Fragments of Menander and the Modern Stage

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12 May 2023
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Menander:
1. Ἡερός.
2. Θεοφοροουμενῆ.
3. Ασπίς 1-83.
5. Leukadia 10-16.

Bibliography (a selection)

◊ 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
(trailer: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cdiQqoeUWVM&ab_channel=NowyTeatr)
  [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5WLhl4He0c&ab_channel=ElefsinaCulture](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5WLhl4He0c&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/Peloponnesioi
(‘The Achaeans/The Peloponnesians’)

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

ἀλλ’ ἐγύμνασ’ ἢ τύχη τούτον πένητα καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐν πόνοις ἢν ἀναφέρῃ τὰ λαμπρὰ μεταβολῆς τυχών 
But Tychē trained him in poverty and humbleness through his sufferings 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’ ἢ ψευδής. ἐπίσταντ’ αὐξάνειν αὐτὴν τινες, δι’ οὓς φυλάττεσθαι τὰ τοιαύτ’ 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

Didymai
(‘The Twin-Sisters’)


Harp. P. 204,6 Dind. (μ 27 Κ.) = 198 μετοίκιον 
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]
INTRODUCTION

Manuscript

C = P. Cairoensis 43227, part of a papyrus codex described more fully in the introduction to Epitreontes. Heros seems to have been the second of the five or more plays originally contained in the codex.\(^1\) 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. Cairo J. 43227) (Institute of Classical Studies, London 1978).

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

\(^1\) This can easily be inferred from the fact that the sheet of papyrus containing the opening of the Heros is numbered κθ\(^1\) (= 29) on its first side and λ\(^1\) (= 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.

HEROS

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 didascalic notice (the Heros accordingly cannot be dated\(^1\)), 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,

\(^1\) 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 Plagon (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 Plagon’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 Plagon and wishes to set up house with her. 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 Plagon’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 Plagon’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 Plagon: and Plagon, now the acknowledged free daughter of Athenian citizens, is able to marry Pheidias. Some brief passages

1 So far as Daos knew, Plagon 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 Plagon 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.

2 Menander’s comedy avoids sentimentality. Daos’ infatuation for Plagon may have been handled very sympathetically in the play’s opening scene, but Daos was a slave and Plagon the daughter of free Athenian citizens. Furthermore Pheidias, who had fathered Plagon’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.\(^1\) They came half way between gods and 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.

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.a A servant deemed the girl a slave
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.
The old man found and recognised his own.
The violator gladly took the girl.

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

Title and hypothesis taken from the Cairo papyrus.

Title Suppl. ed. pr.

Hypothesis 1 Corr. Wilamowitz: ἀρρεντεκούσαπαρθενοσθη-
λυθ'άμα C. 2 Corr. several: ἐπιτρόφῳ C.
ΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΡΑΜ(ΑΤΟΣ) ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

Γέτας
Δάος
"Ηρως θεός
Μυρρίνη
Φειδίας
Σωφρόνη
Σαγγάριος
Γοργίας
Λάχης

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).
HEROΣ

(The Guardian Spirit)

(There 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 Can't Be doubted—otherwise, why smack your scalp So much, why stand and tear your hair out, why 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

toιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὧ πόνηρε σύ.

εἶτ' οὐκ ἔχρην, κερμάτιον εἰ συνηγμένον
σοὶ τυγχάν]ει τι, τ[ο]ῦτ' ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τέως
εἰ συγκυκᾶς] τὰ κατὰ σεαυτὸν πράγματα;
φιλῶ σε, Δάε, καὶ σ]υνάχθομαι γέ σοι
εἰ προσδοκᾶς λυπ[η]ρά.

10

ΔΑΟΣ

σοὶ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὦ τι

ληρεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ συμπ]έπλεγμαι πράγματι
ἀπροσδοκήτω καὶ δι[έφθαρμαι, Γέτα.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

πῶς γάρ, κατάρατε;

15

ΔΑΟΣ

μὴ καταρῶ, πρὸς <τῶν> θεῶν,

βέλτιστ', ἐρωτήτι.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τί σοι λέγεις; ἐράς;

ΔΑΟΣ

ἐρώ.

HEROS

DAOS

Oh dear!

GETAS

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].

DAOS
[Your drivelling]

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

GETAS
[Damn you, how's that?]

DAOS
[Dear fellow], by the gods,

Don't damn [a lover]!

GETAS
(pricking up his ears)

What's that? You in love?

DAOS

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 (ἀγῶ δὲ van Leeuwen),
συμπ]έπλεγμαι Leo. 13 ἀπροσδοκήτω καὶ suppl. Sand-
bach, δι[έφθαρμαι Croiset. 14 Suppl. Körte. προο[θεων C:
corr. Leo. 15 Suppl. van Leeuwen.
MENANDER

GETAS
πλέον δυνών σοι χοινίκων ὁ δεσπότης
παρέχει. ποιητήν, Δά' ὑπερδευτείνης ὦσως.

DAOΣ
πέπονθα τὴν ψυχήν τι παιδισκήν ὅρων
συντρεφομένην, ἀκακος, κατ' ἐμαυτῷν, ὦ Γέτα.

GETAS
δούλη ἁστιν;

DAOΣ
οὖτως, ἡσυχῇ, τρόπον τινά.
ποιμήν γὰρ ἤν Τίβειος οἰκῶν ἐνθαδὲ
Πτελέας, γεγονός οἰκέτης νέος ὄν ποτε.
ἐγένετο τοῦτω δίδυμα τῶν ἀπαίδων,
ὡς ἔλεγεν αὐτός, ἦ τε Πλαγγών, ἦς ἐρώ—

GETAS
νῦν μανθάνω.

DAOΣ
—τὸ μειράκιόν θ', ὁ Γοργίας.

GETAS
ὁ τῶν προβατιῶν ἐνθάδε ἐπιμελοῦμενος
νῦν παρ' ὑμῖν;

20 16–17 Adesp. fr. 444 Kock 21 See Men. fr. 1075 Kock
16 πλέον δυνών σοι χοινίκων Choeroboscus, Scholia in Theodotii Canones, i. 293. 30 Hilgard: χοινίκων C. 25–26 Change of speaker after Τρογίας indicated by ed. pr. (no dicolon is now visible in C at this point). 27 ὑμίν Leo: ἦμιν C.

HEROS

GETAS
Your master's more than doubled your
Grain ration. a That's bad, Daos. Overfed,
Perhaps?

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

GETAS
A slave?

DAOΣ
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—Plagon, she's the girl
I worship, . . .

GETAS
Now I see!

DAOΣ
... and Gorgias,

GETAS
The boy.

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

a Literally, 'Your master provides you with more than two choînikes (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 choînix (= about one litre) a day. Compare also fr. 10 of Heros.
MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ
οὔτος. ὃν ἦδη γέρων
ὁ Τίβειος ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τροφήν γε λαμβάνει
tούτως παρὰ τοῦμον δεσπότου μνᾶν, καὶ πάλιν—
λιμὸς γὰρ ἃν—μνᾶν εἶν' ἀπέσκηκη.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τὴν τρίτην

ὡς οὐκ ἔπεδίδου τυχὼν ὁ δεσπότης ὁ σός.

ΔΑΟΣ

ἴσως. τελευτήσαντα ὁ ἀυτὸν προσλαβὼν
ὁ Γοργίας τι κερμάτιον ἐλθαμε καὶ
τὰ νόμμα ποιήσας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε
ἐλθὼν ἁγαγών τε τὴν ἄδελφήν ἐπιμενεῖς
τὸ χρέος ἀπεργαζόμενος.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἡ Πλαγγὼν δὲ τί;

ΔΑΟΣ

μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης ἐργάζεται
ἐρμί διακονεῖ τε.

HEROS

DAOS

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

GETAS

When

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

DAOS

Maybe. He died, and Gorgias
Borrowed some more cash for the funeral,
The normal ceremonies.\(^b\) After that
He came to us here with his sister, and
He's stayed, while working off the debt.\(^c\)

GETAS

And Plagon?

DAOS

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),
1985), 21–27.

\(^a\) 100 drachmas.

\(^b\) 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,

\(^c\) 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 Pla-
gon, 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,

ελευθέριος καὶ κοσμία.

ΓΕΤΑΣ
τί οὖν σὺ; τί
πράττεις ύπὲρ σαυτοῦ;

ΔΑΟΣ
λάθρα μὲν, Ἡράκλεις,
οὐδ’ ἐγκεχείρηκ’, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὁμολόγῳ εἰρήκ’, ὑπέσχηται τ’ ἐμοὶ σὺνοικιῶν
αὐτὴν διαλέξθεις πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφόν.

ΓΕΤΑΣ
λαμπρὸς εἰ.


HEROS

(GETAS

(leering)
Serves you, does she?

DAOS

(innocently)
Yes,

Getas. You’re laughing!

GETAS

By Apollo, no I’m not!

DAOS

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

GETAS

And you—

How are you pushing your claims?

DAOS

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].

GETAS

[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.
(Eight further shreds of the Cairo papyrus have been skilfully fitted together into three fragments with text on both sides: γ0, δεζ, and θη. Fragment γ0 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
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. δέξι 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 δέξι precede or follow the verso? And where does fr. γ0 come in relation to δέξι? Neither question can be answered with complete confidence. If γ0 and δέξι 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— it follows that δέξι 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. δέξι and γ0 on the verso side seem to be Laches and Myrrhine. They begin with reference to Plangon’s betrothal to Daos (δέξι 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 (δέξι and γ0) provide four brief snatches of text (these shreds, like all the remains of the Cairo codex, carry

1 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 Plagon'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 (δεζ 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 δεζ 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 δεζ and γ0, in their provisionally accepted order

δεζ verso

[ελοιμ' ο[ [μ[...[σοι[...[τούτο τ[ 53

ΧΟΡΙΣ [ΟΤ

ΜΕΡΟΣ Ε' (or less probably Δ')

ΛΑΧΗΣ

55 ὁ Ἡράλκεισ, ἔα μ', ἄμαρ[τάνειν δοκῶ εἴ νῦν] δίδωμι νύμφ[ῆ τὴν Πλαγγόνα; 56

55–56 ὁ Ἡράλκεισ suppl. Jensen, the rest (tentatively and exempli gratia) Arnott after ideas by Robert and Sandbach.

HEROS

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, and its opening scene a tense dialogue between Laches and Myrrhine which gradually leads Laches to the discovery that Gorgias and Plagon 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 δεζ and γ0, in their provisionally accepted order

Fr. δεζ 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 [Plagon to] a husband now? 56

(Clearly Laches, having returned from his private busi-

a The possibility that it was the fourth cannot, however, be entirely ruled out.
A gap of between 1 and 19 lines, then

\[ \gamma 0 \text{ verso} \]

...σικ.ο[ τούτω : πο]  
...μᾶλλον δι[ τὴν Θράττα[ν]

(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 dicon in 66, indicate that originally these lines must have contained lively dialogue. The speakers were presumably Laches and Myrrha; what were they discussing? If 'Thratta' or 'The Thracian woman' (66) was Tibeios' widow, as has been suggested, she may have been living with Plagon in Laches' house after her husband's death. It is possible that Laches has suddenly discovered that Plagon 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 Plagon 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 τάλανα.

ΔΑΧΗΣ

τί; φ[α]νέρως γε, νὴ Δ’, ὁ γύναι —
70 ἐς κόρακας.

ΜΤΡΡΙΝΗ

ἐξεόρηκας· οἷα γὰρ λέγεις.

ΔΑΧΗΣ

ἀ καὶ ποῆσοι καὶ δέδοκται μοι πάλαι —
73 ἰδρύει, ἀπορία· νὴ Δ’, εῦ γ’, ὁ Μυρρίνη,
ἐπ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἐλαβῃν ποιμέν’, ὁς βληχώμενον

A gap of up to 21 lines, then

δὲς recto

]οντρ[
74 ὡς γ]ἀρ ἀνδριά[ς

HEROS

MYRRHINE

(thinking of Plangon)

Poor girl!

LACHES

What? Wife, It’s obvious, I swear —

To hell with them!

MYRRHINE

You’re crazy! What a thing to say!

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

(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. δὲς recto.)

Fr. δὲς 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. δὲς 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

69 Text established by Sudhaus, part-division and assignments by Webster: ταλάναθ[.]νέρως C, with τι misplaced at the end of the line, at one letter’s interval after γυναι. 70 Division of speakers after κόρακας suggested by Körte (C places its dicolon after εξεόρηκας in error). 72 απορία: or απορία: C. 75 ὡς γ]ἀρ suppl. Sudhaus, ἀνδριά[ς Körte.
**HEROS**

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!  

**LACHES**

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

**MYRRHINE**

[Yes. He was drunk.]  

**LACHES**

Any idea who [he was]?

(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 Plagon'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

ΔΑΧΗΣ (?; it is unclear where this speech begins)

υ]ρωτον λέγε.

ἐ]τη ὀστω ὀκτώ καὶ δέκτι;

ΜΠΡΙΝΗ

οὐ[κ] ὀστώ μόνη

………….] αὐτὶ ὀστω δὲ τούτῳ, εἰ σοι δοκεῖ.

ΔΑΧΗΣ

ἀσαφές τὸ πράγμα γίνεται. πῶς λαμβάνει

ὁ π]ρ[οσ]πεσών σε; πῶς δὲ ἀπελ[ι]πε; πηνίκ[α

94 Or μόνη. 95 Corr. Sudhaus: συνδοκει (possibly, but not
certainly, followed by a dicolon) C. 96 Suppl. Körte. 97 ὃ
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 δεξι and γ0, 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 δεξι and γ0,
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?

MYRRHINE

There’s more than one

] But drop the subject, please.

LACHES

The puzzle’s [worse] now. How did this assailant
Avoid your seeing him? How did he leave you? When

(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 δεξι and γ0 do not come from the same papyrus
leaf, for example, they could derive from different scenes;
γ0 from the conversation between Myrrhine and Laches,
but δεξι 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. δεξι and γ0, 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
HEROS

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 paragraphi 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...”)

105 Suppl. Jensen. 110 = Euripides, Auge, line 1 (see Ludwig Koenen, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 4 (1969), 7–11. 111 Either o]/v (ed. pr.) or o]/v (Körte).
Eight fragments of "Hρως, quoted by ancient authors

1 (8 Köste)
The Lexicon Sabbaticum (edited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St Petersburg 1982), p. 4), with the heading Ménaìðros "Hρως.

νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἔξ ἄστεως
κυπηγέταις ἦκονει περίηγήσομαι
tὰς ἄχραδας.

* * *

Heros

here's the gold-rich house" (cf. L. Koenen, ZPE 4, 1969, 7 ff.). 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. 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 Kø, 209 Kock)

Stobaeus, Eclogae 4. 20a. 21 (περὶ Ἀφροδιτῆς), with the heading Μένανδρος Ἡρωί.

ΔΑΟΣ (?)

dεῦτος, ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἱσχύει πλέον,
oὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ κρατῶν <τῶν> ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν
Ζεὺς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος πάντων ἀναγκασθεὶς ποεῖ.

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

3 (2 Kø, 210 K)


ἐκρήσει γὰρ εἶναι τὸ καλὸν εὐγενεστάτον,
τὸν ἐλεύθερον δὲ πανταχοῦ φρονεῖν μέγα.

2 δὲ Bentley; δὲ δὲi mss. of Stobaus, δεi P. Bouriant, δει ms. K of the monostichs.

4 (3 Kø, 212 K)

Athenaeus 10. 426bc: ἐδοξεὶ πάσι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κράσεων τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἄρχαίων. καὶ τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι Μένανδρος ἐν Ἰηρωί ἔφη.

χοῦσ κεκραμένου
οἶνου γαβῶν ἐκπίθο τούτον.

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 Nauck2). 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 τ. 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
MENANDER

5 (4 Kö, 213 K)

Photius (a 1548 Theodoridis) and the Suda (a 1950 Adler)
s.n. ἀναλυθέναι το καθαρμῷ τιν χρήσασθαι φαρμάκων. Μένανδρος Ἡρων.

ἐπεφαρμάκευον, ὣ γλυκύτατ', ἀναλυθέες μόλις.

Lemma φαρμάκων Suda, φαρμάκω Photius (-κω ms. z). Ἡρων Suda, Ἡρωσι ms. b of Phot. (quotation of Menander omitted by z).
Fragment ἐπεφαρμακεύοσι b of Phot., -κευσο A of Suda,
-κευσον other mss. of Suda: corr. Arnott.

6 (5 Kö, 214 K)

Ammonius, Περὶ ὀμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων (p. 249 Nickau): ἵσθι καὶ γίνωσκε διαφέρει ... καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Ἡρων.

ἐν ἵσθι, καγὼ τοῦτο συγχωρήσομαι.

7 (6 Kö, 215 K)

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

τῶν <δὲ> παιδισκῶν τιν

δοὺς,

a A diminutive: on its meaning see also my note on Heros 38.

HEROS

5

party celebrating the betrothal or wedding of Pheidias and Plangon?

5

Photius and the Suda defining ἀναλυθέναι: 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: ἵσθι (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 a (girl) is formed from the feminine use of παῖς (child) . . . .

Giving to

One of the girls.
In Menander in the *Heros*.

*Speaker and context are unknown.*

---

Choeroboscus writes: the vocative sounds the same as the nominative, e.g. ἥστειος (the poor fellow), ἅδεστου (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*

---

The *Collection of Useful Terms*: ἄστειος and ἄστυκός 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 . . .’*
MENANDER

όσ...ό εἰπὼν "πλήρει γὰρ ὄγκω γαστρὸς αὔξεται
Κύπρις" (TrGF 2.67 F 186), καὶ "οὕτωποτε [φησίν] (del.
Στουντερ) ἣράσθης, Γέτα;" "οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην", φησίν.
(ΔΑΟΣ ?)
oὐπώποι' ἡράσθης, 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 attrac-
tive.

HEROS

the man who said ‘The bulk of a full maw makes passion
grow’,a 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 Daoz, or from another play (see also Mis-
oumenos fr. 12).

a A line from an unidentified lost tragedy or satyr play (fr.
adesp. 106 Snell-Kaufficht).
THEOPHOROUMENE
(THE DEMONIAC 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 Theophoroumenē 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.

THEOΦΟΡΟΤΜΕΝΗΣ ΜΕΡΟΣ II (Theophoroumenē, 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 Theophoroumenē 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 ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΤΜΕΝΗ and a picture of three masks (free maiden; slave; young man) which rest on cylindrical altars. The free maiden was presumably the demonic girl of the title, the slave Parmenon, and the young man either Kleinias or Lysias. These tokens
MENANDER

The identification and interpretation of the remains from Menander’s Theophoroumenē—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 Theophoroumenē was probable rather than certain. The text coincided with no previously known quotations from the play, but the aorist imperative form παράσατα (‘stand beside’, occurring in line 28) was cited only from Menander by ancient lexic (cf. Dis Exapaton, fr. 3), and the reference to a girl who is demoniac (θεοφορετέα, 25) matched well the title θεοφορομένη, which was attested in comedy for Menander alone, although his prolific elder contemporary Alexis was the author of a θεοφορήτος (‘The Demoniac Man’). Qualms were at

THEOPHOROUMENE
first felt about saddling Menander with the offensive coarseness of ἱππόπορρε (‘bloody whore’, 19), but such indelicacies, in the mouths of cooks and slaves at least, are not avoided by Menander.1 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 Theophoroumenē.

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.2 He clasps what seems to be a single pipe in both hands, his gaze fixed on Lysias and

1 E.g. Dysk. 462 (κηπητίαν), 892 (λαψάτευ), Pk. 485 Sandbach (λαφάπτρια).

2 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).

15 This may be an attempt to reproduce the proxemics of an actual performance, the more significant as
Parmenon. Lysias is already clashing cymbals and apparently beating time with his right foot, while Kleinius 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. But if Parmenon was the speaker here, on stage with Kleinius 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 Kleinius 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; NM 2 in T.B.L. Webster, Monuments Illustrating New Comedy, 2nd edition, B.I.C.S. Supple- ment 24, London 1969; colour photographs in e.g. Kahil

1 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 Webster2); a series of at least eight pyxides and a lebes gamikos from Cen- tirupe 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 Webster2, 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 Webster2, 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 Synaristoi (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 Menandrean 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 Theophoroumen, 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 demonic 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 Theophoroumen 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, partially 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 Theophoroumen, directly following that in PSI 1280 and the Mytilene mosaic, the possessed girl appears now to be on stage with Lysias and Kleinaia, 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 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 Theophoroumen 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 Hieros—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.)?

1 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.

2 Sung, not declaimed. A scholiast on Euripides, Andromache 103 mentions in passing that a portion of the Theophoroumen 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 ff.). 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 Kleiniás to the girl, although Kleiniás’ remark (if it is Kleiniás 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 demotic 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 Kleiniás or Lysias, although the economy of Menandrean 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 ff.)? 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.

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No hypothesis, didascalic 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
Kleiniás, a young man, perhaps in love with the demotic girl
Lysias, another young man
A free girl who either is demotic 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 enactes.

1 See also Marina Pagliardini, “Sulla Theophoroumenē di Menandro”, Atene e Roma, 27 (1982), 118.
THEOPHOROUMENÆ

(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: [ρετοι: 1,]
[ποιει 2, ]ω λέγω 3, ] 4, ]ων 5, [.ποίων 6, oδικίαν: 7,
]. Λυσία: 8, ] 9, ]πολαβεῖν 10, ]ουν ἕχει 11, ἀλα]ζο-
νεύται 12, ]ραυ 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), 5 ff. 7 Suppl. Körte. 10 Either υ[πο- or ἀ]πολαβεῖν. 14 Suppl. Webster.

a 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-

THEOPHOROUMENÆ

(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.a)

cups, the venue may have been the inn)? And what were the presents that the girl had lost? Cf. my introductory notes on the Theophoroumena.
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝ (?)


ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

τάχ’ [ἀν] καταστάξαντες; οἶδ’. 

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝ (?)

ἀπ’ ὅμι[άτων

ἐπλησα. "τάμα δῷρ’ ἀκούεις;" ἦ κόρη,

"τά δῷρα, φησί, "τάμα μ’ ἐξείλουθ’." ὁ δὲ,

"τι [δ’] ἔλαβες, ἵπποτο[ρ’]νε; τὸν δὲ δῶν[τα σοι

πόθεν οἶσθα τούτον; τί δὲ; νεανίσκο[ν κόρη;

ἡ σὺ τι λαβοῦσα στέφανον ἔξω περιπατ[εῖς;

μαίνει; τί οὖν οὐκ ἐνδον ἐγκεκλεμ[ήνη

μαίνει;”

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

φλυαρέις. [τ]οῦτο γ’ αὐτό, Λυσία,

οὐ προσποιεῖται.

ΑΤΣΙΑΣ

πείραν ἐξεστὶν λα[βεῖν’

εἰ θεοφορεῖται ταῖς ἁλπθείσι θάρ.

15-16 Supplementation and interpretation here are hazardous
in the extreme, and the printed text is merely a shot in the dark.
16 τάχ’—οἶδ’ assigned to Kleiniás by Arnott (F has no dico
dolon

ΤΗΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝ (?)

(in mid-speech)

]she really knew [her part].

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

(commenting on the demoniac girl’s appearance?)

Tears flooding down, perhaps (?). I know.

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝ (?)

(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?”

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

That’s nonsense.—Lysias,

This thing—she’s not pretending!

LYSIAS

We can test

Her. If she’s really a demoniac,
MENANDER

νῦν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐνθάδε ἐκπηδή[σεται].
μητρὸς θεῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ κορυβάντων σὺ μοι
ἀψάει. παράστα δ' ἐνθαδὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας
tou παιδοκείου.

KLEINIAS (?)

νῆ Δὲ', εὖ γε, Ανοία,

30 ὑπέρενγε τοῦτο βουλομαι. καλὴ θέα . . .

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

KOΡΗ

31 καὶ τὸ χρυσίον
[θάλασσαν ἐκχέον
τὸ προσφιλές
τοῖς παραύσι δ' ἀμα λέγω
πάντες ἐπολούξατε.

(3 Sa)

35 26 Suppl. Maas. 27 Suppl. Handley exempli gratia.
30 ὑπέρενγε Νορσά, Βιτέλλη: ὑπέρεν F. 31–57 The papyrus
fragment containing these lines was assigned to this character,
scene and play by Handley: 34–35 Suppl. Pavese.

THEOPHOROUΜΕNE

[She'll now skip out in front here. (To the piper) Pipe
a 'Gods'
Great Mother’—no, a Corybantic tune.a
(To Kleinias) You stand beside me here, just by the
doors
Of the hotel.
(The piper plays his tune, while Kleinias retires with
Lysias into the background by the side of the inn's
doors.)

KLEINIAS (?)

Fine, Lysias—superb,
I swear! Just what I want! A splendid sight . . .

(At this point PSI 1280 breaks off. If the second Florence
papyrus is rightly assigned to the Theophorumene, 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
] I bid those present too
] you must all raise your voices!

64

a 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 rhythm-
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 espe-
cially E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley and
MENANDER

]γες. αὖλε δὴ σῦ μοι.
eὐμενῆς γίνοι δὲ
]μένους ἄεί.

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

χ]αἰρ', ᾿Αγγίστι,
μ]ετὰ κυμβάλων
]ρ ὀλολυγμῶν
]μὴ ἄρ τεῦων,
"Αγγ[ιστί Φρυγία Κρητία
δ]εῦρο κυρία.
]νατας βασίλεια
]α Λυδίους

(At this point the papyrus breaks off.)

*   *   *

THEOPHOROUMENE

] 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 Kleinius 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 iambics (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 iambics. The girl may again be the likeliest candidate.)

] O hail, Angdistis!a
] with tambourines.
] joyful shouting.
] O mother of the gods,
Angdistis, Phrygian, Cretan too —
] here supreme.
] Lydianb

*   *   *

a 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.
b Rhea, the Cretan mother goddess, was also identified with Cybele. Cf. fr. 8 below.

*   *   *

Lydia, in western Asia Minor, was closely associated with the cult of Cybele.
MENANDER

Eight fragments quoted from Θεοφορομένη by ancient authors

1 (1 Körte. 223 Kock)

Stobaeus, Eclogae 4. 42. 3 (περὶ τῶν παρ’ ἄξιαν εὐτυχοῦντων) cites the whole fragment with the heading Μενάνδρου Θεοφορομένης (so ms. S: -μένου mss. MA). Line 2 was fitted into a witticism by Vespresian 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 τα του κωμικοῦ γέρουντος.

ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

εἰ τοις προσελθὼν μοι θεῶν λέγοιν, “Κράτων,
ἐπαν ἀποθάνης, αὖθις εἰς ἁρχής ἔσει.
ἐσεὶ δ’ ὁ τι ἄν βούλη, κύρων, πρόβατον, τράγος,
ἀνθρωπος, ἵππος. δὶς βιῶνα γὰρ σε δεῖ.
εἰμαρμένον τούτ’ ἐστίν: ὁ τι βούλει δ’ ἐλοῦ.”

“Ἄπαντα μᾶλλον,” εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν ἀν δοκῶ,
“πόει με πλὴν ἀνθρωπον ἀδύκως εὐτυχεῖ
κακῶς τε πάττει τοῦτο τὸ ζώον μόνον.
ὁ κράτιστος ἵππος ἐπιμελεστέραν ἔχει
ἔτερον θεραπείαν. ἀγαθὸς ἄν γενή κύρων,
εὐτυμότερος εἰ τοῦ κακοῦ κινοὶ πολὺ.
ἄλεκτρῶν γενναῖος ἐν ἔτερα τροφῆ
ἐστίν, ὁ δ’ ἁγινὴς καὶ δεδε τοῦ κρεῖστονα.
ἀνθρωπος ἄν δ’ ἄχρηστος, εὐγενής, σφόδρα
γενναῖος, οὐδὲν ὀφελος ἐν τῷ νῦν γένει.

THEOPHOROUMENE

Eight fragments of Theophoroumeine, quoted by ancient authors

1

Stobaeus (‘On those prospering undeservedly’) cites the whole fragment with the heading ‘from Menander’s Theophoroumeine’. 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,
“Kratos, 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
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.

MENANDER

πράττει δ' ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα πάντων, δεύτερα
ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ κακοήθης τρίτα λέγει.
ἂνον γενέσθαι κρείττον ἢ τοὺς χείρονας
ῄρων ἐαυτοῦ ἥπεται ἐπιφανεότερον."

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: τρία

2 (2 Kö, 225 K)

Stobaeus, Eclogae 3. 3. 6 (περὶ φρονήσεως), with the head-
ing Μενάνδρον Θεοφορομένην:

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

THEOPHOROUMENE

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, Kleitias, the demoniac girl) in the plot.
Equally obscure is the incident which gave rise to Kraton’s
splenetic outbursts about the undeserved success of social infe-
rors.

2

Stobaeus (‘On prudence’): from Menander’s Theoporo-
mene.

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

These words paraphrase a line of Euripides (Helen 757) spo-
en 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 disdain-
fully of a prophecy made by the play’s heroine in her demo-
niac state.

72

73
Athenaeus 11. 504a (ὁ Πλούταρχος) ἔδωκε (τὴν φιάλην) τῷ παιδὶ περισσοβεῖν ἐν κύκλῳ κελέντος, τὸ κύκλῳ πίνειν τοῦτο εἶναι λέγων, παραπέμενος Μενάνδρον ἐκ Περινθίας (fr. 4) ... καὶ πάλιν ἐκ Θεοφορομένης:

καὶ ταχύ τὸ πρῶτον περισσοβεῖ ποτήριον αὐτοῖς ἀκράτους.

1 Corr. Cobet: ταχύ πάλι τὸ ms. A.

Athenaeus 11. 472b: θηλυκῶς δὲ τὴν θηρίκελου εἴπε Μένανδρος ἐν Θεοφορομένηι

μέσως μεθύων <τῆς> θηρίκελου ἐπισπάσει.


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

παρομία:

ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεὸς ἐπεφάνης.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπροσδόκητως ἐπὶ ωφελεία ἢ σωτηρία φαινομένων ἐν γάρ ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἡ ἀφανος θεοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς

a On this character (Plutarch of Alexandria, not the essayist from Chaeromeni) see Barry Baldwin, Acta Classica 20 (1977), 47.

b 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 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.
MENANDER

σκηνής ἐφαίνοντο. Μένανδρος Θεοφορομένη.

6 (6 Kô, 228 K)

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

δεύτερος πλοῦς.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσφαλῶς τι πραπτόντων, παρ’ ὅσον οἱ διαμερτώντες κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πλούς ἀσφαλῶς παρακεκυάζονται τὸν δεύτερον ἐμνήσθη δὲ ταύτης ... Μένανδρος ... Θεοφορομένη.

7 (7 Kô)

Photius (a 1592 Theodoridis) s.v. ἀναπετέω· ἀναπετάσω. Μένανδρος Θεοφορομένη.

8 (8 Kô)

The Etymologicum Magnum (388.36): εὐάντητος· ἡ Ρέα, ἀνταίναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν διὰ τὸ δυσάντητον ἐναι καὶ τοῖς ἀναπτέων ἐν τοῖς ὀρέσι δυσχεραίνειν τὸ Νικαδίου ὑπόνημα Θεοφορομένης, κατ’ εὐφημισμοῖς δυσάντης γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ὀργῆ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταίνων ἐν τοῖς ὀρέσι τοῦ Ἱρτίου.

Ἀρτίου ms.: <Ἀμ>αρτίου conj. Sylburg.

a 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.

THEOPHOROUMENE

where out of sight.\textsuperscript{a} Menander in Theophrastoumene.

6

A scholiast on Plato's Phaedo: a saying,

Next best way.\textsuperscript{b}

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... Theophrastoumene.

7

Photius has an entry stating that Menander in Theophrastoumene used ἀναπετέω in place of the regular Attic form ἀναπετάσω as the future tense of ἀναπετάνυμι (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 Theophrastoumene. 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-

\textsuperscript{b} 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.'
MENANDER

πημαίνει δὲ τὸν εὐκέτευτον ἀντεσθαί γὰρ τὸ ἱκετεύσα

One further fragment, whose attribution to Θεοφορομένη is very uncertain

9 (9 Sandbach in second edition of Oxford Text)

The Etymologicum Magnum (782.8): ὑπογράφω· καταβάλ-λομαι, σκιαγραφῶ, βεβαιῶ· τὸ Ἀμαρτίου ὑπομηνήμα.

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

THEOPHOROUMENE

tion’, for ‘to supplicate’ is the same as ἀντεσθαί (to meet/to supplicate).a

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.b

a 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 εὐάνθητος 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 demotic girl to Cybele and the Corybantes.

b 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.
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.

* * *

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, didascalic 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.1

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). 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 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 Menandrean 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-
INTRODUCTION

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 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’ κληρονόμε (85) and οὐκεῖον (89), stinging last words appended to otherwise innocuous remarks; the paradoxical application of ἱερόσυλε (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
INTRODUCTION

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 ff.). 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 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). 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

INTRODUCTION

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

* * *

*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 (*Τώχη*), 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.

AΣΠΙΣ

(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,

ὁ τρόφιμε, τὴν [νόν,] οὐδὲ διαλογίζομαι παραπληγείσι ὡς τὸ[π’ ἡ]πιο[’ ἐξορμώμενος.

ἀφθονοι εὐδο[ξο]ῦντα καὶ σωθέντα σ[ε

5 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐν βίω τ’ εὐσχήμονι

ἡδή τὸ λοιπὸν καταβιώσεσθαι τιν, στρατηγὸν ἡ σύμβολον ὄνομασμένον, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἠστερ εὐσώμως τότε ἐνεκα, σεαυτοῦ νυμφίω καταξίω

10 συνοικίειν ποθενὸν ἠκοντ’ 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 apostrophizes 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.)

DAOS

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

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,1 married to a man you felt

Was right, upon your glad arrival home.

1 His aim was to win some booty, which would help to pro-

vidize his sister with a dowry.

in B. 2 Suppl. ed. pr. 3 [ἡ]πιο’ Lloyd-Jones. 4 εὐδο[ξο]ῦντα Sandbach. σωθέντα B. 7 Suppl. ed. pr. 8 ἠστερ B.
MENANDER

έμοι τ’ ἐσεθαί τῶν μακρῶν πόνων τινά ἀνάπαυσαν εἰς τὸ γῆρας εὐνοίας χάρων. νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν οἶχει παραλόγος τ’ ἀνήρπασαι, εἴγοδ’ ἰ παραδαγωγός, ὦ Κλεόστρατε,
15 τὴν οὐχὶ σώσασαν σε τήν ἐλήλυθα ἁσπίδα κομίζων ὑπὸ δὲ σοῦ σεσωμένην πολλάκις: ἀνήρ γὰρ ἦσθα τὴν ψυχήν μέγας, εἰ καὶ τὸς ἄλλος.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ
tῆς ἀνελπίστου τύχης,

ὁ Δάε.

ΔΑΟΣ
deinῆς.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ
πῶς δ’ ἀπῶλετ’ ἢ τίνι
20 τρόπῳ;

ΔΑΟΣ

(ΚΤ ν. 70) ἁστατιῶτη, Σμικρήνη, σωτηρίας ἐστ’ ἔργον εὕρειν πρόφασιν, ἀλῆθρον δ’ εὕτορον.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ
ὁμοὶ δυνήσασι τὸ πράγμα, Δάε, μοί.

ΔΑΟΣ

ποταμὸς τίς ἐστὶ τῆς Λυκίας καλούμενος Ξάνθος, πρὸς ὦ τῶ ἦμεν ἐπεικῶς μάχαιρας


ASPI

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
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,
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.1 There we saw some action, quite a lot,

1 Its modern name is the Esen Çai, which flows into the sea on the south coast of Turkey, about 95 miles south-west of Antalya.
MENANDER

25 pollaís dieuțicóntes, ó té bárbaroi 
ēpefeúγειας to pédiôn ékklēsioptés.  
ηῦν δ’ ós éouke và to mé pánt’ éuduchëín 
χρήματος. ó và ptaíásas ti và fyláltetai.  
29 ἡμᾶς δ’ áπάκτους πρὸς τὸ méllon ἤγαγε 
τὸ καταφρονεῖν πολλοὶ và ékklēsioptés 
tōn χάρακα τὰς κόμας ἑπόρθουν, τῶν ἁγρῶν 
ἐκοπτόν, αἰχμάλωτ’ ἐπολῶν, χρῆματα 
ἐκαστὸς e[ɪ]xe pól’ ápelthōn.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ  
ὡς καλόν.

ΔΑΟΣ 
αὐτὸς δὲ] ὁ τρόφιμος συναγαγὼν χρυσοῦς τινας 
35 ἐξακοσίους, ποτήρι’ ἐπιεικῶς συνά, 
tῶν τ’ αἷμαμάλατων τοῦτον ὅν ὀρᾶς πληθίον 
ὀχλον, διὰ]πέμπει μὲ εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ τῷ ἐξίσῳ 
φράζει κ]αταλιπόντ’ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐαυτὸν πάλιν 
tάχιστ’ ἀναστρέφειν.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ  
tι οὖν δὴ γίνεται;

ΔΑΟΣ 
40 ἑγὼ μὲν ἑξώρμων ἐσθεν. ἤ δ’ ἑγὼ 
ἀπῆρον ἡμέρα λαθόντες τοὺς σκοποὺς

SMIKRINES  
Excellent!

DAOS 
My master had [himself] collected some 
[Six hundred] gold staters,¹ 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.

SMIKRINES  
What happened then?

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

1 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 suit­
able 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).
Spinning 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
From scouring a land of plenty, and in their tents,
What happened next was natural: most of our
Men were carousing.

SMIKRINES
That's quite scandalous!

DAOS
Yes. I think there was a surprise attack.
(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.)

DAOS
.......
I suspect it was about
Midnight, and I was standing guard over the slaves
And booty, walking up and down in front of
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
Our wounded flowed in—cavalry, guards, infantry.
MENANDER

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

ψὲ ὡνὴρ ἀποσταλεὶς τότε.

ΔΑΟΣ

αὐτοῦ δ' ἐωθὲν χάρακα βαλόμενοι τινα ἐμένομεν, οἱ δὲ τότε διεσκεδασμένοι
65 ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς αἷς εἶπον ἐπεγίνοντ' ἄει ἧμῶν· τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα προήγουμεν
πάλιν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Λυκίους εἰς τὰς ἄνω κώμας ἄγειν ὦδε ἔλαβον.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεκροῖς

πεπτωκότ' εἶδες τοῦτον;

ΔΑΟΣ

αὐτοῦ μὲν σαφῶς
70 οὐκ ἦν ἐπιγνώναι· τετάρτην ἡμέραν
ἐρριμμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξωδηκότες
tὰ πρόσωπα.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ

πῶς οὖν οἶθ'?

ΔΑΟΣ

ἐξὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα

ἐκεῖτο· συντετριμμένην δὲ μοι δοκεῖ
οὐκ ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν οὖδε εἰς τῶν βαρβάρων.
75 ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἡμῶν ὁ χρηστὸς καθ' ἕνα μὲν
καίειν ἐκώλυσεν, διατριβὴν ἐσομένην


ASPIS

SMIKRINES

How fortunate you'd just been sent away!

DAOS

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
Us. Three days later we could move again.
The Lycians, so we’d heard, were taking off
Their prisoners to their highland villages.

SMIKRINES

And did you see him lying there among the dead?

DAOS

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

SMIKRINES

Then how could you be certain?

DAOS

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
Cremations, for he realised how much time

MENANDER

ὁρῶν ἑκάστοις ὁπτολογήσαι, συναγαγὼν
πάντας δὲ ἄθροους ἐκανας· καὶ σπουδὴ πάνυ
θάψας ἀνέζευς εὐθὺς· ἡμέρας τε ἐν Ῥόδον
80 διεπίπτομεν τὸ πρῶτον, εἰτ' ἐκεί τινας
μείναντες ἡμέρας ἐπλέομεν ἐνθάδε.
ακήκοας μου πάντα.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ
χρυσὸς φής ἄγεω
ἐξακοσίους;

ΔΑΟΣ
ἐγώγε.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ
καὶ ποτήρια;

ΔΑΟΣ
όλκην ἵσως μνών τετταράκοντ’, οὐ πλεῖονος,
85 κληρονόμε.

ΣΜΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ
πῶς; οἶει μ’ ἐρωτᾶν, εἰπέ μου,
διὰ τοῦτ’; Ἐπολλον’ τὰλλα δ’ ἡπτᾶσθῃ;

85 μ’ ὀmissible by B.

1 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]).

22

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,1 hardly more—
For you to inherit.2

SMIKRINES

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

2 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 Dyscolos*, Cologny-Geneva 1958, with photographs.¹ 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 Bouclier*, Cologny-Geneva 1969, 48 ff., with a photograph.


¹ W. E. Blake’s edition (New York 1966) also contains photographs.

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


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, *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 didascalic 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
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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 didascalic 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

έχων θυγατέρα δύσκολος μητρός μέν, ἢν
ἔγνυ' ἔχουσαν υἱόν, ἀπελεύθη τάχος
διὰ τοὺς τρόπους, μόνος δ' ἐπ' ἀγρών διετέλει.
τῆς παρθένου δὲ Σώστρατος σφυδρῶς ἔρων
5 προσήλθεν αὐτῶν: ἀντέπιθο' ὁ δύσκολος.
τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἐπίθεν· οὐκ έιχ' ὁ τι λέγων
ἐκεῖνος. ἐμπεσὼν δὲ Κνήμων εἰς φρέαρ
τὸν Σώστρατον βοηθὸν εἰχε διὰ τάχους.
κατηλλάγη μὲν τῇ γυναίκι, τῆς κόρην
10 τούτω δ' ἐδίδου γυναίκα κατὰ νόμους ἔχειν.
τούτου δ' ἀδελφὴν λαμβάνει τῷ Γοργίᾳ
τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς παιδί, πρᾶος γενόμενος.

ἐδίδαξεν εἰς Λήμνα έπὶ Δημογένεως ἄρχοντος καὶ
ἐνικά. ὑπερκίνατο Ἀριστόδημος Σκαρφεύς. ἀντεπιγράφεται(α) Μυσάνθρωπος.

Hypothesis and didascalic notice taken from the Bodmer
papyrus.


Didascalic notice Δημογένεως ed. pr.: διδημογενῆς B. Σκαρφεύς ed. pr.: σκαφεύς B. αντεπιγράφετ B.

HYPOTHESIS
BY ARISTOPHANES THE SCHOLAR

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.
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
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 archon2 and won first
prize. Aristodemus of Scarphe3 was his principal
actor. It has an alternative title ‘The Misanthrope’.

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

2 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.

3 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.
Dramatis Personae, in order of speaking:

The god Pan, speaker of the prologue
Chaireas, a friend of Sostratos\(^1\)
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\(^2\)
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.

\(^1\) 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.

\(^2\) Omitted by the cast-list in the papyrus.
DYSKOLOS

Are always unconvincing!—How [could one (?)]
describe
[A man like him (?)]? 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.)

KNEMON

Well, wasn't that Perseus such a lucky fellow,?
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
Onto the hill-tops. Oh, the teeming,swarming crowds!
Oh no! Here's one more of them, standing by
Our door!

1 Sc. Knemon.
2 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.
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.

1 Leos was one of the Athenian heroes after whom a political tribe was named. According to the legend he sacrificed his daughters for the good of the city. His shrine (which may have been identical with that of his daughters, the so-called Leoko*e10n) seems to have been a popular rendezvous in the Athenian agora (cf. W. H. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, The Agora of Athens [The Athenian Agora, volume XIV: Princeton 1972], 121 ff.).
MENANDER

GORGIAS

εἰναι νομίζω πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγώ
tois τ᾽ εὐνυχούσου τοῖς τε πράττονσιν κακῶς
πέρας τι τούτοι καὶ μεταλλαγήν τινα:
καὶ τῷ μὲν εὐνυχοῦντι μεχρὶ τούτου μένειν
275 τὰ πράγματ᾽ εὐθεῖαν τ᾽ ἄει τὰ τοῦ βίου,
ὅσον ἂν χρόνον φέρειν δύνηται τὴν τύχην
μηδὲν ποῆσαι ἀδίκον. εἰς δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὅταν
ἔλθῃ προαχθεῖσα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἐνανθά ποιν
τὴν μεταβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ χεῖρον λαμβάνειν.
280 τοῖς δ᾽ εἰμικῶς πράττονσιν, ἂν μηδὲν κακῶν
ποιώσιν ἀποφιντεῖ, φέρουσι δ᾽ εὐγενείς
tὸν δαίμον, εἰς πίστιν ποτ᾽ ἠλθόντας χρώνυς,
βελτίων᾽ εἰναι μερίδα προσδοκάν τινα.
tῷ οὖν λέγω; μὴ τ᾽ αὐτός, εἰ σφόδρ᾽ εὐπορεῖς,
285 πίστευε τούτῳ, μητε τῶν πτωχῶν πάλιν
ἡμῶν καταφρόνει. τοῦ διευθυνέων δ᾽ ἂεὶ
πάρεχε σεαυτὸν τοῖς ὀρῶσιν ἄξιον.

ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

ἀτοπον δέ σοι τι φανομαι ννι ποεῶ;

GORGIAS

ἔργον δοκεῖς μοι φαίλον ἐξηλωκέναι,
290 πείσειν νομίζων ἐξαμαρτεῖν παρθένον
ἐλευθέραν ἡ καϊρὸν 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) ευνυχείς written above εὐπορεῖς. 286 τοῦ διευθυνέων B:

DYSKOLOS

GORGIAS

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
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,
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,
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?

GORGIAS

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

GE\TA\S

νη Δλ', ἀπεσώθητέ γε.

435 ὃ Ὡράκλεις, ἀγδίαις· καθῆμεθα
χρόνον τοσοῦτον περιμένοντες.

ΜΗΤΗΡ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ἐντρεπη

άπαντα δ' ἕμων ἐστί;

GE\TA\S

ναι μὰ τὸν Δία·
τὸ γοῦν πρόβατον· μικροῦ τέθυνε γάρ.

ΜΗΤΗΡ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

τάλαν·

οὐ περιμένει τὴν σὴν σχολὴν. ἄλλ' εἴστε·

440 κανὰ πρόχειρα, χέρνια, θυλήματα
ποιεῖτε. ποῖ κέχθης, ἐμβρόντητε σύ;

ΚΝΗΜΩΝ

κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλοιπθε. ποιοῦσιν γέ με
ἀργών· καταλειπέω γάρ μόνην τὴν οἰκίαν

436 New speaker before ἐντρεπη suggested by several, identified
(see above, on 430–31) by Ritchie (περιμένοντεσευτρεπη B).
438–41 Speech-divisions and identification of speakers un­
certain: here the former follow B, the latter Blake. 438
τάλανι B. 440 προχειρα B. 441 κεχως B.

1 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
edible ones, of meal sprinkled with honey and wine, or cakes of
incense: ancient accounts differ) for another part of the
ceremony.

DYSKOLOS

GETAS

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

SOSTRATOS' MOTHER

Is

Everything ready for us?

GETAS

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. 1
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.)

KNEMON

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

οὐκ ἄν δυναίμην. αἱ δὲ Νύμφαι μοι κακῶν

445 α[\textsuperscript]{0}οταί· παροικοῦσ', ὡστε μοι δοκῶ σὲλὲν
με[\textsuperscript]{0}πουκοδομήσειν, καταβαλὼν τὴν οἰκίαν,
ἐντ'εὔθειαν. ὡς θύουσι δ' οἱ ταχυφύρχοι:
κοίτας φέρονται, σταμω, οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἐνεκ', ἀλλ' εαυτῶν. ὁ λυβαντως εὐσέβεις

450 καὶ τὸ πότανον· τοῦτο ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ
ἀπαν ἐπιτεθέν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὁσφόν ἀκραν
καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἐστ' ἄβροτα, τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς τάλα καταπίνουσι. γρα[\textsuperscript]{0}δ, ἁνοι[\textsuperscript]{0}γε θάττον τὴν θύραν: [ποτήρ]ον

455 ἐστιν γὰρ ἡμῶν τάνδων, ὡ[\textsuperscript]{0}s ἐμοί] δοκεῖ.

DYSKOLOS

The house all unattended. These Nymphs are

445 Nothing but trouble to me, being next door.
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—I—that's all put on
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. The rest they guzzle down
Themselves.—Old woman, quick, open the door!
We’d better [do] the inside jobs, [I] think.

(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

1 Specifically, a small round cake usually made of barley.
2 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 parti-
cularly relevant at the time of Menander’s play, when philo-
osophers such as Theophrastus (allegedly a teacher of Menander)
were seriously interested in the problem, and when legislation
was being considered against useless extravagance (see Hand-
ley’s edition of the Dyskolos, ad loc.).
**ΛΕΤΚΑΔΙΑ**

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

O.1 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.1, with the temple servant switching from iambic trimeters to anapaestic dimeters in mid-speech; in Euripides’ Ion (1440–1442) Kroousa similarly in mid-speech switches from iambic trimeters to lyrics.

Strabo 10.2.9 (p. 452 Casaubon) introduces lines 1 to 5 (άναξ) of book fr. 1 as follows: έχει δε (sc. ο Λευκά- τας) το του λευκάτα Ἄπολλωνος ιερὸν και το άλμα το τους έρωτας πανευ πεπιστευμένων, “οδ δή— Σαπφώ”, ως φησιν ο Μέναιδρος, “τον ύπέρκομ- πον—δέστος’ άναξ” (v. 5), and continues ο μεν ουν Μέναιδρος πρώτην ἀλασθαι (so most mss.: ἀλασθαι mss. exx) λέγει την Σαπφώ, οι δ’ ετι ἀρχαιολογικώ- τερου Κέφαλόν φαιν έρασθεντα Περέλα (corr. Tzschucke: Περεόλα C, Περόλα D, Πιπαρόλα all the other mss. of Strabo) τον Δημονέως. Hesychius quotes from line 5 (from εὐφημείσθω) to the end of the fragment (Λευκάδας ἀκτῆς), s.v. (λ 719) Λευκάδος· Μέναιδρος Λευκάδια (corr. Bentley: λευκάδεσι ms. H). Bentley was the first to see that the Hesychius citation followed that of Strabo without a break.

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**LEUKADIA**

(The Girl from Leucas)

(SCENE: The Temple of Apollo perched on Cape Leu- catas 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.1 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 Leucat.)
MENANDER

ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ

ἀ]παντα πέτρα καὶ θάλασσα ἔστιν κ[άτω

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

χαίρε πολλά, παιδίων.

ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ

νὴ καὶ σὺ γ', ἢτις εἶ ποθ'.

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

阂τις εἰμ' ἐγ[ώ;

ἡ ζάκορος ἢ κοσμοῦσα τὸν νεόν, τέκνον.
ἐφ' ὅδωρ βαδίζεις;

ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ

ναίχι.

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

tουτὶ πλ[ησίον;

ἱερ[ὸν θεοῦ στί ν]άμα.

ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ

μὴτερ φιλτὰτ[η, ἢ, ἢ]
ἀκούσω' οἰσθ' εἰ]τ' πον πέτρα 'στων, εἰπέ μοι,
ἀφ' ἢς ὃ κλισμὸδ] ἕθως, ἵνα τοὺς —

5 KT fr. 686

In this apparatus those supplements whose author is not named were made by the ed. pr. of O.1, P. J. Parsons. 2 Or κ[ύκλωφ, suppl. Holwerda. 3 τ[ι]ς suppl. Handle. πολλα originally omitted in O.1 and then added above επαιδιων. 7 ν]άμα suppl. Parsons, the rest Handle. 8, 9 Suppl. Handle.

LEUKADIA

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!

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?

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—

a These lines are clearly the Greek original of fr. XI of Turpil- ius’ Leucadia: see p. 220, n. 1.
MENANDER
ZAKORPOS

ἐνθαδί,

10 ὅρας, μεγάλη τει. την [γα]ρ ὑψηλῆν λέγεις,
où δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφώ
τὸν ὑπέρκομπον θηρῶσα Φαών'
oιστρώτῃ πόθῳ ῥήας πέτρας
ἀπὸ τηλεφανός. ἀλλὰ κατ' εὔχήν
σήν, δέσποτ' ἄναξ, εὐφημείσθω
témevos perì Deukádos aktís.


LEUKADIA

TEMPLE SERVANT

(pointing)

Here, [you see],

[A big one.] You must mean [that] towering crag —
(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 'Τίς said Sappho first, when pursuing her proud
High and mighty Phaon, a 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, b let due silence ensnourd
Your desmesne on the headland of Leucas!

(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 Leucatas on Leucas) has the temple of Apollo Leucetas 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 Pterelous, jumped first. c 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.)

230
(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, but in a 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 undivinable. 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. The extant text does not reveal whether this was Philoumene’s home, or whether she was on her way to...

1 See e.g. H. Lloyd-Jones, Greek, Roman and Byzantine

2 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. 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 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).

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-

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4 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 Sikyonioi 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.

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5 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.

6 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.
MENANDER

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

ΘΕΟΣ (ἸΦΕΡΡΕΦΑΤΤΑ)

...

...γάρ εἶναι φημὶ τοῦτον θυγάτριον.

...[s δ'] ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο σωμάτων τρ[ιῶν,

...τὴν γραύν μὲν οὐκ ἔδοξε λυσιτελεῖν ἀ[γειν

5 αὐτοίς, τὸ παιδίον δὲ καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην

τῆς Καρίας ἀγαγόντες εἰς τὰ Μύλαι', ἐ[κεὶ

ἐχρῶντι ἀγορᾶς, καθήτο τ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκ[άλης

ἐξων ὁ θεράπων τὴν τροφίμην. πω[λευμένοις

προσήλθεν ἄγεων τις· ἡρώτα "πόσι[ου

ταῦτ' ἐστίν;" ἦκουσεν σωφρονίσσῃ· ἐπ[ρίατο.

παλιμβολος δὲ τῷ θεράπωτι πλησίον[ν

τ]ῶν αὐτόθεν τις ἑτέρος ἀμα πωλουμ[ένων

"β'ἐλπιστε, θάρρετε," 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
παρείναι and ἄρ' εἶναι also possible.

3 ὀ[ς δ'] and
τρ[ιῶν suppl. several.

4 Suppl. several.

5 τὸν Kassel:

6 καρίας S: corr. several.

7 μιλασ['] or
μμλασ['] S. ἐ[κεὶ suppl. several.

8 ἔξων suppl. several,

πωλ[ουμε[']νους Austin, Handley.

9 πόσ[ου suppl. several.

10 ἐπ[ρίατο suppl. Handley.

11 Suppl. several.

SIKYONIOI

(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] was, I emphasise, his 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 To Mylasa in Caria, 3 [where] they found Their market, and the slave sat holding his Young mistress on one arm. [They were] for sale. An officer 4 approached. He asked 'How much Are they?' He was informed, agreed, and [bought] 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

1 Philoumene.

2 Kichesias'.

3 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.

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

12 πωλουμ[ένων suppl. Austin, Gallavotti.
MENANDER

η]γόρακεν ύμᾶς, ἠγεμών χρηστός σφόδρα
καί πλουσίος γ', οὐ τῶν [τ]υχόν[των
ἐ]κ τοῦ παραχρήμ[ι]
 [.]ε]ν] προσάγων οίκείων εἰς τ[ι
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.)

16 ἀγών S with προσ written above.  
17 Deciphered and suppl. Austin.  
23–24 Suppl. several exempli gratia, after Dyskolos 45–46.

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

SIKYONIOI

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 (?)  

(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 Sicyon 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 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,