

Menander's *Sikyonios*

Hugh Lloyd-Jones

IN 1901 Pierre Jouguet discovered in the cemetery of Medinet-el-Ghoran in the Fayoum several mummies stuffed with fragments of papyrus. Some of these came from a manuscript of the third century B.C. which contained a drama of the New Comedy. After a year, Jouguet published small fragments.¹ Other larger and more important fragments could not then be read; cut up and glued together as they had been to serve as stuffing, a complicated chemical process was required. This process was carried out, to their great credit, by the papyrologists of the Sorbonne; and in January, 1965, André Bataille and Alain Blanchard offered to the public ten new fragments of the same play, some of them extensive, together with photographs of high quality.² The papyrus contains about 423 lines of Menander's

¹ *BCH* 30 (1906) 103f; these are conveniently accessible in O. Schroeder, *Novae comoediae fragmenta in papyris reperta exceptis Menandreis* (Berlin 1915) 99–102 and D. L. Page, ed. *Greek Literary Papyri I* (LCL, Harvard 1942) 306–312.

² What follows is the text of a lecture, more or less as it was delivered in various places in Germany, England, Spain and the United States between June, 1965 and March, 1966. In January, 1965 I received through the kindness of the lamented André Bataille a copy of the original publication of the new fragments by him and Alain Blanchard (*Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 [1965] 103–176 with plates). Between that time and June of the same year I discussed the play with friends at a seminar in Oxford and was lucky enough to be able to exchange suggestions with E. W. Handley in London and with Rudolf Kassel in West Berlin. During the autumn of 1965 these scholars published important contributions to the understanding of the work, Handley in the *Bulletin of the London Institute of Classical Studies* No. 12 (1965) 38–62 and Kassel in *Eranos* 63 (1965) 1–21. In January, 1966 Kassel brought out an edition of the play (*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* 185 [de Gruyter, Berlin 1965]), whose production so soon after the publication of the large fragments is a remarkable feat of scholarship.

Some of my suggestions and those of my Oxford colleagues found hospitality in these publications; and soon after receiving Kassel's edition I incorporated all I then had to add in an article which will presently appear in *Emerita*, together with the results of a fresh examination of the Sorbonne papyrus by Dr R. A. Coles. This paper aims simply at giving a general account of the play. It contains little that is new, and where it does this is indicated in the notes; to learn who first advanced any of the views adopted and what arguments support them, the reader should consult one or other of the publications I have referred to. Other literature is listed in Kassel's preface and in my article in *Emerita*. I take this opportunity to give a list of misprints in his edition, most of them supplied to me by the editor

Sikyonios; fragments known from other sources bring the total to approximately 441.³

The first two of the new fragments (iii and iv in the first edition, 1–19 and 20–51 Kassel) were seen by the first editors to belong together. In the second of them (23–4) we recognize what must be the ends of two lines found together near the end of the prologue of the *Dyskolos* (45–6):

ταῦτ'] ἐστι τὰ κεφάλαια· τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα δὲ
ᾧφισθ'], ἐὰν βούλησθε· βουλήθητε δέ.

It is natural to guess that here too the lines come from near the end of the prologue speech. In the *Dyskolos* they are followed by three lines in which Pan gives warning of the approach of Sostratos with his friend Chaireas; but here the fragmentary lines that follow look as if the prologue speech must have concluded with the formula. The contents of fr. iii of the first edition (1–19 Kassel) look like one of the accounts of past events given in prologue speeches and spoken as a rule by a divinity or a personified abstraction. We cannot know for certain whether the prologue speech began the play or not, since Menander's practice was not uniform in this respect; but the fragmentary lines following the prologue give me the impression that in this case the prologue did begin the play.

In these lines we hear how a girl was kidnapped in infancy by pirates, together with an old woman, obviously her nurse, and a slave, and was sold at Mylasa in Caria.

. . . .] ἀρεῖναί φημι τούτου θυγάτριον·
ᾧ[ς δ'] ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο σωμαμάτων τρ[ιῶν,
τὴν γραῦν μὲν οὐκ ἔδοξε λυσιτελεῖν ἄ[γειν

himself: p. iv, *ad fin. praef.*, read "F. H. Sandbach"; n.12, read "M. F. Galiano"; p. 21, note on 270f in *app.crit.*, for τ]ὰ read τ]ὰ; p. 28, note on 393 in commentary, read "portandae"; p. 31, in fr. 2 read ἐλοιδόρητον (twice); p. 35, at top, read "Verborum".

The reader will find it convenient to read this paper with Kassel's edition in hand, but I have quoted extensively from the play, seldom departing far from Kassel's text, except that I have admitted rather more supplements to the text itself than would be proper in a critical edition. For an *apparatus criticus*, the reader is referred to Kassel.

I am very greatly obliged to Mr Handley and also to the friends with whom I discussed the play in Oxford, in particular to Dr Colin Austin, now Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. But like all present and future readers of the *Sikyonios* I am above all indebted to Rudolf Kassel.

³ Fr. 6 Kassel is probably not from the *Sikyonios*; see C.W. Müller, *RM* 107 (1964) 285–287. Kassel forgot this article in his edition but has now drawn my attention to it.

- 5 αὐτοῖς, τὸ παιδίον δὲ καὶ τιν' οἰκέτην
 τῆς Καρίας ἀγαγόντες εἰς τὰ Μύλασ' ἐ[κεῖ
 ἐχρῶντ' ἀγοραῖ, καθήτο τ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγκ[άλης
 εἴ]χων ὁ θεράπων τὴν τροφίμην. πωλ[ουμένοις
 π]ροσῆλθεν Ἑγέμων τις· ἠρώτα "πόσ[ου
 10 ταῦτ' ἐστιν;" ἤκουσεν· συνεχώρησ'· ἐπ[ρίατο.
 παλίμβολος δὲ τῶι θεράποντι πλησίον
 τῶν αὐτόθεν τις ἕτερος ἅμα πωλουμ[ένων
 "β]έλτισ[τε, θάρρει," φησίν, "ὁ Σικυώνιος
 ἡ]γόρακεν ὑμᾶς Ἑγέμων, χρηστός σφόδρα
 15 κ]αὶ πλούσιος . . ."

"I say that this man's daughter is here (or I say that . . . is this man's daughter). When they had got possession of the three of them, they decided that it would not pay to take the old woman; but the child and the slave they took to Mylasa in Caria and took advantage of the market; the slave sat there with the child in his arms. They were put on sale, and up came a certain Hegemon.⁴ He asked their price; he was told it; he agreed; he bought them. A local slave who was being sold a second time nearby said to the slave, 'Cheer up, my friend, you have been bought by Hegemon of Sicyon, a very kind and rich man . . .'"

At this point it is convenient to ignore the mutilated scene that follows the prologue and to turn to part of a scene in tetrameters preserved in what the first editors called fr. x (110ff Kassel). The sense of the first ten lines of this fragment can scarcely be made out; from line 120 on the general drift is clear.

- 120]ποιος Πυρρίας ὃν οἴκαδε
] . . εαυτόν, ἵνα φράσῃ σεσωμένους
]γτες ὀλίγων. (?) οἶδα, πρὸς τὴν μητέρα
]μεν. τί οὖν δεῦρ' ἔρχεται μαθὼν πάλιν
]βαδίζων. (Θη.) καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἔρχεται.
 125 (Στρ.) μή τι συμβέβη]κεν ἡμῖν, Πυρρία, νεώτερον;
 (Πυ.) Στρατοφάνη, μήτηρ] τέθηκε πέρυσιν. (Στρ.) οἴμοι. (Θη.)
 γραῦς σφόδρ' ἦν
 (Στρ.) φιλτάτη δ' ὄμω]ς ἐκείνη γέγονεν. (Πυ.) ἀλλ' ἐμ πράγμασιν,

⁴ It is not certain whether *ηγεμων* should be interpreted as the proper name 'Ἑγέμων or ἡγεμών meaning "a commander"; for my reasons for inclining to the former view, see my article in *Emerita*.

- Στρατοφάνη, κ]αινοῖς ἔσει σὺ σφόδρα τ' ἀνελπίστοις τισὶν
 οὐκ ἄρ' αὐτῆς ἦσ]θας υἱός, ὡς ἔοικεν. (Στρ.) ἀλλὰ τοῦ;
 130]· τελευτῶσ' ἐνθαδὶ τὸ σὸν γένος
 ε]γγραψεν. (Θη.) ἀποθνήσκων οὐ φθονεῖ
]·σιν ἀγαθοῦ· τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ σ' ἀγνοεῖν
 οὐκ ἐβούλετ'. (Πυ.) οὐ μόνον δ' ἦν τοῦτο· καὶ δίκην δέ τι
 ὤφλεν ὁ πατήρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ζῶν ὁ σὸς Βοιωτῶν
 135 (Στρ.) ἐπυθόμην (Πυ.) πολλῶν ταλάντων, Στρατοφάνη, κατὰ σύμ-
 βολα.
 (Στρ.) ἦλθε περὶ τούτων ἀπάντων μοι τότ' εὐθὺς γράμματα
 τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἅμα λέγοντ' εἰς Καρίαν.
 (Πυ.) ὄντ' ἀγώγιμόν σε τούτῳ πυθομένη τῶν τοὺς νόμους
 εἰδότες τήν τ' οὐσίαν σου, τοῦτο προῦνοεῖτό σου
 140 καὶ τελευτῶσ' ἀπεδίδου σε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν εὐλόγως.
 (Στρ.) δὸς τὸ γραμματείδιον μοι. (Πυ.) καὶ ταδὶ χωρὶς φέρω
 τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐκείνη, Στρατοφάνη, γνωρίσματα
 καὶ τεκμήρι', ὡς ἐκείνην ἔφασαν οἱ δόντες λέγειν
 ζῶσαν. (Θη.) ὦ δέσποιν' Ἀθηνᾶ, τουτοὶ σαυτῆς πόει,
 145 ἵνα λάβῃ τὴν παιδ', ἐγὼ δὲ Μαλθάκην. (Στρ.) βαδίζετε.
 δεῦρο Θήρων (Θη.) οὐ λέγεις μοι —; (Στρ.) πρόαγε, μηθέν
 πω λάλει.
 (Θη.) ἀλλ' ὄμως· κἀγὼ—(Στρ.) βάδιζε. καὶ σὺ δεῦρο, Πυρρία·
 τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων γὰρ οἴσεις εὐθέως τὰ σύμβολα
 καὶ παρῶν δείξεις, ἐάν τις αὐτὰ βούληται σκοπεῖν.

ΧΟΡΟΥ

A slave called Pyrrhias has been sent home (120), apparently to see his master's mother (122) and probably to tell her that his master and his companions have arrived somewhere safely (121). What news does he bring (123)? He has returned looking melancholy (124). "Has any untoward event befallen us, Pyrrhias?" someone asks (125). "Your mother died last year," Pyrrhias appears to say. "Alas," says another person, evidently his master. "She was very old," puts in a third party. "But very dear to me," replies Pyrrhias' master, or so it seems. "But now your position is altered, very unexpectedly," says Pyrrhias, "you were not, after all, her son." "Whose son am I then?" "As she was dying," says Pyrrhias, ". . . she wrote down here your family. A person who is dying does not grudge happiness to [the survivors]. She did not wish you to go ignorant of your own people. And it was not only that;

it was also that your father, while still living, had lost a lawsuit to a Boeotian." "I had heard that," says the master. "A suit involving many talents, Stratophanes"—there we have the master's name—"a suit governed by international treaties." "Letters came to tell me all this at the time, in Caria, and also to tell me of my father's death." "She had learned from those who knew the law that you were liable to be seized by this man, you and your property; so she took thought for you in this matter and as she lay dying gave you back to your own people, as was proper." "Give me the paper!" "Apart from what she wrote down, I bring separately these tokens and proofs, as she said they were according to those who gave them to me." Now comes an aside by the third speaker in the conversation: "O lady Athena, make this man your own, so that he may get the girl and I Malthake!" Now Stratophanes resumes: "Come on! Come this way, Theron!" "Won't you tell me . . . ?" "Come along! Say nothing yet!" "But all the same, I too . . ." "Come! You too come this way, Pyrrhias, for you shall bring at once the proof that what I say is true, and you shall display it on the spot for anyone who cares to examine it."

Here the act ends; it is the third act of the play, for against the second line of the act that follows there is a stichometric letter, *eta*, indicating that this is line 700 of the play. Let us examine the tetrameter scene at the end of the third act. Stratophanes has sent his slave Pyrrhias home to his mother with a message, apparently with the news of his safe arrival at some place or other. Pyrrhias has arrived to find that the mother is dead; but she has not died before making a deposition showing Stratophanes to be the son not of his supposed parents but of some other couple of different nationality. The aside about Malthake indicates that Stratophanes will in fact turn out to be a citizen of Athens. If the heroine of a comedy is an Athenian citizen, one has to be an Athenian citizen oneself if one is to marry her.

One of the mother's reasons for leaving the deposition has been that her husband has died leaving a large debt, for which Stratophanes would be held responsible only if he were really his supposed father's son. The news of his supposed father's death has found Stratophanes in Caria, a place already mentioned in the play as the scene of the sale described in the prologue speech. At the end of the scene Stratophanes departs to prove his real nationality, calling the slave Pyrrhias and the third speaker in the conversation, whose name turns out to be Theron, to accompany him. We know from a passage in Aelian and from three

mentions in the Suda (see fr. 10 Kassel) that Theron was the name of one of Menander's most celebrated parasites. Parasites, says Pollux (see fr. 9 Kassel), on the stage wear black or gray, except in the *Sikyonios*, where the parasite wears white because he is going to be married. It looks as if Malthake (145) is the lady whom at some point in the action the parasite hopes to marry.

The fourth act starts with a dialogue between two persons (150ff Kassel). "You are a mob full of nonsense," oddly remarks one of them, "you rascal, supposing that the man who weeps and implores must have a good case, whereas this just about proves that he is up to no good. That is not how the truth is determined, but much rather in a small assembly."

- 150 (Σμ.) ὄχλος εἶ φλυάρου μεστός, ὦ πονηρὲ σύ,
 δίκαια τὸν κλάοντα προσδοκῶν λέγειν
 καὶ τὸν δεόμενον· τοῦ δὲ μηδὲ ἐν ποεῖν
 ὑγιές, σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἐστὶ νῦν τεκμήριον.
 οὐ κρίνεθ' ἀλήθεια τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον,
 155 ἀλλ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶι γε μᾶλλον συνεδρίῳι.
 (?) ὀλιγαρχικός γ' εἶ καὶ πονηρός, Σμ[ικρίνη,
 νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον. (Σμ.) οὐδέγ[μοι μέλει.
 (?) ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀπολεῖτέ μ' οἱ σφόδρ' ὄργιλοι
 ὑμεῖς. (Σμ.) τί γάρ μοι λοιδορεῖ βαρυσ⁵
 160 (?) μισῶ σε καὶ τοὺς τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπη[ρόκτας
 ἅπαντας. (Σμ.) ὄχλος ὦν δ' ὁμολογ . . [
 (?) οὐκ ἄν γένοιτο τοῦτ'. ἐγὼ σε.[
 τὸμ πλούσιον κλέπτοντα σ.[
 σκεύη τε καὶ τούτων ἀποτ.[
 165 ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐξ οἰκίας ἴσως φ[
 τῶν ἀγομένων ἐκεῖσε προ[
 (Σμ.) οἴμωζε. (?) καὶ σύ. (Σμ.) νοῦν ἔχεις φ[θαρεῖς. σκάφης
 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄν σ' ἐπόησα συνστο[μώτερον.

"You have an oligarchic nature and you are a rascal, by mighty Zeus!" replies the second speaker at 156; at the end of the line we read ΣΜ[, which can hardly be anything but the beginning of one of the commonest names for an elderly Athenian citizen in the New

⁵ The last word of line 159 may conceivably have been βαρυσ[τομῶν, but by way of a parallel I can cite nothing more relevant than Nonnus, *Dionys*. 48.420 ἀλλὰ με κερτομέουσα βαρύστομος ὀξέει μύθῳι | ἦκαχε Ληλάντοιο παῖς, δυσπάρθενος Ἀῦρη.

τοῦ τῆς θεοῦ δήμου γάρ εἰμ' ἐπωνύμου—⁷
 βλέπεις;—'Ελευσίνιος) ἐπέστην ὄχλον ἰδῶν
 πρὸς τοῖς προπυλαίοις καὶ "πάρες μ'" εἰπὼν ὀρῶ
 190 καθημένην παῖδ' εἰς τε τούτων τῶν κύκλωι
 γενόμενος εὐθύς δῆμος ἦν καὶ κύριον
 τ]ῆς καθημένης κόρης

Here seven lines are missing.

οὔπω πέπυσμαι π[
 ὁ κύριος κακὸν ποήσῃ κ.[
 195 καὐτὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνθαδὶ κα[
 ἐπόησε τοῦτο καὶ μέγ' ὠρεχθῆ[σαμεν
 ἡμεῖς "πολίτις ἐστὶν ἡ παῖς," καὶ μόλι[ς
 οὖν τῶι κύκλωι πάλιν κατεσβέσθη π[ολὺς
 ἦχος. σιωπῆς γενομένης προσίσταται
 200 μειράκιον ἐγγὺς τῶι θεράποντι λευκόχρω[ν
 ὑπόλειον ἀγένειόν τι καὶ μικρὸν † λαθὺ
 ἐβούλετ'. οὐκ εἰάσαμεν. "μεῖζον λέγε"
 εὐθύς τις ἀνεβόησε καὶ "τί βούλεται;"
 "τίς ἐστι;" "τί λέγεις;" "οἶδεν οὗτος ὁ θεράπων,"
 205 φησὶν, "πάλαι γὰρ οὐ βοηθῶ;⁸ κἄν τινος
 δέητ' ἐρωτ[. . κ]αὶ τὰ πόλλ' ἀκήκοα
 αὐ]τοῦ λέγοντος ἄρτι πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην."
 . .]. κόκκινος γενόμενος ὑπανεδύετο
 . . . παντελῶς ἦν βδελυρός· οὐ σφόδρ' ἤρεσεν
 210 .]μεινδε, μοιχώδης δὲ μᾶλλον κατεφάνη
 .]. γ' ἐγκραγόντες εἰστο. αἰδ[.]. χωσαῖπ[.
 . .]ν τοῦτον εἰς θ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος ἔβλεπ[εν
 εἰς] τὴν κόρην, ἐλάλε[ι] τε τοῖς ἐγγὺς συχν[ά
]ομ πεφευγυῖ' ἡ κόρη
 215 ὄ]ψει τις ἀνδρικός πάνυ
]μωσ νῆ τὸν Δί' ἐγγὺς ἵσταται
 ἄ]νθρωπος ἕτερος καὶ τρίτος
]υτων ὡς δ' ἐνέβλεψ' ἐγγύθεν
]ιδ', ἐξαπίνης ποταμόν τινα
 220]υτος ἐμπαθῶς τε τῶν

⁷ For an explanation of my conjecture ἐπωνύμου in place of the papyrus reading ἐπανυμον, see my article in *Emerita*.

⁸ πάλαι γὰρ οὐ βοηθῶ; is presumably a question; but I do not understand the meaning of this passage, which is obscured by our ignorance of the surrounding context.

- λα]μβάνεται βρυχώμενος
]ελαβε τοὺς ἐστηκότας
]ε τί βούλει; λέγε, λέγε.”
]ν “οὕτως ἢ θεὸς
 225] ὑμῖν εὐτυχεῖν
 τέ]τροφα μικρὸν παιδίον
] αὐτῶι φαίνεται
] πρώτιστα μὲν
 230]μων ἀξίως
]ησηθοσαν
]ηρ
]ιων ὄχλον
]ειν
 235].
 πα]τρός
 αὐτῆς, ἐμὸν δ’ ὄντ’ ἀποδίδωμι τῆι κόρηι.
 τροφεί’ ἀφίημι· οὐδὲν ἀξιῶ λαβεῖν.
 εὕρισκέτω τὸμ πατέρα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς·
 οὐκ ἀντιτάττομ’ οὐθέν.” “εὖ γ’.” “ἀκούσατε
 240 καὶ τὰμὰ δ’, ἄνδρες. ὄντες αὐτοὶ κύριοι
 ταύτης (ἀφείται τοῦ φόβου γὰρ ὑπό γ’ ἐμοῦ)
 πρὸς τὴν ἱέρειαν θέσθε καὶ τηρησάτω
 ὑμῖν ἐκείνη τῆγ κόρην.” πολλήν τινα
 τοῦθ’ ὡς προσῆκ’ εὐνοίαν εἴλκυσ’. ἀνέκραγον
 245 “ὀρθῶς γε” πάντες, εἶτα “λέγε” πάντες πάλιν.
 “Σικυώνιος τὸ πρότερον εἶναι προσεδόκων
 καὶ γὰρ πάρεστι δ’ οὕτοσί μοι νῦν φέρων
 μητρὸς διαθήκας καὶ γένους γνωρίσματα·
 οἶμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτός, εἴ τι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις
 250 τούτοις τεκμαίρεσθαί με πιστεῦσαί τε δεῖ,
 εἶναι πολίτης ὑμέτερος. τὴν ἐλπίδα
 μήπω μ’ ἀφέλησθ’, ἀλλ’ ἂν φανῶ τῆς παρθένου
 καὶ γὰρ πολίτης, ἣν ἔσωσα τῶι πατρί,
 ἐάσατ’ αἰτῆσαί με τοῦτον καὶ λαβεῖν·
 255 τῶν ἀντιπραπτόντων δ’ ἐμοὶ τῆς παρθένου
 μηθεὶς γενέσθω κύριος πρὶν ἄμ φανῆ
 ἐκεῖνος.” “ὀρθῶς” καὶ “δίκαι”, ὀρθῶς. ἄγε
 πρὸς τὴν ἱέρειαν, ἄγε λαβών.” ὁ λευκόχρω[s
 ἐκεῖνος ἐξαίφνης τε παραπηδᾷ πάλ[ιν

- 260 καί φησι “ταυτὶ συμπέποιθ’ ὡς οὐτοσὶ
 νῦν ἐξαπίνης εἴληφε διαθήκας ποθῆ[ν
 ἐστὶ τε πολίτης ὑμέτερος, τραγωιδία[ι
 κενῆι τ’ ἀγόμενος τὴν κόρην ἀφήσεται;”
 “ἄρ’ οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖς τὸν ἐξυρημένον;”
- 265 “μὰ Δί’, ἀλλὰ σ’, ὅστις· οὐ γάρ;” “οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μέσ[ου,
 λάσταυρε;” “πόλλ’ ὑμῖν γένοιτο κάγ[αθά.”
 ἐκεῖνος “ἄγε, βάδιζ’ ἀναστᾶσ’.” ὁ θερά[πων
 “ὑμῶν κελευόντων βαδιεῖται” φη[σί, καὶ
 “κελεύετ’, ἄνδρες;” “ναί, βάδιζ’.” ἀνίστ[ατο,
 270 ἐβάδιζε. μέχρι τούτου παρῆν· τ[ὰ λοιπὰ δὲ
 οὐκέτι λέγειν ἔχοιμ’ ἄν, ἀλλ’ ἀπέ[ρχομαι.

His interlocutor having departed, Smikrines is preparing to follow when he is detained by a newcomer to the stage, who accosts him in the high-sounding language of paratragedy with “Old man, remain within the house’s porch!” “I am remaining,” replies the other in the same vein, “but on what behoof do you shout this utterance?” The newcomer seems to indicate that he brings news and Smikrines to express his willingness to hear it.

Lines 176–7 unmistakably suggest the opening of a tragic messenger speech and indeed recall a particular specimen, one of the most famous in ancient times. The Messenger who in the *Orestes* of Euripides comes to report to Electra the deliberations of the Argive assembly regarding her fate and that of her brother Orestes starts with these words:

ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἀγρόθεν πυλῶν ἔσω
 βαίνων, πυθέσθαι δεόμενος τά τ’ ἀμφὶ σοῦ
 τά τ’ ἀμφ’ Ὀρέστου.

The opening of his speech is parodied by the comic poet Alcaeus (fr. 19 Kock) and by Lucian in his *Zeὺς τραγωιδός* (33); clearly it is parodied here also.⁹ In Bataille’s fr. v we find part of a long narrative speech which is obviously the one whose beginning we have just examined. In

⁹ R. Merkelbach (*ap.* Kassel) has ingeniously suggested that the messenger speech of the *Sikyonios* began (176–7) as follows:

ἐτύγχανον μὲν οὐ[κ ἀγρόθε πυλῶν ἔσω
 βαίνων, μὰ τὸν Δί’, κτλ.

This is most attractive; only as the next letters in line 177 are οὐτε[τ], perhaps in line 176 οὐ[τ’ is likelier than οὐ[κ.

its opening lines, the speaker is describing his own character and manner of life. The text is mutilated and we cannot guess the sense with safety (178–81); but at 182 we recognize a parody of the line with which the Messenger of the *Orestes* characterizes the honest farmer (920):

αὐτουργός, οἵπερ καὶ μόνοι σώιζουσι γῆν.

The speaker claims that he, like that honest farmer, belongs to a class that “alone keeps the country safe.” Perhaps he claimed to be ‘a democrat’ or ‘a worker’; *δημο]τικός* and *ἐργα]τικός* are the two likeliest suggestions made so far. Like the scene in the Argive assembly in the *Orestes*, the scene now to be described is concerned with the fate of a man and a woman, and an occasional touch of parody here recalls the *Orestes*. But it is going too far to say that this messenger speech is ‘modelled’ upon that one; rather it makes use of it in the same light, allusive manner in which the arbitration scene of Menander’s *Epitrepontes* seems to have made use of the famous scene in which the fate of an exposed infant was decided, in a very different fashion, in the *Alope* of Euripides.¹⁰

From 183 on we are able to follow the speech of the Messenger. “I was going from the city,” he continues, “to meet one of my fellow-demesmen, who was about to contribute a lean ox and to hear all its shortcomings described by those who got a share.” Clearly he was on the way to attend a communal sacrifice offered by the members of his deme. “And I myself was one of them,” he goes on, “for I am of the deme that gave the goddess her name—do you see?—an Eleusinian. I stopped, seeing a crowd near the entrance to the temple, and with the words ‘Let me pass!’ I saw a girl sitting there. I became one of the circle, and at once . . .”

The next section of the text is gravely mutilated; but the speaker went on to describe a dispute over the girl involving three men, one of them a slave, which took place before the great temple of Demeter at Eleusis. At 197, it is claimed that the girl is a citizen. “Gradually the great tumult all around died down,” goes on the speaker “and as soon as all was quiet up came a young man near the slave, pale, rather smooth, beardless and small of stature. He wanted to [?speak]; we would not let him. ‘Speak louder,’ someone at once shouted, ‘What does he want? Who is he?’ ‘What are you saying?’ ‘This slave knows,’ said he.”

¹⁰ See Wilamowitz, *Das Schiedsgericht* (1925) pp. 127ff.

At this point the text again becomes obscure. But at 215 there is mention of someone whose appearance, in contrast to that of the pale young man, is "very manly." This person shows passionate emotion; the "river" of 219 will have been a river of tears, the word *ἐμπαθῶς* in 220 applies to one of his actions, and in 221 he probably clasps his hair. The speakers are powerfully affected (222); they all encourage him to speak and he does so, starting with a solemn adjuration (224ff). "So may the goddess grant you prosperity," he seems to say, "I declare that I brought this girl up when she was a small child." The next ten lines are fragmentary, but at 236ff we have the concluding words of this speech. First, he makes a present to the girl of a piece of his own property; this is probably the slave who had been kidnapped with her and is now taking part in the dispute over her. "I will take no payment for having reared her," he continues (237), "I demand nothing. Let her find her father and her relations; I do not oppose it." The audience expresses approval and the speaker continues. "But hear my side of the case, gentlemen!" he says. 'You yourselves be the girl's guardians and—for she has nothing to fear from me, at least—deposit her with the priestess and let *her* look after her for you.' This rightly won him much sympathy; they all called out, 'Quite right!' and then, 'Go on!' 'At first I thought I too was a Sicyonian; but here is this man who now brings me my mother's testament and the proofs of my true birth. And I myself believe—if I am to infer from what is written here and to credit it—that I too am your fellow-citizen. Do not yet deprive me of my hope; but if I too am proved to be a fellow citizen of the girl whom I preserved for her father, allow me to ask him for her and to get her. And let none of my antagonists get the girl into his power before he is revealed.'

" 'Quite right!' and 'Justly! Quite right!' they cry. 'Come, take her to the priestess!' At once the pale man rushes up again and says, 'I'm convinced of this, that this man has suddenly obtained a testament from somewhere, and is your fellow-citizen, and will let go the girl he is trying to get hold of by an empty piece of play-acting!' 'Will you not kill the shaven one?' 'No, but you, whoever you are!' 'Out of the way, pervert!' 'I wish you all good fortune! Come, rise and go!' said he. 'If you command her,' said the slave, 'she will go,' and then, 'Command her, gentlemen.' She rose and went. Up to that moment I was present, but the rest I cannot tell you; I must go!

One of the contenders for the girl is a pale, slender young man,

closely corresponding to the mask of the "soft young man" (ἀπαλὸς νεανίσκος) as described by Pollux: "white-skinned, unused to the sun, obviously soft" (λευκός, σκιατροφίας, ἀπαλότητα ὑποδηλῶν). The other on the contrary, is "very manly in appearance" (215). This second speaker at first believed himself to be a Sicyonian but points to the presence of someone who has brought his mother's deposition and the proofs of his true birth (246ff). We remember that the person called Stratophanes who figured in the third act has received from his slave Pyrrhias just such documents; and we can hardly help concluding that the manlier of the two claimants and Stratophanes must be one and the same person. The name itself has a military ring, and it is borne by a soldier in Plautus' *Truculentus*. "Lady Athena, make him get the girl!" Theron has murmured at line 145. That confirms that Stratophanes is pursuing a girl, and so supports the identification. When Stratophanes heard of his father's death he was in Caria (136-7), and Caria is a natural place in which to find a mercenary soldier; Plautus' *Curculio* and Terence's *Eunuchus* supply parallels. Not all soldiers in the New Comedy are of the boastful sort typified by Pyrgopolinices in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*: Polemon in the *Perikeiromene* and Thrasonides in the *Misoumenos*¹¹ are sympathetic characters, each of whom ends by marrying the heroine. At 226, if the text is right, Stratophanes claims to have reared the girl in infancy; at 253 he claims to have preserved her for her father. Either he is the supposed son of the man who bought her in Caria (9, 14) and speaks of having reared her and having preserved her because his father has done so, or else he himself is the man who bought her.¹² In either case, Stratophanes is now a suitor for her hand.

Following, perhaps, in his father's footsteps, Stratophanes has served as a mercenary in Caria; as we shall see presently, he has made a great deal of money. On hearing of his father's death and of the large debt his father has incurred, Stratophanes has left Caria for Greece and landed at Athens. In the meantime, the Boeotian creditor (133-4) has made his way to the family home at Sicyon and has laid hands upon the dead man's property. The girl has of course been given the education of a lady; but her legal status is that of a slave, and he has therefore acquired her together with the rest of the estate.

¹¹ See now the new fragments published by E. G. Turner, *Bulletin of the London Institute of Classical Studies*, Suppl. 17 (1965); a review by Colin Austin which will shortly appear in the *Classical Review* will make an important contribution to their understanding.

¹² See n.2 above.

Slave-markets were held wherever a large number of people were assembled and therefore often at the sites of religious festivals; Delos is the classic instance. Wishing to dispose of the property he has acquired at Sicyon, the Boeotian has done so in the not far distant Eleusis; in one of the small fragments there seems to be mention of a panegyris taking place there (57–8 Kassel). Soon after arriving in Attica, Stratophanes will have heard that the girl is to be sold; this will have happened at some point during the first two and a half acts, almost all of which are lost to us. On receiving from Pyrrhias the proof of his own Athenian nationality, he hastens to Eleusis and must have arrived just as she was on the point of passing into the possession of a foppish young Athenian. Stratophanes and his family will have known from the start from the slave who was kidnapped with her that the girl was an Athenian citizen; indeed we may guess that they had already looked for her father without success. This slave was clearly with the girl at Eleusis and took part in the dispute described in the messenger speech. Insisting that she is an Athenian, Stratophanes persuades the Eleusinian assembly to deposit her with the priestess, at least for long enough to give him a chance to find her father. Most fortunately the discovery of her father happens to be preserved in another of the newly-published fragments (χι β Bataille: 343ff Kassel):

- (Κι.) οὐκ εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον — χαλεπὸς ἦσθ' — ἀποφθερεῖ
 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ; Κιχησίαν σὺ τοιοῦθ' ὑπέλαβες
 345 ἔργον ποήσειν ἢ λαβεῖν ἂν παρά τινος
 ἀργύριον; ἀδίκου πράγματος. (Θη.) Κιχησίαν —
 (Κι.) Σκαμβωνίδην γενόμενον. (Θη.) εὖ γ'. (Κι.) ἄρ' ὑπέλαβες;
 (Θη.) τούτου με πράξει μισθὸν αὐτοῦ, μηκέτι
 ὦν ἔλεγον ἄρτι. (Κι.) τοῦ τίνος; (Θη.) Κιχησίας
 350 Σκαμβωνίδης γε — πολὺ σὺ βέλτιον λέγεις·
 νοεῖν τι φαίνει τὸν τύπον τοῦ πράγματος.
 οὗτος γενοῦ· καὶ σιμὸς εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τύχης
 καὶ μικρός, οἷον ἔλεγεν ὁ θεράπων τότε,
 γέρων. (Κι.) ὅς εἰμι γέγονα. (Θη.) πρόσθεσ' θυγάτριον
 355 'Αλῆθεν ἀπολέσας ἑαυτοῦ τετραετὲς'
 (Κι.) Δρόμωνά τ' οἰκέτην ἀπολέσας. (Θη.) εὖ πάνν·
 'ἄρπασθὲν ὑπὸ ληιστῶν.' (Κι.) ἀνέμνησας πάθους
 τὸν ἄθλιόν με καὶ θύρας οἰκτρᾶς ἐμοί.
 (Θη.) ἄριστα· τούτον διαφύλαττε τὸν τρόπον

360 τό τ' ἐπιδακρύειν· ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος σφόδρα.

(Δρ.) ἡ μὲν τροφίμη ἴσθιν ἀσφαλῶς τηρουμένη
π]ᾶτερ¹³

Here about four lines are missing.

ζῆτι καὶ πάρεστιν. μὴ πέσηις· ἀνίστασο,
Κιχησία. Θήρων, ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ, ταχύ.

365 (Θη.) οἴσω γε νῆ Δί' εἰσδραμῶν καὶ Στρατοφάνην
ἔνδοθεν ἀποστελῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. (Δρ.) οὐκέτι
ὑδατος δεήσει (Θη.) τοιγαροῦν αὐτὸν καλῶ

(Δρ.) ἀναφέρεται γὰρ οὕτοσί. Κιχησία.

(Κι.) τί ἐστι; ποῦ γῆς εἰμι; καὶ τίνος λόγου

370 ἤκουσα φήμην; (Δρ.) ἔστι σοι καὶ σώιζεται
τὸ θυγάτριον. (Κι.) καλῶς δὲ σώιζεται, Δρόμων,
ἡ σώιζετ', αὐτὸ τοῦτο; (Δρ.) παρθένος γ' ἔτι,
ἄπειρος ἀνδρός. (Κι.) εὖ γε. (Δρ.) σὺ δὲ τί, δέσποτα;

(Κι.) ζῶ· τοῦτ' ἔχοιμ' ἂν αὐτό σοι φράσαι, Δρόμων·

375 τὰ δ' ἄλλ', ὅταν γέροντα καὶ πένητ' ἴδῃς
καὶ μόνον, ἀνάγκη πάντ' ἔχειν οὕτω καλῶς.

(Στρ.) σκεψάμενος ἦξω ταῦτα, μήτηρ. (Δρ.) Στρατοφάνη,
πατήρ Φιλουμένης (Στρ.) ὁ ποῖος; (Δρ.) οὕτοσί.

(Στρ.) χαῖρε, πάτερ. (Δρ.) οὗτός σοι σέσωικε τὴν κόρην

380 (Κι.) ἀλλ' εὐτυχῆς γένοιτ'. (Στρ.) ἐάνπερ σοι δοκῆι,
ἔσομαι, πάτερ, καὶ μακάριός γε. (Δρ.) Στρατοφάνη,
πρὸς τὴν ξ[]ωμεν ταχύ,
πρὸς τῶν] θεῶν. (Στρ.) ἡγοῦ μ[όνον σὺ·] κατὰ πόδας
ἐκεῖ δι]ώκω, μικρὰ τοῖ[ς γ' ἔνδο]ν φράσας.¹⁴

385 (Δρ.)]ωμενημε.α. .Κιχησία.

“To hell with you!” says the first speaker (343), “you were being tiresome! Get to hell away from me! Did you suppose Kichesias would do a thing like that or take money from anyone? What a scandal!” “Kichesias—,” begins the other. “Of Skambonidai.” “Bravo!” says the second speaker. “Is that what you supposed?” says Kichesias. “Ask money from me,” says the other, “for that very thing, not any more for what I offered it for just now!” “What for, then?” “Kichesias of

¹³ Probably π]ᾶτερ at the end of 1.362 was spoken by Theron, since the slave Dromon would not use this mode of address.

¹⁴ For the text of 383–4, see my article in *Emerita*.

Skambonidai!—what you say is far better! You seem to have got the hang of the business. You be he! Why, you happen to be a snub-nosed little old man, just as the slave then described him!”. “I am who I am,” replies Kichesias. “Add ‘who lost from Halai a daughter four years old,’ ” says the other speaker. “And who lost the slave Dromon,” says Kichesias. “Splendid! ‘kidnapped by pirates’.” “You have reminded me, alas, of a sad event and of a door piteous for me.” “Excellent!” says the other, “keep up that manner and go on weeping as you speak! The man is very good indeed!” At this point another speaker enters the conversation (361): “The young mistress has been safely guarded.” Five lines later (363) this new speaker is saying, “She is alive; she’s here! Don’t fall! Stand up, Kichesias! Theron, water, water, quickly!” So the person who began by making an offer to Kichesias was Theron, the parasite of Stratophanes. “I’ll run in, by Zeus, to fetch some,” Theron replies, “and I’ll send Stratophanes out to you!” “We shan’t need water any longer,” replies the other, whose manner of alluding to Kichesias’ daughter (361) shows him to be the slave Dromon. “Then I shall call the master,” says Theron (367). “Yes, look, he is recovering,” says Dromon, “Kichesias!” Again Kichesias speaks in paratragic language: “What is the matter? Where in the world am I? What is the saying I heard voiced?” “Your daughter is alive and safe!” “And is she safe with honour, Dromon, or is she simply safe?” Anyone who knows the usual fate of young females captured by pirates in the New Comedy will see the point of that inquiry. “Yes, she is still a virgin; she has not known a man.” “Good!” “And what about you, master?” “I am alive; that much I can tell you, Dromon; for the rest, when you see me old and poor and alone, all must needs be well.” Now Stratophanes enters, still speaking to someone inside the house from which he emerges: “I’ll see to this, mother, and be back.” “Stratophanes!” says Dromon, “Philumene’s father is . . .” “Who?” Stratophanes quickly interrupts. “This man here!” “How do you do sir?” “This is the man who saved your daughter.” “Well, good luck to you!” “If you so decide, sir, my luck will be more than good.”

Can we guess at what preceded the words of Kichesias with which the fragment opens? Theron has offered money to Kichesias if he will perform a certain service; Kichesias indignantly rejects the notion that he, Kichesias of the deme Skambonidai, would ever take money to perform the action asked of him. Theron now promises to pay him money “for that very thing,” not for the service for which he had first

offered it. "That very thing" can only be "for being Kichesias." Again Kichesias mentions his own name. "Better still!" says Theron, "You seem to understand. You be he! You seem to answer his description." And so we proceed to the anagnorisis.

What was the service for which Theron had offered money to Kichesias? At this point we must compare a passage from the *Poenulus* of Plautus.¹⁵ In the second scene of the fifth act, Agorastocles, a young man living in Calydon, has been reunited with his long-lost uncle, Hanno of Carthage. Agorastocles, together with his clever slave, Milphio, is eager to rescue his beloved together with her sister from the clutches of the pimp Lycus. Finding his master with his uncle, Milphio thinks of a scheme for getting possession of the two girls (1086f). He asks Hanno to pretend that long ago he had two daughters kidnapped from Carthage (1099f) and to pretend that the two girls in Lycus' possession are these two daughters and are therefore free. Hanno replies that in fact he did have two daughters kidnapped in infancy. Judging others by himself, Milphio congratulates the old man on his convincing lie (1105ff):

MIL. *Lepide hercle adsimulas. iam in principio id mihi placet.*

HAN. *Pol magis quam uellem.* MIL. *Eu hercle mortalem catum,
malum crudumque, †estolidum† et subdolum.
ut adflet, quo illud gestu faciat facilius.
me quoque dolis iam superat architectonem.*

At this point Hanno begins to make inquiries about the two girls, which lead directly to the realization that Milphio's proposed fiction happens to be the truth.

Milphio's praise of Hanno's cunning has an obvious affinity with Theron's praise of the cunning of Kichesias; in particular, the use of the uncommon verb *adflere* recalls the equally rare *ἐπιδακρύνειν* (360). It may be that the *Poenulus* was "contaminated" from the *Sikyonios*, but this is not especially likely. But in any case we have here two scenes that employ an anagnorisis of the same type; for all we know, this type may have been fairly frequent in New Comedy, and it is not even safe to argue from this fact that the original of the *Poenulus* is likely to have been by Menander. What matters for our present purpose is that it is clearly safe to use the analogy of the request made by

¹⁵ In my seminar the first person to adduce this passage was Mr A. S. Gratwick, who is at work on a study of the *Poenulus*.

Milphio to Hanno in guessing at the nature of that made by Theron to Kichesias.

After the debate at Eleusis it has become a matter of imperative urgency for Stratophanes to find the father of his beloved, Philumene, as we now know that she was called (378). We know that Theron hopes that, if his patron gets Philumene, he himself will get Malthake (144–5), and we may therefore be certain that he is more than usually eager to assist his patron. Like other resourceful parasites of New Comedy, Theron is none too scrupulous. He finds an old man who seems poor but respectable, and whose appearance corresponds with the description of Kichesias furnished by the slave Dromon (352–4). He offers him a sum of money to pretend that the girl whose possession is disputed is his long-lost daughter. Kichesias indignantly replies, “Do you suppose Kichesias, of the deme Skambonidai, would do such a thing?” Once he hears this name, Theron exclaims, “I’ll give you money for that very thing!”; he means “for being Kichesias.” Theron, like Milphio, takes some time to realize that the old man is not cunningly playing up to his own suggestions but is telling the simple truth. But the slave Dromon is at hand, and with his help the anagnorisis takes place. Kichesias faints and Theron calls Stratophanes. When Kichesias wishes him good fortune, Stratophanes says that it lies in the other’s power to make him more than fortunate; he means, of course, by giving him his daughter’s hand in marriage.

We may now observe that the fifth act began with a mutilated fragment (xii v Bataille, 9ff = 312ff Kassel) which in Schroeder’s text (*op. cit.* pp. 26–7) is supplemented as follows:

- A. ἐμοὶ τί σὺ σπουδαῖο[ν ἀνακοινοῦσθ’ ἔχεις,
 ὥστ’ ἄξιον ταύτης [δοκεῖν ἂν τῆς ὁδοῦ,
 ἦν κεκόμικάς με δεό[μενός μου τοῦ δρόμου
 315 ἄεί τι μικρὸν ἔτι προέ[ρχεσθαι; τίς εἶ;
 ἄξιον, ἀκριβῶς ἴσθι, γιν[ώσκειν τόδε.
- B. τίς εἶμι; μὰ τὸν Ἥφαιστ[ον
 σπουδαῖον ἂν δέξῃ μ[
 λαλοῦντα γάρ σε θηρι[
 320 πρὸς τὸν τελών[ην λιθι[
 σπασάμενον]εὐθὺς ημ[
]..[]ρισμο[

If these supplements are on the right lines, someone is complaining

of the behaviour of a person who has persuaded him to go a long way with him by short stages and of whose identity he is unaware. The supplements are by no means certain, but they would suit the opening of the conversation between Theron and Kichesias; and as we shall see later this conversation must have followed the passage in question after no very long interval.

As he leaves the house on the stage, Stratophanes is still talking to a person inside it whom he calls his mother. That shows that he has now found his real parents; and his recognition by them happens to be preserved in one of the old fragments published long ago by Jouguet (fr. XII A Bataille = 280ff Kassel).

- 280 πτέρυξ χιτωνίσκου γυναικείου διπλή.
 ἔ]κρυπ[τε γὰ]ρ σῶμ' ἠνίκ' ἐξεπέμπομεν
 πρὸς τὴν] ξένην σε τὴν τότε αἰτούσαν τέκνα
] .νεστιν ἀλλὰ τῶι βεβαμμένωι
]τ' ἔχουσα χρώματος φύσιν
- 285]δους τοῦμ μέσωι δὲ πορφυρᾶς
]δη καὐτός. ἐμβλέπω σε, παῖ,
]ηται καιρὸς ὡς παρ' ἐλπίδας
]ημι λαμπαδηφόρου
]ντος ὑπεραγωνιῶν
- 290]τι μήτηρ ἄλλα τι
]τος ὁ νομίζω καλεῖν
]μεις τὸν χρόνον
]ἐλπίσασά τε
]ν ἢ τύχη
- 295 σύ]μβολον
]ημα παῖ
]αμουμενη
]. α γνωρίσηι
]λλων τέκνα
- 300]ας φανεῖς
] λαβεῖν. [
]α παιδίο[
] καλω. [
]κ[
- 305 ἴωμεν εἴσω δεῦρ[
 ἄνερ, ἐνθάδ' ἐστι. [

ἡμῶν τε ποιήσειν ἑτοιμο[
 ἔφη προελθὼν ἐχθρὸς εἰς οἴκ[
 (Στρ.) ὁ Μοσχίων ἀδελφὸς ἐμὸς ἐστίν, πάτερ;
 310 (Σμ.) ἀδελφός. ἀλλὰ δεῦρο προσ[
 ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐνδο[ν.] προσ.[
 ΧΟΡ[ΟΥ

The passage begins with a mention of what were clearly recognition tokens of the kind that commonly accompanied an infant who was exposed or given away in New Comedy.¹⁶ The foreign woman who was then asking for children was presumably the Sicyonian lady whom Stratophanes at first supposed to be his mother; he was no doubt given away by his parents during what was to prove a temporary period of financial embarrassment, as was Glykera, the heroine of the *Perikeiromene*. At 309 we find the question, “Is Moschion my brother?” which is answered in the affirmative. Who is Moschion? We may now turn to the passage immediately following the recognition of Kichesias (fr. 385ff Kassel).

385 (Στρ.) Δόναξ
] Δόναξ, φράσον εἰσιῶν πρὸς Μαλθάκη
 εἰς γειτόνων ἅπαντα δεῦρο[
 τοὺς κανδύτανας, τοὺς ἄορτ[
 ἅπαντα, τοὺς ρίσκους ἅπαντ[
 390 καὶ μη . . . εὐρησκοντας ἐνθα[δ
 αὐτήν τ' ἀπιέναι δεῦρο πρὸς [τὴν μητέρα
 κέλευε τὴν ἐμήν, μεθ' ὑμῶν
 τοὺς βαρβάρους παῖδας καταλ[
 ἐνταῦθα καὶ Θήρωνα τοὺς τ' ὀνηλάτας
 395 καὶ τοὺς ὄνους. ταῦτα λέγ'. ἐγὼ [
 ἐντεύξομαι αὐτὸς τᾶλλα τῶι τ.[
 (Μο.) νῦν οὐδὲ προσβλέψαι σε, Μοσχίω[ν, ἔτι
 πρὸς τὴν κόρην δεῖ· Μοσχίων [
 λευκὴ σφόδρ', εὐόφθαλμός ἐστ'. οὐδὲν λέγεις·
 400 ἀδελφὸς ὁ γαμῶν. μακάριος κ.[
 οἶον γάρ — οὗτος, ἔτι λέγεις; — ὃν ἂν τ[ύχῃς
 πρᾶγμα' ἐστ' ἐπαινεῖν χάριν ενο[¹⁷

¹⁶ For the *πτέρυξ* among recognition tokens, see *JHS* 84 (1964) 30 (note on *PAntin.* 15, verso line 6).

¹⁷ My articulation of lines 401–2 appears for the first time here and requires a word of

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐρῶ γε· μὴ γάρ, ὅταν οσοῦ[
 παροχήσομαι δηλονότι καὶ γ[ενήσομαι
 405 τρίτος μετ' αὐτῶν. ἄνδρες, οὐ δυνήσομαι.
 ουκ.<.> [
 [
 ἔτῃρος [. . .] [
 αὐτῆς θ' ἑταίρας ἢ κακ[
 410 ἀλλ' ἔργον ἀρέσαι γυ[.] εἰδ[

First (385ff) someone gives instructions for the removal to a neighbouring house of a large quantity of luggage. There is mention of “barbarian slaves” (393) and instructions are given regarding “Theron and the drivers and the asses” (394f). Theron is the parasite of Stratophanes, and the speaker can only be Stratophanes giving orders for his property to be transferred to the house of his newly-found father; the other house visible on stage is presumably one which Stratophanes had hired as a lodging on arrival in Athens. The “barbarian slaves” are doubtless Orientals brought from Asia Minor; we are reminded of the slaves with rings in their ears who in the *Poenulus* bring on the luggage of the Carthaginian Hanno (978f). Like other soldiers of New Comedy, Stratophanes must have returned from service abroad with great wealth; he must have enough to compensate his future father-in-law Kichesias for the impoverishment which we know him to have suffered (375).

Stratophanes leaves the stage (after 396) and there follows a soliloquy by Moschion. “Now you, Moschion, may not even look at the girl. Her skin is very white, her eyes are beautiful. You are talking nonsense! The bridegroom is my brother . . . fortunate. Why, what a thing it is—fellow, are you still talking?—to praise anyone because of . . . ! But I am not in love—out of the question, when . . . I shall ride beside the couple, it is clear, and make a third with them. Gentlemen, I shall not be able to do it!” After 405 the sense is not clear. But Moschion, who has turned out to be the bridegroom’s brother, clearly finds it hard to renounce his aspirations to the bride. Can we help guessing that this Moschion and the pale, slender fop of the great dispute over the girl are one and the same person? We may note, but

explanation. The parenthesis οὗτος, ἔτι λέγεις; will be addressed, like the οὐδέ[ν λέγεις which Handley plausibly supplements in line 399, by the speaker to himself; at the end of line 402, one might conjecture χάριν ἐνό[ς του πράγματος. For the text of 404–5, see *Emerita*.

cannot explain, the mention of an hetaira in 409; does she belong to Moschion's past life, or is she to be the consolation of his future? He is the kind of young man whom one might expect his father to marry off to keep him out of further mischief, as Chremes marries off Clitipho in the *Ἐαυτὸν Τιμωρούμενος*.

It is now time to turn to a mutilated scene that follows immediately on the somewhat hurried departure of the messenger (fr. vi c Bataille, 15ff = 272ff Kassel). Why does the messenger leave so hurriedly? Perhaps because he sees a young man advancing towards the house of Smikrines with evidently hostile purpose.

(Στρ.?) τοὺς ἀνδραποδιστὰς ἀπαγαγεῖ[ν ὑμᾶς θέλω.
 (Σμ.?) ἡμᾶς σύ; (Στρ.?) νῆ τὸν Ἡλιον. (Σμ.?) κορυβ[αντιᾶις,
 μειράκιον; (Στρ.?) ἐξαίφνης πολιτ[ῆι γενομένωι
 275 γενναῖον οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι
 (Σμ.?) πῶς; ἀγνοῶ τὸ τοιοῦτο [
 (Στρ.?) ὄραϊς; βᾶδιζ' εἰς ἐξετα[
 πρᾶγμ' ἐξέταζε [
 παρὰ τῆς ἱερέα[ς

This young man now enters the stage and threatens to bring a charge of kidnapping (272). The person addressed can only be Smikrines, who is the only person present, and the plural number is used (273, if not also 272) because Smikrines' son Moschion is meant to be included in the charge. The new speaker mentions that someone, almost certainly himself, has recently become a citizen; who can he be but Stratophanes? If the girl's Athenian citizenship could be once established, anyone attempting to enslave her would in Athenian law lay himself open to just this charge, and would thus be liable to summary arrest (*ἀπαγωγῆ*: note line 272) by whoever might wish to prosecute. At 277 Stratophanes appears to challenge Smikrines to proceed to an enquiry (*ἐξετα[σμόν* or *ἐξέτα[σιν*). At such an enquiry he would certainly have had to establish his right to prosecute Smikrines by establishing his own citizenship. To do this he will have had to show the recognition tokens lately brought to him, together with his supposed mother's testament by his slave Pyrrhias. Clearly Smikrines or some other member of his household must have recognized these tokens as the objects which accompanied Smikrines' elder son when as an infant he was given away to the Sicyonian lady. Fr. XXI A Bataille (= 280 Kassel; see above, p. 149) must have followed

this passage at a brief interval. So the attempt of Stratophanes to prosecute Smikrines and Moschion led directly to his recognition as son of the one and brother of the latter; nothing could accord more closely with the classical pattern of the dramatic anagnorisis.

Apart from the large fragment of the prologue speech, the mutilated scene that followed it (frs. iv A and B Bataille = 20–51 Kassel) and perhaps one or other of the small and hitherto unplaced fragments vii and viii Bataille (= 52–109 Kassel), we have nothing of the first half of the play; our semi-continuous long portion begins in the middle of the tetrameter scene that came at the end of the third act and goes on, with minor interruptions, to the end of the play. Judging by his apparent celebrity, the parasite Theron must have played a considerable part in this missing half. Can we guess at the character of any of it?

The scene that followed the prologue speech (25–51 Kassel) is poorly preserved:

25	λ]ογισμὸν ἀνδρικὸν
]τεραν ἰδεῖν
].οις ὡς γίγνεται
].ειν δεύτερον
] οὔτοσὶ
30]ν μου πυθοῦ
]. . . . [. . . το]ύτωι τῶι κακῶι
	συζευγνύναι] με καὶ συνοικίζειν, γύναι,
]. οὔδεμία μὰ τῶ θεῶ
]ν ἄπεστι τούτωι γάρ, τάλαν
35]. φασιν, ὁ δὲ τρόμος πολὺ

Here not less than five and not more than nine lines are missing.

	[
	[
	ημ[
	θρέψεις μο[
40	μᾶλλον δετ[
	τέχνην α.[
	κτῆμ' ἐστι σ[
	ἄπληστος ε[
	πάντ' ἐσθίει. [
45	οὔτω γὰρ ἢ γα[στήρ
	ἀνὴρ ἄπληστ[

γυναικὶ παγ[
 τοῦτ' ἠὺχόμη[ν
 ἐγώ. τὸ ποῖον ε[
 50 πρὸς ταῦτα γ[ῶν
 δίδωμι προ[

Lines 33–4 at least are spoken by a woman; she is not necessarily the woman addressed in line 32. Indeed, it would seem that one woman is protesting to another against a plan to marry her to some unwelcome suitor, referred to in uncomplimentary terms in line 31. Soon after (39ff) we find what can only have been a description of Theron, the famous parasite; note in particular 43–7, but the description certainly began earlier.

Let us now turn to a fragment which contains the end of the play (fr. xxii Bataille = 411–423 Kassel); it will have followed Moschion's soliloquy (397ff) at no great distance:

φέρουσα κριθῶν τοῖς ὄνοι[ς
 ἐν ταῖς πορείαις ὡς παν[
 ἀεὶ τοιαύτην εὐχόμην ε[
 εὔχου τοιαύτην; τί δ' ἀδικ.[
 415 οὐκ ἐμμεμ(έ)νηκεν ὁ βαθυ[
 ἄνθρωπον ἐλπίσαντα δερ[
 καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἔστι σου δι[
 πῶς δ' ἂν διακόψαις δαῖδα[
 πρὶν ὁμολογῆσαι. καὶ στέφαν[όν τίς μοι δότω.
 420 δώσω. κατάνευσον. μεράκ[ι', ἄνδρες, παιδιά
 πρωιράσατ' ἐκτείναντες επ[
 ἢ δ' εὐπάτειρα φιλόγελως τε [παρθένος
 Νίκη μεθ' ἡμῶν εὐμενῆ[ς ἔποιτ' ἀεὶ.

In 411 there is mention of donkeys; we remember that at 394 Theron is mentioned by Stratophanes in conjunction with the donkeys on which his wealth is loaded and (very probably) their drivers (see above, pp. 150f). Donkeys may also have been mentioned at line 27, but this is not certain; *πρόνοις* is a possible reading. At 413 someone seems to have said, "This is the fortune I always prayed for," and someone else to have replied, "Did you pray for such a fortune?" There is a similar expression in line 48. There seems to be question of a female person feeding the donkeys with barley; if Theron was indeed responsible for the donkeys, this duty might have fallen to any

wife he might have married. It looks as if this final scene was concerned with the fate of Theron; it may have contained echoes of the scene following the prologue speech. Did Theron get his Malthake? We cannot tell, but I rather think not; 414–5 may have run something like this:

τί δ' ἀδικεῖ[ις; οἷς ὤμοσεν
οὐκ ἐμμεμ(έ)νηκεν ὁ βαθύ[πλουτος οὔτοσί.

If that supplement were right, Theron would be reproaching Stratophanes for having broken his promise. If he did disappoint his parasite, Stratophanes doubtless had the best of reasons for doing so.

We may now sketch in outline the main details of the plot. The prologue speech of the divinity described how years before the time of the action the four-year-old Philumene together with her nurse and the slave Dromon was kidnapped by pirates from her father's estate at Halai Araphenides on the northeast coast of Attica and sold at Mylasa in Caria. The beginning of the speech probably described how some years before that Smikrines and his wife gave away their elder son Stratophanes to a Sicyonian lady anxious to adopt a child. In those distant days, Kichesias was rich and Smikrines poor; by the time at which the action of the play begins, their situations will have been reversed. Who spoke the prologue? Perhaps it was Demeter, and it may indeed be argued that she dominates the play rather as Pan does the action of the *Dyskolos*. I doubt, however, whether a great Olympian deity would have been chosen for this office and suspect rather one of the many minor divinities of the Eleusinian cult, such as that Kalligenia who spoke the prologue of the second *Thesmophoriazousai* of Aristophanes.

The action probably started with a conversation bearing on the affairs of Theron and Malthake (see p. 153); during its course or soon after it, the audience will have learned that Stratophanes is a mercenary soldier who has lately arrived in Athens with a large retinue. One further guess can be hazarded about the contents of the play's mysterious first half. During the conversation between Smikrines and an unknown person, perhaps another elderly Athenian, that begins the fourth act and immediately precedes the messenger scene, Smikrines taunts his friend with believing that a man who weeps and implores must necessarily be in the right (150ff; see pp. 136f). At this point the messenger speech has not yet been spoken, and yet "a man

who weeps and implores” sounds like a reference to Stratophanes. It looks as though Stratophanes has already encountered the father of his rival and has publicly (note lines 154–5) pleaded with him to make his son resign his claim to Philumene, presumably on the ground that she is really an Athenian citizen. But at this stage her claim can rest only on the word of Stratophanes and that of the slave Dromon, and Stratophanes as a soldier and a foreigner will have been in a weak position; fr. 2 Kassel runs:

*εὐλοιδόρητον, ὡς ἔοικε, φαίνεται
τὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου σχῆμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ ξένου.*

“It is easy to ridicule a soldier and a foreigner.” Smikrines, it is clear, will not have been the kind of man to take such a claim seriously.

Later, Pyrrhias, who had been sent to Sicyon to take to his master’s supposed mother word of the party’s safe arrival (120–1; see pp. 133f) arrived bringing the surprising news that Stratophanes was not, after all, the son of his supposed parents but was an Athenian citizen. Armed with the proofs brought him by Pyrrhias, Stratophanes hurried to Eleusis and arrived just when Philumene was about to pass into the possession of the dissipated young Athenian, Moschion. By a *tour de force* of oratory, admirably exploited in the messenger speech, Stratophanes persuaded the assembly of the deme of Eleusis to have the girl deposited with the priestess, at least for long enough to give him a chance to find her father. Theron, hoping to get Malthake if his master got Philumene, threw himself into the search. Hurrying to the house of his rival’s father, Stratophanes took advantage of his newly acquired status as a citizen to charge him with kidnapping; this led directly to his recognition as son of Smikrines and elder brother of Moschion. In the meantime, Theron has approached an old man answering to Dromon’s description of Kichesias, offering money if he will pretend to be that person; as is natural in this sentimental writer, in whose works Chance (*τὸ αὐτόματον*) plays so large a part, Theron’s proposed lie turns out to be the truth.¹⁸ Only a short passage, partly concerned with the arrangements for the wedding and partly with Theron’s future, is likely to have separated the recognition of Kichesias from the play’s conclusion.

¹⁸ How much misunderstanding of Menander has come from the attempt to insist that his plays must have a “serious purpose,” such as to recommend the philosophy of Aristotle or of Theophrastus, to convey “social criticism,” etc.!

Many problems remain. The manuscript is often corrupt, lacunose and hard to read; the complete absence of indications as to who is speaking cannot always be made good with certainty; and the text may often be disputed. But considering that we have only about half the play, the main outlines of the plot are astonishingly clear; that is because most of what has been preserved comes from the second half. The piece is included in the list of Menander's best plays given in the fictitious letter written to Alciphron's Menander by his mistress Glykera (Alciphron 4.19.19). Fragmentary as it is, we can understand its inclusion, for its remains show remarkable dramatic skill; in particular, the messenger speech and the recognition of Kichesias give the impression of coming from a play far superior to the interesting but comparatively disappointing *Dyskolos*, though hardly equal to that moving work of Menander's maturity, the *Epitrepontes*.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

March, 1966