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NOTES ON MENANDER'S PHASMA

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 123 (1998) 35–48

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These notes are a by-product of work devoted to Menander's *Phasma* during preparation of a third volume for the new Loeb edition of Menander. In all passages here the line-numberings will be those adopted by F. H. Sandbach in his Oxford text of Menander (1st edition 1972, 2nd 1990; cf. his and A. W. Gomme's *Menander: A Commentary*, Oxford 1973, hereafter referred to as the Gomme-Sandbach commentary). It will be useful for readers to have at their side photographs (i) of vv. 26–52 from the St Petersburg parchment (P), printed as plate II by Körte in his first two Teubner editions of Menander (Leipzig 1910 opposite p. LVIII, 1912 opposite p. LXIV), and (ii) of vv. 57–107 from P. Oxy. 2825 (O) printed as plate II of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 38 (London 1971). For the convenience of readers a photograph of vv. 1–25 from P is printed for the first time with this paper (here Pl. I: it is printed by kind permission of the Manuscript Department of the National Library of Russia, Sadovaja Ul. 18, St Petersburg, 191069); it is accompanied by the two carefully written facsimiles that V. Jernstedt added to his edition of the St Petersburg parchment (here Fig. 1).¹

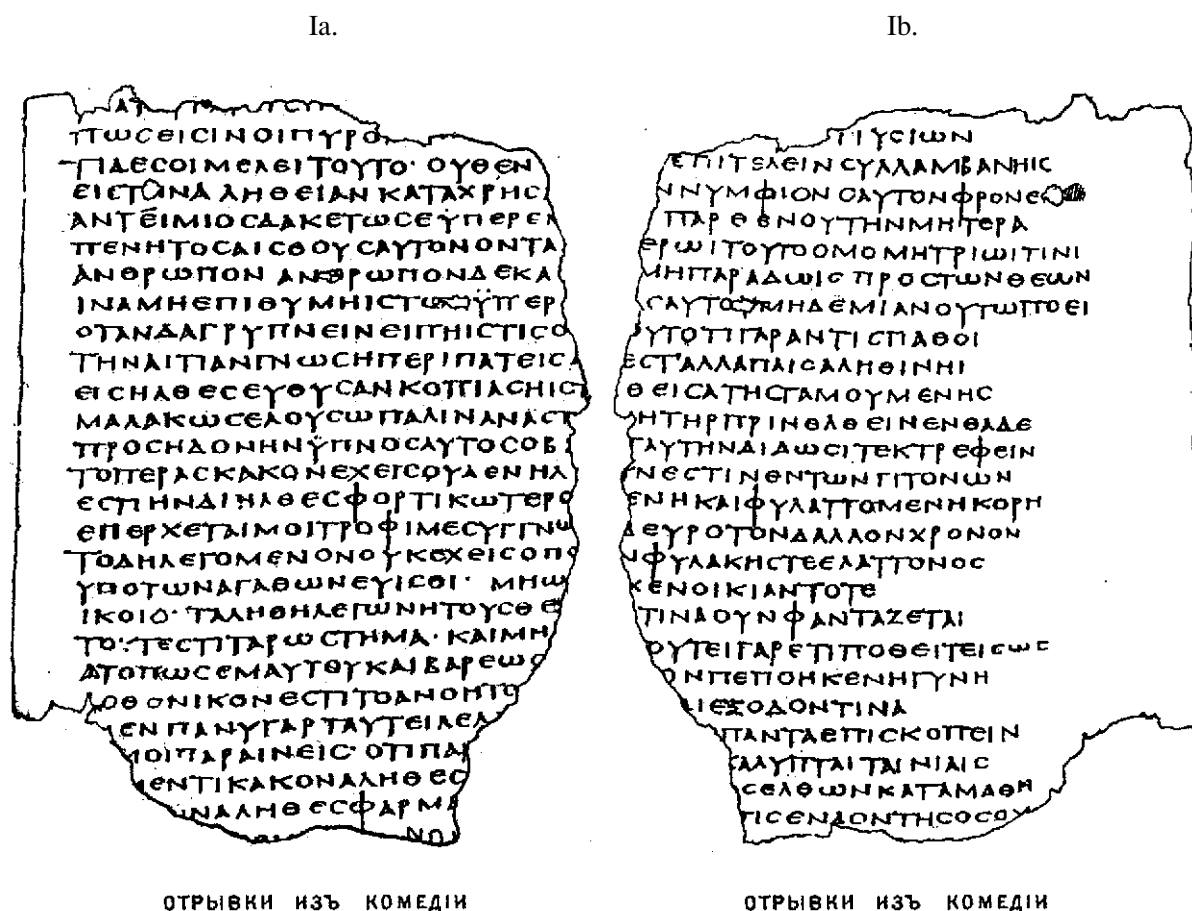


Fig. 1 The Jernstedt facsimiles: Menander, *Phasma* 1–27 (Ia) and 31a–56 (Ib)

¹ Jernstedt printed his facsimiles (carefully handwritten) of 1–25 opposite p. 152 (pl. Ib) and of 26–52 opposite p. 54 (pl. Ia) in *Zapiski Istoriko-Filologicheskago Fakulteta Imp. S.-Petersburg. Universiteta* 26 (1891).

I. The Mytilene mosaic

The mosaic from the ‘House of Menander’ in Lesbos inscribed ΦΑΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΜΕ(ΡΟΣ) Β (Phasma, Act II) has been much discussed², but since the three characters portrayed are not identified by name, while the text of the scene which inspired the picture has not been preserved, it is difficult to identify at least one of the characters or to explain with total confidence the dramatic situation. On the left a girl either emerges from, or stands at, a double door that is wide open; she looks to her right, and has her right arm raised. In the middle a grey-haired man takes a step towards the girl, with his right arm raised and his left clutching a stick. To his right stands a third figure, with very dark hair and the right hand extended, apparently in a gesture to restrain the man in the centre.

Donatus’ partial summary of the Phasma’s plot (on Ter. Eun. prol. 9.3: printed by Sandbach in his Oxford Text) makes it plausible to identify the girl on the left as the illegitimate daughter of the now married woman living next door. The other two figures are most plausibly identified as that woman’s husband, threatening or attacking the girl in a second-act scene presumably after he had learnt that she was his wife’s illegitimate daughter, with the wife herself present and seeking to restrain him³. Such an identification of the figures and situation has two major advantages over others that have been advanced. It makes it possible to interpret this mosaic as a representation of outdoor action staged in the play, just like the other mosaics in the Mytilene villa, with the girl standing and being attacked at the door of her house; there is thus no need to assume (with Webster) an unparalleled use of one of the stage doorways as a stand-in for the hole in the interior party-wall that had been transformed into a shrine⁴. Secondly, it presents to us a plausible scene in the second act of a play whose dramatic action is largely unknown; Donatus’ summary informs us about the antecedents of the plot and its resolution, but little else, while the St Petersburg and Oxyrhynchus fragments yield only a limited view of the play’s dramatic action.

II. The St Petersburg parchment

The history of this parchment sheet, containing on its two sides mutilated portions of vv. 1–25 and vv. 26–52 of the Phasma, is given most fully by V. Jernstedt, *op. cit.* in n. 1, pp. 1–53, and more summarily by Körte in his Teubner edition of Menander, I³ xvi–xvii, and E. G. Turner in GRBS 10 (1969) 307, 310–11.

Konstantin von Tischendorf, the German biblical scholar who discovered the codex Sinaiticus of the New Testament, came across this parchment sheet and another from Epitrepontes as a young man of 29 in 1844 in the library of the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai. The two leaves were glued in the cover of another manuscript, so that Tischendorf was able to see and transcribe only the recto (vv. 26–51 of Phasma) of either leaf. Tischendorf at some stage passed on his transcriptions to Gabriel Cobet, who published them 32 years after their initial discovery (*Mnemosyne* 4, 1876, 285–93 = *Miscellanea Critica* (Leiden 1876) 438–46), confirming Tischendorf’s assumption of Menandrian authorship by showing that the severely mutilated vv. 50–52 of what is now known to be Phasma coincided with the

² See especially L. Kahil (and others) in *Entretiens Hardt* 16 (1970) 35–39, 245–46; S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouvès, *Les Mosaiques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (*Antike Kunst, Beiheft* 6, Berne 1970), 60–62 and plates 8 (colour) and 24 (black and white); E. G. Turner, GRBS 10 (1969) 320–22; C. Garton, *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre* (Toronto 1972) 99–102; the Gomme–Sandbach commentary p. 674; T. B. L. Webster, *Introduction to Menander* (Manchester 1974) 175, and *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy* (3rd edition, revised by J. R. Green and A. Seeberg, London 1995), II p. 471 (6DM 2.11); and C. Corbato in *Actes du XV^e Congrès international de papyrologie* 3 (= *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 18, Brussels 1979) 61 n. 4.

³ So Kahil in *Entr. Hardt* 35–36, 245–46 and *Les Mosaiques* 62, Turner, GRBS 320–1; cf. the Gomme–Sandbach commentary 674.

⁴ In the mosaic the doorway shows no sign of any decoration as a shrine.

beginning of a fragment of Menander already cited without play title by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 7.27.1 (p. 19 Stählin).

At the time of his publication Cobet was unaware that in 1855 Porphyry Uspensky had rediscovered the two leaves at the Mt Sinai monastery, unglued them from their cover, and taken them back with him to Russia. In 1883 they passed into the royal library at St Petersburg (catalogued as Petropol. Gr. 388)⁵, and in 1891 were exemplarily published by V. Jernstedt in Russian with the title 'The Porphyry fragments of Attic Comedy' in the work cited in n. 1; Jernstedt thus provided the editio princeps of vv. 1–25 of *Phasma*, and a more authentic version of vv. 26–52, correcting errors in Tischendorf's apograph. Jernstedt did not include photographs of any of the leaves in his publication, but he did provide handwritten facsimiles which retain their value today; since the original publication is not available in many university or departmental libraries, his facsimiles are republished with this paper. The side of the parchment containing vv. 1–25 is hard to read, partly because it is semi-transparent, making it difficult often to distinguish between letters on this side and traces of those in the corresponding positions on the other side. I have fortunately been able to use photographs of both sides of the St Petersburg parchment, originally obtained by Turner and now deposited in the Oxyrhynchus Archive at Oxford; I am grateful particularly to Professor P. J. Parsons and Dr Revel Coles for making these available to me. These photographs reveal that in the preserved portions of this manuscript the only indications of changes of speaker are mid-line raised points in a space between letters, and that Jernstedt's readings are in general accurate and sharp-sighted⁶.

III. The opening act

Turner's demonstration (GRBS p. 311) that P could originally have had at least 50 lines written on each page has made it advisable for scholars to reconsider two questions: which side of P's page came first⁷, and what were the contents of the two scenes that in the first act straddle the divine prologue? Turner went on to make plausible cases for side I.a (vv. 26–52 in Körte's and Sandbach's numbering, which I shall use throughout this paper) of P coming before side I.b (vv. 1–25), and for vv. 1–8 closing a dialogue scene before the divine prologue began at v. 9. Sandbach countered both suggestions in the Gomme–Sandbach commentary (p. 676), but his attempt to restore the traditional order (I.b before I.a) seems to me unconvincing. Several points need to be reconsidered.

(i) As Turner well notes (GRBS p. 314), lines 1–8 are loaded with 2nd-person-singular verbs and pronouns (συλλαμβάνης 2, σαυτόν 3, παραδῶς 6, σαυτοῦ and probably πόει 7), and that would normally indicate dialogue, with the remarks here being divided between an adviser (1–7) and a respondent (8). In mid-line P marks changes of speaker clearly with a space and raised point, but such indications are omitted at line end, and in any case the ends of lines 7 and 8 are badly discoloured and dark, concealing any such marks.

Sandbach explains the second persons by an assumption that in vv. 1–8 the divine prologue quotes at length a dialogue between two characters. It is true that in *Sikyoniōi* 13 ff. the prologue similarly quotes a conversation between two characters, but there the cited remarks are short and the speaker inserts a clear φησίν (13). And why should the prologue need to cite a conversation between two characters who with more plausibility could have themselves been present in the play's opening scene?

Sandbach's main thrust against Turner here is that, if vv. 1–8 are interpreted as staged dialogue, v. 9 (ἦδ' or τὸ δ' οὐχὶ φάσμι] ἔστ', ἀλλὰ παῖς ἀληθινή) would then provide 'an astonishingly abrupt

⁵ Turner (GRBS 310) first revealed that the two leaves are now in the Saltikov–Schedrin State Public Library in St Petersburg.

⁶ See especially Körte's first Teubner edition of Menander (1910) p. xlix, 'quanta industria et sagacitate Jernstedt, inter philologos Russicos facile princeps, membranas difficillimas tractaverit, perspexi'; and cf. Turner 311.

⁷ Cf. van Leeuwen's third edition (Leiden 1919) 172.

opening for a divine prologue. It would be extraordinary for a god to say nothing to introduce himself.' In fact very few of Menander's divine prologues survive whole or in part; to generalise from the existing examples would be unwise. An abrupt departure by two characters, followed by the entrance of a divinity⁸ saying something like 'But she isn't an apparition, she's a real girl' would perhaps astonish by its abruptness, but it would be good theatre. And we need to remember that however few the surviving examples are, they already include one theatrically effective surprise, with the speaker's identification postponed to the very last word of the prologue in *Aspis* 148.

(ii) If this interpretation of vv. 1–8 is accepted, a reconstruction of the play's opening scene may be based on it that satisfies the known facts, is dramatically effective, and corresponds to Menander's practice elsewhere. The opening scene will feature Pheidias and a slave connected with his household⁹. It is not certain, but a plausible guess, that this slave is identical with the Syros of the *Oxyrhynchus* fragments of *Phasma*¹⁰. If this scene matched the corresponding scene of *Aspis* in length (i.e. around 96 vv.), we might perhaps assume that its opening 30 or 40 lines are lost, that vv. 26–56 came thereafter, and that vv. 1–8 closed the scene with a gap of about 21 lines between vv. 56 and 1. If the reference to *πυροί* in v. 26 has dramatic significance, it might imply that the play began with Pheidias returning home from market with bread and perhaps other comestibles, which may have been purchased for Pheidias' wedding feast that very day. In the lost opening lines there would have been space for a vivid and detailed account, narrated by Pheidias to the slave, about the apparition and the insomnia and depression that the shock of seeing it had produced. Vv. 1–8 would then close the scene, with the slave persuading Pheidias to go through with the wedding, despite his indisposition, and not to give offence to his bride's stepbrother (on the implications of v. 5 see below, section VI, vv. 3–7). Pheidias and the slave would then make their exit.

Such a scene, as E. W. Handley (by letter) points out to me, would effectively arouse an audience's expectations at the beginning of the play, before those expectations were deflated and corrected by the speaker of the prologue. It also removes all need for the sighting of the apparition to be actually staged; indeed the very fact that at the play's opening Pheidias can already complain of sleeplessness induced by the shock of his seeing the apparition (v. 34) would imply that here we were dealing with an event prior to any staged action.

IV. Part-division in the *Oxyrhynchus* fragments

Paragraphoi and mid-line spaces are the only means regularly used to indicate part-division in the *Oxyrhynchus* papyrus, although on one occasion (v. 87) a space is accompanied by a raised point (as in the St Petersburg parchment). Turner's positioning of the paragraphoi in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 38 (1971) pp. 10–12 does not always appear accurate.

Paragraphoi: under vv. 79 (B.ii.5 Turner), 83 (B.ii.9), 84 (B.ii.10), 89 (B.ii.15), 90 (B.ii. 16), and B.iii.15 Turner (= Austin, CGFPR p. 192, fr. 195.57: not in Sandbach). Turner omits B.ii.5, but adds B.ii.8 (where any space for a paragraphos has been torn off). At B.ii.14 Turner and Austin (his v. 48: = 88 Sandbach) give a paragraphos, but I can see no trace of one on the photograph.

Mid-line spaces: before *συρε* 60, *γαμει* 61, *οιχομ[* 62, *πλησιον* 66, *ακουετε* 68, *το* 78, *το* 83, *απολλων* 87 (with raised point), *νη* 87, *εγω* 90, *ερωτησεις* 100. At 77 there seems to be a space somewhere just before *νυν*.

⁸ Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* III.B (Leiden 1961) 750, suggests that the divinity may have been Hestia, one of his most intelligent speculations.

⁹ He is self-assured but poor (30–32), and so probably not a senior slave still resident in a rich household, but one living separately. On such slaves in Menander see especially Martha Krieter-Spiro, *Sklaven, Köche und Hetären* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 14–21.

¹⁰ Cf. vv. 60, 71.

V. The Oxyrhynchus fragments and the plot of *Phasma*

The fragments of *Phasma* on P. Oxy. 2825 yield fewer than 60 vv.¹¹, virtually all of them mutilated and/or abraded, but they provide both clues and problems for any detective who seeks to puzzle out the further development of Menander's plot.

(i) In vv. 57–74 three speaking characters are most probably involved. One is the slave Syros, who seems to belong to Pheidias' household and may be identical with the slave who admonishes Pheidias in the St Petersburg parchment (vv. 26–56). The second character, as Turner recognised (p. 309 of his GRBS paper), is a cook, giving instructions at vv. 73–74 and apparently accompanied by one or more mute assistants; their presence explains Syros' use of the second person plural *ἀκούετε* when addressing the cook at v. 68. Their conversation may belong to the second or third act, and be concerned partly with the feast to be provided for Pheidias and his bride after their engagement had been soldered together again (vv. 59, 61) after a previous break doubtless caused by the results of Pheidias' illness after seeing his apparition.

The third person present may utter in the mutilated fragment preserved from this scene only the one word *οἴχομαι* (v. 62), repeated towards the beginning of the next scene when the metre has changed to trochaic tetrameters (v. 79). He is most probably to be identified as the young man living next door to Pheidias, and may well have stayed in the background eavesdropping on the conversation between Syros and the cook, and expressing his dismay only when he hears that Pheidias' marriage is to go ahead. In Turner's fr. B.iii.17 = Austin v. 57 *χαίρειανειπ* opens a trochaic tetrameter, and Austin's *Χαίρέαν εἶπ* seems the best interpretation of the letters; since *Phasma*'s plot is not known to have involved more than two free young men, Chaireas is likely to have been the name of Pheidias' young neighbour.¹²

One may guess perhaps that Syros, the cook and his attendant(s) departed into Pheidias' house at v. 74. The change of metre at 75 probably introduces a new scene¹³, in which Chaireas comes forward and engages in conversation with a slave who has now entered in all probability from Chaireas' own house with news of Pheidias' latest untoward behaviour. That slave will be different from Syros¹⁴. Their conversation continues at least until v. 92, when Chaireas doubtless exited into his own house to give the news about Pheidias to his own stepsister, Pheidias' intended bride.

(ii) In vv. 93–108 a husband and wife, as Turner noted (GRBS p. 309)¹⁵, discuss a past rape, where the female victim differed from the wife on stage. They plan to interview the victim. This scenario closely resembles that of the scene in *Epitrepontes* (464–556) where Habrotonon talks to Onesimos about another rape and suggests that she should interview Charisios on that score. Even details of language are common to the two scenes (e.g. *ἔπει* *Phasma* 197, *Epitr.* 522, *ἔρω* *Epitr.* 533, cf. *Epitr.* 517, 524, 526, 530; *παννυχίδος οὔσης καὶ χορῶν* *Phasma* 95, *παννυχίδος οὔσης* *Epitr.* 452, cf. 474; *μόνη* *πλανηθεῖς ἢ τάλαινα* *Phasma* 99, *ἐπλανήθη . . . μόνη* *Epitr.* 486–87). In *Epitrepontes* Habrotonon plans to interview the raper. In *Phasma* it seems most likely that the two characters on stage are the husband and wife living next door to Pheidias¹⁶, discussing the rape of the apparition's mother.

¹¹ It is unfortunate that Sandbach's Oxford Text and the Gomme–Sandbach commentary omit the mutilated fragments of six lines from the third column (which may yield the name of the second young man in the play: see below in section V.i) and two other tiny, unplaced scraps.

¹² Cf. Garton (op. cit. in n. 2) 115.

¹³ Cf. Webster, Introduction to Menander 175, and the Gomme–Sandbach commentary on vv. 75–92.

¹⁴ Cf. Webster, loc. cit. 175–76.

¹⁵ The key word here is *ἄνερ* (v. 103), whether or not Turner's supplement *φίλ'* (GRBS p. 309) is accepted before it. As E. Dickey shows (*Greek Forms of Address*, Oxford 1996, 85–86), *ἄνερ* "is used only by wives to husbands, often in situations where the connection between the couple is emphasised, as for example in . . . appeals". This defines the participants in the dialogue as husband and wife.

¹⁶ So Webster, JHS 93 (1973) 197, and Introduction to Menander 177.

The Epitrepontes scene comes in the first half of the third act; if the corresponding Phasma scene belongs roughly to a similar part of its plot, Sandbach is wise to position the Oxyrhynchus fragment which contains it (vv. 93–107 Sandbach and the Gomme–Sandbach commentary ad loc. = fr. A Turner = vv. 1–16 Austin) after the other columns and scraps of the papyrus¹⁷. See also section VII.ii below.

VI. Details of text

1

Jernstedt's facsimile gives]IYCIΩN, and on p. 152 n. 1 he claims that "before Y the letter N doubtless appeared". The photograph clearly shows two vertical hastae to the left of Y, and to their left a trace of the bottom right-hand corner of a letter that could be E, Θ, O, C or Ω. Yet are the two hastae really traces of the letter before Y, with the linking diagonal of an N totally faded or abraded, or are they mirror images of the letters on the other side of the sheet here showing through? Without first-hand examination of the original manuscript it is impossible to be certain, but the Photographic Department of the University of Leeds has supplied me with a back-to-front copy of the other side of this leaf on the same scale as vv. 1–25, and this clearly shows that, on that other side in the place corresponding to]IY, we find YPO of πυροι on v. 26, with the vertical strokes of the left side of O and the P roughly (but not exactly: the first I of v. 1 is straight, the right side of the corresponding O on the other side is curved) matching the II of v. 1. This makes Jernstedt's N virtually certain (pace Turner GRBS 314 n. 14; cf. the Gomme–Sandbach commentary, p. 676).

Jernstedt's supplement Διο]νυσίων (sic: p. 165)¹⁸ thus seems inescapable; the only other single word in Greek ending in -νυσίος is κανύσιος (Canusian, of wool in P. Holm. 22.26), inappropriate here, while a division such as δεικ]νὸς ἰών (Turner, loc. cit.) seems equally unlikely. What then could have been the point of a Menandrian reference to τῶν Διονυσίων? Any answer must be speculative in the absence of preceding context, and we are not helped either by the uncertainty whether vv. 1–8 of Phasma close a dialogue between two characters before the prologue begins at v. 9 (see above). Even so, a reference to the Dionysia in Menander is less likely to be metatheatrical than (at or near a play's opening) to afford a clue to some detail in the plot's antecedents. In Menander's Synaristosai (fr. 337 K.–A.) there is a further reference to the same festival: Διονυσίων <μὲν> ἦν | πομπή, and this was the occasion when, as the combined evidence of the rest of the fr. and Plautus' Cistellaria 89ff. goes on to show, the play's young male hero saw a girl and fell in love with her. Such an incident, however, looks totally irrelevant in the context of Phasma 1, which goes on apparently to mention Pheidias' forthcoming marriage and the mother and stepbrother of the prospective bride.

3–7

]ν νυμφίον σαυτὸν φρονεῖν
τῆ]ς παρθένου τὴν μητέρα
5 ἐτέρω τοῦθ' ὁμομητρίω τινὶ
] μὴ παραδῶς, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
πρόφασιν κατ]ὰ σαυτοῦ μηδεμίαν· οὕτω πόει.

In these mutilated verses Pheidias either considers himself or is told to consider himself a bridegroom; then we have mentions of the bride's mother and another man 'born of the same mother'. If Pheidias is

¹⁷ Cf. Webster, JHS 197–98.

¹⁸ There is no need to add τῶν before it; in Menander festivals are more commonly named without than with the article (see below on vv. 97–98). In v. 1, according to J. Hutloff, *De Menandri Epitrepontibus* (Diss. Kiel 1913) 73 (followed by Körte only in his third edition), τῶν was supplemented by Jernstedt, but I have not found this anywhere in the Zapiski publication, and the first person to print τῶν was Körte in his first Teubner edition (1910).

rightly conceived as being about to marry the daughter of the family next door, it is notable that at this point two other persons are mentioned: the bride's mother (but not her father), and a maternal (ὄμομήτριος) stepbrother. Normally ὄμομήτριος was used either (i) in combination with ὄμοπάτριος to stress that siblings had the same two parents (Lysias 32.4, the Demosthenic corpus 25.79, 43.26, 40, 57.39, Isaeus 7.5; cf. Ar. Ach. 790), or (ii) on its own or with a specific οὐχ ὄμοπάτριος added to indicate that two stepchildren shared only the mother (Hdt. 1.92, 6.38, Pl. Euthyd. 297e, Parm. 126b, Protag. 364e–365a, [Dem.] 48.10; Ar. Nub. 1372, Men. Dysk. 318–19). Thus in Menander's scenario here the family next door to Pheidias consisted probably of a woman, her second husband, her daughter (the prospective bride) by him and a son by a first husband presumably now dead.

If that husband was absent from home (? on commercial business) at the opening of the play, it would certainly have been much easier for his wife to build her party-wall shrine. Fr. C.2 Turner = v. 60 Austin, with or without Handley's supplement Ἐπολλων, ὃ πλάροικ' ἄναξ then might be provisionally identified as part of the entrance speech on his return, when he greeted the altar or pillar erected to Apollo Agyieus by the door of his house (cf. Dysk. 659, Mis. 314 Sandbach = 715 Arnott, Sam. 309, 444), just as Chrysalus does at Plaut. Bacch. 172–73¹⁹.

7

No raised point, to mark change of speaker, is visible at the end of this verse, but P's scribe appears to use raised points only in mid-verse, and in any case the end of v. 7 is badly marked and discoloured.

8

.....]ουτο· τί γὰρ ἄν τις πάθοι;

This is clearly Pheidias' response to the slave's preaching. Could Menander have written εἰέν· ποήσω τ[οῦτο· (εἰέν· suppl. Arnott, ποήσω Körte, τ[οῦτο Jernstedt; cf. v. 48, also spoken by Pheidias), or ἔχει τι δεινὸν τ[οῦτο· (suppl. Handley by letter)?

10

.....]χθεισα τῆς γαμουμένης

Turner's hesitant supplement ἐν οἰκίᾳ τα]χθεῖσα (GRBS 316 and n. 18) is hesitantly printed by Sandbach in his Oxford Text and enthusiastically praised by Corbato (Actes XVe congr. papyr., Brussels 1979, 59–60), but it is hardly Menandrian Greek. Although both ἐν οἰκίᾳ and κατ' οἰκίαν occur in Attic Greek without an article in the sense of 'at home' (e.g. ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ar. Ach. 974, Anaxandrides fr. 29.1, Men. fr. 868 K.–A.; κατ' οἰκίαν Ar. Vesp. 1180, 1181, Pl. Lach. 180d), that use is not extended to phrases where the noun is accompanied by a possessive genitive as here; in those instances the definite article seems mandatory. Secondly, τα]χθεῖσα ('stationed/placed') is hardly the mot juste in this context. If]χ is rightly read here (Jernstedt 152 n. 1 writes "before ΘΕΙΣΑ there was one of three letters: X, A or Δ, in all probability X"), could Menander have written ἐν τῷκίᾳ στε]χθεῖσα τῆς γαμουμένης, "hidden away in the bride's house"? For the crasis τῷκίᾳ in comedy cf. Ar. Vesp. 827 and Pherocrates fr. 10.2 (where A at Ath. 6.263b preserves scriptio plena), and for the aorist passive participle of στέγω cf. Simplicius, In Epictetum xxxiii.8 (p. 117.24 Dübner).

28–29

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

28 τί δ' ἐμοὶ μέλει τοῦτ';

¹⁹ So Handley in Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 38 (London 1971) 15. On the passage in general see also Garton (op. cit. in n. 2) 108–109.

ΔΟΥΛΟΣ

οὐθέν, [
 29 εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καταχρήσ.[

28 δ' ἐμοὶ Wilamowitz: δεσοι P. τουτο ουθεν P.

Pheidias asks his slave why he himself should be concerned about the price of wheat in the market; the St Petersburg parchment mutilates the slave's answer, and supplementation at the end of vv. 28 and 29 is uncertain. There are, however, three clues to help us.

(i) The first is the tiny but clearly visible trace of the letter following σ in v. 29, a bottom left-hand corner that matches alpha perfectly, but is incompatible with a theta. This supports καταχρήσα[σθαι (Jernstedt 68, 149) but disqualifies Cobet's καταχρήσθ[αι (Mnemosyne 4, 1876, 289 = *Miscellanea Critica*, Leiden 1876, 442).

(ii) Secondly, two passages of Plato parallel the use of καταχρῶμαι with εἰς: Legg. 3.700b οὐκ ἐξῆν ἄλλω εἰς ἄλλο καταχρήσθαι μέλους εἶδος, Critias 113a ἐπινοῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ποίησιν καταχρήσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ; cf. also Pl. Gorg. 490c. The second of these passages and contextual sense in the *Phasma* combine to support the supplement ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ in v. 28 (so first Körte in his 1910 edition: ἀλλὰ already Cobet in v. 28, τῷ λόγῳ Cobet in v. 29, loc. cit.).

(iii) The aorist infinitive καταχρήσασθαι is more appropriate in any case to a situation where one single action is implied, but what verb did Menander choose to govern it? Suggestions such as θέλω (Jernstedt 68, 149) and δοκῶ (Körte's 1912 edition) have won some support, although Körte noted (1912 and 1938 editions) that 'verbum θέλειν non amat Menander'. This is not quite true (cf. Georg. 45, Mis. 155 Sandbach = 555 Arnott; Asp. 413 is a tragic quotation), but the status of the speaker (a slave, addressing his master) makes a first-person-singular statement in the indicative perhaps less likely than an impersonal verb such as πρέπει (another verb less common in Menander than one might expect: Mis. 257 Sandbach = 658 Arnott, Sik. fr. 1.3, frs. 721, 755.1 K.-A.).

34–38

34 ὅταν δ' ἀγρυπνεῖν εἶπης, τί σοι τὸ δυσχερές;
τὴν αἰτίαν γνώση. περιπατεῖς κ[ατ' ἀγοράν.
εἰσηλθεῖς εὐθύς, ἂν κοπιάσης τὰ σκέλη.
μαλακῶς ἐλούσω. πάλιν ἀναστ[ὰς περιπατεῖς
38 πρὸς ἡδονήν. ὕπνος αὐτὸς ὁ βί[ος ἐστὶ σοι.

34 Suppl. Arnott. 35 γνώση P. Suppl. Sudhaus. 36 Suppl. Cobet. 37 Suppl. Gomperz. 38 Suppl. Weil.

At this stage the slave is politely admonishing his master for his complaints about insomnia. Four points in these vv. may merit further discussion.

(i) In v. 34 Wilamowitz' supplement (in Körte's 1910 edition) τίς ὁ [βίος σου σκοπῶν has won virtually universal support, introducing a participial phrase subordinate to γνώση. It makes relevant sense, but perhaps lack the elegant directness of typical Menandrian style. As an alternative I should suggest τί σοι τὸ δυσχερές; as a separate question; cf. e.g. Eur. Med. 733 ἢ τί σοι τὸ δυσχερές; Phoen. 390 τί φυγάσιν τὸ δυσχερές; In the plural τὰ δυσχερῆ is a common expression for difficulties of various kinds: e.g. Men. fr. 236.3 K.-A., Dem. 10.58, Arist. Eth. Nic. 7.1.5, 1145^b6.

(ii) In v. 35 P has γνώση; Cobet (loc. cit.) replaced it with γνώσει. The Menander papyri are inconsistent over the spelling of these middle forms. Undoubtedly -ει is much commoner, even when one leaves aside those few verbs where this form seems in Attic to be de rigueur (e.g. βούλει, οἶει, ὄψει), and we find γνώσει in both papyri at Sam. 397. Nevertheless, the following instances of spellings in -ηι or -η occur in relevant papyri: ακουσηι Kith. 50; βιαζη Dysk. 371, Epitr. 931; γινη Epitr. 539;

κακοηθευση Epitr. 551, πειθη Epitr. 494; γενηση also appears in the papyrus of Timocles fr. 19.5. During the course of the fourth century, for a variety of forms -ει(-) tends to oust -η(-), and by c. 250 B.C. -η(-) is quite rare; in the second century B.C. -η(-) stages a comeback²⁰. It seems probable that Menander would have favoured second-person singulars in -ει, but it would be unwise to demand any consistency from a writer of his time.

(iii) In v. 37 Gomperz' ἀναστ[ᾶς (Hermes 11, 1876, 509) has won general approval, but the activity that Pheidias engages in after bathing and getting up has surprisingly divided scholars. The two clues offered by (1) the presence of πάλιν in v. 37, and (2) the monotony of Pheidias' luxurious life-style alleged here by the slave, have been ignored; only Gomperz' περιπατεῖς offers the mot juste in the context: stroll round; tire your legs; bathe; stroll round again. It may be appropriate additionally to note that supplements like ἐνέπιες (Kock, CAF 3.153–54), κατεκλίνης Weil (REG 1, 1888, 389), ἐνέφαγες (Wilamowitz in Körte's 1910 edition) and ἐσθίεις (van Leeuwen in his editions) rather contradict the preceding word ἀναστ[ᾶς; walking requires one to get up, wining and dining to recline.

(iv) At the end of v. 38 Weil (loc. cit.) supplied σοι, Körte (in his 1910 edition) σου. Most editors have favoured the latter, despite the fact that in such idioms the dative is far commoner than the genitive in Menander (e.g. Mis. 396 Sandbach = 799 Arnott καὶ τίς ὁ βίος σοι; Pk. 750 ταῦθ' ὅπου 'στί σοι, Sam. 676–77 οὐδὲν κακόν | ἐστί σοι).

39–41

39 τὸ πέρας· κακὸν ἔχεις οὐδέν, ἢ ν[όσος δέ σου
ἔσθ' ἦν διήλθεσ — φορτικώτερο[ν δέ τι
ἐπέρχεται μοι, τρόφιμε, συγγνώ[μην δ' ἔχε.

39 Suppl. Wilamowitz. 40, 41 Suppl. Cobet.

Sandbach's Oxford Text and many translators of this passage from Cobet (Mnem. 291 = MC 444: 'hic morbus est quo labores') onwards misconstrue this passage by placing a full stop after διήλθεσ. The slave here is not *defining* Pheidias' indisposition as 'the one you have described', which would make little sense in this context, where the slave is expressing his conviction that Pheidias' alleged illness is nothing more than hypochondria. The young Wilamowitz (Hermes 11, 1876, 506) rightly saw that a modern editor needs to put a dash after διήλθεσ, marking a break in the sense: 'This [illness of yours] which you've described²¹ is —'. At this point Pheidias' slave hesitates to use the coarse expression which in his mind defines his master's situation, and breaks off to apologise (v. 41) for any vulgarity (v. 40) in the popular expression (v. 42) that he eventually uses at v. 42: οὐκ ἔχεις ὅπο[τι χέσης, where Cobet's brilliant supplement (Mnem. 292–93 = MC 445–46) provides a coup de grace to his publication of Tischendorf's apograph.

45–47

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

45 καὶ μή[ν, ὦ Σύρε,
ἀτόπως ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ βαρέως [ἔχω σφόδρα
ΔΟΥΛΟΣ
ἀσθενικόν ἐστί τάνότητο[ν, Φειδία.

45 μή[ν suppl. Cobet, ὦ Σύρε Arnott. 46 ἔχω suppl. Cobet, σφόδρα Sudhaus. 47 ἀσθενικόν deciphered by Jernstedt. τάνότητο[ν suppl. Cobet, Φειδία Arnott.

²⁰ See especially Threutte I.368–83, II.451–52, and cf. K.B. 2.60f., Schwyzer 1.144.

²¹ The relative clause here may well imply that the slave was present at that part of the play's opening scene in which Pheidias described his sufferings and his symptoms to his stepmother.

In v. 46 Cobet's supplement [ἔχω πάνυ (Mnem. 289 = MC 442) may need slightly strengthening to Sudhaus' [ἔχω σφόδρα (first in J. Hutloff, *De Menandri Epitrepontibus*, Diss. Kiel 1913, 75). The line then (pace the Gomme–Sandbach commentary, p. 679) is perfect in sense and idiom, as the many parallels for ἔχω + adverb + personal genitive indicate: e.g. Ar. Lys. 1125 αὐτὴ δ' ἑμαυτῆς οὐ κακῶς γνώμης ἔχω, Pl. Resp. 9.571d ὅταν δέ γε . . . ὑγιεινῶς τις ἔχη αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σωφρόνως, Alexis fr. 219.2–3 ἀλλ' ἠδέως | ἔχων ἑμαυτοῦ, Philemon fr. 3.11 οὐκ εὖ σεαυτοῦ τυγχάνεις ἔχων; K.G. 1.382–83, LSJ s.v. ἔχω B.2.b, my commentary on Alexis ad loc.).

But how then should v. 45 be supplemented? There is no obvious gap in the sense, and it seems likely that Cobet was on the right lines with his μή[ν, ὠγαθέ, although it may be doubted whether Pheidias would choose such a vocative for his slave when he was being so sternly dressed down by him. Better, I suspect, would be a vocative simply naming him: here ὦ Σύρε, since that appears to be the name of Pheidias' slave.

Once that Jernstedt (*Zapiski* 138–39) deciphered the opening word of v. 47, the preserved portion of the line ἀσθενικόν ἐστι τὰ νόητο[ν provides complete sense ('It's your foolishness that makes you feel ill'), and needs no bolstering with supplements such as κάκρατές (Wilamowitz in Körte's 1910 edition) or πανταχοῦ (Sudhaus in Hutloff 75). To me the vocative Φειδία seems a more obvious addition.

48–49

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ
48 ε]ἶέν· πάνυ γὰρ ταυτειλελο[
τί] μοι παραινεῖς;
ΔΟΥΛΟΣ
ὅτι παρ[

48 ε]ἶέν deciphered and suppl. Jernstedt. 49 τί] μοι first Jernstedt. παραινεῖς·οτι P.

(i) In v. 48 Pheidias appears to be complimenting (probably ironically) his slave on his analysis of Pheidias' indisposition. Many attempts have been made to supplement the verse, with ταυτὶ λελο[γισμένως λέγεις (λελο[γισμένως Gomperz, op. cit. on vv. 34–38.iii, 509, λέγεις Wilamowitz in Körte's 1910 edition; Jernstedt, *Zapiski* 144, 150 altered P's ταυτει to ταυτὶ) finding most favour. It has plausibility; λελογισμένως is not attested elsewhere for Menander (in drama it occurs only in Eur. I.A. 1021; see W. Stockert's commentary), but ὁμολογουμένως (Epir. 751, fr. 844.4 K.–A.) and κατεγνυπόμενος (fr. 549 K.–A.) are, while μεμηχανημένως (Eur. Ion 880) and σεσωφρονημένως (A. Suppl. 724) are found in tragedy. Yet there are other ways of approaching the problem of supplementation, and it might be appropriate here to list three.

(a) Accept ταυτὶ, and follow it with λελό[γισαι (so Kock, CAF 3.153, 155) and an adverbial expression: κατὰ τρόπον (Sudhaus in Hutloff, op. cit. 75, and his own 1913 edition; cf. Men. fr. 191.3 K.–A. λογίσασθαι κατὰ τρόπον), or δεξίως (cf. e.g. Ar. Thesm. 9 πῶς μοι παραινεῖς; δεξίως μέντοι λέγεις), or even φιλοσόφως.

(b) Keeping P's ταυτει, interpret it as ταῦτ' εἶ, and read ταῦτ' εἶ λελο[γισμένος καλῶς (cf. Eur. fr. 575.2, and on the periphrastic construction see my commentary on Alexis fr. 2.9, p. 61, along with the bibliography cited there).

(c) Assume that ταυτει is corrupt for e.g. ταῦτ' εὖ (so Handley, comparing Men. Epir. 140).

(ii) Supplementation of v. 49 is also problematic; Cobet's ὅ τι παρ[αινῶ; here is mandatory, but the command or statement of intent which ensued could have been worded in several ways; so far Cobet's τοῦτ' ἐρῶ (Mnem. 287, 289 = M.C. 440, 442), Kock's ἄ γὼ φράσω (CAF 3.153) and the same scholar's πρόσσεχε δὴ (Rh. Mus. 32, 1877, 153, 155) fight it out between them. Could Menander have written an idiomatic and more forceful τοῦτ' ἐγώ? Cf. Men. Sam. 477, where B's ἀλλ' ἐγώ does not need to be altered to ἀλλ' ἐρῶ (Kassel in Austin's 1969 edition), and Sam. 733.

51

In the part of this verse preserved only by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 7.27.1), the brilliant emendation εὐρὲ καὶ correcting L's εὐρηκα was first published by Weil (*REG* 1, 1888, 389 and 391), and not by Wilamowitz and E. Schwartz, who communicated the same suggestion to Stählin for the last-named's first edition of *Stromateis* 1–6 (cf. the 1939 edition, p. xiii).

73–74

73] ἐπισημαίνεσθ' ἔαν
ἢ σκευασία καθάρειος ἦ καὶ ποικίλη.

74 καθάριος A of Ath.: corr Cobet, *Novae Lectiones* (Leiden 1858) 78. ποικίλη A of Ath.:]η O of Men.

This passage, whose full text is preserved by Athenaeus (14.661 f.: previously *Phasma* fr. 1 Körte), most probably contains one of the cook's orders about the meal he is about to prepare. Sandbach (in Austin, *CGFPR* p. 192, and the Gomme–Sandbach commentary ad loc.) well notes that “καθάρειος often occurs in connection with food, where it suggests refined simplicity, Eubulus frag. 110 Kock (109 K.–A.), Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 663c, where τὸ καθάριον καὶ τὸ εὐστόμαχον is opposed to τὸ ποικίλον”, but oddly he then goes on to say that here “ποικίλη may then be a deliberately surprising adjective to join with it”. This comment misinterprets the function in v. 74 of καὶ, which is not additive but disjunctive (cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*² 292, citing e.g. S. Phil. 1081–82, Pl. *Resp.* 3.411a, Phdr. 246b, Thuc. 1.82.3, 7.42.2), and would in English be translated as “or”. The cook is asking the household that has hired him whether they want a simple or complicated meal, giving them options just like the cook at Alexis fr. 177.1–2; on this traditional feature of the presentation of cooks see Kassel–Austin on Diphilus fr. 17.1 and my commentary on the fragment of Alexis cited.

80–82

80 ὑπενόουν [ἐγὼ
τὸ πα[ρ]αχρηῆμ' ὁ[ρ]θῶς ἔ[πειτ]α παντοδαπὰ λέ[
ο]ὔθεν ..ύνθ...

The speaker is reacting to a slave's account of untoward actions by (presumably) Pheidias. Turner's supplements of ἐγὼ in v. 80 and ἔ[πειτ]α in v. 81 are plausible, of πα[ρ]αχρηῆμ' and ὁ[ρ]θῶς in v. 81 and ο]ὔθεν in v. 82 certain; but the ending of 81 and what follows ο]ὔθεν in v. 82 are unsolved mysteries. Turner's λέ[γοντά γε in 81 may be on the right lines, but a participle in the nominative, agreeing with a third-person verb in 82, may be preferable: ? λέ[γων φίλωσ (cf. S. Philoct. 758–59 τήν-δε τὴν πόλιν φίλωσ | εἰπών, Eur. Or. 100 οὐ φίλωσ δ' ἔμοι λέγεις). For that verb Turner suggested [ἦσχ]ύνη, excellent sense (if referring to Pheidias's amorous activities), but impossible to match with the traces. Austin (*CGFPR* p. 192, his v. 42) claimed that the meagre trace after υνθ (a high curl open to the right) fitted υ better than η but in fact this scribe writes η (beginning of v. 88, as Turner notes in *OP* p. 14, on his v. 8), κ (v. 82) and υ (vv. 86, 87, 88) with this high curl. Thus O here could have υνθ, but before υνθ and after]υθεν there is space for only two or three letters; the first of these could be η (though the traces suit ι better), but directly following it there is a horizontal stroke above the line that matches only ε, η and θ.

85–88

XAIPEOY ΔΟΥΛΟΣ (?)
85 τῶν διδόντων δ' εἰς τροφήν γ' εἶ, τρόφιμε, κατακεκλειμέν[φ,
ἂν τὸ κακὸν αὐτῷ παρα[στῆ. τῆς] κόρης τὴν ῥίην ἴσως
ἀπέδετ[αι] καμών —

ΧΑΙΡΕΑΣ (?)
 "Απολλο[ν], μηθαμῶς.
 ΧΑΙΡΕΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ (?)
 νῆ τοὺς θεοῦς —
 ἢ τὸ χειῖλος ἄμα φιλῶν.
 ΧΑΙΡΕΑΣ (?)
 τί;

85 εἶς Sandbach (εἰς already Handley): εκ O. τρ[οφήν suppl. Handley, γ' εἶ, τρό]φιμε Turner. κατακεκλειμέν[φ Arnott: -κεκλημεν] O. 85 κατακεκλειμέν[φ — 86 so punctuated by Arnott. 86 ῥῖν' ἴσως) omitted in O, added by Handley. 87 απεδετ[.] O, possibly with -ετε written in error for -εται. Spaces after καμων and μηθαμῶς in O. 88 χιλος O. O's τι so interpreted and given to a separate speaker by Turner, but O has no spaces after and before it. τούτ apparently O.

These puzzling lines appear to present a slave of Chaireas describing to his master the current and possible future behaviour of Pheidias in respect of the girl living in Chaireas' house and misidentified previously by Pheidias as the apparition of Menander's title. Chaireas is evidently in love with the girl (vv. 88–89), while Pheidias is still engaged to Chaireas' stepsister but now showing signs of insanity either genuinely as a result of his shock on first seeing the apparition, or more probably as a sham to cover up his new passion for Chaireas' beloved.

The text of this passage printed above provides relevant sense in the context, but it remains speculative (especially in 85 and at the end of 86). Six details merit discussion.

(i) The above supplementation of v. 85 (to be translated “Master, [you are] one of those provisioning a man locked up”) requires one to assume that Pheidias had had previous fits of manic depression which required him to be put under lock and key during these attacks, with Chaireas then being employed as one of his nurses.

(ii) This assumption requires in v. 85 both correction of O's εκ to εις (confusion between the two is too common to require comment) and also acceptance of both Turner's and Austin's (CGFPR, p. 192: his v. 45) interpretation of the following traces as τρ[. Here τ is virtually certain, but ρ in this papyrus usually has a substantial tail, and does not elsewhere (as here) stop on the line with a curl to the left; τι[seems a possible alternative, but then supplementation becomes difficult (εἶς τι[ς εἶ, but then what?).

(iii) For the construction of εἶς here cf. especially Kith. 59–60 ἐγενόμην | εἶς [τῶν δυνα]μένων οὐσίαν μικρὰν ποεῖν.

(iv) Deliberate word-play may be suspected with τρ[οφήν . . . τρό]φιμε: cf. e.g. Dysk. 6 ἀπάνθωπος τις ἄνθρωπος σφόδρα, 608–609 ἐργάται | ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τινές εἰσιν· ὃ τῆς ἀτοπίας, and see my paper in S. Jäkel and others, *Laughter down the Centuries III* (Annales Universitatis Turkuensis 221, 1997) 65–68.

(v) If the reference is specifically to Pheidias being shut up when he has a fit, κατακεκλειμέν[φ is preferable at the end of v. 85, followed by a comma, with ἄν - - παρα[στυῆ in v. 86 subordinate to what precedes it.

(vi) O's κατακεκλημεν[in v. 85 needs correcting to κατακεκλειμεν[. From the middle of the fourth century B.C. the perfect passive of this verb was spelled with ει, and elsewhere in Menander the papyri give -ει- (Epitr. 1076, Theoph. 22, Fab. Inc. 9).²²

88–89

88 καὶ κ[ρά]τιστα ταῦτ' ἴσως
 ἔστ'· ἐρώων παύσει γὰρ οὕτως, ἄν ἴδη[ς] αὐτήν τότε.

88 Suppl. Turner. 89 πάσει[ι] Turner: πανσεγαρ O.

²² Cf. LSJ s.v. κλείω (A), Schwyzer 1.727, Threutte I.370, and my commentary on Alexis fr. 106.1 (p. 289).

Despite Turner (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 38, 1971, p. 15), the photograph of O (Pl. I) shows clear traces of ἀνιδ, followed by what seems to be the lower part of the right-hand hasta of η. There is then space enough only for σ; the scribe could not have inserted an adscript iota.

97–98

97 ἐξ]ελέγξεις. ἢ δ' ἐρεῖ "Βρ[
...]ρωνίους"

97 ἐξ]ελέγξεις suppl. Austin.

The festival that “she will say” is clearly the Brauronia at Brauron, as a less mutilated reference just below (ἐν Βραυ[, v. 97) indicates, but how are vv. 97 and 98 to be supplemented? At 97 Handley suggested Βρ[αυρωνίους (in *Ox. Pap.* 38, p. 13), Sandbach Βρ[αυρωνάδε (in Austin, *CGFPR* p. 192 and the Gomme–Sandbach commentary, p. 682). In 98 Turner thought of but rejected Βραυ]ρωνίους (*Ox. Pap.* 38, p. 13) because there was space for only three letters before]ρωνίους; Sandbach considered the possibility that the scribe could have committed a *saut des yeux* error and written only β]ρωνίους, thus underestimating the space at the opening of the line. Could Menander have written Βρ[αυρῶνι, τοῖς | Βραυ]ρωνίους²³, and the scribe have simply misspelled the word in v. 90 by omitting one of its letters?

For the locative dative (without ἐν) with names of places, and especially demes such as Βραυρών, see especially K.G. 1.441–44 and Meisterhans – Schwyzer 208 and n. 1680²⁴. Names of festivals are found in Menander both without (*Epitr.* 451, 472, 477, 517, 749, 750, *Sam.* 39, frs. 337.1, 384.1, 643 K.–A.) and with (*Epitr.* 863, 1119) the article. On the definite article's position at line-end see my commentary on Alexis fr. 20.4–5, with bibliography and a collection of Menandrian examples.

VII. Donatus on Ter. *Eunuchus* 9 (I.272 Wessner)

The closing two sentences about Menander's *Phasma* in the Donatus commentary contain two clues to action in the Greek play that scholars have tended to neglect:

deinde paulatim re cognita exarsit in amorem puellae ita, ut remedium tantae cupiditatis nisi ex nuptiis non reperiretur. itaque ex commodo matris ac uirginis et ex uoto amatoris consensuque patris nuptiarum celebritate finem accipit fabula.

(i) The key word in the first sentence is *paulatim*, whether one takes it with *cognita* or with *exarsit*. If Donatus' use of this adverb correctly reflects the scenario of *Phasma*, it indicates that Menander conceived of a considerable passage of time between Pheidias' first sight of what he thought was an apparition and his falling in love with what he realised was a girl. The action of a Menandrian comedy rarely covers more than a single day, and at the end of *Phasma* Pheidias marries the girl he loves. This must imply that Pheidias' first sight of his apparition occurred well before the staged action of the play, and is likely therefore to have been part of a vivid narrative detailing the antecedents of the plot in the play's first act. When the staged action begins, Pheidias is already either in love or falling in love.

(ii) Donatus affirms that the wedding of Pheidias and his love was *ex commodo matris et uirginis . . . consensuque patris*. This statement probably implies that the violator of Pheidias' stepmother was the young and as yet unmarried man who later fathered Pheidias by his first marriage and took Pheidias' stepmother as his second wife without knowing that she had been his rape victim.²⁵ A subsequent

²³ Webster (*JHS* 93, 1973, 197) partly anticipated me by first suggesting at the end of v. 97 Βρ[αυρῶνι δὴ, but he preferred to abandon this supplement ‘as a false clue’ and plumped instead for βρ[αχεῖ λόγῳ].

²⁴ Meisterhans – Schwyzer cite Βραυρῶνι itself as an example of a locative dative on an Attic inscription at the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (*IG* ii² 1388.73–4), but this is based on an inappropriate supplement (better ἐκ τῆς κιβωτῆς τῆς Βραυρων[όθε]ν).

²⁵ So also Turner, *GRBS* 323–24; cf. Gomme–Sandbach p. 675.

marriage of the parents legitimised a child born earlier to them out of wedlock, and this would produce substantial advantages for the daughter (only legitimate issue could inherit the parents' estate or be legally married), as well as social benefits doubtless for both mother and daughter.²⁶ And a man who thus turned out to be father of both bride and bridegroom could by Athenian law give his consent to a marriage of stepchildren who had different mothers.²⁷ Cf. also section V.ii above.

VIII. Dating *Phasma*

No didascallic notice survives for *Phasma*, but that has not prevented attempts to date it to an earlier phase of Menander's career. Edmonds²⁸ interprets vv. 2–5 as implying that food was short and corn expensive after the repeated famines in Attica during the 320s, which Menander was recalling shortly afterwards (318/7 B.C.). A more precise reading of the lines in question justifies no such inference; no positive statement is made about the current price of corn. In any case, food shortages were too common in Athens throughout Menander's career – even as late as 293/4 – for references to them to help in the dating of plays.²⁹

Webster³⁰ suggests that the presence of lyric metres in the play, attested by either Caesius Bassus, *fragmentum de metris*, or Atilius Fortunatianus, *Ars* (H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* VI.1, 255; *Phasma* fr. 3 Körte), implies a date relatively early in Menander's career. It is, however, unwise to assume that any decision to insert passages of lyric into New Comedy was based on date rather than on the relevance of such lyrics to the plot.³¹

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²⁶ See now especially D. Ogden, *Greek Bastardy* (Oxford 1996) 32–212, and cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: The Family and Property* (Oxford 1968) 61–70, and R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Life* (Ithaca, NY 1990) 89. Ogden discusses Isaeus 3.45 (pp. 163–65) and argues very persuasively that illegitimacy did in fact bar an Athenian girl from a legally valid marriage.

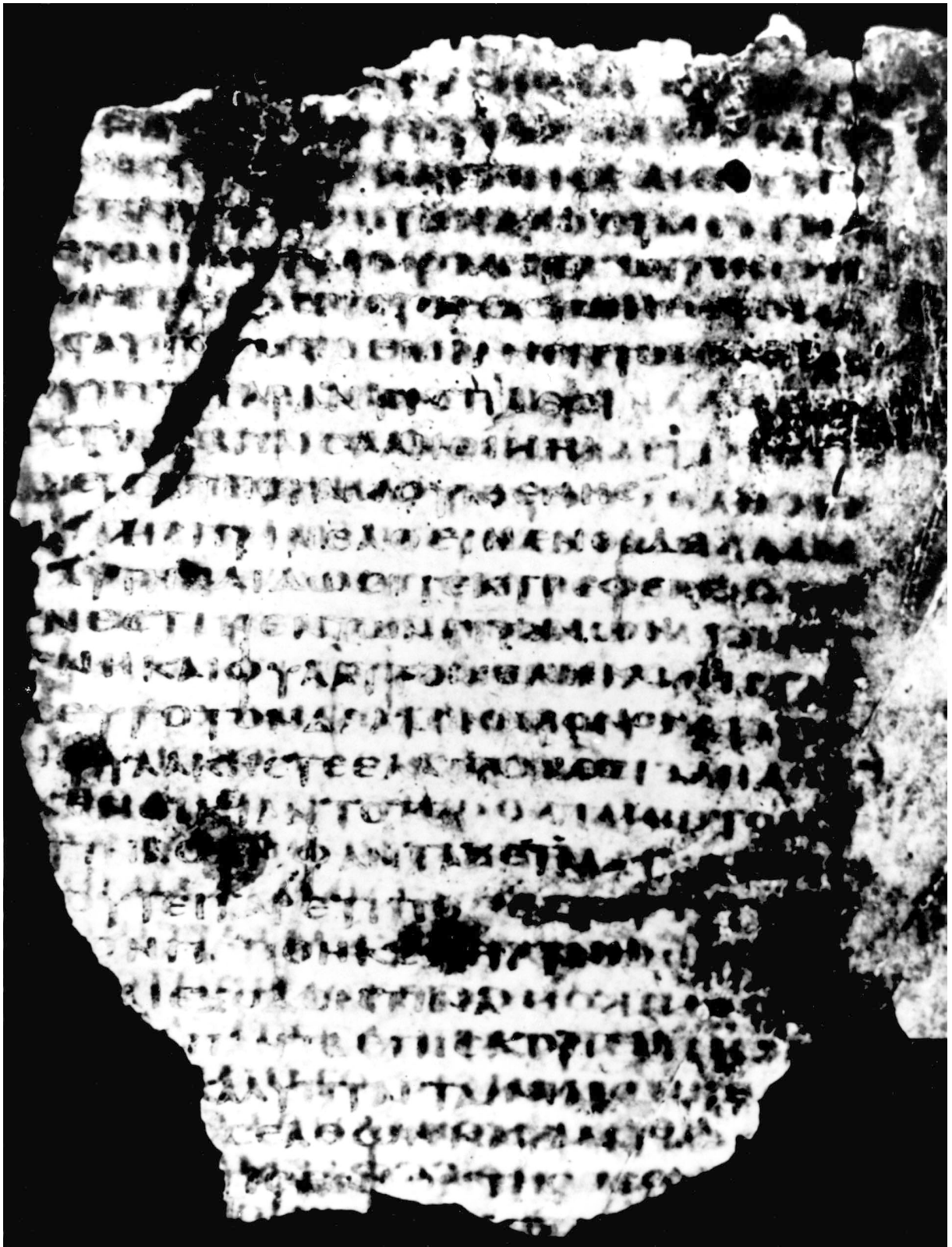
²⁷ Athenian law allowed stepbrothers and stepsisters to marry provided they had different mothers: see especially Harrison, *op. cit.* in n. 26, pp. 22–23.

²⁸ J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, IIIB (Leiden 1961) 751 note d.

²⁹ See especially P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1988), 37 and 144–64. On p. 10 he points out that even as recently as 1931–60 the wheat crop failed in Attica more than one year in four.

³⁰ T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Menander*² (Manchester 1960) 107–108; cf. his *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*² (Manchester 1970) 260.

³¹ I should like to express my gratitude to Mrs E. Brock for supplying me with accurate translations of Jernstedt's Russian in this paper, and to Professor E. W. Handley for his very helpful and persuasive comments on an earlier draft.



Membrana Petropolitana 388 (Menander, Phasma 31a–56); W. G. Arnott, pp. 35–48