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NOTES ON SOME COMIC PAPYRI

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 126 (1999) 77–80

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(i) *P.Louvre 72 = P.Didot 2 = fr. com. adesp. 1001 Kassel–Austin*

3–4

The reading of the papyrus is:

ἐγὼ τὸν ἄλλον, ἄνδρες, τεθνηκει παλαι
ἄπανθ' ὄν εἴην

Here I add accents and breathings only to the words which its teenage scribe has correctly copied out from memory¹. The three unaccented words pose problems.

(i) τεθνηκει is clearly the boy's misspelled form of the first-person singular of the pluperfect of (ἀπο)θνήσκω. But did the original writer (whether Menander or another comic dramatist) have ἐτεθνήκειν or ἐτεθνήκη? ἐτεθνήκη was the older Attic form, used apparently from the time of Sophocles down to Plato (e.g. S. O.R. 433, Eur. Hipp. 404, Ar. Ach. 10, Av. 511, Pl. Euthyphro 14c, Euthyd. 271c, 302a, Symp. 198c), but from Demosthenes' time it seems to have been superseded by ἐτεθνήκειν (always in genuine Demosthenes, but [Dem.] 49.65 -κη). Cf. K.–B. 2.66, Schwyzer 777–78. An author of Menander's time is perhaps more likely to have written -κειν (so the ed. pr., H. Weil, Un papyrus inédit de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot, Paris 1879, 25) than -κη (so F. Bücheler and Th. Kock, Rh. Mus. 35, 1880, 96 and 277–78), but certainty at this period is unattainable.

(ii) The boy writes εἴην, but the correct form of the first-person singular imperfect of ζῶ in Attic was always ἔζων², although a by-form ἔζην (implying derivation from a form ζῆμι: cf. e.g. Σ Eur. Alc. 651) also existed, at least at a subliterate level. The ancient grammarians generally approved of ἔζων and rejected ἔζην (e.g. Et. Mag. 413.9 καὶ ἔζην . . . ὄφειλεν εἶναι ἔζων . . . πλάνης οὖν γενομένης ἐγένετο πρῶτον πρόσωπον ἔζην; cf. Thom. Mag. ἔζων, οὐκ ἔζην, ὡς οἴονται τινες, perhaps in response to grammarians like Moeris s.v. ἔζην Ἀττικῶς, ἔζων Ἑλληνικῶς, cf. Choeroboscus 2.59.15). The mediaeval manuscripts of fifth- and fourth-century Attic authors normally give ἔζων (e.g. S. El. 323, Ar. Lys. 625, Ran. 1072, Athenaeus 7.279c and 14.642b citing Baton fr. 3.5 and Anaxandrides fr. 2.4 Kassel–Austin, Xen. Cyr. 8.3.38, Isocr. 15.163), although occasionally ἔζην is found as a rejectable variant (Eur. Alc. 295 [mss. BOP and L before correction] = 651 [BO and Σ^b] = Et. Mag. 413.9 citing the line; Dem. 24.7 all mss. except L).

(iii) παλαι is clearly a boy's lapse of memory³, replacing ἔζων's original internal object. Bücheler's βίον (op. cit. 96) is not printed by Kassel–Austin, but the frequency with which βίον ζῆν occurs in all kinds of Greek from Homer onwards (e.g. Od. 15.491, S. El. 599, fr. 583.4 Radt, Eur. Med. 248–49, frs. 684.5, 1075.2, Pl. Resp. 5.465d, 6.495c, Isocr. Antid. 6, 44, Aeschines 1.153), including Attic comedy (Ar. Av. 161, Vesp. 506, Phrynichus fr. 19.2–3, Antiphanes frs. 100.1, 185.3, Athenion fr. 1.7–8, Baton fr. 3.5, Philemon frs. 74.12, 96.7, 178.5, Philetaerus fr. 7.2, Men. Dysk. 356, 603, Mis. 133–34 Sandbach = 533–34 Arnott, frs. com. adesp. 1028.26, 1093.76 Kassel–Austin), make it slightly preferable here to Cobet's χρόνον (Mnemosyne 8, 1880, 65), which has a different ring and occurs less commonly (Eur. Alc. 295, 692–93, 713; in comedy at Euphron fr. 5.1, Men. Dysk. 8–9, frs. 303.2, 508.10 Kassel–Austin).

¹ Cf. A. Körte, Hermes 61 (1926) 136, 351. On the scribes of this papyrus see now Dorothy J. Thompson, Memphis under the Ptolemies (Princeton NJ 1988) 212–65.

² Hence Weil corrected to ἔζων here, op. cit. pp. 26–27.

³ R. Herzog, Philologus 89 (1934) 189.

(ii) *P.Hamburg* 120 = Men. fr. 951 Körte–Thierfelder = fr. com. adesp. 1089 Kassel–Austin

10–11

νῆ τὸν] Δία τὸν Σωτῆρα, γενναία . . [.]αι
]α, τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις λέγειν ἔχοι;

After γενναία the traces in Snell's clear photograph⁴ reveal the bottom portion of a vertical (only γ or τ, given the space available to its right) followed by a high upwards curve with a spot of ink on the line vertically below (ε rather than υ, although this scribe's epsilons normally have a straight top). This makes Gronewald's γε [κ]αί (ZPE 92, 1992, 87) more plausible than Thierfelder's γύ[ν]αι (in Snell, 21, 23–24), but if the]α at the opening of v. 11 hides a second vocative⁵, it might be preferable to suggest here γενναία τε [κ]αί | γλυκεῖ]α. The speaker is a slave, thanking in all probability a successful bawd or *hetaira*, and the vocative γλυκεῖ]α on male lips has a wheedling tone appropriate to the occasion⁶. Thereafter the question τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις λέγειν ἔχοι; would be best construed as a parenthesis explaining the choice of vocatives, with vv. 12–13 effectively providing the main clause in the sentence begun in v. 10, even though by v. 12 the speaker Parmenon has switched attention from the lady and her generosity to himself and his own good fortune.

18 The five-letter gap before ἀγαθῆ τύχη γ' has proved difficult to fill (λαβοῦσ' Thierfelder in the Teubner Menander, II² pp. 275, 277; φέρουσ' Gronewald 89, εἴσειμ' Sandbach in the Gomme–Sandbach commentary p. 739), largely because the preserved part of the sentence lacks nothing in sense. Perhaps the author wrote simply:

καὶ μὴν] ἀγαθῆ τύχη γ'· ἀκολούθει, Δωρί, μοι.

Translate 'Yes, certainly, and good luck to you', in response to the order given by Parmenon in the previous line. For this use of καὶ μὴν . . . γε see Denniston, *Greek Particles*² 120, 150–51, 351–58, and cf. Jebb on S. Aj. 531 and Neil's edition of Ar. Equ. pp. 193–94. For the use of ἀγαθῆ τύχη on its own as a way of expressing approval in Menander cf. Dysk. 422 (with ἀλλ'), Epitr. 223, Sam. 297. Punctuation after γ' here was first suggested by Gomme (Gomme–Sandbach commentary, p. 739).

(iii) *P.Freiburg* 12 = Men. fr. 722 Körte–Thierfelder = fr. com. adesp. 1027 Kassel–Austin

(1) Wilamowitz' attribution⁷ of these eight iambic trimeters to the opening speech of a Menandrian comedy cannot be proved correct, but there are more arguments in its favour than were advanced by its proposer, who contented himself with (a) a claim that the language of this passage was enough to identify its author, and (b) citing as a relevant parallel the opening speech of Plautus' Pseudolus, where the slave addresses his lovelorn young master Calidorus in a remarkably similar fashion.

The suggestion that this fragment opened the play from which it comes can be supported in two ways. First, Lucian quoted (with some adaptation) its vv. 1, 3 and 4 at the opening of his Ζεὺς τραγῳδός without naming his source, and it is a notorious fact that this author's quotations are very frequently taken from lines that either begin or come very early in the cited work, as Graham Anderson has clearly demonstrated.⁸

⁴ Plate 2 published with the first edition of this papyrus, B. Snell (editor), *Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Hamburg 1954).

⁵ Gronewald here suggests ταχεῖ]α or σῶτερ]α or φανεῖσ]α, but none of these seems the mot juste.

⁶ Cf. my commentary on Alexis (Cambridge 1996) fr. 165.1.

⁷ In his edition of the *Epitrepontes* (Berlin 1925) 107 n. 1; cf. also E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, I (Rome 1964) 489, and D. Bain, *Actors and Audience* (Oxford 1977) 157 n. 3.

⁸ BICS 23 (1976) 59–68.

Lucian is by no means unique in this practice. Other writers too tended to quote far more frequently from the opening lines than from later parts of a work, as (for example) the extensive fragments of Menander's *Misoumenos* now reveal. The opening 28 lines of what was clearly a popular play have become accessible only in the last thirty years through the publication of P.IFAO 89, P.Cologne 282, P.Oxyrhynchus 3368 and 3369, and their texts now reveal that quotation after quotation was lifted from them in antiquity: Menander fr. 789 Körte–Thierfelder from vv. 1–2, Mis. fr. 6 Körte from vv. 4–5, Men. fr. 664 KT from v. 6, fr. adesp. 282 Kock from v. 9, Mis. fr. 5 Körte from vv. 10–12, Alciphron 2.27.1 from v. 15, Men. fr. 124 KT and Mis. fr. 9 Körte from vv. 20–21, Mis. fr. 11 Körte from v. 28. Since the eight extant lines of P.Freiburg 12 seem similarly to have attracted attention from citers – vv. 1, 3 and 4 plagiarised by Lucian, vv. 7–8 by *Comp. Men. et Phil.* II.131–32 Jäkel – they are most likely to have occurred at or near the opening of a play.

The argument for Menandrian authorship may be partly endorsed by noting some obvious examples of this writer's wording elsewhere: e.g. (v. 1) τί σύννους . . . Δῶος Epitr. 261 (cf. K. Fuhr, BPW 1915, 809) and λάλει . . . τῷ πατρὶ / κατὰ μόνας Dysk. 781–82, (v. 4) μὴ καταφρονήσης Epitr. 232 and τὰ λοιπὰ, ὧν μοι γενοῦ / σύμβουλος Kith. 50–51, (v. 5) χρηστὸν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ πάνυ Asp. 125 and τὴν τοῦ λόγου μὲν δύναμιν οὐκ ἐπίφθονον, ἤθει δὲ χρηστῷ συγκεκραμένην ἔχειν fr. 769.2–3 Kassel–Austin. There is, however, a further pointer to Menander. If the opening four lines were known to Lucian, and all eight were deemed by some Ptolemaic schoolmaster to be worthy of inclusion in a literary selection by the side of *Iliad* 5.385–91 and a well-known distich from the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (lines 213–214 Allen, p. 41.24–25 Wilamowitz), they are unlikely to have come from an inferior comedy by an inferior dramatist.

(2) Some details. The Freiburg papyrus is mutilated in v. 1, and all that can be read there is]ονος σεαυτῷ (sic) λαλεις. Lucian's adaptation fills in the gap with ὦ Ζεῦ, τί σύννους κατὰ μ]όνας. It has been generally assumed that Lucian here altered the opening word or words in the comic line in order to name his different addressee,⁹ but it seems to me just as likely that ὦ Ζεῦ also began the comic verse, and was wittily re-interpreted by Lucian as a direct address to the Zeus who was a character in his dialogue, instead of as an oath. Cf. in Menander Mis. 210 Sandbach = 611 Arnott, Pk. 779 (both passages with ὦ Ζεῦ introducing questions), and Sam. 487.

In v. 2 Körte's conjecture λυπουμένου was first published in K. Fuhr, BPW (1915) 809.

(iv) P.Oxyrhynchus 2534

The first editors (R. A. Coles and J. W. B. Barns, CQ 15, 1965, 55–57) of this mutilated papyrus of prose summaries of Menander's second *Adelphoi*¹⁰ (test. *v Kassel–Austin) and H(e)auton Timoroumenos (fr. 76 KA) claim (p. 56) that the length of each line in a column is likely to have been c. 20–25 letters, basing this calculation on the fact that line 11 begins with the first four letters (βραχ[] of H(e)auton Timoroumenos' opening verse, while line 12 begins with seven letters (τεγεγον[]) from near the end of that opening verse. H. Lloyd-Jones (op. cit. p. 55) noted that the opening verse of Terence's adaptation of this play (quamquam haec inter nos nuper notitia *admodumst*) may well have been an exact or close translation of the corresponding Menandrian line, and this inspired two supplements by W. S. Barrett (op. cit. p. 56): βραχ[εῖα μὲν δὴ – ∪ –] τε γέγονε [νῶν and βραχ[ὸ μὲν τι φημὶ – ∪ –] τε γεγον[ένα]. βραχ[] is the first syllable of v. 1, and τε γεγον[] in all probability occupies the first half of

⁹ Hence two other conjectures that have earned support: Wilamowitz' τρόφιμε, τί σύννους and F. V. Fritzsche's σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σύννους (*Index lectionum in acad. Rostoch.*, 15.4.1870: *Adversariorum pars secunda*, pp. 4–5). The former suggestion appositely identifies the character being addressed (cf. Kassel–Austin ad loc.); the latter assumes that an (apparently) comic tag, introduced by Cicero into *Epist. ad Att.* 13.42.1 without its source being named, came from this verse; cf. also D. R. Shackleton Bailey's commentary on the Cicero letter (*Cambridge* 1966) ad loc., D. Bain, loc. cit. in n. 7, and D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 35.

¹⁰ So first T. B. L. Webster, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, Diss. IX, F. Blatt septuagenario dedicata (1973) 132.

the third metron of the trimeter. The second half of the third metron is unlikely to have taken more than c. 4 letters, as Barrett's supplements show. Menander's trimeters normally vary in length between 25 and 36 letters, with a majority of them between 29 and 33. This means that if the last 11 letters of Menander's initial trimeter ran over into a new line of P.Oxy. 2534, the length of each line in the papyrus is likely to have been rather c. 18–22 letters, and the gaps in the other lines can be calculated on this basis.¹¹

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¹¹ In P.Oxyrhynchus 1235, which contains similar summaries of Menandrian plots, the lines vary in length from 19 to 23 letters.