

## Fragments of Menander and the Modern Stage

Kosmos Society

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### Menander:

1. *Hēros*.
2. *Theophoroumenē*.
3. *Aspis* 1-83.
4. *Dyskolos* 153-178, 271-287, 438-455.
5. *Leukadia* 10-16.
6. *Sikyonioi* 2-24.

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- ◇ *Fragmenta Comica* Project: <https://www.komfrag.uni-freiburg.de/>

### Productions:

- "Fragments": <https://www.potentialdifference.org.uk/productions/fragments>
- Warlikowski's *Apollonia* (2009):  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ha16H1m857g&t=79s&ab\\_channel=DominikSkrzypkowski](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ha16H1m857g&t=79s&ab_channel=DominikSkrzypkowski)  
(trailer: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cdiQqoeUWVM&ab\\_channel=NowyTeatr](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cdiQqoeUWVM&ab_channel=NowyTeatr) )

- Terzopoulos' *Epigoni* (2003-2004):  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5WLh14He0c&ab\\_channel=ElefsinaCulture](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5WLh14He0c&ab_channel=ElefsinaCulture)
- Gavrielides' *Samia* (2012-2013):  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N9wwp-nfQnA&ab\\_channel=THOCCyprus](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N9wwp-nfQnA&ab_channel=THOCCyprus)

*Poetae Comici Graeci, vol. vi.2*  
*Menander: Testimonia et Fragmenta apud scriptores servata*

*Achaioi/Peloponnēsioi*  
(‘*The Achaeans/The Peloponnesians*’)

**fr. 89 K.-A. (CGFP 113)**

ἀλλ’ ἐγύμνασ’ ἢ τύχη	But Tychē trained him
τοῦτον πένητα καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐν πόνοι[ς]	in poverty and humbleness through his sufferings
ἵν’ ἀναφέρῃ τὰ λαμπρὰ μεταβολῆς τυχῶν	in order to gain back his glorious (past) and have his fortune changed

*Boiōtia*  
(‘*The Girl from Boiotia*’)

**fr. 90 K.-A. (82 K.)**

οὐ δεῖ διαβολῆς καταφρονεῖν, οὐδ’ ἂν σφόδρ’ ἦ ψευδῆς. ἐπίσταντ’ ἀξάνειν αὐτήν τινες, δι’ οὓς φυλάττεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτ’ ὀρθῶς ἔχει	One should not underestimate the power of slander, not even if it is absolutely false. Because some people know very well how to enlarge the slander; it is important to guard yourself from such things as slander
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*Didymai*  
(‘*The Twin-Sisters*’)

**fr. 116 K.-A. (107 K.)**

Harp. P. 204,6 Dind. (μ 27 K.) = 198 μετοίκιον Μένανδρος δ’ ἐν Διδύμαις πρὸς ταῖς ἰβ’ δραχμαῖς καὶ τριώβολόν φησι τούτους (manumissos) τελεῖν, ἴσως τῶ τελώνῃ	Harp. P. 204,6 Dind. (μ 27 K.) = 198 Menander in the Twin-Sisters says that these (emancipated slaves) paid also three obols (a year) to the tax collector, besides the twelve drachmas that they were due [to be paid to the city]
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# MENANDER

VOLUME II

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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## INTRODUCTION

*Manuscript*

C = P. *Cairensis* 43227, part of a papyrus codex described more fully in the introduction to *Epitrepontes*. *Heros* seems to have been the second of the five or more plays originally contained in the codex.<sup>1</sup> Extant in C are a metrical hypothesis and cast-list to the play, its first 52 lines (some of them damaged), and a series of scraps (with text on both sides) which have been assembled to form three fragments, two of which certainly and the third possibly derive from a later stage in the play. First edition: G. Lefebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre* (Cairo 1907); the same editor's *Papyrus de Ménandre* (Cairo 1911), with a revised text, contains photographs, as does *The Cairo Codex of Menander* (*P.Cair. J.* 43227) (Institute of Classical Studies, London 1978).

Fragments 1–8 are definitely, and 9–10 doubtfully,

<sup>1</sup> This can easily be inferred from the fact that the sheet of papyrus containing the opening of the *Heros* is numbered κθ (= 29) on its first side and λ (= 30) on its second. Each extant side of C contains from 33 to 38 lines, averaging 35.75. Accordingly there was room before the *Heros* for one play of about 950 to 990 lines, prefaced perhaps, like the *Heros*, by a hypothesis and cast-list.

assigned quotations from a multitude of sources. See vol. I pp. xxiv–xxv.

This text, like the Bodmer codex of the *Dyskolos*, is prefaced by a 12-line metrical hypothesis and a list of characters arranged presumably in order of their appearance on the stage. Unlike the Bodmer codex, however, the Cairo papyrus does not add a didascalical notice (the *Heros* accordingly cannot be dated<sup>1</sup>), and its hypothesis is not foisted upon the Hellenistic scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium. The plot summaries that such verse hypotheses contain are often found to be inaccurate over details when these can be checked against completely preserved texts of tragedy or comedy, and there is at least one statement in the hypothesis of *Heros* that arouses suspicion. The man who reared the twins is said to have given them to their true father as a security for a loan (hyp. 3–4); this seems to be a distortion of the true facts, if Daos' version of the events (not admittedly a wholly accurate one,

<sup>1</sup> The text of the play fragments themselves provides no tangible clues to the date. A plausible supplementation at line 46 puts Gorgias on a visit to the island of Lemnos, and this probably rules out the period 314 to 306 B.C., when the island was lost to Athens. At line 30 there is a reference to a recent famine, but the comedy of Menander's age is so full of references to the high price of food and the consequent hardships of the poor that we are driven to assume that famine was a regular visitor to Attica between 324 and 291 B.C. The modern historian, however, is here hindered by the inadequacy of our ancient sources. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911), 50 f., 64 f. (Lemnos), 66 f. and 133 (famine), and Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1988), 154–164.

either!) in the first scene is to be believed. Daos says there that the foster-parent died seriously in debt to Daos' master, and the twins thereafter began to work off the debt as employees of the creditor.

Even so, judicious combination of the information provided by the *Heros* hypothesis with the cast-list and with the clues scattered about the dramatic fragments, particularly those of the expository opening scene, allows us a fairly clear picture of the antecedent events on which the plot is based, and a reasonable idea about the two major elements in the dénouement.

Eighteen years before the action of the play begins (cf. line 94), a man raped a woman, who then bore twins, a boy and a girl. The raper later married the woman without realising that she had previously been his victim. The cast-list enables us to identify the raper as Laches and his wife as Myrrhine (cf. also line 72). The twins were called Gorgias and Plangon (24–25); of them only Gorgias has a speaking part in the play. When they were still babies Myrrhine gave them to a freedman shepherd named Tibeios from the village of Ptelea, the scene of the play. This shepherd pretended that the twins were his own children (23 ff.), and this may have been what the twins themselves were brought up to believe. Tibeios eventually died, having got heavily in debt to Laches, his former master. When the play opens the twins are working for the creditor in order to pay off Tibeios' debt. The inaugural complication is caused by Plangon's situation. She in her turn has been raped by a young neighbour, identifiable from the cast-list as Pheidias, and she is pregnant. Daos, a slave in Laches' house, is in love with Plangon and

wishes to set up house with her.<sup>1</sup> Laches has given his consent, and only his temporary absence from Athens holds up the union between Gorgias' sister and Daos, who is willing to pretend that Plangon's expected child was fathered by himself. These plans appal Myrrhine, who was probably the only person in the house aware of the twins' relationship to her. Apparently, however, Myrrhine was as ignorant of the true identity of her own ravisher as she was of Plangon's (hyp. 9).

The hypothesis refers to the play's double dénouement (hyp. 10–12). Laches and Myrrhine discover that they are the joint parents of Gorgias and Plangon; and Plangon, now the acknowledged free daughter of Athenian citizens, is able to marry Pheidias.<sup>2</sup> Some brief passages

<sup>1</sup> So far as Daos knew, Plangon was the daughter of the freedman Tibeios, and the status of a freedman's children, especially those born before he was freed, was equivocal. When Daos says that Plangon was 'in a way' a slave (line 20: line 6 of the hypothesis is less subtle), he means simply that her status was not so different from his own that a settled relationship between them was unthinkable. Slaves were allowed to live together with members of their own class or with the children of freedmen in relationships which doubtless could last as long as those of formal marriage, but marriage itself was limited in Attica to free citizens. Cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, I (Oxford 1968), 21–29, 177, 184–186, and D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (London 1978), 87.

<sup>2</sup> Menander's comedy avoids sentimentality. Daos' infatuation for Plangon may have been handled very sympathetically in the play's opening scene, but Daos was a slave and Plangon the daughter of free Athenian citizens. Furthermore Pheidias, who had fathered Plangon's child, was a free (and probably wealthy) young Athenian. In a civilisation which valued property, citizen-

from the scene in which Laches and Myrrhine make their discovery appear to be preserved in a series of scraps from the Cairo codex, but they are tantalisingly mutilated, and in the absence of further evidence it would be unprofitable to speculate overmuch about the details of the dénouement or of the earlier plot structure. Daos may at one point have sought to justify to Myrrhine his love for Plangon (cf. fr. 2). The cast-list testifies to the appearance later in the play of two slaves named Sangarios and Sophrone. The latter name is elsewhere in comedy given to aged nurses (Men. *Epit.*; Terence, *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*; cf. [Aristaenetus], *Ep.* 1. 6), and if Sophrone had been the go-between at the time when Myrrhine disposed of her baby twins to Tibeios, her role in their subsequent recognition of their parents may have been important.

The cast-list contains one further name of interest. After the opening scene between Getas and Daos, the exposition was apparently continued in a prologue speech delivered by the play's title figure, the 'guardian spirit' of my translation. These spirits, or 'heroes' as they are often called, played an important part in Greek popular religion.<sup>1</sup> They came half way between gods and

ship, and formal marriage between free-born citizens, the only conventionally acceptable resolution of the plot would be a wedding between Pheidias and Plangon.

<sup>1</sup> The standard account is L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921, reprinted 1970). Cf. also M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York 1940), 18–21, W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (London 1950), 231–235, and Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (transl. J. Raffan, Oxford 1985), 203–208.

humans. Many of them were the spirits of dead celebrities—real and fictional—who were believed to guide from their tombs the fortunes of cities, tribes, demes and individuals in public and private affairs. Such a spirit was aptly chosen to deliver the prologue in a comedy of this kind. None of the human figures possessed all the background information essential to the exposition. And one of the functions of these guardian heroes was that of helping men and women unhappily wounded by love.

[H]P[ΩΣ Μ]ΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

(Η ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ)

ἄρρην <τε> θῆλύ θ' ἅμα τεκούσα παρθένος  
 ἔδωκεν ἐπιτρόφῳ τρέφειν· εἶθ' ὕστερον  
 ἔγημε τὸν φθείραντα. ταῦτα δ' ὑπέθετο  
 ὁ τρέφων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγνοῶν. θεράπων δέ τις  
 5 ἐνέπεσεν εἰς ἔρωτα τῆς νεανίδος  
 ὁμόδουλον εἶναι διαλαβών. γείτων δέ τις  
 προηδικήκει μετὰ βίας τὴν μείρακα.  
 τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ θεράπων στρέφει  
 ἐβούλετ'· οὐκ εἰδυῖα δ' ἡ μήτηρ ἄγαν  
 10 ἐδυσχέραινε. καταφανῶν δὲ γενομένων  
 εὔρεν μὲν ὁ γέρων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίσας,  
 ὁ δ' ἠδίκηκῶς ἔλαβε τὴν κόρην θέλων.

Title and hypothesis taken from the Cairo papyrus.

Title Suppl. ed. pr.

Hypothesis 1 Corr. Wilamowitz: ἀρρεντεκουσαπαρθενοσθη-  
 λυθ'αμα C. 2 Corr. several: επιτροφω C.

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT BY MENANDER

(HYPOTHESIS)

A maiden bore twin babies, boy and girl.  
 She gave them to a guardian to rear,  
 And later married her seducer. Unawares  
 Their foster-father pawned them for a loan  
 To him.<sup>a</sup> A servant deemed the girl a slave  
 5 Like him, and fell in love with her. A neighbour  
 Had previously forced the maid. The servant  
 Desired to focus blame upon himself.  
 The mother didn't know the truth, and was  
 Exceedingly displeased. The facts came out.  
 10 The old man found and recognised his own.  
 The violator gladly took the girl.

<sup>a</sup> 'Him' must be the seducer mentioned in line 3. The statement appears to be inaccurate: see the introduction to *Heros*.



ΤΑ ΤΟΥΤ ΔΡΑΜ(ΑΤΟΣ) ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

Γέτας

Δᾶος

Ἡρώς θεός

Μυρρίνη

Φειδίας

Σωφρόνη

Σαγγάριος

Γοργίας

Δάχης

Cast-list, as it appears in the Cairo papyrus.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

presumably in order of speaking

Getas, a slave probably in Pheidias' household

Daos, a slave in Laches' household

The guardian spirit, a local divinity who spoke the  
prologue

Myrrhine, the wife of Laches

Pheidias, a young man, the ravisher of Gorgias'  
twin-sister

Sophrone, probably Myrrhine's old nurse

Sangarios, a slave probably in Laches' or Pheidias'  
household

Gorgias, the son of Myrrhine

Laches, an old man

The cast-list in the Cairo papyrus does not mention any mute characters, who in this play may have included Plangon, Gorgias' twin-sister. Nor does it refer to the chorus, who may have performed the customary entr'actes in the guise not of the conventional tipsy revellers, but of huntsmen from Athens (see on fr. 1, below).

## ΗΡΩΣ

(SCENE: *Ptelea*, a small but wealthy village whose precise location in Attica is still a little uncertain. It is most likely to have been about 2½ miles west-north-west of Athens in the Kephisos valley at the edge of the Aigaleos hills, less than half a mile north of the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis. A less likely site is on the other side of the Aigaleos hills, in the eastern part of the Thriasian plain.<sup>a</sup> A street in the village, backed by two houses; one belongs to Laches and his family, the other to Pheidias.)

### ΓΕΤΑΣ

κακόν τι, Δάέ, μοι δοκεῖς πεποηκέναι  
 παμμέγεθες· εἶτα προσδοκῶν ἀγωνιᾶς  
 μυλῶνα σαντῶ καὶ πέδας· εὐδηλος εἶ.  
 5 τί γὰρ σὺ κόπτεις τὴν κεφαλὴν οὕτω πυκνά;  
 τί τὰς τρίχας τίλλεις ἐπιστάς; τί στένεις;

In the apparatus to this play, those corrections and supplements whose author is not named were made by the ed. pr., G. LeFebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre* (Cairo 1907).

<sup>a</sup> Cf. J. S. Traill, *The Political Organisation of Attica* (*Hesperia*, Supp. Vol. 14, 1975), 49, and Eugene Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, 35 (1966), 280. Ernst Meyer's entry in *RE* xxiii (1959), 1478 f., now needs revising.

<sup>b</sup> The punishment that slaves feared most was that of being

## HEROS

(The Guardian Spirit)

(The play opens with a conversation between the two slaves *Getas* and *Daos*. *Daos* may have entered first, probably from *Laches*' house or by the entrance to the spectators' right which was conventionally assumed to lead to the city of Athens. *Daos* appears to be in great distress. A moment later *Getas* enters, probably by the entrance on the spectators' left, assumed to lead into the country. He is carrying a bundle of wood, which he puts down to talk to *Daos*.)

### GETAS

You look as if you've done a terrible  
 Crime, *Daos*! You're distressed. Expecting to  
 Be sent quern-pushing in leg irons<sup>pb</sup> Can't  
 Be doubted—otherwise, why smack your scalp  
 So much, why stand and tear your hair out, why  
 5 Whimper?

sent to work in a flour mill, where they had the laborious and monotonous task of pushing a saddle-quern backwards and forwards all day long, often with their feet fettered (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 15–19, Terence, *Phormio* 249). See L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1958), 34 ff. and 67.

## MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

οἴμοι.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τοιούτόν ἐστιν, ὦ πόνηρε σύ.

εἴτ' οὐκ ἐχρήν, κερμάτιον εἰ συνηγμένον  
 σοὶ τυγχάν]ει τι, τ[ο]ῦτ' ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τέως  
 εἰ συγκυκᾶς] τὰ κατὰ σεαυτὸν πράγματα;  
 10 φιλῶ σε, Δᾶε, καὶ σ]υνάχθομαί γέ σοι  
 εἰ προσδοκᾶς λυπ]ηρά.

ΔΑΟΣ

σὺ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι  
 ληρεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ συμπ]έπλεγμαι πράγματι  
 ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καὶ δι]έφθαρμαι, Γέτα.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

πῶς γάρ, κατάρατε;]

ΔΑΟΣ

μὴ καταρῶ, πρὸς &lt;τῶν&gt; θεῶν,

15 βέλτιστ', ἐρῶντι.]

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τί σὺ λέγεις; ἐρᾶς;

ΔΑΟΣ

ἐρῶ.

6 οἴμοι C. 8–15 A large tear has removed the opening 9 to 16 letters of these lines. Plausible supplementation is well-nigh impossible; the text printed here is merely *exempli gratia*, in order to provide the reader with a continuous text. 8 σοὶ τυγχάν]ει suppl. Körte. 9–10 Suppl. Arnott (in 10 after van

## HEROS

ΔΑΟΣ

Oh dear!

ΓΕΤΑΣ

It's something like that, you

Poor thing . . . So shouldn't you have given me  
 Your savings—any you've perhaps amassed,  
 [If you're mismanaging] your own affairs?  
 [I like you, Daos, and] I sympathise  
 [If] troubles [lie ahead].

10

ΔΑΟΣ

[Your drivelling]

Defeats me. Getas, I'm entangled in  
 Something [surprising—and] it's shattered me!

ΓΕΤΑΣ

[Damn you, how's that?]

ΔΑΟΣ

[Dear fellow], by the gods,

Don't damn [a lover]!

ΓΕΤΑΣ

(pricking up his ears)

What's that? You in love?

15

ΔΑΟΣ

I am.

Leeuwen, who suggested ἐπεὶ φιλῶ σε καὶ], and ed. pr., who suppl. σ]υνάχθομαι). 11 Suppl. van Herwerden. 12 λη-  
 ρεῖς suppl. Croiset, ἐγὼ γὰρ Sandbach (ἐγὼ δὲ van Leeuwen),  
 συμπ]έπλεγμαι Leo. 13 ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καὶ suppl. Sand-  
 bach, δι]έφθαρμαι Croiset. 14 Suppl. Körte. προσθεῶν C:  
 corr. Leo. 15 Suppl. van Leeuwen.

MENANDER

ΓΕΤΑΣ

πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων ὁ δεσπότης  
παρέχει. πονηρόν, Δᾶ· ὑπερδειπνεῖς ἴσως.

ΔΑΟΣ

πέπουθα τὴν ψυχὴν τι παιδίσκην ὀρών  
συντρεφομένην, ἄκακον, κατ' ἐμαυτόν, ᾧ Γέτα.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

20 δούλη 'στιν;

ΔΑΟΣ

οὕτως, ἡσυχῇ, τρόπον τινά.  
ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦν Τίβειος οἰκῶν ἐνθαδὶ  
Πτελέασι, γεγονώς οἰκέτης νέος ὢν ποτε.  
ἔγένετο τούτῳ δίδυμα ταῦτα παιδιά,  
ὡς ἔλεγε αὐτός, ἢ τε Πλαγγών, ἣς ἐρῶ—

ΓΕΤΑΣ

25 νῦν μανθάνω.

ΔΑΟΣ

—τὸ μεираκίον θ', ὁ Γοργίας.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ὁ τῶν προβατίων ἐνθάδ' ἐπιμελούμενος  
νυνὶ παρ' ὑμῖν;

16–17 Adesp. fr. 444 Kock 21 See Men. fr. 1075 Kock

16 πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων Choeroboscus, *Scholia in Theodosii Canones*, i. 293. 30 Hilgard: ]χοινικων C. 25–26 Change of speaker after Γοργίας indicated by ed. pr. (no dicolon is now visible in C at this point). 27 ὑμῖν Leo: ημιν C.

HEROS

ΓΕΤΑΣ

Your master's more than doubled your  
Grain ration.<sup>a</sup> That's bad, Daos. Overfed,  
Perhaps?

ΔΑΟΣ

My heart throbs when I see her. She  
Grew up with me, she's pure, and, Getas, she's  
My class!

ΓΕΤΑΣ

A slave?

ΔΑΟΣ

Yes—nearly . . . in a way.  
You see, there was a shepherd living here  
In Ptelea, he'd been a slave when young,  
Tibeios, who'd got these twin children—that's  
What he himself said—Plangon, she's the girl  
I worship, . . .

20

ΓΕΤΑΣ

Now I see!

ΔΑΟΣ

. . . and Gorgias,

25

The boy.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

The one you've now got here, in charge  
Of the sheep?

<sup>a</sup> Literally, 'Your master provides you with more than two *choinikes* (sc. of grain each day).' The normal ration that an Athenian master allowed his slave seems to have been much less than this—possibly only one *choinx* (= about one litre) a day. Compare also fr. 10 of *Heros*.

MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

οὗτος. ὦν ἤδη γέρων

ὁ Τίβειος ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τροφήν γε λαμβάνει  
τούτοις παρὰ τοῦμοῦ δεσπότου μνᾶν, καὶ πάλιν—  
30 λιμὸς γὰρ ἦν—μνᾶν· εἴτ' ἀπέσκλη.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τὴν τρίτην

ὥς οὐκ ἐπεδίδου τυχὸν ὁ δεσπότης ὁ σός.

ΔΑΟΣ

ἴσως. τελευτήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν προσλαβὼν  
ὁ Γοργίας τι κερμάτιον ἔθαψε καὶ  
35 τὰ νόμιμα ποιήσας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε  
ἐλθὼν ἀγαγὼν τε τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπιμένει  
τὸ χρέος ἀπεργαζόμενος.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἢ Πλαγγῶν δὲ τί;

ΔΑΟΣ

μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης ἐργάζεται  
ἔρια διακονεῖ τε.

31 Corr. Arnott: ἀπεδίδου C.

<sup>a</sup> 100 drachmas.

<sup>b</sup> The funeral took place before sunrise on the third day after death. The 'normal ceremonies' mentioned here would include the dinner in memory of the dead man directly after the funeral,

HEROS

ΔΑΟΣ

That's the man. When he grew old,  
Their father—this Tibeios—borrowed from  
My master for their keep one mina,<sup>a</sup> then  
Another. Life was hard. It killed him.

GETAS

When

30

Your master wouldn't lend him number three,  
Perhaps?

ΔΑΟΣ

Maybe. He died, and Gorgias  
Borrowed some more cash for the funeral,  
The normal ceremonies.<sup>b</sup> After that  
He came to us here with his sister, and  
35 He's stayed, while working off the debt.<sup>c</sup>

GETAS

And Plangon?

ΔΑΟΣ

She spins and weaves wool with my mistress, and  
Works as a servant.

a rite at the tomb on the ninth day after burial, and a further rite to mark the end of the period of mourning. See D. C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971), 142–161, and Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (London 1985), 21–27.

<sup>c</sup> Tibeios had presumably contracted to repay the loan by working for Laches without pay for a fixed time, and when he died before the stipulated amount of work had been completed, the duty of fulfilling the contract devolved on Gorgias and Plangon, who passed for his children. Cf. the Gomme-Sandbach *Commentary*, on *Heros* 36.

MENANDER

ΓΕΤΑΣ

παιδίσκη;

ΔΑΟΣ

πάνυ,

Γέτα—καταγελάς.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω.

ΔΑΟΣ

πάνυ, Γέτα,

40 ἐλευθέριος καὶ κοσμία.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τί οὖν σύ; τί

πράττεις ὑπὲρ σαντοῦ;

ΔΑΟΣ

λάβρα μὲν, Ἡράκλεις,

οὐδ' ἐγκεχείρηκ', ἀλλὰ τῶμῳ δεσπότη  
εἶρηχ', ὑπέσχηταί τ' ἐμοὶ σ[υνοικεῖν  
αὐτὴν διαλεχθεῖς πρὸς τ[ὸν ἀδελφόν.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

[λαμπρὸς εἶ.

43 Suppl. Croiset. 44 τ[ὸν ἀδελφόν suppl. ed. pr., (Γερ.)  
λαμπρὸς εἶ Wilamowitz.

<sup>a</sup> If the interpretation suggested here is correct (see *Classical*

HEROS

ΓΕΤΑΣ

(leering)

Serves you, does she?<sup>a</sup>

ΔΑΟΣ

(innocently)

Yes,

Getas. You're laughing!

ΓΕΤΑΣ

By Apollo, no I'm not!

ΔΑΟΣ

She's really decent, Getas, well-behaved.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

And you—

40

How are you pushing *your* claims?

ΔΑΟΣ

Heracles,

No monkey business—haven't even tried it! No,  
I told my master, and he's promised she  
[Can join] me, once he's seen [her brother].

ΓΕΤΑΣ

[You're]

[In clover!]

*Quarterly*, 18, 1968, 225–226), Getas makes a coarse pun here which is difficult to translate effectively. The word rendered by 'Serves you, does she?' is *παιδίσκη*, which often means simply 'a girl' (cf. line 18), but in current usage had become a euphemism first for a slave girl and then for a prostitute. Getas asks with apparent innocence, 'A girl?' Daos' immediate reaction, 'Yes', comes before he has had time to appreciate Daos' equivocation, and Getas bursts out laughing at the success of his verbal trick.

MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

45 τί λαμπρός; ἀποδημεί τρ[ίμηνος ἐπί τινα  
 πρῶξιν ἰδίαν εἰς Λῆμ[νον· ἄμφω δ' ἐλπίδος  
 ἐχόμεθα τῆς αὐτῆς [  
 σῶζοιτο.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

χρηστὸς [οὔτος

ΔΑΟΣ (?)

ὄνησις εἶη.

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

πολυπ[

50 φρονεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ κλι[  
 θύσαιμ' ἀνόνητο... [  
 52 ᾧ ξυλοφορῶ [

(Eight further shreds of the Cairo papyrus have been skilfully fitted together into three fragments with text on both sides: γθ, δεζ, and θη. Fragment γθ comes from the bottom of a page; it contains an address to a Myrrhine and a reference to a shepherd in two successive lines (here 72–73), and its subject matter suits what is known of the plot of the *Heros* very well. Its attribution to this play seems certain. Fragment δεζ can be assigned to the *Heros* with even greater confidence, for two of its broken

45 τρ[ίμηνος suppl. Sudhaus, ἐπί τινα Croenert, Leo.

46 Λῆμ[νον suppl. Croenert, Leo, ἄμφω Arnott, δ' ἐλπίδος Sonnenburg. 48 Suppl. Arnott (οὔτοςί Sudhaus).

HEROS

ΔΑΟΣ

Clover? He's away in Lem[nos] — 45  
 [Three months on] private business. [Both of us]  
 Cherish the same [hopes. My one prayer's for]  
 His safe [return].

ΓΕΤΑΣ

A good man, [Laches ]

ΔΑΟΣ (?)

I hope it's fruitful. [ ]

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

Much [

You're sensible. You see, I [  
 I'd sacrifice in vain [  
 For whom I carry wood [ 50  
 52

lines (76–77) tie with a quotation made from this play by Stobaeus (*Eclogae* 4. 40. 13 = fr. 211 Kock). The other side of δεζ (the verso or vertical-fibres side) contains the end of one act and the beginning of the next. Fragment θη, on the other hand, is a maverick; although editors of Menander print it alongside γθ and δεζ as part of the *Heros*, nothing in the few words preserved on it supports its attribution to this play.

Furthermore, even if all three fragments do belong to the same play, their relative placing must be considered uncertain. Fragment δεζ (verso) contains the beginning of an act. The most plausible speaker of the opening words in this new act is Laches; of the characters in this

play, only he can talk of 'giving' a girl to a 'bridegroom' (56). In the cast-list prefaced to the text of the opening scene, Laches' name comes last: he was, therefore, the last of the characters to be seen on the stage. This is not surprising if he was supposed to be on a visit to Lemnos when the play opens (45-46). Yet his words at this act opening do not look like those of a character just now making his first entry, newly arrived from abroad (contrast *Aspis* 491 ff.). If Laches returned home in the third or fourth act, the new act that begins on fr. δεζ will be either the fourth or the fifth act, with the balance of probability perhaps in favour of the fifth. But does the recto (or horizontal-fibres) side of δεζ precede or follow the verso? And where does fr. γ0 come in relation to δεζ? Neither question can be answered with complete confidence. If γ0 and δεζ belong to the same sheet of papyrus—and this has never been objectively established, although it is assumed to be true by virtually all modern editors of Menander<sup>1</sup>—it follows that δεζ precedes γ0 (which comes from the foot of the page), but the vertical space between the two fragments could be anything from 1 to 19 lines (on a hypothetical 37-line page). If the contents of the fragments are then considered, it becomes a plausible supplementary assumption that the verso comes before the recto. The argument for this is circumstantial. The speakers in fr. δεζ and γ0 on the verso side seem to be Laches and Myrrhine. They begin with reference to Plangon's betrothal to Daos (δεζ v. 2 = 56), and continue with Laches' observation that something—quite possibly his reaction to news about Plangon's baby—is causing Myrrhine to be flustered and perspire (γ0 v. 8 = 72). Laches may now have begun to wonder why Myrrhine

*(The references in the mutilated lines 51 and 52 to 'sacrificing' and 'carrying wood' are obscure. Is Getas perhaps bringing brushwood that he has collected as fuel for a sacrifice planned by his master (Pheidias probably)? If he is, the purpose of that sacrifice cannot be established, because the Cairo papyrus leaf ends at this point, leaving us in ignorance about most of the developments in this and the succeeding acts. Fragment 10 (see below) may be a further short extract from the opening scene, but it adds nothing to our knowledge of the plot. After the two slaves make their exits at the end of this scene, the guardian spirit from whom the play takes its title enters to deliver the prologue; this may safely be inferred from the cast-list.)*

*The hypothesis (lines 10-12) mentions the two major elements in the dénouement: Laches' discovery that he is the father of Myrrhine's twin children, and Pheidias' union with Plangon. A few rays of light are shed on Menander's management of Laches' discovery by a small group of papyrus shreds from the Cairo codex. These pose a series of papyrological and other problems which are discussed on pages 22, 23, 24 and 26. It is a working but unverifiable hypothesis that two of these fragments (δεζ and γ0) provide four brief snatches of text (these shreds, like all the remains of the Cairo codex, carry*

<sup>1</sup> In recent times F. H. Sandbach (*Gnomon*, 19, 1967, 766, and *Commentary*, 393-396) has sounded a desirable note of caution.



was so concerned about Plangon's misfortune (see the discussion on pages 25, 27 and 29). The recto side would then provide a natural continuation of this agitated conversation, with Myrrhine first lamenting her misfortune, secondly being questioned about the rape that led to her own pregnancy (δεξ r. 3-6 = 76-79), and finally being compelled to recall the circumstances surrounding that event eighteen years ago (γ0 r. 5 = 94). As this arrangement of frs. γ0 and δεξ makes dramatic as well as papyrological sense, it has been adopted in this edition, but only as a working hypothesis, not as a proven solution.)

(a) Cairo fragments δεξ and γ0, in their provisionally accepted order

δεξ verso

53

]ελοιμ' ω[  
]ι[.]σοι[... ] τούτο τ[

XO P [OT

ΜΕΡΟΣ Ε' (or less probably Δ')

ΛΑΧΗΣ

55

ὦ Ἡρά]κλεις, ἔα μ'· ἀμαρ[τάνειν δοκῶ  
εἰ νῦν] δίδωμι νύμφ[ίω τῆν Πλαγγόνα;

57

]μα[

55-56 ὦ Ἡρά]κλεις suppl. Jensen, the rest (tentatively and *exempli gratia*) Arnott after ideas by Robert and Sandbach.

*text on both sides of the sheet) which derive from the end of one act and the opening scene of the next. This new act is most probably the play's final act,<sup>a</sup> and its opening scene a tense dialogue between Laches and Myrrhine which gradually leads Laches to the discovery that Gorgias and Plangon are his own children. The four snatches of text, in their probably correct sequence, but see the discussion on the facing pages, are:)*

(a) Cairo fragments δεξ and γ0, in their provisionally accepted order

Fr. δεξ verso

*(This fragment begins with two mutilated lines which close an act, but there is no clue to the identity of the speaker or speakers, and virtually nothing is coherent enough for translation (line 54 reveals the word this). The opening two lines of the new act, however, can be tentatively restored to provide part of a speech addressed by Laches to Myrrhine as they come on to the stage in mid-conversation:)*

ACT V (or less probably IV)

LACHES

Don't nag me! [Hera]cles! [You think I'm wrong] 55  
[In] giving [Plangon to] a husband now? 56

*(Clearly Laches, having returned from his private busi-*

<sup>a</sup> The possibility that it was the fourth cannot, however, be entirely ruled out.

A gap of between 1 and 19 lines, then

γ0 verso

65 [.]...σιν[  
 τούτω. : πο[  
 μᾶλλον δι.[  
 τῆν Θραῦττα[ν

ness in Lemnos which kept him outside the dramatic action in the play's opening two or three acts, has immediately confirmed the promise he made earlier (cf. lines 42-44) that Daos should be allowed to set up house with Plangon. And Myrrhine, with her secret knowledge that she is Plangon's mother, has been opposing Laches' intention, without being able to reveal her true reasons. After fr. δεζ (verso) there is a gap of between one and nineteen lines before the next shred of text, on fr. γ0 (verso).)

Fr. γ0 verso

(Of the first four lines of this fragment only the opening letters are preserved, but even though little here makes sense when translated (66 To this or With this, followed by a change of speaker; 67 Rather; 68 Thratta or The Thracian woman), the paragraphi placed under lines 66, 67 and 68, together with the dicolon in 66, indicate that originally these lines must have contained lively dialogue. The speakers were presumably Laches and Myrrhine; what were they discussing? If 'Thratta' or 'The Thracian woman' (66) was Tibeios' widow, as has been suggested, she may have been living with Plangon in Laches' house after her husband's death. It is possible that Laches has suddenly discovered that Plangon is having or more probably has just had a baby (the birth may well have taken place during the play). If so, Laches may here be announcing his decision to expel Plangon along with the baby and Tibeios' widow from his house, in exactly the same way as Demeas expels Chrysis and the baby from his house in the *Samia*. This hypothesis at any rate would allow us to make tolerable sense of the ensuing five lines of this fragment, which are a well-preserved puzzle.)

MENANDER

ΜΤΡΡΙΝΗ

σὺ τάλαινα.

ΛΑΧΗΣ

τί; φ[α]νερώς γε, νῆ Δί', ὦ γυναί —

70 ἔς κόρακας.

ΜΤΡΡΙΝΗ

ἐξέστηκας· οἶα γὰρ λέγεις.

ΛΑΧΗΣ

ἂ καὶ ποήσω καὶ δέδοκταί μοι πάλαι —  
ιδρώς, ἀπορία· νῆ Δί', εὖ γ', ὦ Μυρρίνη,  
73 ἐπ' ἔμαντὸν ἔλαβον ποιμέν', ὅς βληχώμενον

A gap of up to 21 lines, then

δεξ recto

74

]οντρ[

75

ὡς γ]ἄρ ἀνδριὰ[s

69 Text established by Sudhaus, part-division and assignments by Webster: τάλαιναφ[.]νερώς C, with τι: misplaced at the end of the line, at one letter's interval after γυναί. 70 Division of speakers after κόρακας suggested by Körte (C places its dicolon after ἐξέστηκας in error). 72 ἀπορία: or ἀπορία: C. 75 ὡς γ]ἄρ suppl. Sudhaus, ἀνδριὰ[s Körte.

HEROS

ΜΥΡΡΗΝΗ

(thinking of Plangon)

Poor girl!

LACHES

What? Wife, It's obvious, I swear —

To hell with them!

69

ΜΥΡΡΗΝΗ

You're crazy! What a thing to say!

70

LACHES

My mind was made up long ago, I'm going  
To do it! (to himself) Sweating, nonplussed! Myrrhine,  
by Zeus,

I well deserved a shepherd with a bleating

73

(The fragment closes, as it opens, in mystery. Laches' threat to expel Plangon has caused Myrrhine, her mother, to break out in perspiration. When the fragment breaks off, Laches is in the middle of a bitter joke about his shepherd, for the word translated 'bleating' (βληχώμενον) is used in Greek to describe the sounds made by both sheep and babies. After fr. γ0 (verso), there is a further gap of between one and 21 lines before the next shred of text, on fr. δεξ recto.)

FR. δεξ recto

(The first line of this fr. yields only four unintelligible letters, but thereafter something can be made out of the dialogue even where the lines are mutilated. The speakers, on the assumption that frs. δεξ and γ0 belong to the same leaf of text, are still Laches and Myrrhine. At line 75 we appear to have [like] a statue, part of a remark which

ΜΥΡΡΙΝΗ

ὡς οἰκτρόν, ἢ τοιαῦτα δυστυχῶ μόνῃ,  
ἂ μηδὲ πιθανὰς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἔχει.

ΛΑΧΗΣ (?)

] πάθος ἢ γνώμη σφόδρα.  
ἀλλ' ἠδίκηκε]ν ἐκ βίας σέ τις ποτέ;

ΜΥΡΡΙΝΗ

80 γά]ρ.

ΛΑΧΗΣ (?)

81 ὑπονοε[ί]ς ὅστ[ις]  
]τιγῆμ[

A gap of up to 21 lines, then

γ0 recto

90 ]ι γε σὺ  
]ς ὅτι  
]ρέστατον

76–77 The full text is preserved by Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 40. 13:  
]ιαυτα[... ]υχωμο[ , ]ασυ[... ]ρβολαζέχ[ C. 76 τοιαῦτα  
Hirschig (and C<sup>P</sup> Before ]ιαυτα in C there is space for only 12  
letters): τὰ τοιαῦτα mss. of Stobaeus. 79–80 Suppl. Sud-  
haus. 91 Or ὅ τι.

*doubtless Laches made about the appearance of Myrrhine, petrified now by the direction which the conversation is taking. The next five lines are better preserved.)*

MYRRHINE

How poignant! I alone must suffer blows  
So bad that no one could imagine worse!

76

LACHES

Grit's the best [antidote to] tragedy.  
[But] did a man [misuse of] you once, by force?

MYRRHINE

[Yes. He was drunk.]

LACHES

Any idea who [he was]?

80

*(Here the fragment breaks off, apart from a few incomprehensible letters in line 81. The conversation has now moved on to the occasion when Myrrhine was raped. Why does Myrrhine consider her bitter experiences exceptional (lines 76–77)? Presumably because she is thinking not only of her own rape years ago, but also of her daughter Plangon's recent parallel experience; but the loss of the preceding context makes this an uncertain speculation. Lines 78–80 lead the conversation towards its final climax, but a gap now intervenes of between one and 21 lines, before we come to fr. γ0 (recto).)*

Fr. γ0 recto

*(Of this fragment's first four lines only the end letters survive, and assignment to speakers is impossible. Line 90 yields you, 91 that or what. From the end of 93 a fuller, but not undamaged, passage is preserved.)*

MENANDER

ΛΑΧΗΣ (? : it is unclear where this speech begins)

π]ρωτον λέγε.

ε]τη 'στω ὀκτώ καὶ δέκ';

ΜΥΡΡΙΝΗ

οὐ[κ] ἔστω μόνη

95 .....].αὐτ'· ἔστω δὲ τοῦτ', εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ.

ΛΑΧΗΣ

ἀσαφέ]ς τὸ πρᾶγμα γίνεται. πῶς λανθάνει

97 ὁ π]ρ[οσ]πεσών σε; πῶς δ' ἀπέλ[ι]πε; πηνύκ[α

94 Or μόνη. 95 Corr. Sudhaus: σὺδοκει (possibly, but not certainly, followed by a dicolon) C. 96 Suppl. Körte. 97 ὁ π]ρ[οσ]πεσών suppl. Jensen, ἀπέλ[ι]πε deciphered and suppl. Sandbach.

(b) *Cairo fragment θη, doubtfully assigned to this play*

(If the maverick fragment θη derives from the same page or the same scene as δεζ and γθ, nothing in it helps to establish its position relative to the other two fragments. It may, on the other hand, derive from another scene in the *Heros*, or even from another play in the Cairo codex. Accordingly, it is printed here separately from δεζ and γθ, and given a new line-numbering, with the traditional one of editions such as Körte's and Sandbach's added in brackets.)

HEROS

LACHES (? : the opening words are lost)

] tell me first.

It's eighteen years ago?

93

MYRRHINE

There's more than one

] But drop the subject, please.

95

LACHES

The puzzle's [worse] now. How did this assailant

Avoid your seeing him? How did he leave you? When

97

(Here the fragment breaks off in mid-question, and the final details which led Laches to identify himself as the unknown assailant are lost to us.

The above discussion of these four fragments rests on the assumption that they all come from the same scene. It cannot be stated too often, however, that it is only an assumption, and that other interpretations, based perhaps on less economical hypotheses, cannot be excluded. If the two scraps δεζ and γθ do not come from the same papyrus leaf, for example, they could derive from different scenes; γθ from the conversation between Myrrhine and Laches, but δεζ from a different conversation between Myrrhine and another character such as Sophrone her nurse.)

(b) *Cairo fragment θη, doubtfully assigned to this play*

(A third scrap of papyrus from the Cairo codex, fragment θη, is thought by many scholars to belong to the same leaf as frs. δεζ and γθ, but no evidence for this belief has ever been advanced other than subjective impression. Thus fr. θη may be part of the climactic scene between Myrrhine and Laches discussed above, but it may equally well

## θη verso

101 ] . . . . [ . ] ρην  
 0 K6, S ] . ὅτι τῆς πολλῆς . [ ]  
 ] ε . [ . ] ἄσωτο[  
 ] κ] αὶ συνδοκ[εῖ  
 105 λέ] γει δ' αὐτῶ πόθ[εν  
 (63) . [ . ] . τινα  
 107 ] ογκ[

## θη recto

108 . . ] ρ[  
 (83) ἤσχύν[ε] θ' οὔτο[ς  
 110 Ἄλέας Ἀθάνας [ ]  
 (85) ] ν δῆτα· καὶ μ[  
 ] ἔ] λθειν ἐκει[  
 ] νῆ τὸν Ποσ[ειδῶ  
 (88) ] λαβεῖν . δ. [ ]  
 115 ] ἐλθ[

110 Kock fr. 967

104 κ] αὶ deciphered and suppl. Arnott, συνδοκ[εῖ Sudhaus.

105 Suppl. Jensen. 110 = Euripides, *Auge*, line 1 (see Ludwig Koenen, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 4 (1969), 7–11. 111 Either σ] ὑ (ed. pr.) or ο] ὑ (Körte).

*derive from another scene of the Heros or indeed from a scene of one of the other plays in the Cairo codex. The two bits of text that it contains are very scrappy and generally—apart from one phrase (θη recto, line 3 = 110 in this edition)—uninformative.)*

## Fr. θη verso

*(This side contains the ends—or near-ends—of seven lines. A few words here and there are intelligible (that of much 102, a profligate man 103, it's agreed 104, tells him from where 105, some 106), but nothing emerges to identify speaker(s) or situation.)*

## Fr. θη recto

*(The beginnings of eight lines, with paragraphs below the second, third, fifth and seventh. The speakers in the dialogue cannot be identified, but one of them must be male, since he swears by Posidon (113), an oath confined to men. The following words and phrases are translatable: speaker A, He was ashamed (109); speaker B, "Of Alea Athena" (110); A, You or No, followed by certainly; and [ ] / Came there (or He came) (111–112); A again (after a lost interjection by B?), or a new character C, Yes by Posidon [ ] / Took (113–14), B (?), Came (115). It is possible—no more than possible—that a rape is being discussed. The key phrase is "Of Alea Athena" in line 110, where the name Athena is spelled not in the normal Attic way but in the Doric form favoured by Greek tragedy. It seems likely therefore that the speaker is here quoting from tragedy, very possibly the opening words of Euripides' *Auge*, which appear to have run "Of Alea Athena*

\* \* \*

*Eight fragments of Ἡρώς, quoted by ancient authors*

1 (8 Körte)

The *Lexicon Sabbaticum* (edited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St Petersburg 1982), p. 4), with the heading Μένανδρος Ἡρώι·

νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἄστειω  
 κυνηγέταις ἤκουσι περιηγήσομαι  
 τὰς ἀχράδας.

<sup>a</sup> The goddess Athena was worshipped with the cult-title of Alea (the meaning of Alea is uncertain: it may be connected with ἀλέα = 'warmth', or with the name of Aleos the Arcadian hero) in several parts of the Peloponnese, but especially in Tegea. Here her shrine was founded, according to legend, by this same Aleos, king of Tegea, and his daughter Auge was Athena's priestess there at the time of her violation by Heracles. Cf. especially, L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I (Oxford 1896), 274-276.

here's the gold-rich house" (cf. L. Koenen, ZPE 4, 1969, 7ff.). In Euripides' *Auge* the heroine may have recalled how she was ravished by Heracles while she was washing Athena's robe at a spring, probably within the precincts of the temple of Athena at Tegea. Under what circumstances is Euripides' opening line most likely to have been quoted in a play by Menander? It is hard to know, but a woman might have recalled or hinted at the illustrious precedent of Auge and Heracles, if she had herself been raped in similar circumstances, possibly in a temple precinct, but not necessarily that of Alea Athena in Tegea, the legendary site of the Auge myth.<sup>a</sup> If fr. θη does after all derive from the Heros, that woman is most plausibly to be identified as Myrrhine. But too many women were raped in too many plays of Menander for this identification to be more than speculative.)

\* \* \*

*Eight fragments of Heros, quoted by ancient authors*

1

*Lexicon Sabbaticum*: Menander in Heros,

But now I'll guide  
 The huntsmen coming from the city round  
 The wild pear trees.

*The identity of the speaker is uncertain, but these lines sound like an excuse for removing him or her off stage at the end of a scene. Could the huntsmen referred to here have been the chorus, replacing the more usual group of tipsy young men? In that case this fragment would come from the closing lines of the first act, since the arrival of the chorus is mentioned only there in the surviving work of Menander.*

MENANDER

2 (1 Kō, 209 Kock)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 20a. 21 (περὶ Ἀφροδίτης), with the heading Μένανδρος Ἦρωι.

ΔΑΟΣ (?)

δέσποινα', ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πλέον,  
οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ κρατῶν <τῶν> ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν  
Ζεὺς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη πάντ' ἀναγκασθεὶς ποιεῖ.

2 τῶν om. mss. of Stobaeus, suppl. Grotius. 2-3 Ms. A omits θεῶν and transposes to ἀναγκασθεὶς πάντα.

3 (2 Kō, 210 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 29d. 60 (περὶ εὐγενείας) quotes the whole fragment with the heading Μένανδρος Ἦρωι. Line 2 became proverbial, and is cited without play-title in ancient and Byzantine collections of the monostichs ascribed to Menander (line 19 of the 4th-century A.D. *P. Bouriant* 1, first published by P. Jouguet and P. Perdrizet, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* (Leipzig), 6 (1906), 148 ff. = *Pap. II*. 19 Jäkel; line 768 of the Byzantine collections in Jäkel, cf. W. Mayer, *Sitzungsberichte Munich* (1890) 366).

ἐχρῆν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ καλὸν εὐγενέστατον,  
τὸν ἐλεύθερον δὲ πανταχοῦ φρονεῖν μέγα.

2 δὲ Bentley: δὲ δεῖ mss. of Stobaeus, δεῖ *P. Bouriant*, αἰεῖ ms. K of the monostichs.

4 (3 Kō, 212 K)

Athenaeus 10. 426bc: ἔδοξε πᾶσι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κράσεων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. καὶ τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι Μένανδρος ἐν Ἦρωι ἔφη

χοῦς κεκραμένου  
οἴνον· λαβὼν ἔκπιθι τοῦτον.

HEROS

2

Stobaeus ('On Aphrodite'): in Menander's *Heros*,

DAOS (?)

There's nothing, mistress, with more power than love —  
Not even Zeus himself, who rules the gods  
In heaven. Love controls his every action.

*The speaker is a slave addressing his or her mistress. Although a case might be made for assigning the lines to the nurse Sophrone, their most plausible context must be a speech by Daos to Myrrhine in which the slave defends his love for Plangon. A speech with a similar justification was made in Euripides' first Hippolytus (fr. 431 Nauck<sup>2</sup>). The theme of the universal power of love, however, is a commonplace in Greek literature (see Barrett's note in his edition of Euripides' Hippolytus, on 1277-80).*

3

Stobaeus ('On Nobility'): in Menander's *Heros*,

For virtue should be true nobility,  
And free men everywhere show dignity.

*On v. 2 see the opposite page. These high-sounding platitudes are too unspecific to be assigned to a particular speaker or context.*

4

Athenaeus: They all agreed to discuss the dilutions of wine with water among the ancients. One of them noted that Menander had said in *Heros*,

Five pints of wine,  
Diluted. Take this, drink it up.

*Could this have been said towards the end of the play, at a*



## 5 (4 Kō, 213 K)

Photius (a 1548 Theodoridis) and the *Suda* (a 1950 Adler) s.v. ἀναλυθῆναι τὸ καθαριῶ τινι χρήσασθαι φαρμάκων. Μένανδρος Ἡρωι·

ἐπεφάρμάκευσ', ὦ γλυκύτατ', ἀναλυθεῖς μόλις.

Lemma φαρμάκων *Suda*, φαρμάκῳ Photius (-κω ms. z). Ἡρωι *Suda*, Ἡρωσι ms. b of Phot. (quotation of Menander omitted by z).

Fragment ἐπεφάρμακέυσω b of Phot., -κευσο A of *Suda*, -κευσον other mss. of *Suda*; corr. Arnott.

## 6 (5 Kō, 214 K)

Ammonius, Περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων (p. 249 Nickau): ἴσθι καὶ γίνωσκε διαφέρει . . . καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Ἡρωι·

εἶ ἴσθι, κἀγὼ τοῦτο συγχωρήσομαι.

## 7 (6 Kō, 215 K)

Choeroboscus, *Scholia in Theodosii Canones* (1. 410. 15–17 Hilgard): ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θηλυκοῦ τοῦ ἡ παῖς γίνεται ἡ παιδίσκη . . .

τῶν <δὲ> παιδισκῶν τινι

δούς,

<sup>a</sup> A diminutive: on its meaning see also my note on *Heros* 38.

party celebrating the betrothal or wedding of Pheidias and Plangon?<sup>2</sup>

## 5

Photius and the *Suda* defining ἀναλυθῆναι: to practise purgation of drugs (or poisons). Menander in *Heros*,

My dearest, you'd been drugged, and barely purged!

A puzzling line. In Menander's comedies, only women use the expression translated here as 'My dearest', and so the speaker is likely to have been Myrrhine or Sophrone. It is hard to think of a convincing context, if the words are to be taken literally. Could Myrrhine have been speaking metaphorically to Laches, who had either relapsed into an abnormal state after initial recovery from it, or just now recovered from a previous abnormal state? Both interpretations are possible; as it stands, without further context, the line is ambiguous.

## 6

Ammonius: ἴσθι (be certain) and γίνωσκε (make certain) are different . . . Menander in *Heros*

Be certain—I shall go along with that!

Speaker and context are unknown. The Greek can mean either 'I too shall' or 'and I shall'.

## 7

Choeroboscus: the word παιδίσκη<sup>a</sup> (girl) is formed from the feminine use of παῖς (child) . . .

Giving to

One of the girls.

παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ ἐν τῷ Ἑρωί.

δὲ om. mss., suppl. Meineke.

8 (7 Kō, 216 K)

Choeroboscus, *Scholia in Theodosii Canones* (1. 176. 39–177. 1 Hilgard): ὁμόφωνός ἐστιν ἡ κλητικὴ τῇ εὐθείᾳ, οἶον ὁ δυστυχῆς, ὁ δυστυχῆς, ὡς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ ἐν τῷ Ἑρωί.

ὁ δυστυχῆς, εἰ μὴ βαδιεῖ

βαδιῆς mss.: corr. Schneidewin.

*Two further fragments, whose attribution to Ἑρωίς is very uncertain*

9 (9 Kō, 868 K)

The *Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων* (Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* 1. 454. 7): ἀστείος καὶ ἀστικός, διττῶς. Μένανδρος †προ†ποιήσεις ἀστικὸν σαυτὸν πάλιν.

Μένανδρος Ἑρωί: ποιήσεις conj. Toup, but Meineke's Μένανδρος: πάτερ, ποιήσεις is no less plausible.

10 (10 Kō, 345 K)

Hermias' commentary on Plato, *Phaedrus* 230e (p. 33. 11 ff. Couston): οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ἀπλῶς φαῦλον τὸ ἐρᾶν,

In Menander in the *Heros*.

*Speaker and context are unknown.*

8

Choeroboscus writes: the vocative sounds the same as the nominative, e.g. ὁ δυστυχῆς (the poor fellow), ὦ δυστυχῆς (poor thing!), as in Menander in the *Heros*.

Poor thing, if you don't go . . .

*Speaker and context are unknown.*

*Two further fragments, whose attribution to Heros is very uncertain*

9

The *Collection of Useful Terms*: ἀστείος and ἀστικός have two meanings (sc. 'urban' and 'urbane'). Menander in *Heros* (?),

You'll make yourself a city man again.

*Here 'in Heros' is an uncertain attempt at correcting a corrupt text; another conjecture would yield the sense: 'Menander,*

*Father, you'll make yourself . . .*

10

Hermias of Alexandria's commentary on Plato's *Phaedrus*: Some assumed that being in love was simply vulgar, like . . .

MENANDER

ὡς . . . ὁ εἰπὼν “πλήρει γὰρ ὄγκῳ γαστρὸς αὔξεται  
Κύπρις” (TrGF 2. 67 F 186), καὶ “οὐπωποτε {φησίν} (del.  
Couvreur) ἠράσθης, Γέτα;” “οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην”, φησίν.

(ΔΑΟΣ ?)

οὐπόποτ' ἠράσθης, Γέτα;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην.

Fragment 10 was tentatively assigned by Leo to the opening scene of *Heros*, shortly after v. 52. Characters named Getas, however, appear in other comedies by Menander (e.g. *Dyskolos*, *Misoumenos*, *Perinthia*), and Meineke's suggestion that this fr. might derive from *Misoumenos* (see fr. 12 there) is no less attractive.

HEROS

the man who said “The bulk of a full maw makes passion grow”,<sup>a</sup> and

(ΔΑΟΣ ?)

Were you never in love, Getas?

GETAS

No, for I never ate my fill.

So he says.

*Hermias does not name the author of the second passage quoted, and its attribution to Heros is very uncertain. It could derive from a lost portion of the initial dialogue between Getas and Daos, or from another play (see also Misoumenos fr. 12).*

<sup>a</sup> A line from an unidentified lost tragedy or satyr play (fr. adesp. 106 Snell–Kannicht).

THEOPHOROUMENE  
(THE DEMONIC GIRL)

## INTRODUCTION

*Manuscripts*

F = (i) *PSI* 1280, part of a papyrus roll from Oxyrhynchus written in the late first, or the first half of the second, century A.D. It contains one column of text little damaged (lines 16–30) and the line-endings from the previous column (1–15). First edition: M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, *Annali della r. scuola normale superiore di Pisa (Lettere, etc.)*, 4 (1935), 1–3. A photograph appears in M. Norsa, *La scrittura letteraria greca dal secolo IV A.C. all' VIII D.C.* (Florence 1939–48), plate 9D (mislabelled as *PSI* 1285).

(ii) another papyrus in Florence, as yet unnumbered, part of a wider papyrus roll of unknown provenance dating from either the first century B.C. or the following century. It preserves the right-hand edge of one column (here lines 31–57) and indistinct traces from the beginning of the next. First edition: Vittorio Bartoletti, *Dai papiri della società italiana* (Florence 1965), 9 ff., with a photograph, but misidentified as 'hymns to Cybele'; the highly convincing argument for its attribution to the *Theophoroumene* was set out by E. W. Handley, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 16 (1969), 95–101.

Fragments 1 to 8 are quotations from a variety of sources. See the introduction to vol. I, xxiv–xxv.

*Pictorial Evidence*

A mosaic of the third century A.D. from the 'House of Menander' at Mytilene in Lesbos. It is inscribed ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ Μ(ΕΡΟΣ) Β (*Theophoroumene*, Act II) and portrays a scene in which three named men and a boy are involved. On the left a young man (identified as ΛΥΣΙΑΣ, Lysias), dressed in a long tunic and cloak and wearing a garland of green leaves, seems to be playing cymbals. His right foot is raised from the ground as if he is beating time with it. In the centre stands a slave (named on the mosaic ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ, Parmenon) in similar costume but ungarlanded and with a narrow scarf or stole round his neck and over his left arm. Another young man (identified as ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ, Kleinias) stands on the right, dressed and garlanded like Lysias but with a more sumptuous cloak coloured purple. In his right hand he holds a round yellow object, perhaps intended to be cymbals or a tambourine. In front of him stands an unnamed boy in a knee-length dark-green tunic, carrying in his hands what seems to be a single yellow pipe. The interpretation of this picture and its relation to the famous Dioscurides mosaic of musicians on the one hand, and to the papyrus fragments of the *Theophoroumene* on the other, are discussed below. Standard publication of the mosaic: L. Kahil and others, *Les Mosaïques*, 46 ff. and colour plate 6.

Twelve circular lead tokens found in Athens, each bearing the inscription ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ and a picture of three masks (free maiden; slave; young man) which rest on cylindrical altars. The free maiden was presumably the demoniac girl of the title, the slave Parmenon, and the young man either Kleinias or Lysias. These tokens

date from the middle of the third century A.D., and were presumably entrance tickets or souvenirs of a contemporary performance in the Theatre of Dionysus. First publications: I. N. Svoronos, *Journal International de l'Archéologie Numismatique* (Athens), 3 (1900), 319 ff.; M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora, X: Weights and Tokens* (Princeton 1964), p. 122 (L 329 a-f) and plate 30. There are illustrations also in L. Kahil and others, *Les Mosaiques*, plate 25; and A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd edition revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford 1968), fig. 140 (text p. 271 and n. 6).

The identification and interpretation of the remains from Menander's *Theophoroumene*—both textual and pictorial—are linked closely together. So many problems and mysteries, however, surround this material that we are still a long way from final solutions. The views expressed here were in the main pioneered by E. W. Handley, whose work on the play (*B.I.C.S.* 16, 88–101) advances our knowledge considerably at many points.

When the fragment of papyrus roll later catalogued as PSI 1280 was first published in 1935, its attribution to Menander's *Theophoroumene* was probable rather than certain. The text coincided with no previously known quotations from the play, but the aorist imperative form *παράστα* ('stand beside', occurring in line 28) was cited only from Menander by ancient lexica (cf. *Dis Exapaton*, fr. 3), and the reference to a girl who is demoniac (*θεοφορείται*, 25) matched well the title *Θεοφορουμένη*, which was attested in comedy for Menander alone, although his prolific elder contemporary Alexis was the author of a *Θεοφόρητος* ('The Demoniac Man'). Qualms were at

first felt about saddling Menander with the offensive coarseness of *ἱππόπορνε* ('bloody whore', 19), but such indelicacies, in the mouths of cooks and slaves at least, are not avoided by Menander.<sup>1</sup> Probability, however, was turned into certainty by the discovery of the Mytilene mosaic, which identified the two young men named in PSI 1280 (Lysias, 8, 23, 29; Kleinias, a virtually certain supplement at 14) as characters appearing in a second-act scene of the *Theophoroumene*.

Welcome though this confirmation was, it still leaves many of the details of the text of PSI 1280 totally mysterious. The second half of its well-preserved column (lines 23b–30) is a dialogue between Lysias and another man (probably, but not certainly, Kleinias), in which Lysias takes the initiative. He suggests that an experiment should be mounted to see whether the heroine of the play's title is really possessed or only pretending. An attendant is to play an appropriate tune on the pipes (28) while Lysias and his companion stand by the doors of an inn. If the girl is really possessed she will be drawn out by the music. Kleinias welcomes the prospect of her appearance (30).

It is tempting to identify Lysias' order to the piper to begin playing as the incident captured on the Mytilene mosaic. There the piper is represented as a boy with a young pert face and bare legs.<sup>2</sup> He clasps what seems to be a single pipe in both hands, his gaze fixed on Lysias and

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Dysk.* 462 (*κινητιᾶν*), 892 (*λαϊκάσει*), *Pk.* 485 Sandbach (*λαϊκάστρια*).

<sup>2</sup> The knee-length tunic rather than the size of the figure here indicates juvenility. On the Mytilene mosaics adults may be drawn on a dwarfish scale if their dramatic roles are insignificant (see the introduction to *Epitrepontes*, vol. I, p. 382).

↳ This may be an attempt to reproduce the prominence of an actual performance. The more significant role is 53

Parmenon. Lysias is already clashing cymbals and apparently beating time with his right foot, while Kleinias clutches to his side a small yellow cymbal or tambourine, although this object is too badly portrayed for any precise identification.

Such a linkage between the text of *PSI 1280* and the mosaic, however, solves some problems only to pose others. Parmenon is present on the mosaic, for example, but there is no cast-iron evidence that he is present on the stage, let alone says anything, in the papyrus text. The puzzling speech that extends from before line 16 to 23a seems to report a conversation containing the coarse word discussed above, and such language in Menander normally comes from cooks or slaves, not free men.<sup>1</sup> But if Parmenon was the speaker here, on stage with Kleinias and Lysias, he must have been engineered off stage by Menander before the demoniac girl made her appearance. Menander's plays were written so that they could be performed with a cast of three actors, and the character who played Parmenon in this scene would have to double as the girl in the next, since Kleinias and Lysias appear to have been present in both scenes.

A further puzzle is set by the existence of what may be a variant version of the scene on the Mytilene mosaic. The best-known example of this version is a mosaic by Dioscurides of Samos now in the National Museum of Naples (inv. 9985; NM2 in T.B.L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, 2nd edition, *B.I.C.S. Supplement* 24, London 1969; colour photographs in e.g. Kahil

<sup>1</sup> But it is not certain that the man who used the word was a slave, any more than the person who reported his remark: see below.

and others, *Les Mosaïques*, plate 6; A. Maiuri, *Roman Painting*, Geneva 1953, p. 96), although a copy exists in a wall-painting from Stabiae (now also in the National Museum of Naples, inv. 9034; NP 54 Webster<sup>2</sup>); a series of at least eight pyxides and a *lebes gamikos* from Centuripe dating from the mid-third century B.C. seem to carry this or a closely related scene, thus confirming that the original picture from which the mosaics derive was a work of the first half of the third century (E. Simon, *Menander in Centuripe*, *Sitzungsberichte Frankfurt* 25.2, 1989, and *Dioniso*, 59, 1989, 45–63); and several terracotta statuettes from Myrina appear to be modelled on the two male musicians in the Dioscurides mosaic (young man with castanets, MT 15 Webster<sup>2</sup>, figured in M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 2nd edition, Princeton 1961, fig. 342; young man striking tambourine, MT 1 a–c Webster<sup>2</sup>, figured in Bieber, fig. 341, where the loss of the musical instrument from the three fragile surviving examples has sometimes led to their misidentification). The Dioscurides mosaic, made originally for a Pompeian villa in the second century B.C., is over 400 years earlier than the one in Mytilene and incomparably superior in quality. It also contains four figures, three with musical instruments, but the differences from its later counterpart are striking. The arrangement of the figures is a mirror-image reversal of that in the Mytilene mosaic, in the same way that a second Dioscurides mosaic from that same Pompeian villa reverses another Mytilene mosaic portraying the opening of Menander's *Synaristosai* (cf. Kahil and others, *Les Mosaïques*, 41 ff. and plate 5). Thus the boy in the Dioscurides mosaic of the musicians stands on the

extreme left of the group. The differences do not end there, however. The slave Parmenon is absent from Dioscurides' picture, the cymbalist moves from the left-hand side to the centre, the boy lacks his single pipe, a woman with a *hetaira* mask drawn to the same scale as her male companion stands on the left of the picture playing double pipes, while the man on the right is beating a tambourine. These changes are striking; what is their significance? The Dioscurides mosaic almost certainly portrays a scene from Greek comedy. Its figures are drawn moving about a raised stage, with a doorway behind them to the right, and its companion piece from that Pompeian villa incontrovertibly presents a scene from a Menandrian comedy. Accordingly three interpretations of the Dioscuridean musicians seem possible. They could be characters in an unidentified comedy, probably by Menander. They could belong to the *Theophoroumene*, but to a different scene where the two young men cavorted alone with a boy and a female piper. Or they could be involved in a later stage of the scene portrayed on the Mytilene mosaic, after Parmenon has departed and before the demoniac girl has entered. The last interpretation is perhaps the most attractive, but a firm decision would be premature in the present state of the evidence.

What happened next in the play? Here the second Florence papyrus, badly damaged as it is, may provide some clues. When this papyrus was first discovered, its text was first identified as hymns to Cybele, then as part of a mime; its attribution to the *Theophoroumene* cannot be considered absolutely certain so long as no exact ties with known extracts from the play emerge, but the circumstan-

tial argument is very plausible indeed. This papyrus contains 27 line ends,<sup>1</sup> partly in the iambic metre and Attic dialect of New Comedy (31–35, 42–49, 51, 53–55, 57), and partly in dactylic hexameters written in a conventional lyric style and addressed mainly to the goddess Cybele and the Corybantes who attend her (36–41, 50?, 52, 56). If this papyrus derives from the scene in the *Theophoroumene* directly following that in *PSI 1280* and the Mytilene mosaic, the possessed girl appears now to be on stage with Lysias and Kleinias, first engaging in conversation with them in the normal dialogue metre of iambic trimeters (at lines 34–35 she seems to tell her partners to assist in her ritual), and then breaking out into sung<sup>2</sup> hexameters in praise of the divinities associated with demonianism in antiquity. By this means presumably the girl sought to prove that she was possessed.

Here our papyrus breaks off, and darkness closes in. The further developments of the *Theophoroumene* are as obscure to us as are the plot's antecedents. Was the heroine of the title genuinely possessed (cf. lines 23 f.) or only pretending? Since Menander's comedies are full of shams—a fake corpse in the *Aspis*, a fake apparition in the *Phasma*, even a fake male demoniac in the *Hiercia*—the latter is the more likely situation. But if the girl was faking, what was her reason? Was it an excuse to enable her to go out of doors unchaperoned (cf. lines 21 ff.)?

<sup>1</sup> I ignore here the two puzzling mutilated lines (prose? dactyls?) inserted by the scribe in smaller letters between lines 41 and 42. These are discussed *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Sung, not declaimed. A scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache* 103 mentions in passing that a portion of the *Theophoroumene* was actually sung. Cf. the critical apparatus on lines 36–41.



This was normally impossible for respectable free girls. But if so, why did she need to go out of doors? This may be partly but mysteriously explained by her reported claim, in the difficult passage which opens the preserved column of PSI 1280, that 'they've filched my presents' (17 f.). We cannot identify the filchers, but the presents might have been tokens, recovered in the end and leading to a recognition scene. We cannot safely identify either the person who insulted her so coarsely at line 19, although her father or guardian would be the most plausible candidate. Nor do we know the relationship of Lysias and Kleinias to the girl, although Kleinias' remark (if it is Kleinias who speaks here) that the girl's appearance would be 'a splendid sight' (30) may imply that he had fallen in love with her, perhaps having originally seen her on a previous demoniac expedition. Fragment 1 introduces a further character, an old man called Kraton, who complains eloquently about the undeserved success of social inferiors. There is no evidence to support the view that he was the girl's father or alternatively related to Kleinias or Lysias, although the economy of Menandrian plots makes one of these possibilities very likely. And finally, what was the reason for having an inn as one of the stage buildings (28 f.)? Was this the scene of the incident narrated in 16 ff.? Questions abound, answers are few.

The line-numbering in this edition differs to some extent from that of Sandbach's Oxford Text (*Menandri Reliquiae Selectae*, Oxford 1972); lines 1-30 agree with those so numbered in his and other editions, but the second Florence fragment is here numbered sequentially

31-57, with Sandbach's non-sequential numbering in brackets.

No hypothesis, didascalie notice or cast-list survives for this play. Its date of production is therefore unknown and unguessable.

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known:

Parmenon, a slave

Kleinias, a young man, perhaps in love with the demoniac girl

Lysias, another young man<sup>1</sup>

A free girl who either is demoniac or pretends to be so

Kraton, an old man, father perhaps of one of the younger free characters

In the lost parts of the play some other characters doubtless had speaking roles, but their identities and relationships cannot be surmised. A piper appears to be involved in the action at lines 27 ff. A chorus, probably of tipsy revellers, would have performed the entr'actes.

<sup>1</sup> See also Marina Pagliardini, "Sulla *Theophoroumene* di Menandro", *Atene e Roma*, 27 (1982), 118.

## ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ

(The texts of the two Florence papyri appear to derive from the play's second act. First comes *PSI 1280*. Of its first column, only the line ends are preserved: ]*ρετωι*: 1, ]*ποιει* 2, ]*ω λέγω* 3, ] 4, ]*ων* 5, ]*.ποῶν* 6, *οἰ]κίαν*: 7, ] *. Δυσία*: 8, ] 9, ]*πολαβεῖν* 10, ]*ουν ἔχει* 11, *ἀλα]*ζο*νεύεται* 12, ]*ραν ποτε* 13, ] *Κλει[ν]ία* 14.)

In the apparatus to lines 1–30 of this play, those supplements whose author is not named were made in the ed. pr. by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, *Annali della r. scuola normale superiore di Pisa (Lettere, etc.)*, 4 (1935), 1 ff. 7 Suppl. Körte. 10 Either *ύ]πο-* or *ἀ]*πολαβεῖν. 14 Suppl. Webster.

<sup>a</sup> The suggestion offered in my translation assumes that Parmenon began a narrative to Kleinias (cf. 14) well before line 15, alleging that the demoniac girl's fits of possession were faked. Several details, however, are still very obscure. Did Parmenon see the girl in the street or elsewhere (e.g. in the inn)? Who was the man who addressed the girl so offensively in lines 18–23? What were the objects that Parmenon filled up (16 f.: if wine-

## THEOPHOROUMENE

(The Demoniac Girl)

(SCENE: Uncertain, possibly a street in Athens backed by two or three buildings. One of these is an inn; the second is probably the house where the girl of the title lives; if there was a third, its residents cannot now be identified.)

(The remains of the two Florence papyri belong in all probability to the second act. From the first one (*PSI 1280*) we have a fragment of a scene in which Lysias, Kleinias, and probably also the slave Parmenon take part. Only a few letters survive from the ends of this papyrus' opening fifteen lines, with indications of change of speaker at the close of lines 1, 7, and 8. A few words can be translated: do or does 2, I say 3, doing 6, house (?) 7, an address to Lysias 8 before the change of speaker; to take up or from 10, he has 11, he's or (perhaps more probably, with reference to the demoniac girl) she's a humbug 12, once 13, and an address to Kleinias 14. Continuous text begins at the end of line 15, although the interpretation of lines 15–17 is still an unsolved mystery.<sup>a</sup>)

cup, the venue may have been the inn)? And what were the presents that the girl had lost? Cf. my introductory notes on the *Theophoroumene*.

MENANDER

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ (?)

15 ] ἐξῆπ[ί]στατο.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

τάχ' [ἄν] καταστάξαντες; οἶδ'.

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ (?)

ἀπ' ὀμμ[άτων

20 ἐπλησα. "τὰμὰ δῶρ'· ἀκούεις;" ἡ κόρη,  
"τὰ δῶρα," φησί, "τὰμὰ μ' ἐξείλουθ'." ὁ δέ,  
"τί [δ'] ἔλαβες, ἰππόπο[ρ]νε; τὸν δὲ δόμ[τα σοι  
πόθεν οἶσθα τοῦτον; τί δέ; νεανίσκο[ν κόρη;  
ἦ σὺ τί λαβοῦσα στέφανον ἕξω περιπατ[εῖς;  
μαίνει; τί οὖν οὐκ ἔνδον ἐγκεκλειμ[ένη  
μαίνει;"]

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

φλυαρεῖς. [τ]οὔτό γ' αὐτό, Λυσία,  
οὐ προσποεῖται.

ΛΥΣΙΑΣ

πέιραν ἕξεστιν λα[βείν·

25 εἰ θεοφορεῖται ταῖς ἀληθείαισι γάρ,

15-16 Supplementation and interpretation here are hazardous in the extreme, and the printed text is merely a shot in the dark.

15 ἐξῆπ[ί]στατο Arnott: ]εξῆπ[.]στατο[ F, apparently.

16 τάχ'—οἶδ' assigned to Kleinias by Arnott (F has no dicolon

THEOPHOROUMENE

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ (?)

(in mid-speech)

]she really knew [her part].

15

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

(commenting on the demoniac girl's appearance?)  
Tears flooding down, perhaps (?). I know.

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ (?)

(continuing his narrative)

I filled

Them unobserved. "My presents—do you hear? —  
They've filched my presents," said the girl. "What gifts,  
You bloody whore?" said he. "How do you know  
The man who gave them? What! A lad, [and to]  
[A girl]! Why are you out of doors here, with  
That garland? Are you mad? Why not be mad  
Locked up indoors?"

20

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

That's nonsense.—Lysias,  
This thing—she's *not* pretending!

ΛΥΣΙΑΣ

We can test

Her. If she's really a demoniac,

25

after οἶδ, but a one-letter space between οἶ and δ may be a misplaced indication of change of speaker). ἄν suppl. Arnott.

20 κόρη tentatively suppl. Handley. 22-23 τί οὖν—μαίνει (23) continued to the same speaker (Parmenon?) by Handley (22 μαίνει·τιοῦν F).

νῦν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐκπηδή[σεται.  
μητρὸς θεῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ κορυβάντ[ων σὺ μοι  
αὔλει. παράστα δ' ἐνθαδι πρὸς τὰς θύρας  
τοῦ πανδοκείου.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

νῆ Δί', εὖ γε, Λυσία,

30 ὑπέρευγε· τοῦτο βούλομαι. καλὴ θέα . . .

(Here PSI 1280 breaks off. If the second, as yet unnumbered, Florence papyrus is rightly attributed to the *Theophoroumene*, as seems most likely, its text must follow at a short interval—probably fewer than 20 lines—after the close of PSI 1280. When this second papyrus fragment opens, the demoniac girl is in mid-speech.)

ΚΟΡΗ

31 ] καὶ τὸ χρυσίον  
(3 Sa) ] θάλατταν ἐκχέον  
] το προσφιλὲς  
35 τοῦ]s παροῦσι δ' ἅμα λέγω  
πά]ντες ἐπολολύξατε.

26 Suppl. Maas. 27 Suppl. Handley *exempli gratia*.

30 ὑπέρευγε Norsa, Vitelli: *υπερευ* F. 31–57 The papyrus fragment containing these lines was assigned to this character, scene and play by Handley. 34–35 Suppl. Pavese.

<sup>a</sup> The 'Gods' Great Mother' is Cybele, a Phrygian goddess whose cult was established in Athens already by the fifth century B.C. The Corybantes were demons from Asia Minor associated with her worship, and votaries of the religion went into orgiastic trances which were popularly identified as possession by the Corybantes. These trances, which were induced by the rhythmic

[She'll] now skip out in front here. (*To the piper*) Pipe a 'Gods'

Great Mother'—no, a Corybantic tune.<sup>a</sup>

(*To Kleinias*) You stand beside me here, just by the door

Of the hotel.

(*The piper plays his tune, while Kleinias retires with Lysias into the background by the side of the inn's double doors.*)

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

Fine, Lysias—superb,

I swear! Just what I want! A splendid sight . . .

30

(*At this point PSI 1280 breaks off. If the second Florence papyrus is rightly assigned to the Theophoroumene, its 27 line-endings must come shortly—probably within 20 lines—after the close of PSI 1280. Parmenon has now been engineered off the stage, and the girl has entered, doubtless in response to the wild pipe music that Lysias has organised for her benefit.*)

THE GIRL (?)

(*speaking ecstatically*)

] and the gold  
] debouching [in the] sea  
] agreeable

31

] I bid those present too

] you must all raise your voices!

35

cal beating of cymbals and drums, wild pipe music and furious dancing, were characterised by palpitations and violent weeping (cf. lines 15 f., if my interpretation there holds water). See especially E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951), 77–80.

(Here the girl begins to sing in lyric dactylic hexameters.)

- (7) ] βασιλεία μεγίστα,  
 ]μοι καὶ σεισικάρηνοι  
 κ]ορύβαντές θ' ἄδυπρόσωποι.  
 40 θυ]σίαν κλειτάν θ' ἑκατόμβαν  
 ] θεά, Φρυγία βασιλεία  
 ]α τύμπανα, μᾶτερ ὀ[ρεία.

(The next eight lines revert to the metre and dialect of normal comic dialogue. It is perhaps most likely that the girl continues, but now in a normal speaking voice. But an intervention by Lysias or Kleinias, or even dialogue involving two or three characters, cannot be ruled out.)

- (12) ]θορυβοῦντες οὔτε [  
 ]ους σαντῶ πόε[ι  
 κ]ατὰ χώραν λαβῆ  
 45 ]ον ἐπιτίθει τε πῦ[ρ  
 τῆν θ]εὸν γὰρ βούλομαι

36–41, 50, 52, 56 A scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache* 103 refers to τὰ ἐν Θεοφορουμένη ἀδόμυνα. 38–39 Suppl. Bartoletti. 39 The papyrus offers κλειναν as a variant reading. 41 Suppl. Bartoletti. 41–42 Between these lines is written in smaller letters ] στέφαν(ον) ἐχέτω (or ἔχε τῶ) [.] .λακιστω [ / ] παρὰ χεῖρα θα.λει[.]. Are these remains of a prose stage-direction, or of dactylic hexameters? 43–44 Suppl. Bartoletti. 45 Suppl. Handley, Lloyd-Jones. 46 Suppl. Handley.

(It is hard to make coherent sense of the above remarks. The girl may have entered the stage not long before line 31, and then launched into a poetical description of Phrygia, the home of Cybele, and the gold-bearing river Pactolus which flows not far to the south of Phrygia. At 34 the girl evidently turns to Lysias and Kleinias, and asks them to join in her act of worship. From 36 to 41 she sings a hymn to Cybele, the 'goddess, queen of Phrygia.')

- ] queen almighty  
 ] and with heads atremble  
 ] and sweet-faced Corybantes  
 ] sacrifice and hecatomb of splendour  
 ] goddess, queen of Phrygia,  
 ] tambourines, O [mountain] mother.<sup>a</sup>

40

(The words of the above hymn are clearly a series of invocations to Cybele and the Corybantes, with accessory references to the sacrifices and the tambourines associated with this goddess's worship. Then follow eight lines in the metre and dialect of normal comic dialogue.)

- ] clamouring nor [  
 ] make for yourself  
 ] in place pick up  
 ] and ignite  
 ] for I'd like [the] god[dess]

45

<sup>a</sup> Between lines 41 and 42 the scribe inserts in smaller letters two lines of Greek, now badly mutilated, which may be partially translated '[ ] take (or let her/him take) a garland [ ]/[ ] to her/his hand [ ]'. This may be a stage direction, referring to the girl's actions before she begins her song, or alternatively (but perhaps less probably) two dactylic hexameters which the scribe had inadvertently omitted at the beginning of the girl's song.

- (17) ]γες. αὔλει δὴ σὺ μοι.  
 εὐμ]ενῆς γίνουιο δὲ  
 ]μένους ἀεί.

(The final eight lines mix lyric hexameters (50 ? , 52, 56) with iambs (51, 53–55, 57). The girl doubtless sings the hexameters, but the speaker or speakers of the iambs cannot certainly be identified. Perhaps the girl is again the likeliest candidate.)

- 50 χ]αῖρ', Ἄγγδιστι,  
 μ]ετὰ κυμβάλων  
 (22) ]ρ ὀλολυγμῶν  
 ] μήτερ θεῶν,  
 "Ἄγγδ]ιστι Φρυγία Κρησία  
 55 δ]εὔρο κυρία  
 (26) ]ναπας βασιλεια  
 57 ]α Λυδίου

(At this point the papyrus breaks off.)

\* \* \*

48 Suppl. Handley. 50–51, 54–55 Suppl. Bartoletti.

<sup>a</sup> Angdistis or Agdistis was an Asiatic goddess often identified with Cybele. She derives her name from Mount Agdos near the ancient city of Pessinus in Phrygia.

<sup>b</sup> Rhea, the Cretan mother goddess, was also identified with Cybele. Cf. fr. 8 below.

- ] You pipe for me  
 ] may you favour (?) me  
 ] always so remain (?).

(The speaker or speakers of lines 42 to 49 cannot be established with any certainty. The most plausible hypothesis perhaps is that the girl here interrupts her hymn in order to address the bystanders. First she asks Lysias or Kleinias to pick something up—possibly a torch—and to ignite something else—possibly incense on an altar—in furtherance of her act of worship. Then, as she prepares to resume her hymn, she tells the piper to begin piping again, and she subjoins a prayer, probably to Cybele.)

The final eight lines of the papyrus, 50 to 57, are a mixture of sung hymn lines (50?, 52, 56) and spoken comic iambs (51, 53–55, 57). The girl almost certainly sings the former, but it is impossible now to be sure who speaks or speak the interlarded iambs. The girl may again be the likeliest candidate.)

- ] O hail, Angdistis!<sup>a</sup> 50  
 ] with tambourines.  
 ] joyful shouting.  
 ] O mother of the gods,  
 Angd]istis, Phrygian, Cretan too<sup>b</sup> —  
 ] here supreme. 55  
 ] queen [in] tree-clad valleys.  
 ] Lydian<sup>c</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>c</sup> Lydia, in western Asia Minor, was closely associated with the cult of Cybele.

Eight fragments quoted from Θεοφωρουμένη  
by ancient authors

1 (1 Körte, 223 Kock)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 42. 3 (περὶ τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν εὐτυχούντων) cites the whole fragment with the heading Μενάνδρου Θεοφωρουμένης (so ms. S: -μένου mss. MA). Line 2 was fitted into a witticism by Vespasian according to Suetonius, *Vesp.* 23, who does not identify the source. Lines 16–17 are cited with the author's name alone by the scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus* 426. The first six words of line 16 are quoted also by Athenaeus 6. 248d, inaccurately but with an ascription to Menander. Lines 18–19 are cited by Plutarch, *Moralia* 739f (*Quaest. Conv.* 9. 5) simply as τὰ τοῦ κωμικοῦ γέροντος.

ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

εἴ τις προσελθὼν μοι θεῶν λέγοι, "Κράτων,  
ἐπὰν ἀποθάνης, αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσει·  
ἔσει δ' ὅ τι ἂν βούλη, κύων, πρόβατον, τράγος,  
ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος. δις βιῶναι γάρ σε δεῖ·  
5 εἰμαρμένον τοῦτ' ἐστίν· ὅ τι βούλει δ' ἑλοῦ·"  
"ἅπαντα μᾶλλον," εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν ἂν δοκῶ,  
"πόει με πλὴν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀδίκως εὐτυχεῖ  
κακῶς τε πάττει τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον μόνον.  
10 ὁ κράτιστος ἵππος ἐπιμελεστέραν ἔχει  
ἐτέρου θεραπείαν. ἀγαθὸς ἂν γένη κύων,  
ἐντιμότερος εἰ τοῦ κακοῦ κυνὸς πολύ.  
ἀλεκτρύων γενναῖος ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τροφῇ  
ἐστίν, ὁ δ' ἀγεννῆς καὶ δέδιε τὸν κρείττονα.  
ἄνθρωπος ἂν δ' ἦ χρηστός, εὐγενῆς, σφόδρα  
15 γενναῖος, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐν τῷ νῦν γένει.

Eight fragments of Theophoroumene, quoted  
by ancient authors

1

Stobaeus ('On those prospering undeservedly') cites the whole fragment with the heading 'from Menander's *Theophoroumene*'. Several parts of it are quoted independently by a variety of authors, who fail to identify the source precisely (see the facing page); among these Plutarch identifies the speaker as 'the old man of comedy'.

KRATON

Suppose a god walked up to me and said,  
"Kraton, you'll come back after death once more,  
And be just what you want—a dog, sheep, goat,  
Man, horse. You've got to live two lives, it's all  
A law of destiny. Pick what you want."  
I think I'd give a speedy answer: "Make  
Me anything—but *not* a man! This creature's  
The only one to thrive or fail unfairly.  
A champion horse is groomed more tenderly  
Than others. If you're born a pedigree  
10 Dog, then your status is much higher than  
A mongrel's. Pure-bred cocks get special food,  
And there the riff-raff also fear their betters!  
With men, though, great distinction, honour and  
Good birth are useless in our present age."  
15

1 Κράτων Gesner: κρατῶν mss. (SMA) of Stobaeus. 4 δις βιῶναι MA: διαβιῶναι S. 5 ἐλοῦ SM: αἰροῦ καὶ ἐλοῦ A. 13 ὁ δ' S: οὐδ' MA. 14 ἂν δ' Meineke: ἐὰν SMA (ἐὰν ἦ ἄνθρ. χρ. A). 15 ὄφελος ἐν SA: ὠφέλησεν M.

19 πράττει δ' ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα πάντων, δεύτερα  
ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ κακοήθης τρίτα λέγει.  
ὄνον γενέσθαι κρείττον ἢ τοὺς χείρονας  
ὄρᾶν ἑαυτοῦ ζῶντας ἐπιφανέστερον."

16 πράττει γὰρ πάντων ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα ms. A of Athenaeus.  
16-17 δεύτερος mss. NAB of Euripides scholiast (for δεύτερα ὁ,  
correct in Stobaeus). 17 τρίτα λέγει mss. of Stobaeus: τρίτα  
λέγει ms. N and τρίτατος λέγεται ms. A of Euripides scholiast.

2 (2 Kō, 225 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 3. 3. 6 (περὶ φρονήσεως), with the head-  
ing Μενάνδρον Θεοφορουμένη·

ὁ πλείστον νοῦν ἔχων  
μάντις τ' ἄριστός ἐστι σύμβουλός θ' ἅμα.

Yes-men do best of all, blackmailers win  
The second prize, and spitefulness comes third.  
Better be born an ass than see the dregs  
Live in a brighter limelight than oneself!"

*In this play the role of the speaker Kraton, identified by Plutarch (see above) as an old man, is now obscure, although he is likely to have been the father of one of the three known young people (Lysias, Kleinias, the demoniac girl) in the plot. Equally obscure is the incident which gave rise to Kraton's splenetic outburst about the undeserved success of social inferiors.*

2

Stobaeus ('On prudence'): from Menander's *Theophoroumene*,

The man with most discernment  
Makes the best prophet and adviser too.

*These words paraphrase a line of Euripides (Helen 757) spoken by a long-winded old retainer of Menelaos. Context and speaker in Menander's play are hard to divine, but some help appears to be given here by Alciphron, who composed a series of fictitious letters much influenced by the situations of New Comedy. In one of these (4. 19. 21) Alciphron pretends that 'Glykera' is writing to 'Menander', and the writer refers obliquely to prophecies made by 'your demoniac girl'. Thus the speaker of the present fragment may be speaking disdainfully of a prophecy made by the play's heroine in her demoniac state.*



## 3 (3 Kō, 224 K)

Athenaeus 11. 504a (ὁ Πλούταρχος) ἔδωκε (τὴν φιάλην) τῷ παιδί περισοβεῖν ἐν κύκλῳ κελεύσας, τὸ κύκλῳ πίνειν τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγων, παρατιθέμενος Μενάνδρου ἐκ Περινθίας (fr. 4) . . . καὶ πάλιν ἐκ Θεοφορουμένης:

καὶ ταχὺ τὸ πρῶτον περισοβεῖ ποτήριον  
αὐτοῖς ἀκράτου.

1 Corr. Cobet: ταχὺ πάλι τὸ ms. A.

## 4 (4 Kō, 226 K)

Athenaeus 11. 472b: θηλυκῶς δὲ τὴν θηρίκλειον εἶπε Μένανδρος ἐν Θεοφορουμένηῃ

μέσως μεθύων <τὴν> θηρίκλειον ἔσπασεν.

τὴν om. ms. A, suppl. Schweighauser.

## 5 (5 Kō, 227 K)

A scholiast on Plato, *Clitopho* 407a(2) (p. 187 Greene):  
παροιμία:

ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεὸς ἐπεφάνης.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἢ σωτηρίᾳ φαινομένων· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς τραγωδίαις ἐξ ἀφανοῦς θεοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς

<sup>a</sup> On this character (Plutarch of Alexandria, not the essayist from Chaeronea) see Barry Baldwin, *Acta Classica* 20 (1977), 47.

<sup>b</sup> Thericles was a celebrated Corinthian potter around 400 B.C. who produced black high-lustre ware which became very popular in Athens during the following century. Not long after

## 3

Athenaeus: Plutarch<sup>a</sup> gave (the cup) to the slave with an order 'to whizz it around', explaining that this meant 'drinking (from one beaker passed) around the whole circle', producing as evidence a passage from Menander's *Perinthia* (fr. 4) . . . and further from *Theophoroumene*,

He whisks around them quickly the first cup  
Of undiluted wine.

*A description of a drinking party which may perhaps have taken place in the inn mentioned at line 29 of the papyrus fragments. Undiluted wine was normally drunk only in toasts.*

## 4

Athenaeus: Menander in *Theophoroumene* used the word *θηρίκλειος* (Thericlean cup<sup>b</sup>) as a feminine,

Half drunk, he drained the Thericlean dry!

*This may, but does not necessarily, come from the same context as fr. 3.*

## 5

A scholiast on Plato's *Clitopho*: a saying,

You've turned up like a god upon a crane!

Applied to those turning up unexpectedly to help or rescue, since in tragedies gods would appear on stage from some-

the potter's death the term 'Thericlean cup' was also applied to cups of a distinctive shape, with concave sides and small handles, not necessarily made by Thericles himself. See my *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary* (Cambridge 1996/1997), on fr. 5.

σκηνῆς ἐφαίνοντο. Μένανδρος Θεοφορουμένη.

6 (6 Kδ, 228 K)

A scholiast on Plato, *Phaedo* 99c (p. 14 Greene):  
 παρομία·

δεύτερος πλοῦς.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσφαλῶς τι πραττόντων, παρ' ὅσον οἱ διαμαρτόν-  
 τες κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πλοῦν ἀσφαλῶς παρασκευάζονται  
 τὸν δεύτερον. ἐμνήσθη δὲ ταύτης . . . Μένανδρος . . .  
 Θεοφορουμένη.

7 (7 Kδ)

Photius (a 1592 Theodoridis) s.v. ἀναπετώ· ἀναπετάσω.  
 Μένανδρος Θεοφορουμένη.

8 (8 Kδ)

The *Etymologicum Magnum* (388.36): εὐάντητος· ἡ Ῥέα.  
 ἀνταίαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκάλον διὰ τὸ δυσάντητον εἶναι καὶ  
 τοῖς ἀναντῶσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι δυσχεραίνειν· τὸ Νικαδίου  
 ὑπόνημα Θεοφορουμένης, κατ' εὐφημισμὸν· δυσάντης γάρ  
 ἐστὶ καὶ ὀργίλη τοῖς ἀντάζουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι· τὸ Ἄρτιου.

<sup>1</sup>Ἄρτιου ms.: < Ἄμ>αρτίου conj. Sylburg.

<sup>a</sup> In several Greek tragedies, especially those of Euripides, a final resolution of a dramatic impasse is provided by the sudden intervention of a deity making his or her appearance suspended from a crane: the *deus ex machina*.

where out of sight.<sup>a</sup> Menander in *Theophoroumene*.

6

A scholiast on Plato's *Phaedo*: a saying,

Next best way.<sup>b</sup>

Applied to people accomplishing an object securely, insofar as those who have come a cropper in an earlier voyage achieve the second one without fail. This saying was mentioned by . . . Menander in . . . *Theophoroumene*.

7

Photius has an entry stating that Menander in *Theophoroumene* used ἀναπετώ in place of the regular Attic form ἀναπετάσω as the future tense of ἀναπετάννυμι (I open/unfold/spread out).

8

The *Etymologicum Magnum* has the following curious and probably garbled entry: εὐάντητος (well met), sc. the goddess Rhea. They called her 'meetable' because she was a bad person to meet, and made trouble for those who encountered her on the mountains. So Nicadius' *Commentary on Theophoroumene*. A palliative use, for she is bad to meet and angry with those who come upon her on the mountains. So Artius' *Commentary*. It also means 'responsive to supplica-

<sup>b</sup> Literally 'second voyage'. Menander elsewhere (fr. 205 KT) explains this saying much more imaginatively than the scholiast: 'The next best way—this saying clearly means / That if you've lost fair winds, you use your oars.'

σημαίνει δὲ τὸν εὐϊκέτευτον· ἀντεσθαι γὰρ τὸ ἱκετεύσαι.

*One further fragment, whose attribution to  
Θεοφορουμένη is very uncertain*

9 (9 Sandbach in second edition of Oxford Text)

The *Etymologicum Magnum* (782.8): ὑπογράφω καταβάλλομαι, σκιαγραφῶ, βεβαιῶ· τὸ Ἀμαρτίου ὑπομνημα.

Sandbach's attribution of this fragment to *Theophoroumene* is extremely speculative. It rests on two assumptions: (1) that the references to Ἀρτίου in fr. 8 and Ἀμαρτίου here are in one of the two places a corruption of the other (hence Sylburg conjectured <Ἀμ>αρτίου in fr. 8); and (2) that the other author, whether called Artius or Hamartius, wrote no other commentary than that on the *Theophoroumene*.

tion', for 'to supplicate' is the same as ἀντεσθαι (to meet/to supplicate).<sup>a</sup>

*One further fragment, whose attribution to  
Theophoroumene is very uncertain*

9

The *Etymologicum Magnum* defining the verb ὑπογράφω: I commit to writing, I draw in perspective, I confirm/pledge. Hamartius' commentary.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Nothing is known about Artius (if this name is correctly transmitted: see opposite on fr. 9) or Nicadius, but the latter apparently wrote a commentary on *Theophoroumene*, presumably Menander's play. If the entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum* derives ultimately from Nicadius, it seems legitimate to infer that Menander applied the adjective εὐάντητος to Rhea, the great mother goddess of Crete, who was often identified with Cybele (see my note on line 54 of the papyrus fragments of *Theophoroumene*), probably in a lost part of the hymn sung by the demoniac girl to Cybele and the Corybantes.

<sup>b</sup> If this entry ultimately derives from a commentary on Menander's *Theophoroumene* (but see opposite), it implies that the word ὑπογράφω was used in this play in one of the three listed meanings. The second is perhaps the most likely, for the verb appears to be used in the sense 'I make an outline sketch' first in the fourth century B.C.

# MENANDER

EDITED  
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

I

ASPIS TO EPITREPONTES



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MCMXXXIX

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ  
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΘΕΑΤΡΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ

## INTRODUCTION

*Comedy*) before the discovery of *P. Bodmer 26* made possible its identification as part of the *Aspis*.

Fragments 1–5b are scraps or quotations from a variety of sources. See Introduction, pp. xxiv f.

### ASPIS (The Shield)

#### *Manuscripts*<sup>1</sup>

B = *P. Bodmer 26*, the third play (after *Samia* and *Dyskolos*) in a papyrus codex of the third century A.D. It contains lines 1–146, 149–400, 405–82, 497–520, 535–44. First edition: R. Kasser and C. Austin, *Papyrus Bodmer XXVI. Ménandre: Le Boucher* (Cologny-Geneva 1969), with photographs of *P. Bodmer 26* and also (see below) of *P. Cologne 904*.

B = also *P. Cologne 904*, part of folio 31 of *P. Bodmer 26*, detached from its original position. It contains lines 482–97, 520–35. First edition: R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 1 (1967), 103.

F = *PSI 126*, a fragment of papyrus of the fifth century A.D. It contains lines 120–35, 145–60, 378–408, 410–29. First edition: G. Vitelli, *PSI* 2 (1913), 27 ff., with photographs. This fragment was generally known as the *Comoedia Florentina* (*The Florence*

<sup>1</sup> I do not include here several scraps from an Oxyrhynchus papyrus [inv. 16 2B52/E(a) and A 2B48/(a)] provisionally published by E. W. Handley, *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists*, London 1975, 133 ff., with photographs. Handley's tentative suggestion that these scraps may derive from the *Aspis* seems to me mistaken: see pp. 7 ff. below.

\* \* \*

The *Aspis* is only partially preserved. The first two acts and the opening 46 lines of the third are virtually intact, but from the second half of the play hardly more than a hundred fragmentary lines survive. From calculations based on the format of the Bodmer papyrus it appears that the play's original length was between 818 and 883 lines, with the balance of probability in favour of 860 to 870 (cf. J. C. B. Lowe, *BICS* 20 [1973], 94 f.).

The line-numbering of this edition agrees with that in the *editio princeps* of Kasser and Austin, in Austin's *Kleine Texte (Menandri Aspis et Samia, I: Textus*, Berlin 1969), and in Sandbach's Oxford Text (*Menandri Reliquiae Selectae*, Oxford 1972). On the right-hand margin of the Greek text is added, in brackets, the original numbering of the Florence fragment as it is given, for example, in Körte's third Teubner edition (*Menandri quae supersunt*, I, Leipzig 1945).

No hypothesis, didascalical notice, or cast-list is preserved on the papyri. The production date of the play is consequently unknown. Attempts have been made, however, to date the play on internal evidence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g. T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Menander* (2nd edition, Manchester 1960), 103; R. K. Sherck, *AJP* 94 (1973), 94 f.; Ursula Treu, *Antiquité Classique* 45 (1976), 606 f.

## INTRODUCTION

At lines 23 ff., Daos describes how his master Kleostratos had taken part as a mercenary soldier in a Greek freebooting expedition to Lycia on the south coast of Asia Minor; at first there had been easy success and abundant booty, but later, in a battle against the natives fought by the River Xanthos, Kleostratos seemingly had lost his life. Could Menander have based his description here on a real event of contemporary or recent history? Very possibly: but it is impracticable now to attempt to identify it. As Treuber wrote nearly a century ago (*Geschichte der Lykier*, Stuttgart 1887, 140), the operations of Alexander the Great's generals after his death cost Lycia great sacrifices of money and blood. Land and sea armies frequently swarmed over the coastal areas. What we know today from the historians may well represent just the visible tip of a large iceberg: Eumenes' enrolment of mercenaries in Lycia in 318 B.C. (Diodorus Siculus, 18. 61. 4), for example, or Ptolemy's storming of the city of Xanthos in 309 (id. 20. 27).<sup>1</sup> Then fr. 1 of the play contains a reference to the wretched life of 'Those/Who guard the forts, who hold the citadels' and to the dangers that they face of assassination by the dagger. It is just as impracticable, however, to associate this reference precisely with any recent

<sup>1</sup> And the inspiration behind Menander's exciting account need not have been confined to these Lycian incursions. Dr. Treu (*loc. cit.* in the previous note) has perceptively observed that an attack made by one of Antigonos' generals on the Nabataean stronghold of Petra in 312 B.C. (Diodorus, 19. 94 ff.) appears to have had some striking points of similarity to Menander's narrative: early success and rich booty, followed by carelessness in posting guards at night and a consequent severe defeat.

## INTRODUCTION

historical incident as it was to identify the reality behind the description of the Lycian incursion. In the fragment (see n. 1, *ad loc.*) Menander could simply have been recalling in a hackneyed fashion the legend of the tyrannicides of 514 B.C., or alternatively he could have based his remarks on one of the many political assassinations that occurred during his dramatic career. Allegedly historical references in the play text are unsatisfactory guides for dating the *Aspis*.

Certain dramatic weaknesses are particularly noticeable when the play is contrasted with the rest of the Menandrian corpus. Sandbach (in his *Commentary*, 62 f.) calls attention to a lack of breadth in some of the main characters; Smikrines is wholly bad in the preserved portion of the play (whether his villainy was redeemed in the lost second half by any compensating virtue, we cannot of course now know), and Daos by comparison seems rather too faultless. A second dramatic weakness is revealed in Menander's handling of dialogue when three characters are on stage together. In all the other plays, including the relatively early *Dyskolos* of 316 B.C., Menander handles his third actor without any sign of strain; tripartite dialogue proceeds with a natural fluency. The extant scenes of the *Aspis*, on the other hand, are played mainly by one or two characters, and the two attempts at tripartite dialogue seem relatively clumsy. At 430 Chaireas and the false doctor enter onto a stage already occupied by Daos and Smikrines. Daos addresses the newcomers, he receives a brief reply from one of them (the other would here be played by a mute), and then immediately the two newcomers disappear into Chaire-

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stratos' house. This hasty passage onto and off stage can be defended dramatically, for Chairestratos is allegedly dying and the doctor's examination of his patient must not be delayed; nevertheless, the brevity of the third character's intervention in the dialogue here is unusual for Menander. At 250 ff. Smikrines, Chairestratos and Chaireas are on stage together, but the handling of Chaireas' part here is less assured than we normally expect from Menander. While Smikrines and Chairestratos converse, Chaireas remains largely silent. We are obliged to assume that he entered with Smikrines and Chairestratos at the beginning of the scene from the casual reference to his presence there at 262, but Chaireas does not open his mouth until the other two have departed at 284. He now delivers a monologue 15 lines long. During the next scene, which is dominated by Daos and Chairestratos, he remains on stage, before departing at 380 to fetch the false doctor. In the 82 lines before his departure, however, his spoken interventions are confined to five words in 347, five words in 375, and 376-79.

We still possess too little of Menander's dramatic output, however, to argue that such treatment of tripartite dialogue (in one case perhaps dramatically justified) ought to be ascribed to dramatic inexperience. An anecdote of Plutarch's (*Mor.* 347F; *testimonium* 11 Körte) implies that Menander wrote very quickly, and even if carelessness over the handling of a minor character is uncharacteristic, it is not in itself a sign of immaturity.

Balanced against these weaknesses are some dramatic virtues of considerable subtlety. In addition to Menander's typically careful and ingenious

## INTRODUCTION

plot-construction, imaginative writing at its best in Daos' vivid but economical description of the Lycian campaign (23 ff.), and the maintenance of interest by precisely calculated frustrations and surprises, the hand of a master is revealed in a number of subtle or ironic details. The theatrically effective repartee of Daos' *κληρονόμω* (85) and *οικέλιον* (89), stinging last words appended to otherwise innocuous remarks; the paradoxical application of *ιερόσυλε* (227) to a man who is in fact honest in a situation that conventionally invites thieving; the way in which Daos' flood of tragic quotations at the beginning of Act III puts an ironic and unexpected gloss on this character's earlier remark (329 f.) 'You must perform/A sombre tragedy' (cf. *Greece and Rome* 22 [1975], 144 f., 149, 150 f.)—such details suggest the sensitive touch of an experienced playwright, not an apprentice. The question of the play's dating must accordingly be left open.

\* \* \*

In a fascinating paper (*Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists*, London 1975, 133 ff.), E. W. Handley provisionally published some fragments from an Oxyrhynchus papyrus roll [inv. 16 2B52/E(a) + A 2B48/(a)] dating from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. These fragments contain the mutilated remains of three columns of text from a play of later Greek comedy, and Handley 'suggests, but does not claim,' that this play was Menander's *Aspis*.

At first sight the argument for attribution seems very seductive. The new Oxyrhynchus fragments

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come from a dialogue between an 'angry enquirer' and a slave, and one of the subjects of their conversation is an inventory of possessions (A14 f.). In the *Aspis* Smikrines makes several enquiries from the slave Daos about Kleostratos' possessions (82 ff.) and later complains angrily that Daos has not provided him with an inventory of these possessions (391 ff.). Could the new fragments, Handley asks, have belonged to a scene between Smikrines and Daos which originally slotted into the big lacuna after line 468?

Handley's theory, unfortunately, is not corroborated by further coincidences of detail. The names Smikrines and Daos do not appear in the new Oxyrhynchus fragments, nor are there any verbal ties with any known fragments of the *Aspis*. These facts alone must sound a warning against too ready an acceptance of the attribution, especially when one takes into consideration the number of Greek comedies whose plots focused on possessions and inheritances. Furthermore, three details in the Oxyrhynchus fragments appear not to tally exactly with the specifications of the *Aspis*' plot.

(i) The inventory mentioned in the new fragments is to include 'in detail/[All that's] inside, and [all] we've loaned to people' (A14-15). If the subject of the inventory were Kleostratos' property, this reference to 'loans' would tie up well enough with Daos' references to 'seals on goods' and 'contracts' when he was talking about Kleostratos in an early scene of the *Aspis* (195). But in the gap after line 468 of that play Smikrines' interests will suddenly have switched away from Kleostratos' property to that of Chairestratos, and any reference by Daos in

## INTRODUCTION

these new circumstances to '[all] we've loaned to people' becomes less easy to explain. As Kleostratos' devoted slave he could readily associate himself with his lost master in references to Kleostratos' property; he was not Chairestratos' slave, and so could hardly use the first person plural in reference to loans which Chairestratos had made.

(ii) Another scrap of the Oxyrhynchus fragments (C1) appears to mention the *archon polemarchos*. In Menander's time this official's legal duties were particularly attached to disputes about inheritance involving metics (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 58).<sup>1</sup> This suggests that the plot of the play in the Oxyrhynchus fragments revolved around a disputed inheritance involving a person or persons of non-Athenian citizenship. The characters at the centre of the dispute in the *Aspis*, however, are of pure Athenian blood. An Iberian girl, it is true, is mentioned in an ancient citation from this play (fr. 2), but it is unlikely that she played any functional role in its plot; most probably she was merely given a passing mention as (for instance) one of the slave girls in Kleostratos' booty.

(iii) An obscure and partly indecipherable note in the margin of one of the Oxyrhynchus fragments (B18) refers to somebody called Kallias. This name is perhaps most plausibly interpreted as that of a character in the play (cf. e.g. *Encheiridion* 8). There is, however, no Kallias in Menander's *Aspis*.

When everything is taken into account, the balance of the evidence seems to be tilted against

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens, I: The Family and Property*, Oxford 1968, 193 ff.



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Handley's attribution of the new Oxyrhynchus fragments to Menander's *Aspis*. Accordingly, they are not printed here. Further illumination is needed.<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \*

*Dramatis personae*, in order of speaking, so far as is known:

Daos, an elderly slave, former tutor of Kleostratos

Smikrines, Kleostratos' uncle

The goddess Chance (Τύχη), speaker of the prologue

A cook (see p. 38, n. 2)

A waiter

Chairestratos, Smikrines' younger brother

Chaireas, Chairestratos' stepson

A friend of Chaireas, disguised as a doctor

Kleostratos, son of an unnamed dead brother of Smikrines and Chairestratos

Mute characters include a group of Lycian captives with pack animals, Spinther the cook's assistant, slaves of Chairestratos, and possibly Kleostratos' sister and Chairestratos' daughter. There is a conventional chorus of tipsy revellers, to perform the entr'actes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Rossi, *Prometheus* 3 (1977), 43 ff.; E. W. Handley, *BICS* 24 (1977), 132 ff.

## ΑΣΠΙΣ

(SCENE: Athens. A city street, with two adjoining houses. One belongs to Smikrines, the other to his younger brother Chairestratos.)

(At the beginning of the play Daos, formerly Kleostratos' tutor, enters carrying a badly buckled shield. He is preceded by a mournful group of Lycian captives with pack-animals carrying booty: gold coins, silver cups,

### ΔΑΟΣ

] ἡμέραν ἄγω,  
 ᾧ τρόφιμε, τὴν [νῦν,] οὐδὲ διαλογίζομαι  
 παραπλήσι' ὡς τό[τ' ἤλ]πισ' ἔσορμώμεν[ος.  
 ᾧμην γὰρ εὐδο[ξο]ῦντα καὶ σωθέντα σ[ε]  
 5 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐν βίῳ τ' εὐσχήμονι  
 ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν καταβιώσεσθαί τιני,  
 στρατηγὸν ἢ σ[ύμ]β[ο]υλον ὠνομασμένον,  
 καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἥσπερ ἐξώρμας τότε  
 ἕνεκα, σεαυτοῦ νυμφίῳ καταξίω  
 10 συνοικεῖν ποθεινὸν ἦκοντ' οἴκαδε,

In the apparatus to this play, those corrections and supplements whose author is not named were made by C. Austin, *Menandri Aspis et Samia, I: Textus* and *II: Subsidia Interpretationis* (*Kleine Texte* 188a, 188b, Berlin 1969–70). 1 The opening part of the line, a length of about 16 letters, is torn off

## ASPIS

(The Shield)

*clothes of rich fabric. Daos' opening speech apostrophises Kleostratos, the master he loved and left apparently dead on the battlefield, but his words are overheard by Smikrines, who must therefore have either already entered the stage from his house at the time of Daos' arrival, or come on stage in company with Daos and his party.)*

### ΔΑΟΣ

Today's [as sad a] day [as] I have spent,  
 Master, and all the thoughts that cloud my brain  
 Aren't what I hoped they'd be when we set off.  
 I thought you'd come back safe and rich in honour  
 From your campaign, and afterwards you'd live 5  
 Your future years in style. You'd have the title  
 Of General or Counsellor of State,  
 And see your sister, for whose sake you went  
 Campaigning,<sup>1</sup> married to a man you felt  
 Was right, upon your glad arrival home. 10

<sup>1</sup> His aim was to win some booty, which would help to provide his sister with a dowry.

in B. 2 Suppl. ed. pr. 3 [ἤλ]πισ' Lloyd-Jones. 4 εὐδο[ξο]ῦντα Sandbach. σωθοντα B. 7 Suppl. ed. pr. 8 ἠσπερ B.

MENANDER

ἔμοί τ' ἔσεσθαι τῶν μακρῶν πόνων τινὰ  
 ἀνάπαυσιν εἰς τὸ γῆρας εὐνοίας χάριν.  
 νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν οἴχει παραλόγως τ' ἀνήρπασαι,  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ παιδαγωγός, ὦ Κλεόστρατε,  
 15 τὴν οὐχὶ σώσασάν σε τήνδ' ἐλήλυθα  
 ἀσπίδα κομίζων ὑπὸ δὲ σου σεσωσμένην  
 πολλάκις· ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἦσθα τὴν ψυχὴν μέγας,  
 εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ  
 τῆς ἀνεπίστου τύχης,

ὦ Δᾶε.

ΔΑΟΣ  
 δευῆς.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ  
 πῶς δ' ἀπώλετ' ἢ τίτι

20 τρόπῳ;

(KT fr. 70) ΔΑΟΣ  
 στρατιώτῃ, Σμικρίνῃ, σωτηρίας  
 ἔστ' ἔργον εὐρεῖν πρόφασιν, δόλεθρου δ' εὐπορον.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ  
 ὅμως διήγησαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, Δᾶε, μοί.

ΔΑΟΣ  
 ποταμός τις ἐστὶ τῆς Λυκίας καλούμενος  
 Ξάνθος, πρὸς ᾧ τότε ἦμεν ἐπεικῶς μάχαις

11 μακρων B. 14 ὦ om. B. 15 σασαν B. 17 τῆς B. 20 Corr.  
 Edmonds, Austin: στρατιωτῆς B, -την mss. of Stobaeus, *Eccl.* 4.  
 12. 6. 22 διηγησασθαι B. 23 Corr. several: καλουμένης B.

ASPIS

And for me too, as I grew old, I hoped  
 There'd be a rest from these long labours, after all  
 I'd done for you. But now you're dead, snatched off  
 Against all reason, and, Kleostratos,  
 It's I who've come—your tutor, bringing back 15  
 This shield which didn't protect you, though you often  
 Protected it. You always showed fine spirit,  
 Second to none.

SMIKRINES (*coming forward*)  
 Oh Daos, what a tragedy!  
 So unexpected!

DAOS  
 Terrible.

SMIKRINES  
 How did he die?  
 What way?

DAOS  
 If you're a soldier, Smikrines, 20  
 It's hard to find good reasons for survival;  
 For death though, easy.

SMIKRINES  
 But what happened? Tell me,  
 Daos.

DAOS  
 In Lycia there's a river called  
 The Xanthos.<sup>1</sup> There we saw some action, quite a lot,

<sup>1</sup> Its modern name is the Eşen Çai, which flows into the sea on the south coast of Turkey, about 95 miles south-west of Antalya.

MENANDER

25 *πολλαῖς διευτυχοῦντες, οἳ τε βάρβαροι*  
*ἐπεφεύγεσαν τὸ πεδίον ἐκκλειοπότες.*  
*ἦν δ' ὡς ἔοικε καὶ τὸ μὴ πάντ' εὐτυχεῖν*  
*χρήσιμον· ὁ γὰρ πταίσας τι καὶ φυλάττεται.*  
 29 *ἡμᾶς δ' ἀτάκτους πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἡγαγε*  
 (ΚΤ fr. 71) *τὸ καταφρονεῖν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐκκλειοπότες*  
*τὸν χάρακα τὰς κώμας ἐπόρθουν, τοὺς ἀγροὺς*  
*ἐκοπτον, αἰχμάλωτ' ἐπώλουν, χρήματα*  
*ἕκαστος ἐ[ῖ]χε πόλλ' ἀπελθών.*

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

ὡς καλόν.

ΔΑΟΣ

*αὐτὸς δ'] ὁ τρόφιμος συναγαγὼν χρυσοῦς τινας*  
 35 *ἑξακοσί[ους, ποτήρι' ἐπιεικῶς συχνά,*  
*τῶν τ' αἰχ[μαλώτων τοῦτον ὃν ὄρας πλησίον*  
*ὄχλον, δια]πέμπει μ' εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ τω ξένω*  
*φράζει κ]αταλιπόντ' αὐτὰ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πάλιν*  
*τάχιστ' ἀ]ναστρέφειν.*

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

τί οὖν δὴ γίνεται;

ΔΑΟΣ

40 *ἐγὼ μὲν ἐξώρμων ἔωθεν· ἦ δ' ἐγὼ*  
*ἀπῆρον ἡμέρα λαθόντες τοὺς σκοποῦς*

31 *τονκαταχαρασκωμας* B. 33 *απελθειν* B. 34 Suppl. Jacques. *συναγων* B. 35, 36 Suppl. ed. pr. 37 *ὄχλον* suppl. ed. pr. *δια]πέμπει* suppl. Arnott, Jacques. 38 *φράζει* suppl. Kassel. *κ]αταλιπόντ'* αὐτὰ Pieters: *]αταλιπεινταυτα* B.

ASPIS

And we'd been lucky all the time. The natives 25  
 Had taken to their heels and left the plain.  
 It looks as if *not* winning everything  
 Is an advantage. When you've had a fall  
 You take care. Over-confidence led us  
 Undisciplined towards the morrow. Many 30  
 Were out of camp, looting the villages,  
 Destroying crops, selling their booty. Everyone  
 Came back with loads of money.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

Excellent!

ΔΑΟΣ

My master had [himself] collected some 35  
 [Six hundred] gold staters,<sup>1</sup> and quite a number  
 Of cups, and all this [crowd] of slaves you see  
 Around you. Well, he sent me over to Rhodes  
 And [told] me to leave them there with a friend,  
 And hurry back again to him.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

What happened then?

ΔΑΟΣ

I planned to start at dawn, but on the day 40  
 When I was setting out, without our scouts

<sup>1</sup> At the time of this play, a gold stater (*χρυσοῦς*) was worth 20 silver drachmas in Athens. 600 gold staters, therefore, were the equivalent of 12,000 drachmas or two talents, a suitable figure for a dowry on the comic stage (cf. *Aspis* 135 f., 268 f., and Handley's edition of the *Dyskolos*, on lines 842-44).

MENANDER

τοὺς ἡμετέροισι οἱ βάρβαροι λόφον τινα  
ἐπίπροσθ' ἔχοντες ἔμενον, αὐτομόλων τινωῶν  
πεπυσμένοι τὴν δύναμιν ἐσκεδασμένην.

45 ὡς δ' ἐγένεθ' ἑσπέρα κατὰ σκηνάς θ' ἅπαν  
ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔκ τε χώρας ἄφθονα  
ἅπαντ' ἐχούσης, οἷον εἰκόσ γίνεται.

(KT fr. 74?) ἐβρύαζον οἱ πλεῖστοι.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

πονηρόν γε σφόδρα.

ΔΑΟΣ

ἄφνω γὰρ ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς μοι δοκεῖ.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

50 ..] . . . . . [ . . . . . υσ . . φα . . [ . . ] . [

(Lacuna of one line)

ΔΑΟΣ

] . . [ . . . . ] . εγω

]τα περὶ μέσας δ' ἴσως

νύκτας φυλακῆν τῶν χρημάτων ποούμενος

55 τῶ]ν τ' ἀνδραποδίων περιπατ[ῶ]ν ἔμπροσθε τῆς

σκηνῆς ἀκούω θόρυβον οἰμω[γ]ῆν δρόμον

ἄδυρμόν, ἀνακαλοῦντας αὐτοὺς ὀνόματι,

ὧν καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤκουον· εὐτυχῶς δέ τι

λοφίδιον ἦν ἐνταῦθ' ὀχυρόν· πρὸς τοῦτ' ἄνω

60 ἠθροῖζόμεσθα πάντες, οἱ δ' ἐπέρρεον

ἰππεῖς ὑπασπισταὶ στρατιῶται τραύματα

ἔχοντες.

48 βρυάζον B. 54 Suppl. Kassel. 55 τ' Kassel: δ' B. 55, 56  
Suppl. ed. pr. 58 εκτυχῶς B.

ASPIS

Spotting a trace of movement, the natives seized  
A hill above us, and lay low. They'd learnt  
How scattered our force was from some deserters.  
When evening fell, and all the troops were back 45  
From scouring a land of plenty, and in their tents,  
What happened next was natural: most of our  
Men were carousing.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

That's quite scandalous!

ΔΑΟΣ

Yes. I think there was a surprise attack. 49

(Lines 50 and 51, coming at the bottom of one folio and  
the top of the next, have been torn off the papyrus, and  
lines 52 and 53 are badly mutilated. In this gap  
Smikrines comments or asks a question, and then Daos  
goes on with his story. Presumably he described how he  
had travelled on his mission for just one day, and then  
encamped.)

ΔΑΟΣ

. . . . . ] I suspect it was about 53  
Mid[night], and I was standing guard over the slaves  
And booty, walking up and down in front of 55  
The tent, when I heard noises, cries of grief,  
Men running, wailing, shouting each other's names.  
From them I heard the news. Now, luckily  
There was a knoll, a strong point on the ridge;  
Up to it we all crowded, then in waves 60  
Our wounded flowed in—cavalry, guards, infantry.

MENANDER

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

ὡς ὤνησ' ἀποσταλεῖς τότε.

ΔΑΟΣ

αὐτοῦ δ' ἔωθεν χάρακα βαλόμενοι τινα  
ἐμένομεν, οἱ δὲ τότε διεσκεδασμένοι  
65 ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς αἷς εἶπον ἐπεγίνοντ' αἰεὶ  
ἡμῖν· τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα προήγομεν  
πάλιν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Λυκίους εἰς τὰς ἄνω  
κώμας ἄγειν οὓς ἔλαβον.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεκροῖς  
πεπτωκότ' εἶδες τοῦτον;

ΔΑΟΣ

αὐτὸν μὲν σαφῶς  
70 οὐκ ἦν ἐπιγνώναι· τετάρτην ἡμέραν  
ἔρριμμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξωδηκότες  
τὰ πρόσωπα.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

πῶς οὖν οἶσθ';

ΔΑΟΣ

(KT fr. 72) ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα  
ἔκειτο· συντετριμμένην δέ μοι δοκεῖ  
οὐκ ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν βαρβάρων.  
75 ὁ δ' ἠγεμὼν ἡμῶν ὁ χρηστός καθ' ἓνα μὲν  
κάειν ἐκώλυσεν, διατριβὴν ἐσομένην

62 Speech-division thus indicated by Austin (εχοντεσωσωνησ:  
αποσταλεις B). 63 Reeve: βαλλομενοι B. 64 διεσκεδασμένοι  
Kassel: εσκεδασμενοι B. 65 Corr. Sandbach: επαιτιμοντ' B.

ASPIS

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

How fortunate you'd just been sent away!

ΔΑΟΣ

At dawn we built a palisade, and there  
We stayed. Those who'd got scattered in the raids  
I mentioned now came streaming back to join 65  
Us. Three days later we could move again.  
The Lycians, so we'd heard, were taking off  
Their prisoners to their highland villages.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

And did you see him lying there among the dead?

ΔΑΟΣ

His body I couldn't identify for sure. 70  
They'd been out in the sun three days, their faces were  
Bloated.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

Then how could you be certain?

ΔΑΟΣ

There  
He lay, with his shield. Buckled and bent—that's  
why  
None of the natives took it, I suppose.  
Our fine commander banned all separate 75  
Cremations, for he realised how much time

66 θ' B. Corr. Sandbach: προσηγομεν B. 68 οis B. 73 δέ μοι  
Sandbach after Handley: διεμοι B. 74 ουκ corrected to ουδ'  
in B. 75 Corr. Kassel: ουδ' B. 76 Corr. Kassel: κλαιειν B.

MENANDER

ὄρων ἐκάστοις ὀστολογῆσαι, συναγαγῶν  
 πάντας δ' ἀθρόους ἔκαυσε· καὶ σπουδῇ πάνυ  
 θάψας ἀνέξευξ' εὐθύς· ἡμεῖς τ' εἰς Ῥόδον  
 80 διεπίπτομεν τὸ πρῶτον, εἰτ' ἐκεῖ τινας  
 μείναντες ἡμέρας ἐπλόομεν ἐνθάδε.  
 ἀκήκοάς μου πάντα.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

χρυσοῦς φῆς ἄγειω

ἑξακοσίους;

ΔΑΟΣ

ἔγωγε.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

καὶ ποτήρια;

ΔΑΟΣ

ὄγκην ἴσως μινῶν τετταράκοντ', οὐ πλείονος,  
 85 κληρονόμει.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

πῶς; οἶμι μ' ἐρωτᾶν, εἰπέ μοι,

διὰ τοῦτ'; Ἀπολλων· τᾶλλα δ' ἤρπασθη;

85 μ' omitted by B.

<sup>1</sup> About 18·3 kilogrammes. At that time in Athens a mina weighed 457·8 grammes (cf. M. Lang and M. Crosby, *Weights and Measures and Tokens* [*The Athenian Agora*, volume X: Princeton 1964]).

ASPIS

Would be required for gathering, man by man,  
 The ashes; all the dead were heaped together  
 And burnt, then buried with all speed. Immediately  
 He broke up camp, and we slipped off to Rhodes 80  
 First, where we stayed some days, and then sailed  
 here.  
 Now you've heard all my story.

SMIKRINES

Do you say you've brought  
 Six hundred gold staters?

DAOS

Yes.

SMIKRINES

Silver cups as well?

DAOS

Weighing some forty minas,<sup>1</sup> hardly more—  
 For *you* to inherit.<sup>2</sup>

SMIKRINES

What? Tell me, do you think 85  
 That's why I ask? Apollo! And the rest  
 Were seized?

<sup>2</sup> In hitting at Smikrines' cupidity, Daos exaggerates. By Athenian law, on Kleostratos' death his property would have passed to his unmarried sister. She would thus become an heiress whose disposal in marriage was now limited by strict legal provisions designed to keep the property in the family. Here Smikrines, as head of the family to which Kleostratos belonged, was in a controlling position, as the course of the plot reveals (cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, I, Oxford 1968, 122 ff.).

## DYSKOLOS (The Peevish Fellow)

### *Manuscripts*

B = *P. Bodmer* 4, the second play (between *Samia* and *Aspis*) in a papyrus codex of the third century A.D. It is a virtually complete text of the play. First edition: V. Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer IV. Ménandre: Le Dyskolos*, Cologny-Geneva 1958, with photographs.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently two tiny scraps that had been detached from one page of this codex, containing bits of lines 756–63, 806–10, and 773–77, were identified and published by R. Kasser and C. Austin in *Papyrus Bodmer XXVI. Ménandre: Le Bouquier*, Cologny-Geneva 1969, 48 f., with a photograph.

Berl. = *P. Berlin* 21199, a scrap of papyrus from Hermupolis dating from the sixth or seventh century A.D., and containing the beginnings of lines 452–57 and the ends of 484–89. First edition: H. Maehler, *ZPE* 4 (1969), 113, with a photograph.

H = a fragment of vellum codex, also from Hermupolis, written in the fourth century A.D. and now in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Gr. Class, g. 50 [P]). It contains the beginnings of lines 140–50 and the ends of 169–74. First edition: B. Grenfell and A. Hunt,

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Blake's edition (New York 1966) also contains photographs.

## INTRODUCTION

*Mélanges Nicole*, Geneva 1905, 220 ff.; no photograph has been published.

O = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 2467, two tiny scraps of papyrus from the second century A.D., containing the ends of lines 263–72 and 283–90. First edition: E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 27 (1962), 137, with a photograph.

Oslo = *P. Oslo* 168, a tiny scrap of papyrus roll from an unknown source. Dating to the third or second century B.C., it is by far the earliest fragment of the *Dyskolos* yet known. It contains portions of lines 766–73. First edition: S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses* 3 (1936), 259, publishing it as an unidentified literary fragment. Identification, as well as its correct dating, was achieved by J. Lenaerts, *Papyrus Littéraires Grecs (Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 13 [1977]), 23 ff., where the scrap is republished with a photograph.

\* \* \*

Of the *Dyskolos*' original 969 lines, only nine (650–53, 703–7) are totally lost, and another twenty or so are damaged beyond even ramshackle repair. No other play by Menander is preserved in a state so near completeness. Furthermore, the Bodmer papyrus prefixes to its text a short verse hypothesis or plot-summary, a didascalical notice, and a cast-list. The hypothesis is attributed on the papyrus to Aristophanes of Byzantium, the famous editor and scholar who worked at Alexandria in the second half of the third and the beginning of the second centuries B.C. This attribution is clearly spurious (cf. Handley's



## INTRODUCTION

edition of the play, pp. 121 ff.; and R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford 1968, 190 ff.), for the scansion and language of the hypothesis excite suspicion, and the précis of the plot is inaccurate. It names only Sostratos, for example, as Knemon's rescuer from the well, and then makes Knemon play a part in arranging the marriage between Gorgias and Sostratos' sister. The cast-list seems to be more reliable, whatever its origins may have been. It purports to list the speaking characters of the play in their order of appearance, with brief identifications attached to most of them. If Sostratos' mother had a small speaking part in the *Dyskolos*, as I now believe likely (see the critical apparatus on line 430), her omission from the list between Getas and Simiche is its one real inaccuracy.

It is the didascalical notice, however, which provides information of true value. The material from which it derives was assembled in Alexandria not long after Menander's death from the public records of Athens. Although the text as we have it on the papyrus contains an irritating corruption, its fairly certain emendation enables us to date the play's first production to a winter's day early in 316 B.C., when in the dramatic competition that formed an important part of the festival of the Lenaea the *Dyskolos* won first prize. Menander was then in his middle twenties, a playwright with between four and eight years' practical experience. Did he deserve this early—and apparently not often repeated—success?

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝ(ΟΥΣ) ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙ[Κ](ΟΥ)  
 Η ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

ἔχων θυγατέρα δύσκολος μητρὸς μὲν, ἣν  
 ἔγνημ' ἔχουσαν υἷον, ἀπελείφθη τάχος  
 διὰ τοὺς τρόπους, μόνος δ' ἐπ' ἀγρῶν διατέλει.  
 τῆς παρθένου δὲ Σώστρατος σφοδρῶς ἐρῶν  
 5 προσῆλθεν αἰτῶν· ἀντέπιθθ' ὁ δύσκολος.  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἔπιθεν· οὐκ εἶχ' ὅ τι λέγει  
 ἐκεῖνος. ἐμπεσῶν δὲ Κνήμων εἰς φρέαρ  
 τὸν Σώστρατον βοηθὸν εἶχε διὰ τάχους.  
 κατηλλάγη μὲν τῇ γυναικί, τὴν κόρην  
 10 τούτῳ δ' ἐδίδου γυναικὰ κατὰ νόμους ἔχευ.  
 τούτου δ' ἀδελφὴν λαμβάνει τῷ Γοργία  
 τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς παιδί, πρᾶος γενόμενος.

ἐδίδαξεν εἰς Λήναια ἐπὶ Δημογένους ἄρχοντ(ος) καὶ  
 ἐνίκα. ὑπεκρίνατο Ἀριστόδημος Σκαρφεύς. ἀντεπι-  
 γράφεται(αι) Μισάνθρωπος.

Hypothesis and didascalical notice taken from the Bodmer  
 papyrus.

Hypothesis 1 μὲν, ἣν Bingen, Pfeiffer: *μονη* B. 2 Corr. van  
 Groningen: *ετημεν* B. 5 Corr. Mayer, Pfeiffer: *αντεπιθθ'* B.  
 6 ἔπιθεν Diano, London seminar: *επειθεν* B. *οτιποι* B, with  
*λεγοι* added in margin. 10 *τηγγυναικα* B. ἔχειν Lloyd-Jones:  
*ερω* B. 11 *τουτω* B.

Didascalical notice Δημογένους ed. pr.: *διδυμογενης* B. Σκαρ-  
 φεύς ed. pr.: *σκαφευς* B. *αντεπιγραφεται* B.

HYPOTHESIS  
 BY ARISTOPHANES THE SCHOLAR<sup>1</sup>

A peevish man, who had a daughter, soon  
 Was left through his behaviour by his wife,  
 Already mother of a son. He lived  
 A hermit in the country. Sostratos  
 Fell madly for the girl. He came and asked. 5  
 The peevish man resisted. He won over  
 Her brother, who was at a loss for words.  
 Knemon fell in a well, was quickly helped  
 By Sostratos. He made up with his wife  
 And gave away the girl as legal wife 10  
 To him, whose sister then on Gorgias,  
 His wife's son, he bestowed, now mollified.

(DIDASCALIC NOTICE)

(Menander) produced (this play) at the Lenaea  
 festival when Demogenes was archon<sup>2</sup> and won first  
 prize. Aristodemus of Scarphe<sup>3</sup> was his principal  
 actor. It has an alternative title ' *The Misanthrope* '.

<sup>1</sup> This attribution to Aristophanes of Byzantium is spurious:  
 see above, p. 177 f.

<sup>2</sup> Demogenes was eponymous archon of Athens from summer  
 317 to summer 316, and the Lenaea festival was celebrated  
 each year in January. The date of the play's first production  
 was thus January 316 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> This actor is otherwise unknown. Scarphe, otherwise  
 known as Scarpheia, was an important town in Locris near  
 Thermopylae. It was the birthplace of another comic actor  
 who won fame in Athens, Lycon, active in the 320s.

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤ(ΟΣ) ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

Πάν, ὁ θεός  
 Χαιρέας, ὁ παράσιτος  
 Σώστρατος, ὁ ἐρασθεΐς  
 Πυρρίας, ὁ δούλος  
 Κνήμων, ὁ πατήρ  
 παρθένος θυγατήρ Κνήμων(ος)  
 Δᾶος  
 Γοργίας, ὁ ἐκ μ[η]τρὸς ἀδελφ[ός]  
 Σίκων μάγειρος  
 Γέτας, ὁ δούλο[ς]  
 Σιμίχη γραῦς  
 Καλλιπίδης π[α]τήρ τοῦ Σωστράτ[ου]

Cast-list, as it appears in the Bodmer papyrus.

After Γέτας, ὁ δούλος the entry μήτηρ Σωστράτου seems to have been omitted (see on line 430). B here and elsewhere has αμικη (see on 636).

DRAMATIS PERSONAE, in order of speaking:

The god Pan, speaker of the prologue  
 Chaireas, a friend of Sostratos<sup>1</sup>  
 Sostratos, a young man in love  
 Pyrrhias, a slave in Sostratos' family  
 Knemon, the peevish old fellow  
 Knemon's daughter, still unmarried  
 Daos, the slave of Gorgias  
 Gorgias, a young farmer, half-sister to Knemon's daughter  
 Sikon, a cook  
 Getas, a slave in Sostratos' family  
 Sostratos' mother<sup>2</sup>  
 Simiche, an old woman, Knemon's slave  
 Kallippides, Sostratos' father

Mute characters: a group of people accompanying Sostratos's mother to the sacrifice at the shrine of Pan (these include Plangon, Sostratos' sister; Parthenis, a hired girl-piper; and two male slaves, Donax and Syros); Myrrhine, Knemon's wife and Gorgias' mother by a former marriage; the piper who accompanies the scene from 880 to 958; and—if it can be called a mute—the sheep brought by Sikon on his first appearance. There is a conventional chorus of tipsy revellers, characterised here as Pan-worshippers, to perform the entr'actes.

<sup>1</sup> The cast-list in the papyrus identifies Chaireas as a 'parasite' (see the note after line 49). If this identification has any authority—and of that we cannot be certain—its implication will be only that Chaireas' friendship for Sostratos was bought rather than freely given.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted by the cast-list in the papyrus.

MENANDER

ἐν τῷ λαλεῖν. ποῖον λέγειν δεῖ τουτο]νί;  
 οὐ πᾶν φιλόφθωρον βλ[έπειν μ]οι φαίνεται,  
 μὰ τὸν Δί'. ὡς δ' ἐσπούδακ'. ἐπ[ανά]ξω βραχὺ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας· βέλτιον. ἀλλὰ κ[αὶ β]οᾷ  
 150 μόνος βαδίζων· οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν μ[οι] δοκεῖ.  
 δέδοικα μέντοι, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ θεούς,  
 αὐτόν· τί γὰρ ἂν τις μὴ οὐχὶ τάληθῆ λέγοι;

ΚΝΗΜΩΝ

εἶτ' οὐ μακάριος ἦν ὁ Περσεὺς κατὰ δύο  
 τρόπους ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι πετηνὸς ἐγένετο  
 155 κοῦδενὶ συνήντα τῶν βαδίζόντων χαμαί,  
 εἶθ' ὅτι τοιοῦτο κτῆμ' ἐκέκτηθ' ᾧ λίθους  
 ἅπαντας ἐπέει τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας; ὅπερ ἐμοὶ  
 νυνὶ γένοιτ'. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀφθονώτερον  
 λιθίων γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνδριάντων πανταχοῦ.  
 160 νῦν δ' οὐ βιωτόν ἐστι, μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν.  
 λαλοῦσ' ἐπεμβαίνοντες εἰς τὸ χωρίον  
 ἦδη. παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν γάρ, νῆ Δία,  
 εἴωθα διατρίβειν· ὅς οὐδ' ἐργάζομαι  
 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοῦ χωρίου, πέφηνγα δὲ  
 165 διὰ τοὺς παριόντας. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς λόφους ἄνω  
 ἦδη διώκουσ'. ὦ πολυπληθείας ὄχλου.  
 οἴμοι· πάλιν τις οὐτοσί πρὸς ταῖς θύρας  
 ἔστηκεν ἡμῶν.

146 Lloyd-Jones opposes any change of speaker (B has paragraphus and μ: while H may have paragraphus). 147, 148, 149 Suppl. several. 148 ωσδ' B: οὐδ' altered to ωσ H. 151 κατουσθεους B. 156 ωλιθιουους B. 159 ἂν om. B. 164 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοῦ χωρίου Barrett, Thierfelder: τοιουτοτομεροσχωριου B. 167 προταις B.

DYSKOLOS

Are always unconvincing!—How [could one (?)]  
 describe  
 [A man like *him*<sup>1</sup> (?)]? His look doesn't seem to me  
 At all benevolent, by Zeus no! What  
 Determination! I'll move from the door  
 A bit. That's better. Why, he's walking by himself, 150  
 Yelling. He doesn't look sane. Apollo and the gods,  
 I'm scared of him—why not admit the truth?

(*Knemon, who now occupies the centre of the stage, has not noticed Sostratos yet. He addresses the audience.*)

ΚΝΗΜΩΝ

Well, wasn't that Perseus such a lucky fellow,<sup>2</sup>  
 On two accounts? He had some wings, and so  
 Didn't meet any pedestrians on the ground. 155  
 And then he owned a sort of instrument  
 With which he petrified all who annoyed him!  
 I wish I had one now! Then nothing would  
 Be commoner all over than stone statues!  
 But now life's not worth living, by Asclepius. 160  
 Today men trespass on my land and—talk!  
 You think I usually waste my time along  
 The roadside? I don't cultivate at all  
 That part of my land, I've abandoned it because  
 Of all the travellers. Now they chase me up 165  
 Onto the hill-tops. Oh, the teeming, swarming crowds!  
 Oh no! Here's one more of them, standing by  
 Our door!

<sup>1</sup> Sc. Knemon.

<sup>2</sup> Perseus' winged sandals were given to him by the god Hermes, to help him on his crusade against the Gorgon Medusa. When he killed her, he cut off her head, which had the power even in death to turn all who looked on it to stone.

MENANDER

ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

ἄρα τυπτήσῃ γέ με;

ΚΝΗΜΩΝ

ἐρημίας οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμοῦ τυχεῖν,  
170 οὐδ' ἂν ἀπάγξασθαι τις ἐπιθυμῶν τύχη.

ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνει;—περιμένω, πάτερ, τινὰ  
ἐνταῦθα· συνθέμην γάρ.

ΚΝΗΜΩΝ

οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον;

τουτὶ στοὰν νενομίκατ' ἢ τὸ τοῦ Λεῴ;  
πρὸς τὰς ἐμὰς θύρας, εἰάν ἰδεῖν τινα  
175 βούλησθε, συντάττεσθ' ἀπαντᾶν· παντελῶς,  
καὶ θῶκον οἰκοδομήσατ', ἂν ἔχητε νοῦν,  
μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ συνέδριον. ὦ τάλας ἐγὼ·  
ἐπηρεασμὸς τὸ κακὸν εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ.

168 τυπτήσῃ B. 169-74 Scraps of the ends of these lines are preserved in H. 173 τουτοσι B. Λεῴ (as proper name) Koumanoudis, Wycherley: λεω B. 175 Corr. Lloyd-Jones: συνταττεσθεπαντα B. 176 Corr. several: εαν B. 177 συνεδριον:ω B (without, however, any paragraphus under the beginning of the line).

<sup>1</sup> In the Athenian agora there were several stoas, long open colonnades, where people could shelter from rain, sun or wind, walk, watch processions, meet friends, talk, and transact many kinds of official or private business.

<sup>2</sup> Leos was one of the Athenian heroes after whom a political tribe was named. According to the legend he sacrificed his

DYSKOLOS

ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (*aside*)

I wonder if he means to hit me?

ΚΝΗΜΟΝ (*still addressing the audience*)

A man can't find privacy anywhere,  
Not even if he wants to hang himself!

170

(*Sostratos comes tentatively forward. His first remark is made aside, then he plucks up courage to address Knemon.*)

ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

Is he annoyed with me?—Sir, here I'm waiting  
For someone, by arrangement.

ΚΝΗΜΟΝ

Didn't I say so? Do  
You people think this is a stoa,<sup>1</sup> or  
The shrine of Leos<sup>2</sup>? If you want to see  
A man, arrange to meet him at my door.  
Yes—build a bench, if you've a mind to it,  
Or better still, a council chamber! Oh, it breaks  
My heart! It's interference that's the trouble,  
In my judgment!

175

(*Knemon storms off into his house, leaving Sostratos alone on stage.*)

daughters for the good of the city. His shrine (which may have been identical with that of his daughters, the so-called Leokoreion) seems to have been a popular rendezvous in the Athenian agora (cf. H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens* [*The Athenian Agora, volume XIV*: Princeton 1972], 121 ff.).

MENANDER

ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ

εἶναι νομίζω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγὼ  
 τοῖς τ' εὐτυχοῦσιν τοῖς τε πράττουσιν κακῶς  
 πέρας τι τούτου καὶ μεταλλαγὴν τινα·  
 καὶ τῷ μὲν εὐτυχοῦντι μεχρὶ τούτου μένειν  
 275 τὰ πράγματ' εὐθενοῦντ' αἰεὶ τὰ τοῦ βίου,  
 ὅσον ἂν χρόνον φέρειν δύνηται τὴν τύχην  
 μηδὲν ποιήσας ἄδικον· εἰς δὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν  
 ἔλθῃ προαχθεὶς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἐνταυθὰ που  
 τὴν μεταβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ χεῖρον λαμβάνειν·  
 280 τοῖς δ' ἐνδεῶς πράττουσιν, ἂν μηδὲν κακὸν  
 ποιῶσιν ἀποροῦντες, φέρωσι δ' εὐγενῶς  
 τὸν δαίμον', εἰς πίστιν ποτ' ἐλθόντας χρόνω,  
 βελτίον' εἶναι μερίδα προσδοκᾶν τινα.  
 τί οὖν λέγω; μήτ' αὐτός, εἰ σφόδρ' εὐπορεῖς,  
 285 πίστευε τούτῳ, μήτε τῶν πτωχῶν πάλιν  
 ἡμῶν καταφρόνει· τοῦ διευτυχεῖν δ' αἰεὶ  
 πάρεχε σεαυτὸν τοῖς ὀρώσιν ἄξιον.

ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

ἄτοπον δέ σοί τι φαίνομαι νυνὶ ποεῖν;

ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ

ἔργον δοκεῖς μοι φαῦλον ἐξηλωκέσαι,  
 290 πείσειν νομίζων ἐξαμαρτεῖν παρθένον  
 ἐλευθέραν ἢ καιρὸν ἐπιτηρῶν τινα

273 Corr. several: τουτο B. 279 λαμβανει B. 283-90 Scraps of the very ends of these lines are found in O. 284 μητ' B: μηδ' ms. S of Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 3. 22. 19. O has the variant (or gloss) ευτυχεις written above ευπορεις. 286 τουδιευτυχειν B:

DYSKOLOS

GORGIAΣ

For all  
 Mankind, I think—successes, failures too—  
 There is a boundary, a turning point  
 In their positions. The successful man's  
 Worldly prosperity continues just so long 275  
 As he can buttress his good fortune by  
 Avoiding any crimes. However, if  
 He's lured to evil by his affluence,  
 His fortune switches then, I think, into decline.  
 If, on the other hand, the less successful, 280  
 Despite their poverty, keep clear of evil,  
 Shouldering their destiny with honour, and  
 Achieving in the end a credit balance, they'll  
 Expect their stock to improve. My message, then,  
 is this:  
 You may be very rich, but don't you bank on it, 285  
 Don't trample, either, on us down-and-outs! Always  
 Show onlookers that you deserve a durable  
 Prosperity!

SOSTRATOS (*after the lecture, even more mystified*)

You feel I'm doing something now  
 That's out of place?

GORGIAΣ

You've set your heart, I think,  
 On a foul deed. You're hoping to seduce 290  
 An innocent free girl, or looking for a chance

τοῦδ' εὐτυχεῖν S of Stob. 287 Corr. Gesner: σαυτῶν B, S of Stob. 288 Corr. several: τισοι B. 289 ἐξηλωκεναι B.

MENANDER

ΓΕΤΑΣ

νῆ Δί', ἀπεσώθητέ γε.

435 ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀγδίας· καθήμεθα  
χρόνον τοσοῦτον περιμένοντες.

ΜΗΤΗΡ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

εὐτρεπῆ

ἅπαντα δ' ἡμῖν ἔστι;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία·

τὸ γοῦν πρόβατον· μικροῦ τέθνηκε γάρ.

ΜΗΤΗΡ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

τάλαν·

οὐ περιμένει τὴν σὴν σχολήν. ἀλλ' εἴσιτε·

440 κανᾶ πρόχειρα, χέρνιβας, θυλήματα  
ποιεῖτε. ποῖ κέχηνας, ἐμβρόντητε σύ;

ΚΝΗΜΩΝ

κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε. ποιουσὶν γέ με  
ἀργόν· καταλιπεῖν γὰρ μόνην τὴν οἰκίαν

436 New speaker before εὐτρεπῆ suggested by several, identified (see above, on 430–31) by Ritchie (περιμενοντεσευτρ:επη Β). 438–41 Speech-divisions and identification of speakers uncertain: here the former follow Β, the latter Blake. 438 ταλαν' Β. 440 προχειρα Β. 441 κεχνας Β.

<sup>1</sup> All these were needed for a sacrifice: spring water for lustration; a basket for the barley grains whose sprinkling on the victim was part of the preliminary ritual; and cakes (either

DYSKOLOS

ΓΕΤΑΣ

By Zeus, you've  
Arrived here safely! Heracles, how tedious!  
We've been kept waiting such a long time!

435

SOSTRATOS' MOTHER

Is

Everything ready for us?

ΓΕΤΑΣ

By Zeus, yes—at least  
The *sheep* is. The suspense has all but killed  
It!

SOSTRATOS' MOTHER

Poor thing, it can't wait for your convenience!

(Here she turns to address her attendants)

In you all go! Prepare the baskets, water, cakes.<sup>1</sup>  
What are you staring at, you imbecile?

(While these lines are being spoken, Getas and the party move off into the shrine, and line 441 is most probably addressed to the last loitering attendant to leave the stage, although it could just possibly refer to the bemused Knemon, left all alone now on the stage after Sostratos' mother has followed Getas and the party inside.)

ΚΝΗΜΩΝ

You filthy scum, to hell with you!—They stop  
Me doing any work. I couldn't leave

edible ones, of meal sprinkled with honey and wine, or cakes of incense: ancient accounts differ) for another part of the ceremony.

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην. αἰ δὲ Νύμφαι μοι κακὸν  
 445 ἀ[ῦ]ται· παροικοῦσ', ὥστε μοι δοκῶ πάλιν  
 με]τοικοδομήσειν, καταβαλὼν τὴν οἰκίαν,  
 (KT fr. 117) ἐντ[έ]θεν. ὡς θύουσι δ' οἱ τοιχωρῦχοι,  
 κοίτας φέρονται, σταμνί', οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν  
 ἔνεκ', ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβῆς  
 450 καὶ τὸ πόπανον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ  
 ἅπαν ἐπιτεθέν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀσφῦν ἄκραν  
 καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἐστ' ἄβρωτα, τοῖς θεοῖς  
 ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τᾶλλα καταπίνουσι. γραῦ,  
 ἄνοιγε θᾶπτον τὴν θύραν· [ποητέ]ον  
 455 ἐστὶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τᾶνδον, ὡ[ς ἐμοί] δοκεῖ.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τὸ λεβήτιον, φῆς, ἐπιέλλη[σθ]ε; παντελῶς  
 ἀποκραιπαλάτε. καὶ τί νῦν ποιή[σ]ομεν;

445 ἀ[ῦ]ται Stoessl : α[.]. αρ Β, where the third letter could be γ, π, or τ. 448 Corr. ed. pr.: ]αίφρονται Β, κοίτας φέροντες ms. A of Athenaeus, 4. 146e. 449-52 The opening three (five apparently in 450, but Β may have had an error there) letters of these lines, which are torn off in Β, are supplied from some of the ancient citations (Ath.; Porphyry, *De Abst.* 2. 17) or from Berl. 449 ἑαυτῶν Α of Ath.: εαντον Β. εὐσεβῆς Α of Ath., Β: εὐσεβῆς mss. of Porph. 451 ἐπιτεθέν Α of Ath., Β: τεθέν mss. of Porph. 452-57 The opening 6 to 8 letters of these lines are preserved in Berl. 452 ]την Β, ]αιτην Berl. ὅτι ἐστ' Α of Ath., Β: ὀστέα τὰ (in error for ὀστᾶ τ' ?) ms. L of Clement of Alex., *Strom.* 7. 6. 31. 453 ἐπιθέντες Α of Ath., Β: ἐπιτιθέντες L of Clem. καταπίνουσι Α of Ath., Β: ἀναλίσκουσι L of Clem. 454 Suppl. Blake. 456 Corr. and suppl. Zuntz: ἐπιελη[.]αι Β.

The house all unattended. These Nymphs are  
 Nothing but trouble to me, being next door. 445  
 I think I'll pull my house down, build another  
 Away from here!—Look how the devils sacrifice.  
 They bring hampers and wine-jars, not to please  
 The gods, but their own guts. Their piety  
 Extends to incense and the cake<sup>1</sup>—that's all put on 450  
 The fire, the god can take *that*. And they serve  
 The gods with tail-bone and gall-bladder, just because  
 Men can't eat them.<sup>2</sup> The rest they guzzle down  
 Themselves.—Old woman, quick, open the door!  
 We'd better [do] the inside jobs, [I] think. 455

(*Knemon's final remarks are made while he knocks vigorously on his door. When it is opened, he disappears inside. After a few seconds, Getas enters from the shrine. His opening remarks are addressed back into the shrine, to unseen servant-women in the sacrificial party.*)

GETAS

The stew-pot? You've forgotten it, you say?  
 You're all asleep—with hangovers! Well, what

<sup>1</sup> Specifically, a small round cake usually made of barley.

<sup>2</sup> Though Knemon's anger and character lead him to exaggerate here, there is enough truth in what he says to have made an audience think hard about their religious observances. Although Knemon's views were in no way novel (they belong to a tradition going back a century at least), they were particularly relevant at the time of Menander's play, when philosophers such as Theophrastus (allegedly a teacher of Menander) were seriously interested in the problem, and when legislation was being considered against useless extravagance (see Handley's edition of the *Dyskolos*, *ad loc.*).



## ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΑ

Papyrus fragment O.i + book fragment 1 (258 Körte-Thierfelder)

O.i may be the opening of the play. E. W. Handley (in an unpublished hand-out for a lecture on 'Menander and the Art of Popular Entertainment') noted that book fragment 1 (258 KT) fits neatly on to the end of v. 10 of O.i, with the temple servant switching from iambic trimeters to anapaestic dimeters in mid-speech; in Euripides' *Ion* (1440–1442) Kreousa similarly in mid-speech switches from iambic trimeters to lyrics.

Strabo 10. 2. 9 (p. 452 Casaubon) introduces lines 1 to 5 (ἄναξ) of book fr. 1 as follows: ἔχει δὲ (sc. ὁ Λευκάτας) τὸ τοῦ Λευκάτα Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἄλλα τὸ τοῦς ἔρωτας παύειν πεπιστευμένον, "οὐδὲ Σαπφῶ", ὡς φησιν ὁ Μένανδρος, "τὸν ὑπέρκομπον—δέσποτ' ἄναξ" (v. 5), and continues ὁ μὲν οὖν Μένανδρος πρῶτην ἀλέσθαι (so most mss.: ἄλασθαι mss. enx) λέγει τὴν Σαπφῶ, οἱ δ' ἔτι ἀρχαιολογικώτεροι Κεφάλον φασιν ἔρασθέντα Πτερόλα (corr. Tzschucke: Πτερόλα C, Περόλα D, Πταρόλα all the other mss. of Strabo) τὸν Δημιονέως. Hesychius quotes from line 5 (from εὐφημείσθω) to the end of the fragment (Λευκάδος ἀκτῆς), s.v. (λ 719) Λευκάδος· Μένανδρος Λευκαδία (corr. Bentley: λευκαδεσι ms. H). Bentley was the first to see that the Hesychius citation followed that of Strabo without a break.

## LEUKADIA

(The Girl from Leucas)

(SCENE: *The Temple of Apollo perched on Cape Leucatas in the island of Leucas, with a statue of the god by the entrance-doors. At least one other building is likely to have been visible to the audience, but its occupant or occupants cannot be identified.*)

(Papyrus O.i appears to contain the play's opening lines. The woman who acts as the temple servant is on stage, probably at the temple doors. A girl enters, carrying an empty jar. She has just arrived at the Temple of Apollo on Cape Leucatas.)

## ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

Ἄ]πολλον, εἰς [οἶο]ν κατῳκίσθης τό[πον.  
 ἄ]παντα πέτρα καὶ θάλαττ' ἐστὶν κ[άτω  
 ἰ]δεῖν φοβερὰ τ[ι]ς.

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

χαίρε πολλά, παιδίον.

ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

νῆ καὶ σύ γ', ἦτις εἶ ποθ'.

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

ἦτις εἰμ' ἐγ[ώ];

5 ἦ ζάκορος ἢ κοσμοῦσα τὸν νεώ, τέκνον.  
 ἐφ' ὕδωρ βαδίξεις;

ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

ναιχί.

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

τουτὶ πλ[ησίον];

ἱερ[ὸν θεοῦ 'στι ν]ᾶμα.

ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

μη̄τερ φιλάτ[η,

ἄκουσον· οἶσθ' εἴ[τι] που πέτρα 'στίν, εἰπέ μοι,  
 ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κλισμὸς] ἰθύς, ἵνα τοὺς —

5 KT fr. 686

In this apparatus those supplements whose author is not named were made by the ed. pr. of O.i, P. J. Parsons. 2 Or κ[ύκλω, suppl. Holwerda. 3 τ[ι]ς suppl. Handley. πολλα originally omitted in O.i and then added above *επαιδιον*. 7 ν]ᾶμα suppl. Parsons, the rest Handley. 8, 9 Suppl. Handley.

Papyrus O.i and book fragment 1

GIRL

(addressing the statue by the temple doors)  
 Apollo, [what a] spot you're lodged in here!  
 Nothing but rocks, and sea [below]. It looks  
 Frightful!<sup>a</sup>

TEMPLE SERVANT

My hearty greetings, child.

GIRL

Yes, and the same

To you, whoever you may be!

TEMPLE SERVANT

Whoever I

May be? Child, I'm the servant who looks after  
 The temple. Going for water? 5

GIRL

Yes.

TEMPLE SERVANT

This here,

[Near-by, Apollo's] holy spring?

GIRL

Dear mother,

[Please] tell me, [do you know] if there's a cliff  
 [That drops] straight down, so that the—

<sup>a</sup> These lines are clearly the Greek original of fr. XI of Turpil-  
 ius' *Leucadia*: see p. 220, n. 1.

ἐνθαδί,

- 10 ὄρᾱς, μεγάλη τις. τῆν [γα]ρ ὑψηλὴν λέγεις,  
 οὐ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαφῶ  
 τὸν ὑπέροκτον θηρῶσα Φάων'  
 οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ ῥύσαι πέτρας  
 ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς. ἀλλὰ κατ' εὐχὴν  
 15 σῆν, δέσποτ' ἀναξ, εὐφημίεσθω  
 16 τέμενος πέρι Λευκάδος ἀκτῆς.

11–16 KT fr. 258, Arnott fr. 1.

10 [γα]ρ suppl. Austin. O.i ends at 10; 11–16 = book fr. 1, placed here by Handley. 12 Φάων' Casaubon: Πφάων most mss. of Strabo, Πφάων x. 15 ἀναξ omitted in mss. enx of Strabo. 16 πέρι Bernhardy, ἀκτῆς Musurus: περὶ and ακτις ms. H of Hesychius.

<sup>a</sup> In Menander's day the sixth-century Lesbian poetess Sappho was believed to have fallen in love with Phaon, a mythological Lesbian ferryman who once conveyed the goddess Aphrodite free of charge from his island to the mainland of Asia Minor, and was rewarded by her with an oil that transformed him into the most handsome man in the world. When Sappho was spurned by him, legend made her commit suicide by leaping into the sea from the cliff of Cape Leucatas. There is no known historical basis for the story, which in all probability was the brainchild of some Athenian playwright of Old or Middle Comedy (? Plato the comic poet in his *Phaon*).

<sup>b</sup> Apollo.

<sup>c</sup> Cephalus was an old Attic hero, and Pterelaus a king of the Teleboans; this appears to be the only reference to the unhappy love affair.

(pointing)

Here, [you see],  
 [A big one.] You must mean [that] towering crag — 10  
 (The temple servant here begins to sing (or chant) a long monody in anapaestic dimeters, of which book fr. 1 preserves the first six verses.)

Where 'tis said Sappho first, when pursuing her  
 proud

High and mighty Phaon,<sup>a</sup> in her frenzied desire  
 Threw herself from the cliff that an eye can discern  
 From afar. Even so, by your wish and command,  
 O my master and lord,<sup>b</sup> let due silence enshroud 15  
 Your demesne on the headland of Leucas! 16

(Papyrus O.1 ends at v. 10. Book fr. 1 (here vv. 11–16) fits neatly on the end of v. 10. Vv. 11–15 (up to 'lord') are quoted by the geographer Strabo with the comment (10.2.8) 'It (sc. Cape Leucas on Leucas) has the temple of Apollo Leucatas and the Leap which was believed to end sexual passion: "Where—first," as Menander says, "when pursuing—master and lord." So Menander says that Sappho made the leap first, but those who are far better antiquarians claim that Cephalus the son of Deioneus, when in love with Pterelaus, jumped first.'<sup>c</sup> Vv. 15 (from 'let due silence') to the end of the fragment are quoted by Hesychius in his lexicographical entry for '(Of) Leucas'; by prefixing to his citation 'Menander in the Leukadia' he (unlike Strabo) identifies the play.)

# MENANDER

VOLUME III

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
W. GEOFFREY ARNOTT



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## ΣΙΚΤΩΝΙΟΙ

(SCENE: A street in a part of Attica that is not specifically identified in the preserved portions of the prologue or elsewhere in the play, but passing references indicate that it was most probably Eleusis or a neighbouring deme. In lines 176–271 one character describes events that he has just witnessed at Eleusis, and the same deme is mentioned at 57 in a puzzlingly mutilated context which may or may not imply that it was the dramatic setting. Two houses at least are visible; Smikrines owns one, Stratophanes lodges in the other.)

(The first two fragments (III, IV.A) of the Sorbonne papyrus contain portions of a divine prologue (vv. 1–19, 20–34), followed by the opening lines of a scene introducing in all probability Malthake and another woman. It is uncertain whether this divine prologue opened the play (like Pan's in the *Dyskolos*) or whether it was preceded by one or more scenes involving human characters (as e.g. in *Aspis*, *Heros*, *Perikeiromene*). The identity of the prologue speaker is also uncertain, but in a play highlighting incidents at Eleusis and mentioning its priestess (v. 258) the most appropriate divinity would be one of the local cult goddesses. *Demeter* and *Calligeneia* have been suggested,<sup>1</sup> but in a

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine*

## SIKYONIOI

play whose heroine was kidnapped as a young girl (vv. 2, 354–357) an apter choice might perhaps be *Persephone*, herself the victim of a celebrated abduction.

It is impossible to say how much of the prologue has been lost before v. 1; part only of the play's exposition survives, and the extensive gaps and severe mutilation in the papyrus throughout the first half of the play make much of the earlier dramatic action unknown and undividable. In view of this it may be useful to prefix to text and translation a brief account of the known dramatic antecedents and the problems that the textual gaps cause.

*Kichesias*' daughter *Philoumene* was kidnapped when four years old, along with the slave *Dromon* and an elderly woman (probably the girl's nurse), by pirates at *Halai* in Attica (Sik. 354–57, cf. 2–3); this could have been either *Halai Aixonides* or perhaps more probably *Halai Araphenides*.<sup>2</sup> The extant text does not reveal whether this was *Philoumene*'s home, or whether she was on her way to

*Studies*, 7 (1966) 155 (reprinted in *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea*, Oxford 1990, 74–75), A. Guida, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 46 (1974) 211 n.1.

<sup>2</sup> On these two demes, see note on v. 355 below.

or from a festival such as the *Tauropolia*, held at Halai, or the *Brauronia*, held nearby only three kilometres away.<sup>3</sup> Philoumene and Dromon were taken to Mylasa in Caria, where they were sold as slaves to a wealthy Sicyonian officer (5–15) who was campaigning in the area. This could have been Stratophanes himself or perhaps more plausibly his foster father. The abduction and enslavement occurred ten to twelve years before the play's dramatic present; Philoumene has meanwhile grown up to sexual maturity.

When the play begins Stratophanes has himself just returned from a Carian campaign. He turns out to be one of the two sons of Smikrines, another Athenian, who for some reason (most probably poverty) brought Moschion up himself but handed Stratophanes as a baby over to a Sicyonian woman who wanted children (281–82). Whether she and her husband, identified provisionally above as the officer who bought Philoumene, lived and died in their native Sicyon or as metics in Athens is not made clear in the surviving fragments, but the latter alternative seems likelier. It makes many of the antecedent and ongoing events in the

<sup>3</sup> Both festivals, in which young girls danced wearing attractive costumes, might well have attracted a little child such as Philoumene. On these events see especially A. Brelich, *Paidēs e parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 229–311; L. Kahil in J. N. Coldstream and M. A. R. Colledge (edd.), *Greece and Italy in the Classical World: Acta of the XI International Congress of Archaeology* (London 1978) 73–87; H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103 (1983) 91–98 (= *Greek Comedy etc.*, 313–23); E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison, Wisc. 1983) 83–88, W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (tr. J. Raffan, Oxford 1985) 151–52, R. Osborne, *Demos* (Cambridge 1985) 154–74, and J. P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals* (Princeton 1992) 200–02, 214–19.

play more credible: Smikrines' choice of Sicyonian foster parents for Stratophanes, the presence of Philoumene and Dromon in Attica (resident presumably in the foster parents' house while these latter were still alive, during Stratophanes' absence in Caria), Stratophanes' decision to lodge in Attica on his return to Greece, and his despatch of Pyrrhias 'home' (120) to his foster mother's house. Before the action of the play begins Stratophanes' foster parents had both died. The father had fallen seriously into debt to an unidentified Boeotian (133–35) after a lawsuit, and the mother had died leaving written and other evidence which proved Stratophanes was not their natural son but the legitimate offspring of an Athenian marriage: information which might absolve Stratophanes from responsibility to repay his foster father's debt (138–40).<sup>4</sup>

At the age of 15 or 16 Philoumene was now of marriageable age, and apparently both Stratophanes and Moschion had become enamoured of her (200–66, 397–99). In the fourth act of the play Philoumene and Dromon had fallen into some danger which had induced them to leave their home and seek refuge as suppliants at the entrance to the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis (189–90, cf. the comments linking 52–71 with 72–109). The nature of that danger is not made perfectly clear in what survives of the play, but one explanation may have been Philou-

<sup>4</sup> But contrast the situation in Menander's *Heros*, where Athenian twins are compelled to work off a foster parent's debt as employees of the creditor. It is possible that in *Sikyoniōi* Menander was reproducing or assuming a difference between the laws of Sicyon and Athens. Cf. the Gomme–Sandbach commentary on *Heros* 36 and my Loeb edition, II pp. 4 and 19 note c.

mene's fear that Stratophanes was going to force her into what in her opinion would have been an unlawful marriage (see on vv. 72–109 below). There are, however, other possibilities, which need not be mutually exclusive. Philoumene could have feared from Moschion too an amorous approach which would have been harder for a slave to resist, and would have handicapped her (just as would an unlawful union with Stratophanes) from securing an honourable marriage if she regained her freedom. Or the Boeotian could have come to Athens with the intention of seizing Philoumene and Dromon, together with the house of Stratophanes' foster parents, in payment of the debt he was owed.

Two other characters, whose roles appear to have been highly acclaimed in antiquity (see testimonia III and IV), were involved at least peripherally in some of these actions: Malthake and the parasite Theron. The latter was an Athenian (cf. 144) who acted unscrupulously as Stratophanes' agent; after Stratophanes discovered his Athenian citizenship, Theron resorted to perjury (possibly 52–68, certainly 343–67) in an effort to prove that Stratophanes and Philoumene were born free Athenians and so able to marry each other. Theron's presentation thus closely resembles that of the parasite in Terence's *Phormio*, who similarly used perjury in order to achieve the marriage his young patron desired. Theron, however, has two further interests which the loss of more than half the play makes more difficult to link with the remainder of the plot. He is somehow involved with donkeys and their drivers (395, cf. 411); did he perhaps continue in Athens an earlier employment by Stratophanes on campaign as his officer in charge of baggage animals? Theron also wishes to marry Malthake

(145), and both fr. 12, if correctly assigned to this play, and vv. 411–23 seem to imply that he succeeds in his objective. This requires Malthake also to have been free and Athenian, and the name was borne by many such girls in Menander's Athens.<sup>5</sup> In comedy, however, this name is associated only with *hetairai*,<sup>6</sup> but if that was her role in Menander's *Sikyonioi*, no sexual relationship with Theron or any other character in the play can be identified.)

<sup>5</sup> See M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, 2 (Oxford 1994) 296, where Menander's Malthake is included among 27 Athenian women with this name, at least eight of them demonstrably free. Cf. also my comments below on frs. 3 and 4 of *Sikyonioi*.

<sup>6</sup> So Theophilus fr. 11.5; the one surviving fragment (146) of Antiphanes' *Malthake* concerns *hetairai*; Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 12 links the character Malthake with *hetairai* like Thais and Glykera. The word *ἑταίρα* occurs once in a mutilated line of Menander's *Sikyonioi* (409), possibly with reference to Malthake.

(The opening fragment of S, which begins with the divine prologue in mid-speech.)

ΘΕΟΣ (? ΦΕΡΡΕΦΑΤΤΑ)

].[.].].[.].[

....γ]ὰρ εἶναί φημι τούτου θυγάτριον.  
 ὦ[ς δ'] ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο σωμαίων τριῶν,  
 τὴν γραῦν μὲν οὐκ ἔδοξε λυσιτελεῖν ἄγειν  
 5 αὐτοῖς, τὸ παιδίον δὲ καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην  
 τῆς Καρίας ἀγαγόντες εἰς τὰ Μύλας,<sup>3</sup> ἐ[κεῖ  
 ἐχρῶντ' ἀγορᾶ, καθῆτό τ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκ[άλης  
 ἔ]χων ὁ θεράπων τὴν τροφίμην. πωλ[οιμένους  
 π]ροσηλθεν ἡγεμών τις ἠρώτα "πόσ[ου  
 10 ταῦτ' ἐστίν;" ἤκουσεν συνεχώρησ' ἐπ[ρί]ατο.  
 παλίμβολος δὲ τῷ θεράποντι πλησίον  
 τῶν αὐτόθεν τις ἕτερος ἅμα πωλουμ[ένων  
 "β]έλτιστε, θάρρει," φησίν, "ὁ Σικυώνιος

11 fr. 379 K-T.

In the apparatus to this play, those corrections and supplements whose author is not identified were made by A. Blanchard and A. Bataille (hereafter BB), editing the Sorbonne papyrus (S) in *Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 (1964) 103–176.

1–19 Fragment III (BB) of S. 1 First letter has a long  
 sublinear vertical (ρ, τ, υ, φ). 2 Suppl. several, but  
 π[αρεῖναι and ] ἄρ' εἶναι also possible. 3 ὦ[ς δ'] and  
 τριῶν suppl. several. 4 Suppl. several. 5 τὸν Kassel:  
 τω apparently S. 6 καιρίας S: corr. several. μύλασσ[ or  
 μύλασε[ S. ἐ[κεῖ suppl. several. 8 ἔ]χων suppl. several,  
 πωλ[οιμένους Austin, Handley. 9 πόσ[ου suppl. several.  
 10 ἐπ[ρί]ατο suppl. Handley. 11 Suppl. several.

(The opening of the prologue is lost. When the text becomes legible at line 2, the speaker is describing how eleven or twelve years ago pirates kidnapped Kichesias' four-year-old daughter Philoumene, the family slave Dromon and an old woman, probably Philoumene's nurse.)

DIVINE PROLOGUE (? PERSEPHONE)

. . . for [she<sup>1</sup>] was, I emphasise, his<sup>2</sup> little girl. 2  
 Now that they'd overpowered [three] people, they  
 Reckoned it wouldn't pay [to take] the old  
 Woman; the child though and the slave they took 5  
 To Mylasa in Caria,<sup>3</sup> [where] they found  
 Their market, and the slave sat holding his  
 Young mistress on one arm. [They were] for sale.  
 An officer<sup>4</sup> approached. He asked 'How much  
 Are they?' He was informed, agreed, and [bought] 10  
 Them. Near the slave another of the men  
 On sale there (he'd been through this hoop before)  
 Said 'Sir, cheer up! This man from Sicyon  
 Who's bought you is a colonel, very fine

<sup>1</sup> Philoumene. <sup>2</sup> Kichesias'.

<sup>3</sup> The old capital of Caria, about halfway between Miletus and Halicarnassus, where several Macedonian colonies were established in Hellenistic times. The modern town of Milas now covers the site, obliterating most of its remains; the site of the ancient market is unknown. See especially G. E. Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander* (London 1980) 13–24 with plates 1–5, and S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford 1982) 68–70, 313–14.

<sup>4</sup> Either Stratophanes himself as a very young man, or (more probably) Stratophanes' foster father from Sicyon.

12 πωλουμ[ένων suppl. Austin, Gallavotti.



ἤ]γόρακεν ὑμᾶς, ἠγγεμὼν χρηστὸς σφόδρα  
 15 κ]αὶ πλούσιός γ', οὐ τῶν [τ]υχόν[των  
 ἐ]κ τοῦ παραχρημ[  
 τ]ῷ παιδίῳ τὴν πατ[ρίδα  
 .]εον προσάγων οἰκείον εἰς [τ]  
 19 πρὶν εἰδέναι δοκεῖν τ[ι

(After v. 19 there is a gap in the Sorbonne papyrus (see ZPE 116, 1997, 4–5) of either between 5 and 15 lines if the next fragment of S (IV) begins in the column immediately following fr. III, or between 26 and 40 lines if a lost column intervenes between these two fragments. The speaker is still the divine prologue.)

20 ] δ' ἔδοξεν οὐτινος  
 ] γὰρ ποιούσιν τε  
 ].αν[.] ἔτι.

ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ κεφάλαια, τὰ ] καθ' ἕκαστα δὲ  
 ὄψεσθ' ἐὰν βούλησθε βουλή]θητε δέ.

15 πλουσιοστουτων[.]υχον[ S: corr. and suppl. Arnott (see ZPE 116, 1997, 4). 17 πατ[ρίδα suppl. Handley.

18 αγων S with προσ written above. 19 Deciphered and suppl. Austin. 20–51 Fr. IV (BB) of S: column A 20–35, col. B 36–51. 20 ]δειδοξενουτινος unmetrically S: corr. several (with ]δε δ' ὁ ξένου τινὸς a less plausible alternative).

23–24 Suppl. several *exempli gratia*, after *Dyskolos* 45–46.

<sup>5</sup> This is argued with fuller detail in ZPE 116 (1997) 5–6.

And wealthy too—he's someone special (?) [ 15  
 Immediately [ ]  
 Her home[land] for the child (?) [ ]  
 Taking [her (?)] as family (?) [ ]  
 Apparently [not] knowing [yet] wh[at (?)] 19

(Lines 16–19 are too mutilated for assured interpretation and plausible supplementation. The 'home[land]' in v. 17 is clearly the young girl's, but it is uncertain whether the girl's native Attica or a possible future home in Sikyon is intended. After v. 19 there is a short gap of uncertain length; when the papyrus text resumes, the speaker appears to be approaching the end of her prologue.)

] it seemed [ ] of no[body (?)] 20  
 ] for they do (or make)  
 ] still. (?)

[That's the synopsis. Now you're going to see]  
 [The] details, [if you like:] you'd [better like!] 24

(At this point probably, if the mutilated remains of vv. 23–24 contain the formula used towards the end (vv. 45–46) of the *Dyskolos* prologue, the prologue speaker of Sikyonioi will leave the stage. What happens next is uncertain, but the most likely hypothesis<sup>5</sup> is that two human characters then enter, probably in mid-conversation; their dialogue seems to continue up to and perhaps beyond v. 51. One of them is certainly female (addressed as ma'am in v. 32, and see notes on vv. 34–35), and the references to male calculation 25, a woman's cohabitation 32, trembling 35, you'll be feeding 39, a man's excessive fondness for food 43, 44, 46,