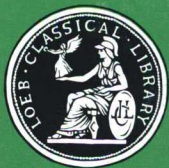


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MENANDER
VOLUME III



Edited and Translated by
W. G. ARNOTT

MENANDER

VOLUME III

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EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

W. GEOFFREY ARNOTT

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MENANDER

III

LCL 460

To Rosemary, Alison, Hilary, Hatau and Deema

PREFACE

This volume completes the new Loeb Classical Library edition of Menander. It again follows the principles adopted in volume one, with the adjustment mentioned in the preface to the second volume. Volume three begins with the preserved portions of those plays (from *Samia* to *Phasma*, in Greek alphabetical order) whose titles are known or can with some confidence be identified. Next comes a carefully selected group of papyri whose attribution to Menander ranges from certainty (in the case of *Fabula Incerta* 1) to disputable plausibility; the reasons why those that appear have been selected are given in the separate introductions to each member of this elite, while the reasons why some familiar papyri (such as *P.Louvre* 7172 = *P.Didot* 1) have been excluded are set out in the general introduction to this collection of papyri and papyrus fragments. This section concludes with those papyrus fragments of prose summaries of Menander's plays that have not been printed elsewhere in this edition, and with one probable and two certain book fragments that have been added to the Menander store by a papyrus first published in 1966.

Each text and critical apparatus in this volume is based, as before, mainly on close study of good photographs of the relevant papyri, whenever possible. Unpublished photo-

PREFACE

graphs of several papyri have been supplied to me; due acknowledgement is made below. I have, however, had the good fortune to see and examine *P. Bodmer* 4 in Cologne and *P. Sorbonne* 72, 2272 and 2273 in Paris, and I should like to express my gratitude here to the Fondation Bodmer and Professor A. Blanchard. Many institutions and scholars have helped me in various ways with advice, useful information and photocopies of publications that were otherwise unavailable to me. If any name has been omitted in the following list, I trust he or she will accept my apology. My thanks are owed and gratefully given to Dr Annamaria D'Angelo, Professors C. Austin, A. Blanchard, Dr R. W. and Mrs Elaine Brock, Drs D.L. Cairns, R. A. Coles, Professor Christina Dedoussi, Dr. Chr. Förstel, Professors I. Gallo, Chr. Habicht, E. W. Handley, Mr J. G. Howie, Professors A. Hurst, J.-M. Jacques, R. Kassel, L. Koenen, P. von Möllendorff, Dr R. Nünlist, Professor P. J. Parsons, Drs R. Pintaudi, A. P. Romanov, Professor G. Reger, Mr L. Scott, Professor W. Stockert, the Accademia di Torino, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the British Academy, the Fondation Bodmer in Cologne, the Fondation Hardt in Vandoeuvres, the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg and the Reial Acadèmia de Barcelona. Above all I should like to express my gratitude to Professors P. Goold, J. Henderson, and F. J. Williams, whose courteous assistance with editing and proof-reading has been invaluable, and to my wife, whose patient tolerance of my devotion to a dramatist of the distant past has been as rewarding as her loving support.

Leeds
February 1999

W. Geoffrey Arnott

SUPPLEMENT TO THE
BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN
VOLUMES ONE AND TWO

Catalogue Raisonné of Menander Papyri

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SAMIA OR KEDEIA
(THE WOMAN FROM SAMOS
OR THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT)

INTRODUCTION

Manuscripts

B = *P. Bodmer* 25, the first of three plays (*Dyskolos* and *Aspis* follow) in a papyrus codex of the third (or possibly early fourth) century A.D. It contains lines 1–119a, 120–43a, 144–245, 254–406, 411–54, 458–605, 612–737. First edition: R. Kasser and C. Austin, *Papyrus Bodmer XXV. Ménandre, La Samienne* (Cologny-Geneva 1969),¹ with photographs of *P. Bodmer* 25 and also (photographed in its original position: see below) *P. Barcelona* 45.

B = also *P. Barcelona* 45, a small scrap of one page torn from the same codex as *P. Bodmer* 25, containing lines 399–410 and 446–57.² First editions: R. Roca-Puig, *Butlletí de*

¹ Some time before this authorised publication, P. Photiades made a transcript of parts of this papyrus (vv. 1–166, 174–203, 254–86 and 411–28), and this was circulated among scholars working on Menander at the time. See especially J.-M. Jacques, *Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé* 4.2–3 (1968) 213–39, his edition of *Samia* (Paris 1971) pp. vii and lxxxiii, and O. Reverdin's preface to A. Hurst's French translation of the play (*Bastions de Genève* 1975), pp. 3–4.

² The codex was at some stage torn, so that one part of lines 399–406 and 446–54 is in the Bodmer codex, another part in the Barcelona sheet.

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la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona 32 (1967–68) 5–13 (in Catalan) = (with some modifications) *Estudios Clásicos* 12 (1968) 375–83 (in Castilian Spanish), both with photographs.

C = *P.Cairensis* 43227, part of a papyrus codex from Aphroditopolis written in the fifth century A.D. The codex originally contained six or more plays by Menander; *Samia* was placed after (but not directly after) *Perikeiromene*. Extant in C are lines 216–416 and 547–686. 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; new and clearer photographs have been published in *The Cairo Codex of Menander (P.Cair. J.43227)* (Institute of Classical Studies, London 1978), plates XXXVII–XLVI.

O.17 = *P.Oxyrhynchus* 2943, a small fragment of papyrus written in the late second or early third century A.D. It contains the ends of lines 119b–d and 120–25, and the beginnings of 134–42, 143a–m (on these numberings, see below). Definitive edition: E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 41 (London 1972) 1–4 with a photograph (plate I); this followed a permitted earlier publication by Turner in *CR* 21 (1971) 352–53.

O.16 = *P.Oxyrhynchus* 2831, a small fragment of papyrus perhaps written in the late first or early second century A.D. It was identified by E. Lobel as containing the ends of lines 385–90. Definitive edition: E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 38 (London 1971) 29 with a photograph (plate I); this followed a permitted earlier publica-

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tion by Turner in *Aegyptus* 47 (printed as 1967, but appearing 1970) 187–90, also with photograph.

Berl. = *P. Berlin* 8450, a scrap of papyrus from the Fayyûm written in the late first or early second century A.D. and containing the middle parts of 21 iambic trimeters which have been assigned to the *Samia* by its first editors: W. Luppe and W. Müller, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 3 (1983) 5–7 with a photograph (plate 1). It appears as fr. adesp. 1131 in Kassel–Austin, *PCG* VIII (Berlin 1995) p. 459. Although its attribution to the *Samia* is uncertain, it is printed here after the end of B's text as fragment 1.

Fragment 2, printed after fr. 1, is a quotation made allegedly from this play by an ancient grammarian (see introduction to Volume I, pp. xxiv f.).

Pictorial Evidence

A mosaic of (probably) the late fourth century A.D. from the 'House of Menander' at Mytilene in Lesbos. The mosaic is inscribed ΣΑΜΙΑΣ ΜΕ(ΡΟΣ) Γ (*Samia*, Act III), and portrays the moment when Demeas expels Chrysis and the baby from his house before the apparently puzzled gaze of the cook (cf. lines 369ff. of the play). Demeas (his name is written to his left, ΔΗΜΕΑΣ) wears a long cloak decorated with double-axe motifs; his left hand holds a stick and his right arm is raised aggressively in the direction of Chrysis (ΧΡΥΣΙΣ inscribed above her head), who stands on his right. She is richly attired in a tunic and gown of many colours, nestles the baby in her left arm and looks slightly to her left. On Demeas' left stands the cook

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(ΜΑΓΕΙΠΟΣ inscribed on his left), portrayed with a remarkably dark face³ and four dreadlocks on each side dropping over his shoulders. Demeas' age is emphasised by white hair and beard and wrinkles on his face. The cook's position is as far forward as that of Demeas and Chrysis, not in the background (as required by line 368 of the text), and Chrysis is not accompanied by her old female servant (cf. line 373). Standard edition of the mosaic: S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouvès, *Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (*Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 6, Berne 1970), 38–41 and colour plate 4; a colour plate, chopped off at the bottom, appears also as the frontispiece of the Kasser–Austin edition of the play. Cf. also T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy* (3rd edition, revised and enlarged by J. R. Green and A. Seeberg, London 1995), I.93 (XZ 31) and II.469 (6DM 2.2); and L. Berczelly, *BICS* 35 (1988) 119–27.

The attribution of the Cairo papyrus fragments to Menander's *Samia*, which G. Lefebvre originally suggested (1907 edition, p. 141) because of two mentions of 'the Samian woman' in them (vv. 265, 353f.; cf. now also vv. 21, 35–36), has been proved correct by the Mytilene mosaic (see above) and the colophon in the Bodmer codex. Stobaeus, however, quotes two short passages from the play (*Ecl.* 4.29.10 = vv. 140–42, 1.6.9 = vv. 163–64) under another title, Κηδεία (*The Marriage Contract*),⁴ which

³ On black cooks in ancient Greek comedy see p. 423 of this volume.

⁴ The correct spelling is given by only one manuscript (P) at 1.6.9, but corrupted in others to an inappropriate Ἀκηδεία (*Indif-*

was perhaps given later to the play (? for a subsequent production) as an appropriate alternative name. No other ancient comedy deals so exhaustively with the impediments blocking a wedding that all the parties to it originally support, and indeed A. W. Gomme wrote long before the Bodmer codex was discovered 'Had it been an eighteenth-century play, it might have been called *Chrysis*, or *The Wedding Postponed*' (CQ 30, 1936, 72).

The Cairo papyrus contains 341 lines of the play, 5 of them badly mutilated. The Bodmer codex duplicates 330 of these and adds a further 396, of which over 90 are seriously imperfect. The text of acts III, IV and V of the play is now virtually complete; all the major lacunae come in acts I and II. However, a careful comparison of the most mutilated pages (1-8) of the Bodmer codex, whose tops and bottoms have been torn or chopped off, with those later ones (9-18) which are almost completely preserved, reveals that the scribe kept the relationship between the number of lines on a page and the space between individual lines on that page remarkably constant, and this makes it possible to predict within narrow limits the original number of lines written on the badly mutilated pages, giving a probable total of 412 or 413 lines for pp. 1-8 and 896 or 897 lines for the whole play.⁵

In this edition, however, with considerable hesitation I follow the editions of Kasser-Austin, Austin and Sand-

ference: F at 1.6.9) or Κνηδία (MA at 4.29.10: gibberish, earlier wrongly emended to Κνιδία, *The Woman of Knidos*).

⁵ For the detailed calculations see my paper in ZPE 128 (1999) 45-48.

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bach, together with virtually all modern scholarship, in numbering the lines preserved in B and C consecutively. In consequence I do not (as J.-M. Jacques more wisely does in his Budé edition of the play, Paris 1971) adjust that numeration in order to take account of the gaps mainly in the first eight pages of the Bodmer codex. I add in brackets to my Greek text both Jacques' numbering (hereafter J) and the earlier one used for the Cairo papyrus remains by Körte in his third Teubner edition (Leipzig 1938: hereafter K). The tiny fragments of new lines preserved in *P.Oxyrhynchus* 2943 (see above) between lines 119 and 120, 143 and 144 are here for convenience numbered 119b-d and 143b-m, with 119 and 143 renumbered 119a and 143a.

Neither of the two major papyri preserves a hypothesis, didascalic notice or cast-list. *Samia*'s production date is not recorded, although several (a) structural or theatrical elements and (b) real or alleged references to contemporary personalities and events may be identified as pointers to a more or less precise time of composition.

(a) The structural and theatrical elements include a preponderance of monologues so far unparalleled in Menander (probably over 40% of the play),⁶ the use of trochaic tetrameters for the whole of act IV (421-615), and the transformation of ostensibly serious situations into exuberant farce (especially 519-615 with its sudden, high-speed exits and entrances). Before the Bodmer codex was discovered, such elements were generally interpreted as

⁶ Cf. J. Blundell, *Menander and the Monologue* (*Hypomnemata* 59, Göttingen 1980) 35-45.

evidence of youthful high spirits or even immaturity in a play produced at the beginning of Menander's career, but views of this kind are based partly on a fallacious equation of youth and slapstick, partly on an earlier ignorance of Menander's widespread employment of trochaic tetrameters at least throughout the first half of his career. In any case it is not the choice of a particular metre or theatrical mode that deserves to be significant in matters of either dating or evaluation, but rather the quality of the writing in that mode or metre and the appropriateness to its particular situation. Thus in *Samia* the long monologue by Demeas that opens act III (205–82) is a masterpiece of imaginative narrative and emotion graphically expressed, revealing also more about the speaker than he consciously intends. Again, the farcical toings and froings of 519–615 contribute positively to a fast-moving and engrossing act composed by a writer in total control of his medium. Expertise, however, can be shown very early in a dramatist's career, as Aristophanes revealed with *Acharnians*, and in our more limited percentage of Menander's surviving but largely undated plays and fragments it would accordingly be wiser to refrain from using the structural and theatrical elements discussed above as pointers to *Samia*'s date.

(b) Six types of reference to contemporary personalities or events are either offered by or can be teased out of what survives of *Samia*. These are first listed and discussed individually; when the information that they offer is combined, a precise date for the play can be suggested:

(1) Chrysis, Menander's title figure, was a native of Samos who was working in Athens as a *hetaira* (21, 25, cf. 392–97) when the elderly Athenian Demeas fell for