the child's cleanliness, she washes its garments and its linen:

ὄν ἐξέθρεψα μητρόθεν δεδεγμένη,
καὶ νυκτιπλάγκτον ὀρθίων κελευμάτων
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μοχθήρ' ἀνωφέλητ' ἔμοι
τλάσῃ. τὸ μὴ φρονοῦν γὰρ ὡσπερ εἶ βότῳ
τρέφειν ἀνάγκη, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; τρόπῳ φρενός·
οὐ γὰρ τι φωνεῖ παῖς ἔτ' ὢν ἐν σπαργάνοις,
εἰ λιμοῦς ἢ δίψη τις, ἢ λιπουρία
ἔχει· νέα δὲ νηδυῶς αὐτάρκης τέκνων.
τούτων πρόμαντις οὔσα, πολλὰ δ', οἴομαι,
ψευθεῖσα παιδοῦς σπαργάνων φαιδρύντρια·
γναφευῶς τροφεύς τε ταῦτόν εἰχέτην τέλος.^[139]

With less vividness Moschio's nurse recalls the days of his infancy.

πρώην τοιοῦτον ὄντα Μοσχίων' ἐγώ,
αὐτόν ἐπιθνούμην ἀγαπῶσα, νῦν δ' ἔπει
παιδίον ἐκείνου γέγονεν.^[140]

Suidas suggests another duty in an anonymous passage: μειράκια, ταῖς τίθταις ἀπομύττειν ... ἀποπέμψατε, and the same thing is referred to in the first book of the Republic: περιορᾷ καὶ οὐκ

ἀπομύττει.^[141] After the children were washed and dressed by the nurses, they were brought to their mothers who took them up and played with them.^[142] This fondling of children is mentioned in Agamemnon:

πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις
νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν.^[143]

and in Orestes:

καὶ γὰρ μ' ἔθρεψε σμικρὸν ὄντα, πολλὰ δὲ
φιλήματ' ἐξέπλησε, τὸν Ἀγαμέμνωνος
παῖδ' ἀγκάλαισι περιφέρων.^[144]

That it was resorted to by the nurses, we gather from Samia, 29 ff., where we also learn that the nurse used pet names in speaking to the children. Aeschines says that Demosthenes acquired the nickname βάταλος from his nurse.^[145]

In learning to walk the children must have had many a tumble; but the nurse was always at hand to pick them up, and clean them, and tidy their dress and afterwards find fault with and correct them: καὶ γὰρ αἱ τίθται τοῖς παιδίοις πεσοῦσιν οὐ λοιδορησόμεναι προστρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἤγειραν καὶ κατέστειλαν, εἴθ' οὕτως ἐπιπλήττουσι καὶ κολάζουσι.^[146] Epictetus speaks of a nurse beating the stone which had caused a child to stumble.^[147] Philoctetes, miserably crawling along the ground to obtain food, likens himself to a child without its kind nurse:

τότ' ἂν εἰλυόμενος, παῖς ἄτερ ὡς φίλας τίθηνας.^[148]

Plato speaks of a method nurses had of finding out what children want. When anything is brought to an infant and he is silent, then he is supposed to be pleased, but when he weeps and cries out, then he is not pleased.^[149] Aristotle thinks that the crying of infants should not be restrained since it is conducive to their growth: συμφέρουσι γὰρ πρὸς αὔξησιν,^[150] but Plutarch in his De Cohibenda Ira says: ὅπερ οὖν αἱ τίθται πρὸς τὰ παιδιά λέγουσι “μηὲ κλαῖε καὶ λήψη” τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν οὐκ ἀχρήστως.^[151] By means of amulets and charms the nurses sedulously guarded the children against the pernicious influence of witchcraft and the evil eye. Demeter, in the

Homeric Hymn, promises the mother that no harm shall come to the child from witchcraft:

θρέψω, κοῦ μιν ἔολπα κακοφραδίησι τιθήνης
οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσιή δηλήσεται οὔθ' ὑποτάμνον.^[152]

The amulets were usually of a grotesque character that the sight being diverted to them should not make so strong an impression on the child.^[153] On the approach of a stranger, a nurse in charge of a sleeping infant would spit towards him as if to keep off from the child a possibly evil influence.^[154] Another charm against the evil eye is preserved by St. John Chrysostom: βόρβορον αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ λαμβάνουσαι τροφοὶ καὶ θεραπεινίδες καὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ χρίσασαι κατα τοῦ πετώπου τυποῦσι τοῦ παιδίου κἂν ἔρηται τις, τί βούλεται ὁ βόρβορος τι δεῖ ὁ πηλός; ὀφθαλμοῦν πονηροῦν ἀναστρέφει, φασί, καὶ βασκανίαν καὶ φθόνον.^[155]

At what age the children left the care of the nurses is not certain. Chrysippus allows three years to them,^[156] and according to Plato, the boys and girls were separated at six.^[157] It seems clear that the boys, at least, were sent early to school to keep them out of harm's way: ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ τίτθαι τοιάδε λέγουσι περὶ τῶν παιδίων ὡς ἀπιτέον αὐτοῖς ἐς διδασκάλου. καὶ γὰρ ἂν μηδέπω μαθεῖν ἀγαθὸν τι δύνωνται, ἀλλ' οὔν φαῦλον οὔδε ἔν ποιήσουσιν ἐκεῖ μένοντες.^[158]

The Nurse and the Grown Daughter

The tie between nurse and child might continue strong in later years. She often remained in the family as the attendant and sometimes as the confidante of the young maiden. Thus Nausicaa's old nurse lights her fire and prepares her evening meal:

ἦ οἱ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ εἴσω δόρπον ἐκόσμη.^[159]

The same nurse who had tended Phaedra as an infant remained in her service until the death of her mistress. Her devotion, introduced mainly as a dramatic expedient, is nevertheless lifelike. Indeed it is the blindness, even to precipitancy, of her love of Phaedra which must be held accountable for the method employed by her to cure

the distemper of her mistress. This she herself acknowledges in her answer to Phaedra:

ἔθρεψά σ' εὔνους τ' εἰμί· τῆς νόσου δέ σοι
ζητοῦσα φάρμαχ' ἠὔρον οὐχ ἀβουλόμην.
εἰ δ' εὔ γ' ἔπραξα, κάρτ' ἄν ἐν σοφοῖσιν ἦ·
προ`ς τα`ς τύχας γὰρ τα`ς φρένας κεκτήμεθα.^[160]

We read that the nurse accompanied the young maiden out of doors, guarded her well, looking askance at admirers who were attracted by the girl's beauty: "Thou old nurse of a loved one, why do you bark at me while approaching you, and harshly throw me into twice as many pains? For you are leading a very beautiful virgin in whose steps I am treading. See, how I am going along my own path. It is sweet merely to look upon her form. What grudging of eyes is there, thou wretched one! We look upon the forms of even the immortals...."^[161]

Still, she is sometimes the go-between in the maiden's love affairs, as in the tale of Acontius and Cydippe.^[162] So, too, the old nurse of Hero dries the tears of her love-sick charge and receives her confidence.^[163] The power and influence of Polyxo, the aged nurse of Hypsipyle, are evidenced by the fact of her being consulted in an affair of state.^[164] That these old nurses were wont to comfort and console their charges when grown up, we learn from the following:

ἤντε κούρη
οἴοθεν ἀσπασίως πολιτῆν τροφὸν ἀμφιπεσοῦσα
μύρεται.^[165]

The Nurse and the Grown Son

Outside of Homer, we do not find the nurse as actively engaged in duties towards the grown son as towards the daughter. Eurycleia continued her care of Telemachus until he came to man's estate. She accompanied him to his chamber, folded and smoothed his clothes, and having hung them up, carefully closed the door after her.^[166] She welcomed him as a son on his return from Pylos,^[167] and is sought by him as his faithful friend.^[168] She gently reproved him for having blamed his mother where there was no blame,^[169] yet she was anxious to see him established in his rights.^[170] She is the first to

recognize her old master and former nursling, Odysseus.^[171] On the recognition, he addresses her by the old name of his childhood, μάϊα, which Telemachus also uses.^[172]

The grief of Cilissa for Orestes shows that her love for him had endured beyond the nursery days.^[173] The unfortunate woodcutter in Callimachus' *Demeter*, who had offended the goddess, was bewailed by the nurse by whom he had been suckled.^[174] Moschio's nurse still retained loving thoughts of her dear child, Moschio, and was much interested in the son for the sake of the father.^[175] The old nurse in Demosthenes' *In Evergum* was welcomed by her former nursling as a safe companion for his wife during his absence, and his care of her after the robbery is an evidence of the esteem in which she was held.^[176] A further indication of the love and gratitude evinced by young men for the nurses of their childhood is shown in the relatively large number of monuments and epigrams dedicated to them.^[177]

The Nurse in the Household

When the nurse was not occupied with the child, she owed towards the household, duties which are specifically mentioned in Homer; but not so clearly defined in later authors. Thus the nurse of Eumaeus is engaged in washing when she is seduced by the pirates.^[178] Eurycleia is the mainstay of the house in Ithaca, having complete charge of the domestic arrangements. In the morning, she gives her directions for the day's work to the female slaves^[179] over whom she has joint supervision with the mistress.^[180] These, she taught how to perform the various works of the house—making beds, strewing couches, carding wool, setting tables and cleaning rooms. Besides, she is the stewardess of the household:

ἐν δε` γυνη` ταμίη νύκτας τε και` ἦμαρ
ἔσχ', ἢ πάντ' ἐφύλασσε νόου πολυιδρείησιν,
Εὐρύκλει', Ὡπος θυγάτηρ Πεισηνορίδαο.^[181]

and to her Telemachus applies for provisions for his journey.^[182] It is characteristic of her to keep the best wine against the homecoming of Odysseus.^[183]

Demeter enumerates the duties incumbent on a nurse in addition to her nursing cares:

οἷαι τε τροφοί εἰσι θεμιστοπόλων βασιλῆων
παίδων και` ταμίαι κατα` δώματα ἠχῆεντα.
... και` δώματα τηρήσαιμι,
καί κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῶ θαλάμων εὐπήκτων
δεσπόσυνον, και` κ' ἔργα διδασκῆσαιμι γυναῖκας.^[184]

They are substantially the same as those of Eurycleia.

So far as we can see, the nurse of Tragedy is occupied almost exclusively with the mistress. The nurse of Medea, however, affects a superior tone in speaking to the παιδαγωγός,^[185] and gives him directions concerning the children.^[186] In a similar way the nurse of Comedy seems to have authority over some of the servants.^[187]

General Characteristics of the Nurse

Instances of the love and devotedness of nurses are not wanting in the literature. From Homer down, we see the nurse as a kind mother lavishing love and affection on the child that she nursed. In the *Odyssey*, Eurycleia is represented as loving Telemachus more than did the other women:

και` ἔτρεφε τυτθο`ν ἔόντα.^[188]

and Penelope bears witness that Eurycleia had diligently nursed and tended Odysseus:

εὐ τρέφεν ἦδ' ἀτίταλλε.^[189]

Right willingly did the old nurse give her services to one who reminded her of her master. She is the first to recognize him by the scar he had received in his youth. Then

την δ' ἄμα χάρμα καὶ ἄλγος ἔλε φρένα, τῷ δέ οἱ ὄσσε
δακρυόφι πλησθεν, θαλερε δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή.^[190]

A picture of true devotedness is given by Herodotus,^[191] where a nurse takes an ugly child every day to the temple of Helen to implore the gift of beauty for her charge.

Stesichorus^[192] and Pindar^[193] assert that it was the nurse who saved Orestes from his mother after his father's murder. Aeschylus calls her Cilissa, and points her out to us as full of love and devotedness for the child.^[194] Such is the devotion of Medea's nurse for her mistress that the old παιδαγωγός is surprised to see her outside the place without Medea.^[195] The nurse in the Trachiniae shows real grief for the fate of her mistress,^[196] while Phaedra's nurse attributes her unwise action to excess of love,^[197] and Hypsipyle's nursling is as dear to her as her own child.^[198] Fidelity is the attribute which characterizes Aristophanes' πιστη τροφός.^[199] A good instance of the nurse's care for the child is given in Menander, where an old nurse, seeing a child crying and neglected, goes up to it and says: "My darling, and my precious, and where is Mama?" She then kisses it and walks about with it until it stops crying, when she says to herself, "Ah me, it seems but yesterday I was nursing that dear child, Moschio, and now that a child is born to him!" Then to a young girl who comes running in from outside: "Bathe the child, can't you? What is this? Is it because it is his father's wedding day that you have no care of the little one?"^[200]

Examples of tender attachment are also met with in real life. Demosthenes furnishes a typical illustration in Oration, xlvi. "I explained to the interpreters the attachment of the woman to our family, the cause of my having her in my house, and that she had lost her life in the defense of my property. She had no kind of family connection with me, except that she had been my nurse."

In contrast to these, we have but few instances of unkindness on the part of the nurse. However, the perversity of human nature is exemplified in the illustration Plutarch gives: "For nurses, who are often rubbing the dirt off their infants, sometimes tear the flesh and

put them to torture.”^[201] This contrary note is again struck in Stobaeus,^[202] where the lack of skill and teasing humor of some nurses is portrayed. The child is hungry, the nurse obliges it to sleep; it is thirsty, she gives it a bath; it is sleepy, she keeps it awake by shaking rattles in its ears. Aristophanes, too, does not spare those nurses who rob their nurslings of a part of their meal.^[203] Though the chattering^[204] and tipping propensities^[205] of the nurse are sometimes referred to, we do not read that they led her to neglect the child. In fact, neglect and unkindness to children are not characteristic of the Greek nurse as popularly conceived. Of this we have ample evidence from the number of metaphors employed in the literature wherein the nurse figures and always in a good sense. One’s fatherland is frequently called a nurse, since the care and nurture bestowed on a man by his country is like that given the child by the nurse. We read of the much-nourishing nurse, Greece (Ἑλλάδος ἀμητῆρα πολυθρέπτοιο τιθήνης);^[206] your motherland, most beloved nurse (γῆ τε μητρί, φιλτάτη τροφῶ;)^[207] this, thy country, nursed thee:

(οὔτ’ ἔννομ’ εἶπας οὔτε προσφιλεῖς πόλει
τῆδ’, ἢ σ’ ἔθρεψε, τήνδ’ ἀποστερῶν φάτιν;)^[208]

Apollo may love me as caring for his dear nurse, i. e. the island of Delos (Κύνθιος αἰνήσῃ με φίλης ἀλέγοντα τιθήνης),^[209] and many other examples. The dinner table is styled the nurse of life (βίου τιθήνη).^[210] The dove keeping the snake from her brood is an all-attentive nurse:

(δράκοντες ὡς τις τέκνων
ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαίων δυσσευνάτορας
πάντροφος πελειάς.)^[211]

The fountains are called the nurses of Bacchus, because the water being mingled with the wine increased the quantity of the wine.^[212]

Thus we find that in the performance of her fourfold office towards child, grown daughter, grown son, and household, the nurse exhibited a tender devotion towards the family in which she lived and especially towards the members of it who had been the former objects of her care.

CHAPTER IV NURSERY TALES AND LULLABIES

The importance of the nurse in Greek life may be judged from the fact that to her as well as to the mother was entrusted the early education of the child. Quintilian quoting Chrysippus, whose treatise on Greek education has unfortunately been lost, says: “Those advise better who like Chrysippus think that no part of a child’s life should be exempt from education. For Chrysippus, though he has allowed three years to the nurses, yet is of the opinion that the minds of children may be imbued with excellent instruction even by them.”^[213] The same author wishes nurses to be women of some knowledge. At any rate, they should be the best circumstances allow.^[214] If we can judge from Republic, 343 a, the nurse taught the children to distinguish between ordinary words: εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τίτθη σοι ἔστιν;... ὅτι τοῖ σε, ἔφη, κορυζῶντα περιορᾷ και οὐκ ἀπομύττει δεόμενον, ὅς γε αὐτῇ οὐδε πρόβατα οὐδε ποιμένα γινώσκεις.

The first lessons of the nurse were imparted by means of stories and songs, when children were not of an age to learn gymnastic. Of this Plato makes mention in the following passage: οὐ μανθάνεις, ἦν δ’ ἐγώ, ὅτι πρῶτον τοῖς παιδίοις μύθοις λεγόμενον; τοῦτο δέ που ὡς το ὄλον εἰπεῖν ψευδός, ἐνι δε και ἀληθῆ. πρότερον δε μύθοις προ ἔς τα παιδιά ἢ γυμνασίοις χρώμεθα.^[215] Furthermore, he would have mothers and nurses mould the minds of the children by means of these tales: πείσομεν τα ἔς τροφούς τε και μητέρας πλάττειν τα ἔς ψυχα ἔς αὐτῶν τοῖς μύθοις πόλυ μᾶλλον ἢ τα σώματα ταῖς χερσίν.^[216]

In ancient literature, however, we find only isolated traces of nursery tales which may perhaps be accounted for by the contempt with which the Greeks regarded this form of literature, an inference

drawn from Socrates' answer to Hippias: σοι χαίρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἅτε πολλὰ εἰδότε· καὶ χρῶνται ὥσπερ ταῖς πρεσβύτισιν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τὸ ἠδέως μυθολογεῖσθαι.^[217] More emphatic is his answer to Gorgias: τάχα δ' οὖν ταῦτα μῦθος σοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, ὥσπερ γραῶς· καὶ καταφρονεῖς αὐτῶν.^[218] In a similar strain writes Lucian: ἔτι σοι γραῶν μῦθοι τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστί.^[219] Disconnected as are the allusion to nursery tales and notwithstanding the contempt in which they were held, we have sufficient evidence to prove their existence and suggest their character.

Nurses had many ways of acting on the imaginations of their young charges in order to secure their obedience, to quiet them or put them in good humor. The choice of the tales depended on the nurse and on the intelligence of the children whom they nursed δια μυθολογίας,^[220] and quieted again by tales after they had beaten them: καθάπερ αἱ τίθαι τὰ παῖδια, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς πληγὰς ἐμβάλωσι παραμυθούμεναι καὶ χαριζόμεναι μῦθον αὐτοῖς ὕστερον διηγῆσαντο.^[221] This recounting of tales is also mentioned by Philostratus: καὶ καταμυθολογεῖ με ἢ τίθη χαριέντως.^[222]

As a substitute for the sandal, which according to Lucian^[223] was energetically applied, they sometimes told the children stories of an awe-inspiring character. The time-honored bogey was always in requisition to frighten them into good behavior, while there were tales of a pleasing character for the good children. These two classes of tales which we may designate as protreptic and apotropaic are clearly defined by Strabo in the following passage: τοῖς τε γὰρ παισὶ προσφέρομεν τοὺς ἠδεῖς μύθους εἰς προτροπὴν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δὲ τοὺς φοβερούς.^[224]

We shall first consider the apotropaic tales, or bogeys. Of these, the most frequently mentioned is Lamia who is so intimately connected with the domain of fable that Plutarch called Demetrius Μῦθος because the name of his mistress was Lamia: Δημοχάρης δὲ ὁ Σόλιος τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκάλει Μῦθον· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ Λαμίαν (Λάμιαν).^[225]

From Diodorus we learn that she was of Libya: τίς τοῦνομα ἐπονείδιστον βροτοῖς οὐκ οἶδε Λαμίας τῆς Λιβυστικῆς γένος.^[226] The Scholiast on Aristophanes, Peace, 758, says that she was a Libyan

woman with whom Zeus consorted, not without the knowledge of Hera, who being jealous, destroyed Lamia's children. When they were killed and she was overburdened, Lamia killed the children of others.^[227] Therefore, nurses called Lamia to them to frighten children. And the story is told how she by the counsel of Hera passed her life sleepless, so that day and night she was in continual pain, until Zeus taking pity on her made her eyes removable.^[228] Plutarch thus speaks of her in *De Curiositate*: νῦν δὲ ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ μύθῳ τῆν Λάμιαν λέγουσιν· οἴκοι μὲν ἄδειν τυφλήν, ἐν ἀγγείῳ τι τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἔχουσιν ἀποκειμένους ἔξω δὲ προιοῦσαν ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ βλέπειν. Her singing would attract children to her abode but they had a chance to escape when her eyes were ἐν ἀγγείῳ.^[229]

The fear which children had for the Lamia is referred to by Lucian in a passage where he is speaking of the stories told to children: μυθῖδια παίδων ψυχαὶς κηλεῖν δυνάμενα ἔτι τῆν Μορμῶν καὶ τῆν Λάμιαν δεδιότων.^[230] She was said to devour children alive. Whence Horace: "Neu pransae Lamia vivum puerum extrabat alvo."^[231] Philostratus represents her as a monster, possessing the blood-sucking reputation of the vampire.^[232] Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions her in a passage in which he is treating of the fables of earlier historians: Λαμίας τιναὶς ἱστοροῦντες ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ἐκ γῆς ἀνιεμένας, καὶ ναῖδας ἀμφιβίους ἐκ ταρτάρων ἐξιούσας καὶ διαπελάγους νηχομένας καὶ μιξόθερας, καὶ ταύτας εἰς ὀμίλιαν ἀνθρώποις συνερχομένας.^[233]

Lamia plays an important part in modern Greek nursery tales, where she is portrayed as a monster, hideous and deformed, hungry for human flesh, partaking of the nature of the Harpy, the Gorgon, and the Empusa.^[234] Belief in her is so common in Greece that Wachsmuth says when a child dies suddenly they say: τὸ παιδί τὸ ἔπνιξε ἡ Λάμια.^[235]

With Lamia, Strabo groups: Γοργῶν καὶ ὁ Ἐφιάλτης καὶ ἡ Μορμολύκη.^[236] That the hideous aspect of the Gorgon was used as a bugbear, may be gathered from Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 582, where Lammachus is bidden to take away his shield which has the Gorgon for a device: ἀπένεγκε μου τῆν μορμόνα. As if the speaker said: "Take away the representation of the Gorgon which strikes terror into me, as μορμῶ does into children." Mormolyke is called the nurse of Acheron, husband of Gorgyce by Sophron.^[237] The

significance of the name is derived from μορμολύκεια, the general term for “bogey” of which Plato, speaking of the fear of death, says: μη` δεδιέναι το` ν θάνατον, ὡσπερ τα` μορμολύκεια.^[238]

To the apotropaic nursery tales belong also the stories of Acco and Alphito which are classed together by Plutarch: τῆς Ἀκκοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀλφίτους δ' ὧν τα` παιδάρια τοῦ κακοσχολεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνείργουσιν.^[239] According to Hesychius the word Acco is etymologically connected with ἀσκός and ἀκκόρ, so that by Acco was originally meant a bugbear which carried off naughty children in a bag. In a similar manner Alphito, from ἄλφριτα is explained.

Another favorite of the nurses was Gello: δαίμων ἦν γυναῖκες τα` νεογνα` παιδία φασὶν ἄρπάζειν. (Hesychius.) Zenobius, iii, 3, explaining the proverb, Γελλῶ παιδοφιλωτέρα, says of her: Γελλῶ γάρ τις ἦν παρθένος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἄώρως ἐτελεύτησε, φασὶν οἱ Λέσβιοι αὐτῆς το` φάντασμα ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τα` παιδία, καὶ τοῦς τῶν ἄώρων θανάτους αὐτῇ ἀναπιθέασι. Μέμνηται ταύτης Σαπφώ.^[240] Hesychius also styles her εἶδωλον Ἐμπούσης. The Empusa here referred to is placed in the same category with Lamia and Mormolyke: ἡ χρηστὴ νύμφη μία τῶν Ἐμπουσῶν ἐστίν, ὡς Λαμίας τε καὶ μορμολοκίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἠγοῦνται.^[241] She possessed the property of assuming any form she pleased: “For they were travelling by a bright moonlight when the figure of an empusa or hobgoblin appeared to them that changed from one form into another until finally it vanished into nothing.”^[242] According to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, iii, 860, Hecate often sends out ghosts, the so-called Ἐκαταῖρα and often changes her form, wherefore she is called Empusa. Aeschines’ mother acquired the nickname Empusa ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν,^[243] according to the Scholiast πάντα τα` αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀνόσια.

Another bogey was the Strigla, the Roman Strix (Mod. Greek στρίγλαις), of which mention is made in a fragment of an ancient nursery song:

Στρίγγ' ἀποπομπεῖν νυκτιβόαν, στρίγγ' ἀπο` λαῶν,
ὄρνιν ἀνωνυμίαν ὠκυπόρους ἐπὶ νῆας.^[244]

The wolf had also its place in this literature, since its name was used in the same manner as the bugbears mentioned above:

Ἄγρικός ἠπειλήσε νηπίω τίτθη
κλαίοντι Ἰαῦσι· μή σε τῷ λύκῳ ῥίψω.[245]

A good example of the way in which children were frightened by these bogeys is given in Theocritus, where Praxinoe who wants to go out to the Adonis festival says to the child who runs after her crying:

οὐκ ἄξω τυ, τέκνον· Μορμῶ, δάκνει ἵππος·
δάκρυε, ὅσσα θέλεις· χῶλο `ν δ' οὐ δεῖ σε γένεσθαι.[246]

Another instance is given by Callimachus in the Hymn to Artemis, where he tells that when a mother in Olympus cannot get her daughter to obey her, she calls one of the Cyclopes, and the indefatigable Hermes appears immediately with his face smeared with soot to personate the Cyclops. Then the child hastens in fright to her mother and puts her head on her bosom:

ἀλλ' ὅτε κουράων τις ἀπειθέα μητέρι τεύχε,
μήτηρ με `ν Κύκλωπας ἔῃ ἐπι ` παιδι ` καλιστρεῖ,
Ἄργην, ἢ Στερόπην· ὁ δε ` δώματος ἐκ μυχάτιοι,
ἔρχεται Ἑρμείης σποδίη κεχρημένος αἴθῃ.
αὐτίκα τη `ν κούρην μορμύσσειται.[247]

The Scholion on this passage says: καταπληκτικὰ φοβερά. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῆς μορμοῦς τὰ βρέφη φοβούσης.[248] The μορμῶ here spoken of was a woman of horrible and monstrous aspect which Hesychius calls τὸ φόβητρον τοῖς παιδίοις. Xenophon likens the fear of the allies to that which young children have for μορμῶ: οἱ με `ν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὡς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῖντο τοῦ `ς πελταστα `ς, ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια.[249] Aristophanes also makes use of this word:

οὐδε `ν δέομεθ', ὦνθρωπε, τῆς σῆς μόρμονος.[250]
ὄφρῦς ἔχοντα καὶ `λόφους, δεῖν' ἄττα μορμορῶπα `.[251]
ὡς δη ` καταπιόμενός με. μορμῶ ` τοῦ θράσους.[252]

Such were the tales told by nurses to frighten children into good behavior. We cannot but think that these stories, although they secured obedience for the time being, must have had a deleterious effect on the children. This view is substantiated by a passage of Lucian: "If you do not want to fill these boys' heads with ghosts and

hobgoblins, postpone your grotesque horrors for a more suitable occasion. Have some mercy on the lads: do not accustom them to listen to a tangle of superstitious stuff that will cling to them for the rest of their lives and make them start at their own shadow.”^[253]

What the children naturally preferred to these threats were the stories told to put them to sleep or to amuse them—the protreptic tales. The nurses had a store of such tales, and γραῶν or τιθῶν μῦθοι have grown into a proverb.^[254]

The subject matter of these tales was the actions of the gods and heroes of mythology: γεγονω`ς αὐτο`ς ἐκ Διός τε καὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου ἀρχηγέτου θυγατρὸς· ἅπερ αἱ γραῖαι ἄδουσι.^[255] Hence the telling of them might have the greatest influence on the moral education of the children. Plato, therefore, enlarges on the care to be taken in their selection, so that the children might not receive immoral impressions and false ideas: ἄρ’ οὖν ῥαδίως οὕτω παρήσομεν τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας ὑπο`τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων μύθους πλασθέντας ἀκούειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὡς ἐπι`το πολὺ ἔναντίας δόξας ἐκείναις, ἅς ἐπειδα`ν τελεωθῶσιν, ἔχειν οἰησόμεθα δεῖν αὐτούς;^[256] He therefore establishes a censorship of the writers of fiction, and rejects even Hesiod and Homer: πρῶτον δη` ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπιστατητέον τοῖς μυθοποιοῖς, καὶ ὄν με`ν ἂν καλο`ν ποιήσωσιν, ἐγκριτέον, ὄν δ’ ἂν μὴ, ἀποκριτέον. τοὺς δ’ ἐγκριθέντας πείσομεν τα`ς τροφούς τε καὶ μητέρας λέγειν τοῖς παισὶ.^[257] As a matter of fact, all sins that men could commit were imputed to the gods by these poets.^[258]

The story of Zeus who thrust his father from the throne would teach children disloyalty to parents,^[259] while his amorous connections with goddesses and mortals could not but have a pernicious effect on young minds. Plutarch thinks nurses should be restrained in the selection of these tales: μη` τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους τοῖς παιδίοις λέγειν, ἵνα μη` τα`ς τούτων ψυχα`ς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνοίας καὶ διαφθορᾶς ἀνατίμπλασθαι συμβαίη,^[260] and Aristotle wishes to place these matters under the supervision of the Paedonomoi: καὶ περὶ λόγων τε καὶ μύθων ποίους τινὰς ἀκούειν δεῖ τοὺς τηλικούτους ἐπιμελε`ς ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὓς καλοῦσι παιδονόμους.^[261]

On the other hand, ancient mythology is so full of humor and imagination and so rich in amusing adventures, that many of these same stories might do excellent service to-day as nursery tales. For example, the story of the inventiveness of Hermes even in his cradle, the adventures of Odysseus, the labors of Hercules, and many others would furnish enjoyment to many a child.^[262]

Philostratus records that nurses made use of the tale of Theseus and Ariadne: ὅτι τῆν Ἀριάδην ὁ Θησεύς ἄδικα δρῶν κατέλιπεν ἐν Δία τῆ νήσω καθεύδουσα τάχαν, του και τίτθης διάκησας, σοφαι γὰρ ἐκεῖναι τα τοιαῦτα και δακρῦουσεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅταν ἐθελωσιν.^[263]

The magic rings which Timolous wishes for in Lucian, seem to have been borrowed from a nursery tale,^[264] and the story of the ring of Gyges, which rendered its wearer invisible, contains elements of the nursery tale.^[265] Stories told for comfort and consolation are alluded to by Euripides, where Amphitryon counsels Megara to tell tales to the children disturbed over their father's absence:

ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζε και δακρυρρούους τέκνων
πηγαὺς ἀφαίρει και παρευκήλαι λόγοις,
κλέπτουσα μύθοις ἀθλίνους κλοπαὺς ὅμως.^[266]

At the festival of the Oschophoria, the telling of old fables and tales to children was part of the ritual.^[267]

The style characteristic of modern nursery tales was in vogue in classical times, as we learn from Aristophanes where the first words of a tale correspond to our well-known "Once upon a time."

οὕτω ποτ' ἦν μῦς και γαλῆ.^[268]

The Scholiast commenting on this line says: προὺς τῆν συνήθειαν, ὅτι τὸν μῦθον προέταττον οὕτως, οἷον, ἦν οὕτω γέρων και γραῦς και Πλάτων ἐν Φαίδρω (237 B) ἦν οὕτω δη παῖς μάλλον δε μειρακίσκος· τούτω δ' ἦσαν ἐράσται πάνυ πολλοί. There is another instance in Lysistrata, where the semi-choruses, telling each other a little nursery tale begin:

οὕτως ἦν πότε
οὕτω^[269]

The purpose of all these tales is training to virtue, and is well expressed by the Scholiast on Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata*, i.e.: το ν μῦθον ἀξιοῦσι προσάγειν τοῖς νεοῖς ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ῥυθμίζειν δύναται.

We conclude that there was at Athens a store of popular tales for the amusement of children, many of which were attributed to Aesop whom Herodotus calls λογοποιός.^[270] The word λογοποιός seems to indicate that a prose version of his fables may have circulated in Athens in the time of Socrates.^[271] What is certain, however, is that these tales were very much enjoyed and that Socrates himself versified some of them.^[272] The so-called Aesopic tales began “Aesop said.”^[273] Other tales were classified as Libyan, Cyprian and Sybaritic, distinguishable by the opening words: “A man (or a woman) of Sybaris (or of Libya or of Cypris) said.”^[274] A further distinction between the fables of Aesop and those of Sybaris is that the latter were political and about men; the former, ethical and about animals.^[275] A Λιβυκοῦς μῦθος is mentioned by Dion Chrysostom employed to calm children after they had been chastised.^[276]

LULLABIES

Allied to the nursery tales are the lullabies of the nurses “aussi vieux que le monde et qui dureront autant que lui,”^[277] which Athenaeus calls καταβαυκαλήσεις: αἱ δὲ τῶν τιθενουσῶν ὡδαὶ καταβαυκαλήσεις ὀνομάζονται.^[278] They are also called βαυκαλήματα^[279] from βαυκαλάω “to lull to sleep” onomatopoeically formed from the nurse’s song. Plato refers to them in the Laws where he says that when mothers and nurses are desirous to put their children to sleep, they do not bring them to a state of quiet, but on the contrary of motion, καὶ οὐ σιγῆν, ἀλλὰ τινα μελωδίαν.^[280]

The following passage from Aristotle seems to indicate that they were simple melodies without words, sung to a certain rhythm: δια τί ρυθμῶ καὶ μέλει καὶ ὅλως ταῖς συμφωνίαις χαίρουσι πάντες; ἢ ὅτι ταῖς κατα φύσιν κινήσεσι χαίρομεν κατα φύσιν; σημεῖον δὲ τὸ τὰ παῖδια εὐθὺς γεγόμενα χαίρειν αὐτοῖς.^[281]

Chrysippus assigns a peculiar tune for the lullabies of nurses.^[282] Sextus Empiricus very appropriately styles them a metrical humming (ἐμμέλης μινύρισμα).^[283] It is probable also that to these melodies, the nurses adapted improvised words, as we do. This view is borne out by the fact that certain specimens exist which are imitations or elaborations of those really in use at the time they were written. The Lullaby of Alcmena in Theocritus is an instance:

εὐδετ' ἔμα βρέφεια γλυκεροῦν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον·
εὐδετ' ἔμα ψυχαῖ, δὴ ἀδελφεῶ, εὔσοα τέκνα·
ὄλβιοι εὐνάζοισθε, καὶ ὄλβιοι ἄω ἴκεσθαι.^[284]

The melody of these lines is beautiful; the crooning sound of the open vowels in the first two, the rounded refrain of the last, with its repeated ὄλβιοι and rhyming halves give it all the characteristics of a lullaby.^[285]

Not less beautiful are Simonides’ lines in the fragment called “The Lament of Danae.” While tossed about by the waves, she sings her child to sleep with these words:

κέλομαι εὔδε βρέφος, εὐδέτω, δε` πόντος,
εὐδέτω δ' ἀμέτερον κακόν.
μεταβολία δε` τι`ς φανείη Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο.
ὅττι δέ θαρσαλέον ἔπος
εὔχομαι και` νόσφι δίκας, συγγνωθί μοι.[286]

The spirit of rest which pervades the song of the chorus to the sorely-suffering Philoctetes suggests the lullaby:

ὔπν' ὀδύνας ἀδαη`ς, ὕπνε δ' ἀλγέων,
εὐαδε`ς ἡμῖν ἔλθοις,
εὐαίων, εὐαίων, ὦναξ·
ὄμμασι δ' ἀντίσχοις
τα`ν δ' αἴγλαν, ἃ τέταται τα`ν ὕν.[287]

Finally, we have another recollection of the nurse's song in Orestes:

πότνια, πότνια νύξ,
ὑπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυτόνων βροτῶν,
ἐρεβόθεν ἴθι, μόλε μόλε κατάπτερος
το`ν Ἀγαμεμόνιον ἐπι`δόμον.
ὑπο`γα`ρ ἀλγέων ὑπό τε συμφορᾶς
δ' διοιχόμεθ', οἰχόμεθα. κτύπον ἠγάγετ'· οὐχι`σῖγα
σῖγα φυλασσομένα στόματος
ἄνα κέλαδον ἀπο`λέχεος ἥ-
συχον ὕπνου χάριν παρέξεις, φίλα;[288]

These are but the traces of a class of songs, which without doubt were employed by the Greek mothers and nurses to lull the children to sleep. From the very nature of these songs, it is highly improbable that any lullaby should survive in the literature.

CHAPTER V

MONUMENTS TO THE NURSE

The relations between nurse and master were of that sacred character which cease not with death. Her sincere and tender affection was not only repaid during life by the master's solicitude for her well-being; but after death her memory was frequently perpetuated by the erection of monuments.

The unearthing of many of these has proved a fertile source of information concerning the nurse. Her name, sometimes her parentage, and even details of her life and virtues find expression in the sepulchral inscriptions.

The commonest form of grave-stone erected to the memory of the nurse is the "Stele", a horizontal grave-relief more or less ornamented, and usually representing the nurse seated, bidding farewell to her master or mistress. Conze in his *Die attischen Grabreliefs* describes several of these.

The nurse Melitta, daughter of Apollodorus, the metic, is honored by a monument erected by her master, Hippostrates, who is also represented on the relief. Beneath is the following inscription:

Ἐνθάδε τῆν χρηστὴν τίτθην καταγαῖαν καλύπτει
Ἱπποστράτης· καὶ νῦν ποθεῖ σε.
καὶ ζῶσάν σ' ἐφίλουν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ
οὔσαν καὶ καταγῆς, καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ.
οἶδα δὲ σοι ὅτι καὶ καταγῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν,
πρώτει σοι τιμαί, τίτθη, παραΦερσεφόνει
Πλούτονι τε κείνται.^[289]

This inscription bears witness to the virtues of the nurse and the fond relations which must have existed between her and her master, for having loved her during life, he yearns for her when she is no

more, and promises to honor her as long as he lives, thus uniting with those great honors which must necessarily be paid her in Hades, if there be there any honor paid the good.

The “Stele” of Malicha of Cytherea, the Spartan nurse of the children of Diogeitus, is engraved with an inscription bearing witness to her goodness:

Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει τίτθην παίδων
Διογείτου ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τήνδε δικαιοτάτην
Μαλίχα Κυθηρία.^[290]

The epithet χρηστή so often seen on the monuments finds place on those of nurses. Thus the combination τίτθη χρηστή,^[291] to which is sometimes added the name of the nurse, occurs: Παιδευσις τίτθη χρηστή,^[292] Πυρρίχη τροφὸς χρηστή.^[293] Sometimes the name of the nurse and the word τίτθη are found, as Δημητρία τίτθη,^[294] Χοιρίνη τίτθη,^[295] Φιλύρα τίτθη,^[296] and there are instances where the simple word τίτθη or τείτθη occurs.^[297] Then too, the name of the nurse’s country is sometimes mentioned in the inscription: Φάνιον Κορινθία τίτθη^[298] and also that of her nursling: Ῥωξάνη Ζωπύρου Αλειέως τίτθη.^[299] Βιότη Λύσωνος Ἀμαξαντέως τροφός.^[300] In these inscriptions τροφός is less frequently used for “nurse” than τίτθη.

Besides the monuments erected especially to nurses, we often find the nurse shown on the grave-relief of a mother in the act of handing the child to her for the last farewell,^[301] or holding in her arms a young child enveloped in swaddling clothes.^[302] The representation of the nurse in this connection is quite in keeping with her relations towards the family during the sad hours which preceded the burial. While the immediate members of the family were considered as the chief mourners, they did not look upon it as a condescension to allow the sympathetic heart of the nurse to unite its share of grief with theirs.^[303]

In addition to the sepulchral inscriptions mentioned above, we have literary evidence of the existence of other monuments in honor of nurses. Theocritus furnishes the following:

ὁ μικκοὺς τόδ’ ἔτευξε τὰ Θραϊσσα,
Μήδειος τοῦ μνᾶμ’ ἐπὶ τᾷ ὀδῶ κηλέγραψε Κλείτας
ἔξει τὰ ν᾽ χάριν ἅ γυναιᾶν ἀντιτῆνων

ὤν τοῦν κοῦρον ἔθρεψε. τί μάν; ἔτι χρησίμα καλεῖται.^[304]

The use of χρησίμα in the last line is in accordance with the custom referred to before.^[305]

Less complimentary to the nurse is the following selection from the Anthology, ascribed to Dioscuridus:

Τηῦν τίτθην Ἰέρων Σειληνίδα, τηῦν, ὅτι πίνοι
Ζωροῦν, ὑπ' οὔδεμιῆς θλιβουμένην κύλικος,
Ἀγρῶν ἐντοῦς ἔθηκεν, ἴν' ἡ φιλάκρητος ἐκείνη
Καὶ φθιμένη, ληνῶν γείτονα τύμβον ἔχη.^[306]

The unfortunate weakness of this nurse was made a subject of jest with the comic poets.^[307]

But more in keeping with the true character of the nurse is Callimachus' epigram, wherein he commemorates the goodness of the Phrygian nurse Aeschra, to whose memory her master set up her statue in token of gratitude for her nurture:

Τηῦν Φρυγίην Αἴσχρην, ἀγαθοῦν γάλα, πᾶσιν ἐν ἐσθλοῖς
Μίκκος καὶ ζωῦν οὔσαν ἐγηροκόμει,
Καὶ φθιμένην ἀνέθηκεν, ἐπ' ἐσσομένοισιν ὀρᾶσθαι,
Ἡ γρῆς μαστῶν ὡς ἀπέχει χάριτας.^[308]

Thus from the study of the inscriptions, as well as from the literature, we learn that the Greeks had for those devoted women who stood to them in place of mother, a tender attachment which often continued all through life; and even after the nurse's death they sought to give some expression to it by writing epitaphs and erecting monuments to their memory.

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VITA

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1. Od. ii, 361; xix, 15, 21, 489; ii, 349, 372; xvii, 499; Il. vi, 389; xxii, 503.

2. Hom. Hymn to Aphrod., 114; Dem., 103, 147, 227, 291.

3. Republic, 373C.

4. xlvii, 55, 56, 72.

5. H. A., vii, 12.

6. Athen., vi, 9.

7. Alc., 1, Lyc., 16.

8. Gynæcia, i, 87, 88.

9. Com. on Il., vi, p. 513.
10. Oppian, Halieutica. II, 404–5.
11. Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik, Strassburg, 1889, ii, S. 92.
12. Lexicon, s. v. τροφοί.
13. Od., xxiii, 171. Cf. xxiii, 35, 81, 11; xix, 482, 500, etc.
14. Homeric Hymn Dem., 147.
15. Euripides, Hipp., 243.
16. Il., xxii, 82. Cf. also xvi, 203 and Od., xi, 448.
17. Od., xix, 482.
18. *Ibid.*, xi, 448.

NOTE.—Seymour (Life in the Homeric Age, N. Y., 1914, p. 139), objects to this on the ground that “nothing indicates that she (Eurycleia) ever bore a child and could have served as a wet-nurse.” The words εὐνή δ’ οὐ ποτ’ ἔμικτο (Od. I, 433) merely show that Eurycleia was not the concubine of Laertes, and not that she was childless. Dolius, the slave, had a wife and family in the household of Laertes (Od. xxiv, 389). Moreover, if the apportioning of awards mentioned in Od., xxi, 214 (ἄξομαι ἀμφοτέροις ἀλόχους) were a matter of custom, would not the faithful Eurycleia have served as a very special prize? Cf. Buchholz, Die Hom. Realien, Leipzig, 1881, vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 24.

19. Od., vii, 9.
20. *Ibid.*, i, 430. Cf. also xv, 428.
21. Il., 389.
22. Od., xv, 427–444.
23. *Ibid.*, xxii, 421.
24. *Ibid.*, ii, 345.
25. *Ibid.*, xxiii, 24.
26. Od., vii, 10.
27. *Ibid.*, xx, 1–4.
28. Hom., Hymn to Dem., 141ff.
29. Hom., 166ff.
30. Hom., Hymn to Aphrod., 113ff.
31. Herodotus, vi, 61.
32. Euripides, Medea, 49.

33. Aeschylus, Cho., 750; Eur., Hipp., 698.
34. Eur., Hipp., 649.; And., 812.
35. *Ibid.*, Med., 49.
36. *Ibid.*, Med., 65: μή, προ`ς γενεΐου, κρύπτε σύνδουλον, σέθεν.
37. Hipp., 324.
38. Med., 54.
39. Troades, 195ff.
40. Dem., lvii, 42.
41. *Ibid.*, lvii, 35.
42. *Ibid.*, xlvii, 35ff.
43. Plato, Laws, 790A.
44. Samia, 21ff.
45. Capps, Four Plays of Menander, Boston, 1910, pp. 15, 239.
46. C. I. A., ii, 2729.
47. ἐλακωνομάνουν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι τότε.
48. Aristoph., Lys. 80–1. Cf. also Xen., Rep. Lac., I, 4.
49. Lyc., 16.
50. Alc., 1.
51. C. I. A., ii., 3111.
52. C. I. A., ii, 3097.
53. Epigram liv.
54. Theocritus, *Ibid.*, ii, 70.
55. Theocritus, Epigram xx.
56. Pseudo-Plutarch, De Liberis Educandis, § 5.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Apollonius Rhodius, iv, 1309–10.
59. Callimachus, Jove, 15. Cf. also Soranus, I, xxviii, 81. For the practice of “dipping” the child, see Newman, “Politics of Aristotle,” Oxford, 1902, vol. 3, p. 481ff.
60. Plutarch, Lyc., 26.
61. Baumeister, Denkmäler. Leipzig, 1885, vol. I, p. 4.
62. Olymp. I, 40–1.

[63.](#) Hom. H. to Mer., 151, 237, 306; Apollod., III., 10. 2; Plaut. Truc. 13, Amph. 52.

[64.](#) Conze, Die Attischen Grabreliefs. Berlin 1893–, 405, 302, 276, Taf. lxiv, etc.

[65.](#) Hom. H. to Apollo, 121, 122.

[66.](#) Pind., Pyth., IV., 203: σπαργάνοις ἐν πορφυρέοις.

[67.](#) *Ibid.*, Nem., I., 58.

[68.](#) Theog., 485.

[69.](#) Cf. Aeschyl., Coeph., 529, 544; Eur., Ion, 32, 1351, 1598.

[70.](#) Aelian, Var. Hist., II, 7.

[71.](#) Plaut., Amphit., 1104.

[72.](#) Laws, 789E. In the third century A. D., the child was swaddled from forty to sixty days. Cf. Soranus, Gynæcia, ed. Rose, for this and other details of later usage.

[73.](#) Plut., *Op. Cit.*

[74.](#) Eurip., Ion, 1420ff.

[75.](#) Il., xxii, 83; xvi, 203; Od., xi, 448; Soph., Ajax, 849; Lysis, De Caed. Erat., 9.

[76.](#) Od., xix, 482; Dem., lvii, 42; Callim., Dem., 90, Ep. 54; Men., Sam., 32.

[77.](#) Eur., Hipp., 698, Cf. also Aul. Gel., 12, 5.

[78.](#) Pseudo-Plut., De. Lib. Ed., § 5.

[79.](#) Athen., vi, 9.

[80.](#) Menech., 19–21.

[81.](#) Adelphi, 979.

[82.](#) Dem., *Op. Cit.*

[83.](#) Geoponica, v. 13, 4.

[84.](#) Crito, 50D.

[85.](#) Laws, 887D.

[86.](#) Rep., 460D.

[87.](#) Hist. An., vii, 12.

[88.](#) Hist. An., vii, 10.

[89.](#) Pol., vii, 17.

[90.](#) De Somno., iii.

[91.](#) Orat., 4, 155R.

- [92](#). De Aere, Aquis, Locis., I, 542.
- [93](#). Athen., vi, 51.
- [94](#). Athen., xiii, 85. Cf. Arist., Pol., vii, 17.
- [95](#). Pindar, Olymp., vi, 45; Schol. Aristoph., Thesm., 506; Apoll., Rhod., iv., 1136; Callim., Jove, 40.
- [96](#). Athen., iii, 15.
- [97](#). Cf. also Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 18–19.
- [98](#). Aristotle, Rhet., iii, 4.
- [99](#). Adv. Math., ii, 42. Cf. also Theophr., Char., 20.
- [100](#). Aristoph., Knights, 716. Cf. also Plut., Rom., 2.
- [101](#). Athen., xii, 40.
- [102](#). Il., vi, 467.
- [103](#). *Ibid.*, vi, 389, 400.
- [104](#). Il., xxii, 503ff.
- [105](#). Od., xix, 401.
- [106](#). Hom. H. to Dem., 141.
- [107](#). Herod., vi, 61.
- [108](#). Eur., Iph. in Taur., 835.
- [109](#). Eurip., Electra, 1125ff.
- [110](#). Athen., iv, 16.
- [111](#). Laws, 789E.
- [112](#). Plato, Timaeus, 52D.
- [113](#). Pol., vii, 17.
- [114](#). Laws, 789E.
- [115](#). Varro, Ling. Lat., ix, 5.
- [116](#). Cf. also Aristotle, Pol., vii, 17.
- [117](#). § 5.
- [118](#). Plut., De Virtute, § 2.
- [119](#). Rep., 377C.
- [120](#). Galen, De Temperamentis, ii, 578.
- [121](#). Theoc., Idylls, xxiv., 10.

1. [122](#). Panofka, T. *Manners and Customs of the Greeks*. London, 1849, Plate xi,
- [123](#). Arist., *Poetics*, 16.
- [124](#). Plut., *Rom.*, 3. Cf. also Eur., *Ion*, 1398.
- [125](#). Callimachus, *Jove*, 48.
- [126](#). Schol. on Cal., *Jove*, 48. Etym. Mag. s. v. λείκνον.
- [127](#). Hesychius, s. v. λικνίτης.
- [128](#). Winckelmann, *Mon. Ined.*, Pl. 53.
- [129](#). Hom. *H.* to Hermes, 254.
- [130](#). Blümmer, H. *Leben und Sitten der Griechen*, Fig. 60.
- [131](#). Athen., xiii, 85.
- [132](#). Stobaeus, *Flor.*, 98, 72.
- [133](#). Pollux, *Onomasticon*, ix, 27. Cf. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. vi, Lond., 1908, 852, fr. 1.
- [134](#). Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Taf. 8.
- [135](#). Plut., *Consol. ad. Ux.*, § 22.
- [136](#). *Curculio*, v, 2, 45.
- [137](#). *Poen.*, 29–30.
- [138](#). Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, iv, 1, 9.
- [139](#). Aeschylus, *Choe.*, 750ff.
- [140](#). Menander, *Samia*, 31–3. (Capps.)
- [141](#). Plato, *Rep.*, 343A.
- [142](#). Plut., *De Consol.*, § 6.
- [143](#). Aeschyl., *Ag.*, 723.
- [144](#). Eur., *Orestes*, 462ff.
- [145](#). Timarch., 139.
- [146](#). Plut., *De disc. amico ab adul.*, § 28.
- [147](#). Epict., *Diss.*, xix.
- [148](#). Soph., *Phil.*, 704.
- [149](#). *Laws*, 792A.
- [150](#). *Polit.*, vii., 17, 6.
- [151](#). § 10.

- [152.](#) Hom., Hymn to Dem., 227.
- [153.](#) Plut., Symp., v, 7, 3.
- [154.](#) Pliny, N. H., xxviii, 38.
- [155.](#) Ep. i. ad Cor., Hom., 12, 7.
- [156.](#) Quintilian, i, 1, 16.
- [157.](#) Laws, 794C.
- [158.](#) Lucian, Hermotim., 82.
- [159.](#) Od., vii., 13.
- [160.](#) Eur., Hipp., 698ff.
- [161.](#) Bruges, Greek Anthology, London, 1893, cxxxii.
- [162.](#) This tale was written by Callimachus in his Aetia. There is a prose résumé by Aristaenetus, Bk. I, Ep. 10. Cf. Ovid., Ep. 21.
- [163.](#) Ovid, Ep. 18.
- [164.](#) Apollonius Rhodius, I, 667ff.
- [165.](#) *Ibid.*, I., 269ff.
- [166.](#) Od., I., 427ff.
- [167.](#) *Ibid.*, xvii, 31ff.
- [168.](#) *Ibid.*, ii, 349ff.
- [169.](#) *Ibid.*, xx, 135.
- [170.](#) *Ibid.*, xix, 21ff.
- [171.](#) *Ibid.*, xix, 468.
- [172.](#) *Ibid.*, ii, 349, xix, 482.
- [173.](#) Aeschylus, Choe., *l. c.*
- [174.](#) Demeter, 90.
- [175.](#) Menander, Samia, *l. c.*
- [176.](#) Demosth., In Evergum, *l. c.*
- [177.](#) Cf. Chap. V.
- [178.](#) Od., xv, 420.
- [179.](#) Od., xx, 149.
- [180.](#) *Ibid.*, xxii, 420–5.
- [181.](#) *Ibid.*, ii, 345ff.
- [182.](#) *Ibid.*, ii, 349ff.

[183.](#) *Ibid.*, ii, 352.

[184.](#) Hom., H. to Demeter, 103–4; 142–4.

[185.](#) Eur., Medea, 60.

[186.](#) *Ibid.*, 90.

[187.](#) Menander, Samia, 40. (Capps.)

[188.](#) Od., I, 435.

[189.](#) Od., xix, 354.

[190.](#) *Ibid.*, xix, 471.

[191.](#) vi., 61.

[192.](#) Frag. 42. (Bergk.)

[193.](#) Pyth., xi, 28.

[194.](#) Choe., 738–82.

[195.](#) Medea, 52.

[196.](#) Soph., Trach., 871ff.

[197.](#) Hipp., 698.

[198.](#) The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, pt. VI, Euripides, Hyps., fr. 60.

[199.](#) M., ii, 1965.

[200.](#) Samia, 40ff. St. Paul instances the nurse as the exemplar of gentleness; but “nurse” here is usually interpreted “mother.” Cf. I. Thess., ii, 7. ὡς ἐὰν τροφὸς θάλῃ τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα.

- [201](#). De Vitiosa Pudore, § 2.
- [202](#). Florelegium, 98, 72.
- [203](#). Knights, 717.
- [204](#). M., iv, 89.
- [205](#). Men., Samia, 90; Terence, Andria, 229. Cf. also Legrand, Daos, Lyon, 1910, p. 132.
- [206](#). Anthologia Graeca, ed. Bosch, 1795. L. 5, T. 1, E. 66.
- [207](#). Aesch., Seven against Thebes, 16.
- [208](#). Soph., O. R., 322.
- [209](#). Call., Delos, 10.
- [210](#). Athen., x, 83.
- [211](#). Aesch., Seven against Thebes, 291.
- [212](#). Athen., xi, 13.
- [213](#). Quintilian, I. 1, 16.
- [214](#). *Ibid.*, I. 1, 4.
- [215](#). Plato, Rep., 377A.
- [216](#). Rep., 377C.
- [217](#). Plato, Hipp. Maj., 286A.
- [218](#). Gorgias, 527A. Cf. also Rep., 350E and Lysis, 205D.
- [219](#). Lucian, Philopseudes, 9.
- [220](#). Maximus Tyrius, I, x, 3. καθάπερ αἱ τιτθαί τους παῖδας δια μυθολογίας βαυκαλώσι.
- [221](#). Dion Chrysostom, 4, 164.
- [222](#). Philostr., Her., I, p. 668.
- [223](#). Lucian, Philops., 28.
- [224](#). Strabo, I, 2, 6.
- [225](#). Plutarch, Dem., 27.
- [226](#). xx, 41.
- [227](#). Scholia on Peace, 758.
- [228](#). *Ibid.* on Wasps, 1035.
- [229](#). Thucy..., 2.
- [230](#). Philops., 2.

[231](#). *Ars Poetica*, 340. Cf. A. W. Verrall, *Collected Studies in Greek and Latin Scholarship*, Cambridge 1913, p. 306.

[232](#). *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, 25.

[233](#). *De Thucy.*, *Jud.*, 6.

[234](#). Von Hahn, *Griech. und Alb. Märchen*.

[235](#). Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, Bonn, 1864, S. 57.

[236](#). *Geographica*, I, 19.

[237](#). Cf. Roscher, *Lexicon*, Leipzig 1884–. s. v. Gorgo.

[238](#). *Phaedo*, 77A. Cf. Lucian, *Philops.*, 23; *Tox.*, 24; *Zeus*, 12.

[239](#). *De Stoic. repugn.*, 15.

[240](#). Cf. Sappho, frag. 27 (Bergk).

[241](#). Philostratus, *Life of Apoll. Tyan.*, Bk. iv., c. 25.

[242](#). *Ibid.*, Bk. ii., c. 5.

[243](#). Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 270.

[244](#). Smythe, *Melic Poets*, p. 158. Cf. also Oliphant's learned article "The Story of the Strix: Ancient" in "Transactions of the Am. Philol. Asso.", Boston, 1913, vol. xlv.

[245](#). Aesop, *Babrius*, 49.

[246](#). *Idylls*, xv, 40.

[247](#). Callimachus, *Artem.*, 66ff.

[248](#). Scholion on Theocritus, *Idylls*, xv, 49.

[249](#). *Hellenica*, 4.

[250](#). *Peace*, 474.

[251](#). *Frogs*, 925.

[252](#). *Knights*, 693.

[253](#). Lucian, *Philop.*, 37 (Fowler's Translation).

[254](#). Plato, *Gorgias*, 527; *Hip. Maj.*, 286; Lucian, *Phil.*, 9.

[255](#). Plato, *Lysis*, 295D.

[256](#). *Ibid.*, *Rep.*, 377B.

[257](#). *Ibid.*, *Rep.*, 377D.

[258](#). Sextus Empiricus, *adv. Math.*, ix, 193.

[259](#). Cf. Aristoph., *Clouds*, 904; Plato, *Laws*, 886o.

- [260](#). Pseudo-Plut., De Lib. Ed., § 5.
- [261](#). Aristotle, Pol., vii, 17.
- [262](#). Cf. Kingsley's "Greek Heroes."
- [263](#). Philostr., Imag., i, 15.
- [264](#). Navigium, 42.
- [265](#). Plato, Rep., 359D.
- [266](#). Hercules Furens, 98ff.
- [267](#). Plut., Theseus, 23.
- [268](#). Wasps, 1182.
- [269](#). Aristoph., Lys., 781–793.
- [270](#). ii, 134.
- [271](#). Croiset, Hist. de la lit. grecque, Paris, 1898, vol. 2, p. 475.
- [272](#). Plato, Phaedo, 600D.
- [273](#). Theon, Progymn., 3.
- [274](#). Aristophanes, Wasps, 1427. Cf. also Hermog., Progymn., I.
- [275](#). Scholion on Aristoph., Wasps, 1259.
- [276](#). Dion Chrysostom, 4, 163R (Dindorf). Cf. also Schol. on Birds, 807.
- [277](#). Croiset, vol. II, p. 19.
- [278](#). Athenaeus, 618E.
- [279](#). Socraticorum Epistolae. Cf. also Hesychius.
- [280](#). Plato, Laws, 790E.
- [281](#). Problems, xix, 38.
- [282](#). Quintilian, I, 10, 32.
- [283](#). Adv. Math., 6, 32.
- [284](#). Idylls, xxiv, 6.
- [285](#). Cf. Cholmeley, Theocritus, London, 1901, p. 343.
- [286](#). Simonides, Fragment 37 (Bergk).
- [287](#). Sophocles, Philoctetes, 827ff.
- [288](#). Euripides, Orestes, 174ff.
- [289](#). C. I. A., ii, 2729. Cf. Conze, 340, Taf. lxxxiv.
- [290](#). *Ibid.*, ii, 3111.

- [291](#). *Ibid.*, ii, 4196, 4197.
- [292](#). *Ibid.*, ii, 5050.
- [293](#). *Ibid.*, ii, 4109.
- [294](#). *Ibid.*, ii, 3599.
- [295](#). *Ibid.*, iv, 4284b.
- [296](#). *Ibid.*, iii, 1458.
- [297](#). *Ibid.*, ii, 4195; iii, 3384; Kabbadia, 1027.
- [298](#). *Ibid.*, ii, 3097. Cf. also ii, 3111.
- [299](#). *Ibid.*, iii, 1457.
- [300](#). *Ibid.*, iv, 3553b.
- [301](#). Conze, 280, Taf. lxxv.
- [302](#). *Ibid.*, 276, 294, 306, 310, 380, 461, 471, 1143, etc.
- [303](#). Cf. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 1885–8, p. 238, Taf. 23.
- [304](#). Epigram xx. Cf. also Plut., *Thes.*, 20: καὶ τροφὸν μετ' αὐτῆς ὄνομα Κορκύνην ἧς δεικνυσθαι τάφον.
- [305](#). Cf. p. 63.
- [306](#). *Anthologia Pal.*, 456.
- [307](#). Cf. Menander, *Samia*, 90, Capps' note. Cf. Terence, *Andria* 229.
- [308](#). Callimachus, Epigram 54.

TRANSCRIBER'S NOTES

Corrections

Page or Footnote	Changed from	Changed to
5	τίθε, τιθένε	τίθη, τιθήνη
5	σκάφε	σκάφη
5	πιστε`	πιστη`
5	τίθε χρηστή— Name of Nurse Added—Her Master—Country —Simple Word τίθε	τίθη χρηστή—Name of Nurse Added— Her Master— Country—Simple Word τίθη
7	ἔτι δε` και` τροφοί ... αἱ το`ν ἄλλον φασί, πόνον μετα` το`ν ἀπογαλακτισμο`ν ἀνα εχόμεναι	ἔτι δε` και` τροφοί ... αἱ το`ν ἄλλον φασί, πόνον μετα` το`ν ἀπογαλακτισμο`ν ἀναδεχόμεναι
7	αύ`	αὔ
9	δε`	δέ
9	ἐθέλεις ὀλέσαι; συ` δέ μ` ἔτρεφες αὐτή	ἐθέλεις ὀλέσαι; συ` δέ μ` ἔτρεφες αὐτή
9	ἔμικτο	ἔμικτο
10	ἀργόθεν ἐρχονένην	ἀγρόθεν ἐρχομένην
10	ἐξείπη, ὁ δ` οἰσάμενος	ἐξείπη, ὁ δ` οἰσάμενος
10	τη`ν	τήν
10	ἀγγαλέω, ὑμῖν δ` ἐπιφράσσει`	ἀργαλέω, ὑμῖν δ` ἐπιφράσσει`
11	νεογο`ν	νεογο`ν
12	ἀνθαπτεται	ἀνθάπτεται
13	τροφων	τροφῶν
14	κατέχερ τίτην παιδίων Διογείτου ἐκ Πελοποννήσου	κατέχει τίτην παιδίων Διογείτου ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τη`ν δε` δικαιοτάτην

	την δε δικαιοσύνην	
<u>14</u>	καὶ μὲν Ἀθεχαρίδα	καὶ μὲν Ἀθευχαρίδα
<u>14</u>	ἐπὶ τῷ ὁδοῦ κηπέγραψε	ἐπὶ τῷ ὁδοῦ κήπέγραψε
<u>15</u>	τὰς	τὰς
<u>15</u>	Ἑλληνίδας	Ἑλληνίδας
<u>15</u>	ἄτε	ἄτε
<u>18</u>	ἐχούσας	ἐχούσας
<u>18</u>	εἶπτε δε τὰ παιδιά τα πλεῖστα σπασμοῦ ἐπιλαμβάνειν καὶ μᾶλλον τα εὐτραφέστρα	εἶπτε δε τὰ παιδιά τα πλεῖστα σπασμοῦ ἐπιλαμβάνειν καὶ μᾶλλον τα εὐτραφέστερα
<u>19</u>	μικρόν	μικρόν
<u>19</u>	ἐκείνον	ἐκείνον
<u>20</u>	παῖς	παῖς
<u>20</u>	εὐδεσκ'	εὐδεσκ'
<u>23</u>	οἶα	οἶα
<u>23</u>	σκάφη	σκάφη
<u>24</u>	ψευθεῖσα παιδοῦ σπαργάνων φαιδρύντρια- γναφεύς τροφεύς τε παύτο ν εἰχέτην	ψευθεῖσα παιδοῦ σπαργάνων φαιδρύντρια· γναφεύς τροφεύς τε ταύτο ν εἰχέτην
<u>25</u>	Βάταλος	βάταλος
<u>26</u>	καὶ	καὶ
<u>27</u>	της νόσου δέ σοι ζητοῦσα φάρμαχ' ἡῦρον αὐχ ἀβουλόμην. εἰ δ' εὖ γ' ἔπραξα	τῆς νόσου δέ σοι ζητοῦσα φάρμαχ' ἡῦρον οὐχ ἀβουλόμην. εἰ δ' εὖ γ' ἔπραξα
<u>30</u>	πλήσθην, θαλερε δε	πλήσθην, θαλερε δέ
<u>32</u>	φιλότατη	φιλότατη
<u>34</u>	εἶπή μοι, ἔφη, ὦ	εἶπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ

35	οὖν ταῦτα μῦθος σοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, ὡσπερ γραός· και	οὖν ταῦτα μῦθος σοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, ὡσπερ γραός· και`
36	ἔχουσαν	ἔχουσαν
36	ἔπι	ἔτι
37	ἐ	ἦ
37	ἦν	τῆν
37	Θάνατον	θάνατον
37	της	τῆς
37	παιδαφιλωέτρα	παιδοφιλωτέρα
37	αὐτης το` φάντασμα ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐπι` τα` παιδία, και` του`ς τῶν ἄωρων θανάτους αὐτῆ	αὐτῆς το` φάντασμα ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐπι` τα` παιδία, και` του`ς τῶν ἄωρων θανάτους αὐτῆ
38	στριγγ`	στρίγγ`
38	τω	τῷ
40	μυτέρας	μητέρας
41	κατελιπεν	κατέλιπεν
41	δακρυρρόους	δακρυρρόους
42	ρυθμίζειν	ρύθμίζειν
43	ἦ	ἦ
43	ρυθμῶ	ρύθμῳ
44	ιοιχόμεθ`	διοιχόμεθ`
46	δικαιστάτην	δικαιοτάτην
47	μικκός	μικκο`ς
47	ἔξει	ἔξει
47	Ἄργῶν	Ἄργῶν
47	Ἄισχρην	Ἄϊσχρην
[47]	ἐλακωνομάνουν	ἐλακωνομάνουν
[200]	θάλη	θάλη
[223]	Philips	Philops.
[228]	Waspa	Wasps
[238]	Philips	Philops.
[285]	Cholmey	Cholmeley
[304]	ἦς	ἦς

1. Silently corrected typographical errors and variations in spelling.
2. Archaic, non-standard, and uncertain spellings retained as printed.

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