

Comoedia Dukiana

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In memoriam Eric Gardner Turner

AMONG A GROUP OF ELEVEN POPYRI retrieved from cartonnage and acquired in 1984 by the Duke University Library is a remarkable literary text, apparently a substantial part of a scene from an otherwise nonextant and as yet unidentified comedy. The rest of the group, said by the dealer to derive from a single chunk of mummy cartonnage, are unconnected documents (letters and petitions) in hands of the first half of the second century B.C., some possibly of the late third century. Two documents bear dates of the eighth and twelfth year of an unnamed Ptolemy, two mention the Arsinoite village Oxyrhyncha in the Polemon district. Only one of the names mentioned is identifiable, the well-known *epistrategos* Hippalos who is attested elsewhere during the period 185 to 169 B.C.¹ But the documents offer no help in suggesting a context or provenience for the accompanying literary papyrus.

The sheet of papyrus on which the comic passage appears is itself unusual and offers important evidence for the circumstances in which the text was written. Measuring 46.0 cm. in width but only 12.2 cm. in height, it is ostensibly a section of a narrow roll characteristic of some early bookrolls that appear to be designed for such relatively short texts as single plays.² The appearance, however, is deceptive, for our text was cut not

¹ P.Duk. inv. F1984.7 lines 16–19: τῶι γὰρ | Στρατονίκωι παρ[ήγγειλα] | ἀποδημῆν εἰς(1) τῆ[ν Ἄρσι]νοιτὴν πρὸς Ἴππαλον. For the career of Hippalos see J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt I, The Ptolemaic Epistrategos* (=Pap.Colon. VI [Opladen 1975]) 87–91 with further references cited there.

² E.g. Eur. *Archelaus*, h. 13.1 cm. (P.Hamb. II 118, pl. I, iii/ii B.C.); comedy, h. ca 12.7 cm. (P.Hamb. II 120, pl. II, early iii B.C.); comedy, h. 12.7 cm. (P.Hib. I 6, pl. IV=Roberts GLH 2a, 300–280 B.C.); Men. *Sikyonios*, h.16.0 cm. (P.Sorb. inv. 2272b, palimpsest, Turner, GMAW² pl. 40, 240–220 B.C.); Eur. *Erechtheus*, h. 16.1 cm. (P.Sorb. inv. 2328, ca 250 B.C., in RechPap 4 [1967] 13ff).

from such a roll but from a much larger sheet of papyrus used initially for a document written on the recto in a hand resembling some found in the Zenon archive datable to the middle of the third century B.C. (PLATES 1–3).

The surviving rectangle cut from this document was rather carelessly expunged to receive the literary text, leaving smeared traces of the original ink in the margins and between lines of the later writing. Only along the bottom edge at the foot of cols. ii and iii can traces of the earlier text be deciphered:

τοῦ περὶ Θεαδέλφειαν . . . ου αι ὑπὸ κα 17 ἔτους . . . [

The unexpunged verso of the papyrus was used for a list or account of which only a few numerals survive written in a large informal hand, a document which like that on the recto originally extended well beyond the edges of the cutting. What survives of the larger sheet exhibits two *kolleseis*, the first vertically 0.3 cm. to the left of col. ii, the second just to the left of the middle of col. iii, for a *kollema* of about 20.5 cm. (PLATE 4). Presumably a large sheet had been written on both sides, of which only the recto was expunged after the cutting was made. The scribe of the comedy has filled the available space of the rectangle with three full columns of 17, 17, and 16 lines respectively, leaving external margins of barely 1 cm. There are no *paragraphoi*, nor punctuation nor other discernable lectional signs.

The hand of the comedy is a personal variety of the roughly bilinear blunt-penned majuscule familiar in both literary papyri of dramatic and other verse and in documents from the mid-third through the second century B.C., often found on papyrus rolls of small height, best exemplified by the Sorbonne *Sikyonios*.³ The closest parallel to the hand of our scribe, although on a taller roll, is the third-century Lefort *Odysey*;⁴ it does not have our scribe's distinctive *rho* with a horizontal tongue protruding immediately beneath the bowl. The script is

³ E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*², rev. by P. J. Parsons (= *BICS* Suppl. 46 [London 1987]) pl. 40; cf. also pll. 45f, and C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* (Oxford 1955) nos. 5b, 6b. For a superior example of its use in documents see W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie* (Munich 1925) Abb. 12= *UPZ* I 2, a petition of 163 B.C.

⁴ O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia*² (Milan 1988) tav. 11, as observed by Naphtali Lewis.

best seen at the top of col. ii where it is least damaged by the maker or by the dissolver of the cartonnage.

Considering its vagaries, irregularities, and tendency toward ligaturing, I should assign the present example to the late third or early second century B.C., somewhat earlier than the documents said to come from the same cartonnage. Our scribe, while not a beginner, is not yet professional. His care noticeably deteriorates as he moves from col. i to col. iii, as though he was in haste to complete an assigned task within a prescribed time. Inasmuch as the piece of papyrus is a rather poorly expunged palimpsest cut down on all sides so that the three columns fit exactly, the scribe is perhaps an apprentice who has been assigned to copy a set text possibly predetermined to fill the space provided.

Alpha without crossbar and *lambda*, both with concave legs, are often difficult to distinguish; taken alone, each might be the other. The *eta*, *mu*, *nu* and *pi* are sometimes ligatured to a following letter by the top extension of an exaggeratedly concave final hasta so as frequently to seem almost indistinguishable from one another. This hasta is often as deeply concave as the *sigma*. The upper stroke of *epsilon* is often detached, sometimes lost by either surface damage or neglect, so that the remainder resembles *sigma*.

Moreover, the scribe occasionally 'corrects' his text by writing one letter over another, or imposes his letter over imperfectly expunged earlier ink, so that his intention is uncertain. Given that abrasion has caused loss of surface in some areas of cols. i and ii, while in col. iii the scribe has allowed his pen to grow blunt and the ink has run and is smeared in places, the intended text can sometimes hardly be determined. In some instances misled by roughly similar ligatures, the scribe has surely misread his antigraph, and at least three times he has written wrong case-endings, momentarily losing awareness of context.

Of the fifty lines of trochaic tetrameter, 48 can be read securely enough to permit metrical analysis. Of these 48, 41 exhibit normal diaeresis between the second and third metra, and one of the incompletely read lines doubtless does so as well, for a probable total of 42, or 84 per cent. This proportion is about the same as that in Aristophanes' tetrameters (excluding his lyric trochees), in contrast to Menander's, in which median

diaeresis is far more regular.⁵ Caesura occurs in the fourth foot five times (lines 7, 12, 17, 24 and 36), in the fifth foot once (line 23), and once in both (line 30).

There are twelve instances of recorded elision, but three of elision and two of prodelision with *scriptio plena*. Stop-plus-liquid makes position only once (in line 48), and in eleven cases the preceding vowel remains short. The diphthongs αι and ου before vowels are regularly treated as short vowel plus semiconsonant (15 instances); prevocalic ει is once short (δεῖ in line 23) unless the line must be emended, once long (κλεῖε in line 47).

The first foot is resolved in 6 lines, the third foot in 5, the fifth in 9 (in every case after the standard diaeresis), and the seventh in 5, while the second, fourth and sixth feet are resolved in only two lines each. Of the 45 virtually complete lines, 31 contain two, and none contains more than two.

That the text is from a comedy is clear enough, although from what type of comedy remains to be determined. Composed throughout in trochaic tetrameters, the scene is a lively exchange between two speakers. The principal, Speaker B, is a cook, who is abetted by his interlocutor, Speaker A, who may also be a cook but not necessarily so. Indeed Speaker A may be the Chorus, as would be appropriate in trochaic recitative. The subject is the extravagant preparation for a banquet of a huge fish, a *silouros*, extolled by B with an encomium that A compares favorably to Isocrates' *Helen*. This allusion provides at least a *terminus a quo*, but unfortunately the date of composition of the *Helen* is by no means secure. It is presumed

⁵ Handley per litteras comments: "It would be interesting if we could establish who (if anyone before Menander) regularized diaeresis in the trochaic tetrameters of Comedy. Perhaps Alexis, who has 26 'regular' lines in fr. 98K. [=103 K.-A.] (though 302K. [291 K.-A., now trim.] is a problem, unless it is to be rewritten as trimeters); Philemon 213K. [178 K.-A.] has fifteen 'regular' lines. It is notable that Timocles 16K [18 K.-A.] still admits an 'odd' line in handling a proper name (but Timocles was old-fashioned in other ways). In other words, by the standards of the third century B.C., when these verses were copied, are they antique, affected antique, or simply non-Menandrian?" From my own scansion of all multiple-line fragments in trochaic tetrameter recorded by Kock, *CAF*, I note that authors of Old Comedy other than Aristophanes show median diaeresis in 57 of 68 lines (84%); authors assigned to Middle comedy have it in 123 of 126 lines (98%); and New Comedy authors beginning with Alexis but excluding Menander have median diaeresis in all 76 lines. These ratios conform closely to those for Aristophanes and Menander calculated by J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (London 1912) sections 253, 266.

to be an early work, probably dating to the first decade of the fourth century B.C., in any case before the death of Aristophanes about 385 B.C. Allusion to it could of course be made at any time thereafter, but in comedy one would expect a fresh topical reference.

Our text seems to begin *in medias res* as though a debate were already in progress about the preeminence among fish of the *glaukos*⁶ or the *silouros*, decided by the *fiat* of Speaker B in favor of the *silouros*.⁷ In the first half of the surviving text we are treated to a parade of seven other kinds of fish,⁸ the names of some of which (and perhaps all?) are punning allusions to their human or mythical counterparts, who (or which) comprise the court or entourage of the *silouros*.

The next section (lines 20–44) treats the extraordinary culinary preparation of the great fish as a vehicle for satire or parody of the sacred rites of mystery cults, among which may be recognized the Cabiri and Isis worship; there may be others (perhaps the Plynteria) more difficult to detect. The emphasis throughout is not on the ‘recipe’ *per se*, given in general in quite colorful terms, nor on the personality or character of the cook, but rather on the objects of satire, which beyond the cults include the ephebes (10, 33), Isocrates (17f), winning a victory (25?, 32), officialdom (38), and even Zeus himself (45, 50).

⁶ My indispensable guide in ichthyology is D’Arcy W. THOMPSON, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London 1947: hereafter ‘Thompson’). The *γλαῦκος* (48) is either of two fishes, a very large or a small. Surely the large is meant here, identified as a shark or dogfish, a very big pelagic fish prized as a delicacy.

⁷ On *silouros* ‘sheatfish’ see Thompson 43–48, 233–37, who distinguishes at least five different fishes called by this name in one or another of the Greek and Latin sources. The most notable and likeliest to be the subject of our text is *Silurus glanis*, the great ‘European Catfish’, found especially in the Danube, where Aelian (*NA* 14.25) says that when caught it requires a team of horses or oxen to drag it to shore “as mules dragged the corpse of Patroclus.” In Russian rivers it grows to a length of 14 feet. Among other fishes so denominated are the related but somewhat smaller catfish of Greek rivers, *Parasilurus Aristotelis*, called *glanis* by Aristotle (*HA passim*) and *silurus* by Pliny; the large *glanis* of Anatolian rivers; the sturgeon; the large Nile perch and two smaller Egyptian fish, one of which is called ‘stinking’ by Sopater and Juvenal.

⁸ While *σίλουρος* is named eleven times in lines 1–22, each of the seven other fishes is mentioned only once. In addition to *γλαῦκος* (1), there follow *ἄδωνις* (7), *μαιώτης* (14), *λάβραξ* (15), *χοῖρος* (16), *Θραιξί παιδί* (the *θραιῖττα*? 22), *κωλήν* (25) and *Βοιωτός* (46). Three of these names (*σίλουρος*, *μαιώτης*, and *χοῖρος*) are applied to Nile fishes by Athenaeus among his 19 Egyptian fishes.

Finally, the text ends climactically with a spirited banquet (47–50). I believe, therefore, that our fragment is the conclusion of the final scene of the play.

Invoking the fortune that befell the *Comedia Florentina* (*PSI* II 126), later discovered to be a fragment of Menander's *Aspis*, I shall call our text *Comoedia Dukiana* until new evidence may identify it. That it could derive from a New Comedy seems ruled out by its content, style, and metre. Decision between Old Comedy and Middle Comedy is more hazardous.

An ingenious case for its possible attribution to the Middle comedy poet Cratinus Junior and specifically to his play *Gigantes* has been suggested per litteras by Colin Austin, who adduces Cratin. fr. 336 K.-A. (*cf.* also fr. 334 adnot.),

γλαῦκον οὐ πρὸς παντὸς (ἀνδρός) ἔστιν ἀρτῦσαι καλῶς

(echoed by our line 20) as fitting immediately preceding our line 1, while ἀρτῦσαι is echoed by ἀρτύματα in our line 9. He would identify Speaker A as a rival cook debating with Speaker B their rival dishes; he points to Cratin. Jun. fr. 1, where Athenaeus says that the poet magnifies the art of cookery (ἐκκεμνύνει τὴν μαγειρικὴν τέχνην). Cratinus Junior (fr. 2, also in trochaic tetrameter) is characterized ὡς σφοδρῶς Αἰγυπτιώδης, three of the eight fishes named can refer to Nilotic species (see *supra* n.8), and allusion to Isis and Harpocrates suggests an Egyptian context. Moreover, Cratin. Jun. fr. 334 is in the same metre and could derive from the same play. Preferring to emend ἄνθεσιν (35) to ἔνθεσιν and connecting it to κολυμβητοῦ βυθόν (34) as 'mouthful as deep as a diver can reach', he observes that our fish dinner is gargantuan, fit for the Giants, whose stronghold may be referred to in our lines 47f.

Other suggestions consider the possibility that our text may be a local or Alexandrian product as *P. Gren.* II 8b (*CGFP* 286) is thought to be because of its νομαρχ[, an Egyptian official like the διοικητής at our line 38—perhaps even an independently composed piece designed to fit this particular papyrus cutting.

Nevertheless I continue to believe that in *Comoedia Dukiana* we have recovered a fragment of Old Comedy, persuaded by the vigor and originality of its style, the frequency of *hapax legomena*, its topical allusions and satire of new and contemporary cults and persons (Isocrates and the ephebes), and the archaic technique of its metrics. To be sure the only extant long stretch of non-lyric trochaic tetrameters in Aristophanes occurs at *Pax* 601–50; while 44 lines (88%) have median

diaeresis, there are no resolutions in the first, fourth and seventh feet, the second and third feet are resolved twice, the fifth four times, the sixth once—less than a third the incidence of resolution found in our fragment, though in his iambs resolution is commoner. The fragments of other poets of Old Comedy preserve too few continuous lines for comparison.

The notes to the text will point to a few verbal reminiscences of Aristophanes (on lines 1f, 17f, 20, 32, 45, 48) and of Archippus (on 1f, 14, 21f, and 48). Line 2 could be a rejoinder to Ar. fr. 612 K.-A., line 20 a parody of Ar. fr. 928 K.-A., and the style seems not dissimilar to that of Aristophanes. But the principal concern with fishes leads one to think first of Archippus' *Ichthyes*, in the plot of which the Fish, like Aristophanes' Birds, organize their own state and declare war on Athens to put to the sword fishmongers and seafood epicures. Apparently inconclusive, the war ends with a treaty (fr. 27 K.-A.) by which each side yields its hostages to the other—a negotiation that might illuminate our lines 14ff. One would hardly expect the Fish to come off so badly as does their leader Silouros in our text. But conceivably he, like the Thracian Wives (see note on line 22) had been ceded to the Athenians, who make of him their victory feast. His regal preparation befits a king of the Fish. Eric Csapo (per litteras) has supported attribution of *Comoedia Dukiana* to this play; in addition to the points already mentioned, he observes that the fragments of *Ichthyes* show precisely the same kind of anthropomorphic treatment of the Fish as we find in *Comoedia Dukiana*.

Against such an attribution is a strong *argumentum ex silentio*, namely that Athenaeus—who otherwise cites *Ichthyes* several times and claims to have written a treatise, now lost, on the play (Ath. 7 329C)—obviously did not know our scene. If he had, he could scarcely have resisted quoting some of its lines that are eminently appropriate at a number of points in his *Deipnosophistae*. Apparently our play was no longer extant in his lifetime. In sum, we have no certain evidence on which to base an attribution.

In the *editio princeps* of this very difficult papyrus I have sought to present an edition of the scribe's text as well as I can decipher it,⁹ admitting emendation only where the scribe ap-

⁹ The acquisition of this papyrus was made possible by a generous grant from the Mary Duke Biddle Foundation, the efforts of our collection development librarian Florence Blakely, and the direct provision of funds by President H. Keith H. Brodie, without whose rescue my edition would not

pears to have erred in copying his antegraph or recording his intentions. In the absence of any such indications by the scribe, my assignment of lines to speakers is merely suggestive. There remains plenty of opportunity for others to rectify my doubtful readings and read those lines I was unable to decipher despite ink enough to confirm a lucky guess. The quite different goal of reconstructing the author's original text is a task I now leave to experts in Greek comedy.

Text

col. i

1 **A** τί κύλέγεις; γλαῦκο(ν) κιούρου κρείττον' εἶναι νενόμικας;

B τῶν μὲν οὖν ὄλωσ ἀπάντων ἰχθύων σοφώτατόν
φημι τὸν κιούρον εἶναι, κοίρανον τῶν ἰχθύων,
ἡγεμόνα, μόναρχον, ἀρχόν· τοὺς δὲ λοιπούς, ἐπιβάτας
5 ὅστε μὴ ἀξίως ἐνεγκεῖν τῷ κιούρῳ τὰ δόρατα.

A καὶ τετόλμηκας κιούρῳ κυγγράφειν ἐγκώμιον;

B ἦ κιούρος ὄνομ' ἔχων Ἄδωνίς ἐστιν ποτάμιος.
ἔει) γὰρ ἤθελεν κιούρος μὴ κυβεύειν μηδ' ἐρᾶν,
οὐκ ἂν ἦδη δέκα ταλάντων περιέκειτο ἀρτύματα.

10 **A** οὐκ ἂν ἦδη πέτασον εἶχε καὶ ἐν ἐφήβοις ἦψετο.

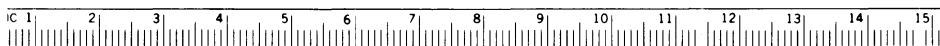
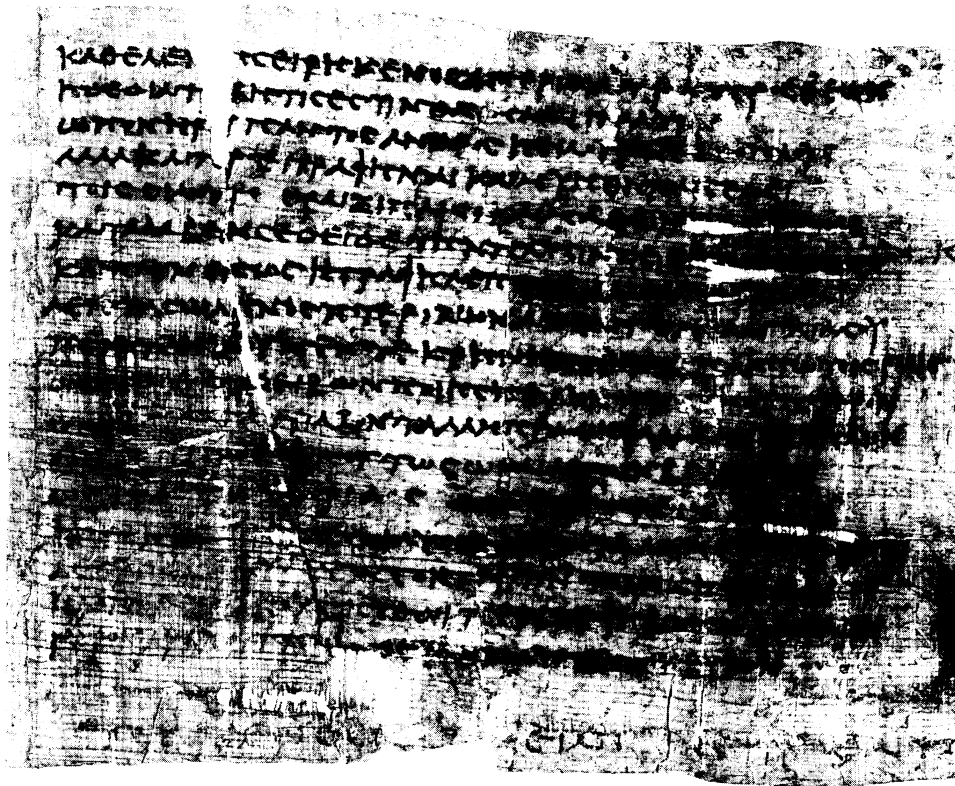
B καίτα δὴ τίς ἐστιν ἰχθύς ὅστις οὐ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις
ταῖς κιούρου δόγμ' ἔχων ἔστηκεν ὄρθρου καὶ λέγει
εἰ νένιπ' ἦδη κιούρος ἰε εἰςπ[ο]ρεύεται;

exist. In my work with the papyrus I have profited from valuable suggestions and am greatly indebted to many colleagues both at home and abroad, among whom are Geoffrey Arnott, Jean Bingen, Diskin Clay, Eric Csapo, Richard Hunter, George Huxley, William Johnson, Rudolf Kassel, Naphtali Lewis, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Klaus Maresch, Michael Reeve, and Kent Rigsby. Most of all I am especially indebted to Colin Austin, Eric Handley, and Peter Parsons, who devoted much study to my photographs and contributed most significantly to such progress as I was able to make. The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae CD ROM "C" has been my constant aid in the search for parallels, and I thank the Director of the Thesaurus, Theodore F. Brunner, for searching those TLG files not yet recorded on a CD ROM, especially the lexicographers and extensive bodies of scholia.

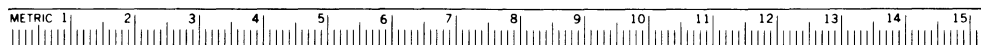


Comoedia Dukiana, recto col. i
(reduced to 77%)

PLATE 2 WILLIS

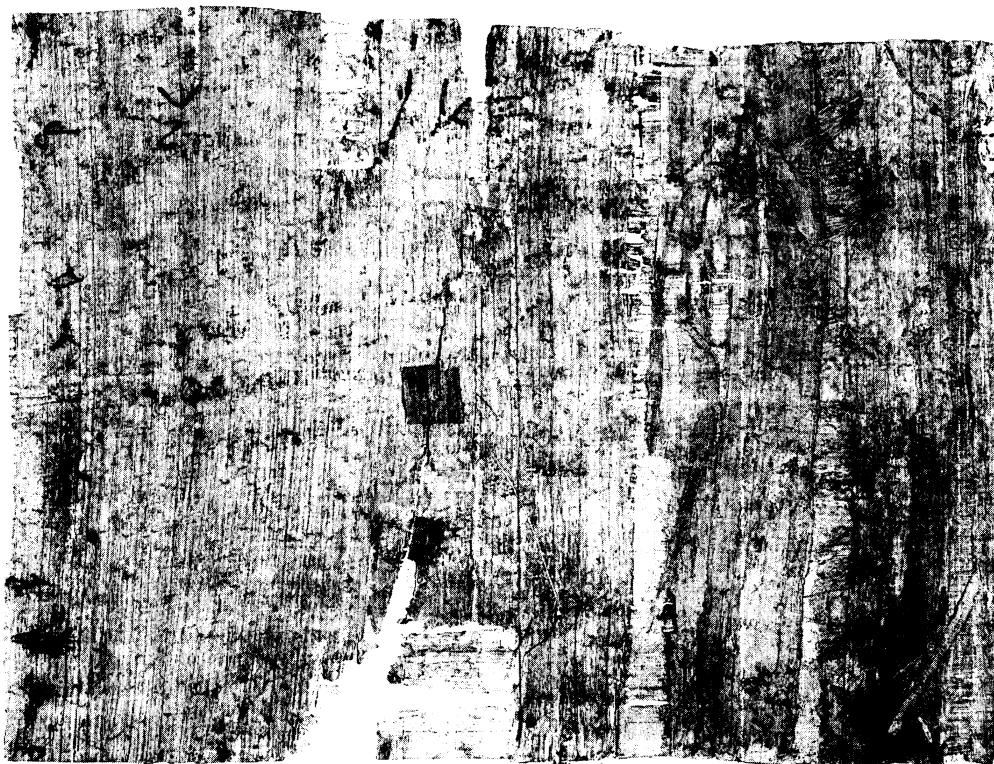


Comoedia Dukiana, *recto* col. ii
(reduced to 77%)



Comoedia Dukiana, *recto* col. iii
(reduced to 77%)

PLATE 4 WILLIS



Comoedia Dukiana, verso
(reduced to 77%)

A γέγονεν ἄρα τοῖς μαιώταις πάντα περὶ ὧν ἤξιουν;

15 B ἐντετεύχασιν {οἱ} λάβρακες οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πετρηρικοῦ
καὶ τὸ τῶν χοίρων μάτευμά τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σαγήνικοῦ.

A Ἰσοκράτ(η)ς ἐγκώμιον τοιοῦτον {οἶον} οὐδεπώποτε

col. ii

καθ' Ἐλένης εἶρηκεν οἶον {σα} περὶ κιλούρου. πρὸς θεῶν,
ἢ δὲ διατρ[ι]βῆ τίς ἐστιν; θαυμάσαι γὰρ ἄξιον.

20 B ὦ πόνηρ', οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς <ἐς> κιλουρόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς.
ἀλλὰ καὶ προεγγραφήναι καὶ μυθηῖναι σε δεῖ
τοῖς κιλούρο(υ?) Θραξὶ παισὶ — καὶ μαθεῖν ὡς ἔσεται.

καταλαβεῖν σε δεῖ δὲ τὴν πλύσιν, δεῖ ἐκτὸς μουσικοῦ
καὶ πλυνεῖς, ὡς ἡ γραφή, λεπτοῖς ἀλῶν ἀθύρμασι,
25 λεπτὰ σωλήνος περὶζων αἵματος μελαγχίμου
πεντενίκου πεντεκρήνης πεντεπακτωτοῖς ῥοαῖς.
ὡς δ' ἂν ἐκτρεῖβων ποιήσης κίον' ἢ κύκνου πτερόν
. ἢ κτίλβοντα λαμπρ(ῶς) ὡς φαλακρὸν ἀνθήλιον,
γί(γ)νεθ' ἢ πρόσοψις οὕτως ὡραία τῶν βραγχιῶν
30 ὥστε λευκομηρίδος δοκεῖ θεωρεῖν ἰσχίον
παρθένου.

A πλήρως. τοιαύτης ἄρα τὰ λοιπά, πρὸς θεῶν,
λευκότητος . . . ἄνυσον, σὸν γὰρ {τόν} τὸ νικητήριον.

B ἢ λοιπὰς γῶν εἰσφερέσθω{ι} πέντ' ἐφήβων ὠλέναις.
γῦρον ἀυλήτου ποιήσον καὶ κολυμβητοῦ βυθόν

col. iii

35 ἄνθεσιν θρ{ο}ίου τε νεαρῶν τε λ[ε]κίδων ἀδυσμάτων,
πολυλεπιτῶν κρόμμύων σκόρδων <τ>ε ὀρειγάνου κλά-
δ(ω)ν,

Νηρέως <τ>ε χῦμα πηγὸν καὶ ἀπὸ κρήνης μ(ά)λαθρον.
καὶ λάβ' ὄξος δριμύ λεπτὸν ὡς διοικητοῦ νόον.

ἐγ δὲ ληκύθου βαθείης παρθένου ταυρώπιδος
40 ἴαμα δαψιλὲς πρόχευζον μὴ κακιζούση χερί,
ἀλλ' ὄλην μετάρσιον ἄρα τῶν σκελῶν κατάστρεφε.
ὡς δ' ἂν ἐφθῆ σοι {ἢ λοιπὰς} γένηται καὶ τὸ πῶμα κουφίσης,
σεῖε, πρὸς μύκτιρας ἔλκων πενταδράχμους ἡδονάς,

καὶ ποίησον Ἄρποχράτου θηλάσας τὸν δάκτυλον.

45 **A** Ζεῦ πάτερ, πέφρικα ἀκούων καὶ δέδοικα μήποτε
τὴν κατάζηλον Βοιωτὸν ἢ λοιπὰς παρεγβάληι.

B πρὶν δὲ γεύσασθαι τερά(μν)ων κλεῖτε λαΐνων μοχλοῦς
καὶ κέλευε τοὺς μὲν ἔσθειν, τοὺς δ' ἐν ὄπλοις περιπατεῖν
μὴ ἐπανάστασις γένηται τῶν ἀχαλκῶν γειτόνων –
50 μὴ κύκνος γενόμενος ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κρυφαῖον κωμάσῃ.

(in marg. infer. cols. ii & iii)

τοῦ περι Θεαδέλφειαν ου. . . . αι ὑπὸ ca 17 ἔτους . . . [

1 γλαυκος pap. 8 η pap. 17 ἰσκρατους pap. 18 οσα super οιον pap.
20 ιc vel η pap. 22 σιλουρο θραιξι pap. 27 lege ἐκτρίβων 28
λαμπρα pap. 29 γινεθ pap. 36 δε, κλαδον pap. 37 νηρεωκεχυμα,
μελαθρον pap. 39 lege ἐκ δὲ 46 lege παρεκβάληι 47 τεραγμων
pap.

Translation

- A** What do *you* say? Are you convinced that the shark is better than the Sheat?
- B** Of absolutely all fish, to be sure, I declare that the Sheat is wisest, prince of the fish, leader, monarch, commander! The rest (I say are mere) marines, such as are not worthy to carry the spears of the Sheat.
- A** And have you ventured to compose a eulogy for the Sheat?
- B** Surely the Sheat, famous as he is, is a river Adonis! For if the Sheat were not wanting to gamble and to love, ten talents of sauces wouldn't now surround him.
- A** He wouldn't now wear a petasos and broil among the cadets.
- B** And indeed what fish is there that isn't standing by the Sheat's doors at dawn decree in hand and saying that if the Sheat is now washed, he is going into ...?
- A** Have the Scythian(fish) got all they were asking?

- B** The seabass from the rockyla and the catch of pigfish from the nettyla have presented their petitions.
- A** Isocrates has never spoken such a eulogy for Helen as this about the Sheat! But by the gods, what affair is this? It's a marvel!
- B** You rogue, not for every man is the voyage to the Sheat! But you must preregister and be initiated to the Sheat's (?) Thracian children—and learn how he'll be boiled. You must undertake the washing (you must [do it] without a musician?) and you will wash (it), as the writ prescribes, with fine adornments of the seas, fledging it with fine blades of a dark-blooded razorfish in the five(times)-damned streams of a five(fold)-fountain five(times) victorious. Just as when by polishing you make a pillar or a swan's wing or ... shine brightly as a bald pate reflecting the sun, the aspect of the gills becomes so comely that one imagines he is beholding the hip of a white-thighed maiden.
- A** Full measure! Of such whiteness, then, by the gods, make all the rest, for yours is the victory!
- B** Let the dish be carried out now by the arms of five epebes. Make (it) a flute-player's girth and a diver's depth with festoons of figleaf and relishes of fresh side-dishes of much-peeled onions and garlic, sprigs of marjoram, and Nereus' salt stream and dill(?) from the spring. Take vinegar sharp as the subtle mind of a finance minister, and from a deep jar of (the) bullfaced maiden pour out a generous stream with no cowardly hand. But lift the whole pot aloft from its legs and turn bottoms-up. So when it is cooked for you and you raise the lid, stir (it) and draw to your nose five-dollar pleasures, and do so sucking your finger like(?) Harpocrates.
- A** Father Zeus, I shudder to hear it and am afraid that the casserole may ever disdain the envious Boeotian (eel).
- B** Before tasting it, shoot the bolts of the marble chambers and invite some to eat, the others to patrol under arms lest there be a riot of our penniless neighbors —
- A** Lest Zeus become a swan for disguise and burst in on the revels!

Notes on the Text

1–2. Cf. Ar. fr. 612 K.-A. as quoted by Ath. 7 311A: λάβραξ ὁ πάντων ἰχθύων σοφώτατος, a full iambic trimeter convertible to trochaic tetrameter by prefix of such a cretic as begins our line 1. Compare also the quotation from Archippus' *Fishes* (fr. 15 K.-A., drawn from Herodian *De prosod. cath.* 113.8f=Steph. Byz. 197.3f, "Ἀρχίππος Ἰχθύειν ...)

- A. τί λέγεις κύ; μάντεις εἰς ἄρ θαλάττιοι;
B. γαλεοί γε πάντων μάντεων σοφώτατοι.

A terminus a quo for that play is implied in fr. 27 K.-A. by the mention of Euclides, who was archon eponymus in 403/2 B.C.; the fragment is drawn from Ath. 7 329B, a section lemmatized Θρηῶται, on which see note on line 22 below.

παρ. γλαυκος κιουρου: γλαῦκο(ν) κιούρου is the easiest correction, assuming anticipation of *sigma* from κιούρου; otherwise the cases must be reversed, requiring two emendations without phonetic cause. The first two letters of γλαυκος are smudged as if (possibly) cancelled, and illegible traces of ink appear in the space above (expunged lower writing or a correction?). *Alpha* and *lambda* in this hand are usually indistinguishable. I find no neuter ending -υκος except ὄκος (LSJ ὕκης, Thompson 272 ὕκη ... ὄκος Hsch.), which would yield ὄκος κιούρου κρείττον. A remote possibility conceivably appropriate only for Archippus' Ἰχθύεις: γλαυκὸς κιουρον κρείττον', "the sheat is a better (man) than the Attic owl."

3. τὸν κύλ-: *nu* and *sigma* are written over other letters, possibly *iota* and *lambda* anticipating the following -ιλ-.

4. While ἡγεμών is often paired with ἄρχων (though not ἀρχός), the conjunction of the first three words appears to be unique. μόναρχος is rare in early literature, occurring only once each in Solon, Pindar, Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Thucydides, and twice in Plato. Parsons comments that Silouros, being a king, not surprisingly abandons himself to the pleasures of line 8, like Sardanapalus at Ath. 8 335F–336A, and so suffers the consequences of 9f.

5. Prodelision of ἀξίως with *scriptio plena*. ἐνεγκεῖν ... τὰ δόρατα, periphrasis for δορυφορεῖν 'serve as bodyguard'. The 'spears' of the Sheat are no doubt his spines, characteristic of catfish.

6. Cf. Euphron fr. 10.14 K.-A. (Austin).

7. Αδωνις is poorly written; only *omega*, *iota* and *sigma* are certain. *Alpha* could equally well be *lambda*; *delta* (which could be *alpha*) is apparently written over an *epsilon*; *nu* resembles *sigma*. Decision for

"Αδωνις is based on LSJ *s.v.* II=Thompson 3, and ἐρᾶν in line 8. For ὄνομ' ἔχων Richard Hunter cites Theog. 246 ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα. The ink trace after ἔχων is residue from either the poorly expunged earlier text or an erasure.

8. *Eta* miswritten for εἰ, perhaps lagged from initial *eta* of the preceding line.

9. The penultimate word is written in *scriptio plena*.

10. Of εἶχε only the initial *epsilon* is certain. A dot of ink at line-end is probably residue of the lower text. Here πέτασον by original metaphor means 'casserole lid' because its shape resembles the broad flat hat worn by ephebes; for an example of such a lid to a λοπάς 'casserole' see B. A. Sparkes' "The Greek Kitchen," *JHS* 82 (1962) 130f with pl. IV.5, a reference I owe to Austin. The λοπάς and ephebes appear together again at line 33, on which see the note.

11. The initial *kappa* is uniquely exaggerated, perhaps merely as the first letter of the line; it is followed by something resembling a flat *omega* but likely the tips of *alpha* and *iota*, in crasis of καὶ εἶτα. For the seven distorted letters after ἰχθῦς Parsons has ingeniously suggested ὄctic οὐ, possible on the assumption that the diagonal below the first *omicron* and the vertical above *tau* are vestiges of the underlying expunged text. Here and in 12 he envisions a crowd of client fish waiting upon the Sheat. Austin and Handley, however, would read αὐ̂ instead of οὐ̂ and change my accents to δῆ τις, in effect understanding lines 11–13 as statement rather than question, and assigning lines 10–16 to Speaker B as an uninterrupted part of the encomium. This plausible reinterpretation is a great deal to hang upon one doubtful letter; in any case I continue to see *omicron* as much likelier than an *alpha*—οὐ̂, not αὐ̂. But my assignment of lines to speakers is only speculative.

12. The δόγμα brought by the client fish is presumably an honorary decree, fitting in an encomium. In a different context *cf.* Men. fr. 352.1 K.-T. (Austin).

13. εἰ νένιπτ' η- (Austin). The next letter, resembling *sigma*, I take to be like the fat *deltas* of line 23; the dot of ink rising from the ensuing hole I take to be the top of the high hasta of *eta*. Next follow the faint tops of seven letters that would conform to κύλουρος, then traces of five or six illegible letters, what appears to be a *sigma*, next an *epsilon* written over *rho* (or vice versa) preceding *iota sigma*. The -ρεύεται of the final word is clear after a one-space lacuna; before it two verticals might belong to an irregular *pi*: perhaps then εἰςπ[ο]ρεύεται. If so, now that the Sheat is presentable he or his court is ready to make an entrance. Austin suggests a word like πλήθος 'crowd'; thought it suits the expected sense and metre, it does not fit

the traces, nor can I think of one that does. Another possibility, however, is that the presumed irregular *pi* might be a quite different combination of strokes, such as $\upsilon\rho$ or $\upsilon\phi$, and the following lacuna might have held two small letters. The only such possible word I find is $\upsilon\phi[\epsilon\delta]\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, hardly suitable here.

14. $\mu\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ is a kind of fish from Lake Maeotis in Scythia but also is the denomination of an inhabitant of that region, a Scythian, probably a *double entendre* here and a topical reference to which the key is lost. It figured in Archippus' *Fishes* (fr. 26 K.-A. from Ath. 7 312A) in conjunction with the $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\varsigma$, a kind of gigantic catfish that by some authorities (see Thompson 43–48) is called *silurus*.

15–16. The stem $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\chi\text{-}$ is quite rare, found first in Dion. Hal.; the commonplace form is $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\upsilon\chi\eta\kappa\text{-}$, occurring once in Menander and frequently in Plato and onward. It may mean simply 'meet, encounter' or 'gain audience, present a petition'; seeming here to answer the claim of the $\mu\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\iota$, without further context its meaning is obscure. As written the line is hypermetric; I therefore bracket the apparent $\omicron\iota$ following $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\nu$ as unnecessarily anticipated from the $\omicron\iota$ preceding $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}$. For the reading $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ I am indebted to Klaus Maresch. On the labrax ('sea-bass') see note on line 1 and Thompson 140ff, a fierce and cunning fish; $\chi\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ 'pigfish', probably a schall (see Thompson 291), mentioned among Nile fishes by Strabo and Athenaeus but doubtless found elsewhere too, a vocal river fish according to Aristotle (fr. 300 R.). $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$: the initial letter looks more like a crowded *pi* than a still more crowded *mu*, but while $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is rare, it makes sense, and $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ seems not to exist. Lloyd-Jones suggests $\mu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ 'magic concoction', but while the *mu* is doubtful, the *tau* is clear.

The final rhyming words of these lines are comic coinings. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ may be a pun on $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$ $\tau\rho\eta\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ with its maritime and angling context, as suggested by George Huxley. Handley compares Plaut. *Rudens* 299, *piscatum hamatitem et saxatitem*. But the point of the couplet, presumably climactic to the 'encomium', escapes me. Perhaps its relevance depended on antecedents now lost.

17–18. The scribe has made three errors: (1) the name Isocrates he miswrote as genitive for the nominative required by $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ in line 18, where his OY looks suspiciously like H in this hand, suggesting that his antigraph was written in the same style of hand as his own; (2) into the third metron of 17 he intruded the hypermetric $\omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, doubtless anticipated from the next line (as noted by Arnott also) by attraction to $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\tau\omicron\nu$; and (3) in 18 at the second foot of the second metron he miswrote unmetrical OCA on top of his original OION, the word appropriate (and metrical) here. His OCA may have been an

ocular anticipation of this sequence of letters in the second metron of 20 just below. With 17 Austin compares Ar. *Vesp.* 14, οἶον οὐδέ-πώποτε; cf. also CAF adesp. 1300 and Herodian Gram., *Philetaerus* 235.4 (Dain). For the sense of καθ' Ἑλένης Austin cites LSJ κατά A.II.7 quoting Aeschin. 3.50. Ar. fr. 722 K.-A. tells us that both Aristophanes and Strattis satirized Isocrates.

19. With θαυμάσαι γὰρ ἄξιον cf. Soph. *OT* 777, θαυμάσαι μὲν ἄξια (Austin).

20. The earliest attribution of the celebrated trimeter

οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκ Κόρινθον ἔθ' ὁ πλοῦς

is that by Hesychius to Ar. fr. 902 Kock, now considered doubtful (=Ar. fr. dub. 928 K.-A.). It is parodied in Cratinus' tetrameter (fr. 303 Kock=fr. 336 K.-A., as quoted by Ath. 2 68A, suspected by Kassel to belong to Cratinus Junior)

γλαῦκον οὐ πρὸς παντὸς (ἀνδρός) ἔστιν ἀρτῦσαι καλῶς,

proving that the original proverb is at least as old as Old Comedy. The present parody, likewise a tetrameter, is notably closer. A later iambic adaptation is found at Nicolaus fr. 1.26 K.-A.

οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ἔθ' ὁ πλοῦς.

(A putative reminiscence on a red-figure skyphos in Paris has been confuted by I. McPhee and E. Pemberton at *ZPE* 73 [1988] 89f.)

The -νδ- of ἀνδρὸς is written over other letters, perhaps ρο (omitting *delta*). The *eta* before κύλουρον is of course a mistake for ἐκ, doubtless copied from ἐκ (or ικ for εἰς), which this scribe might easily mistake for his own form of *eta*.

Pointing out that the parody of the proverb would be even sharper if κύλουρον were a pun on a placename, George Huxley cites a Rhodian demotic Κυλύριος attested at Kameiros (P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* [Oxford 1954] 81 with n.5a), which implies a toponym Silyros or Silyron and which could be reached only by sail if it were in the Peraea.

21. προεγγραφήναι (rare word only at Cass. Dio 39.17) and μυθηθῆναι introduce the theme parodying cult initiation pursued through line 31 and 39–44. At line end occurs a low dot of ink (probably a trace of the expunged lower text); punctuation is not needed here.

21–22. μυθηθῆναι ... τοῖς κυλούρο(υ?) Θραιξὶ παισὶ: 'Thracian children' suggests the 'Thracian wives' that Athenaeus (7 329B–D) tells us were small marine fish, which (or whom!) the Fish ceded to the Athenians by the treaty concluding the war recorded in Archippus' *Fishes*. The

occurrence of *μνηθῆναι* with *Θραιζί* may play upon the cult mysteries of the Cabiri celebrated in Samothrace but also elsewhere in Greece. On the papyrus a space of one letter intervenes between *τσιουρο* and *θραιξι* where no trace of ink is visible although the fabric is undamaged. The antegrath may have had *τσιουροθραιξι* 'Silourothracian', a "feeble pun on Samothracian" as Austin and M. Reeve suggest, while the scribe expecting *τσιούρου* may have left a space for the final *upsilon*. Pausanias (4.1.7) says that the cult in worship of *Κάβειρος* and *Παῖς* was established at Thebes by an Athenian *τελεστής* named Methapus. Perhaps Attic interest in the Cabiric cult is satirized here.

22–23. Between these lines appear partly expunged traces of a line of writing in a quite different hand, like that of the faint line written along the lower margin under columns ii and iii. Also early Ptolemaic, the hand is larger, less blunt and much more elegant and regular than that of the comedy scribe. It bears some resemblance to the casual numbers appearing on the verso behind column iii.

23. Arnott points out that *δὲ δεῖ σε* would be better word order; the scribe may easily have miswritten the order and therefore the second *δεῖ*. Lloyd-Jones cites Arcestratus on washing a fish (*Supplementum Hellenisticum* fr. 143.3, 144.2). *πλύειν* and *πλυεῖς* (line 24) suggest the annual ritual washing of a cult image, like that of Athena Polias at the festival of Plynteria, as Kent Rigsby suggests to me. While the Plynteria did not require or entail initiation, there were cults that no doubt did so, and such processions to the washing ritual would normally be accompanied by *μουσικοί*. If *δεῖ ἐκτὸς μουσικοῦ* is rightly read, the present ritual is to be unaccompanied, a phrase without parallel. *δεικτος* is clearly written but awkward and scarcely intelligible; perhaps the scribe here misread his model. Austin and Handley, taking *καταλαβεῖν* to mean 'understand', suggest rewriting the line as

καταλαβεῖν σε τὴν πλύειν δεῖ, δεῖ δὲ μὴ ἔκτὸς μουσικοῦ.

In any case nothing like *δείπνου* can be read. Perhaps in point is the fact that the *χοῖροι* of line 16 are vocal fish (Thompson 291, who also describes three other kinds: see his index).

24. Instead of *πλυεῖς* Lloyd-Jones suggests *π(ά)λυν' {εις}* 'sprinkle', which indeed makes better sense, and *alpha* and *lambda* are so alike that the scribe might have omitted either by haplography; but it is not so easy to explain an intrusion of *-εις*. On sprinkling salt (often followed by olive oil) he cites Arcestratus again, fr. 144.7, 154.3, 167.8, and 168.4 (*ἄλκι μόνον λεπτοῖσι πάσας καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἀλείψας*). He would emend *ἀθύρμασι* to *ἀγύρμασι*, although our *theta*

is clear and intelligible. The phrase ὡς ἡ γραφή occurs almost exclusively in Patristic texts meaning ‘according to Scripture’: Rigsby suggests that here it may invoke a sacred law recorded on an inscription, Austin that it means ‘as the recipe (prescribes)’. For αλων the choices are ἄλων ‘seas, salt’ or ἄλων ‘sun or moon disk, brightness, halo’; Austin understands ‘salt’, comparing Alexis fr. 192.5 K.-A. λεπτοῖς ἄλκι=Ath. 7 324C ‘ground salt, fine salt’; cf. the Arcestratus references above.

25. The writing is clear enough but the meaning remains obscure. *ωλήν*, basically ‘pipe, tube, channel’, has many other meanings; in a seafood context one thinks first of ‘razor-clam’ (LSJ 5 and Thompson 257f, who says it makes a thick soup or chowder; Austin suggests that is the sense here). LSJ does not record *περίζω* ‘fledge, garnish?’ but only a derivative of the verb, *περικμός* “dub. sens.,” from *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59418.4 (third cent. B.C.); in a voucher Zeno’s agent claims expenses of about 23 dr. for planting vineyards and 2 drachmas more for *περικμός*, an activity likely to be covering the vulnerable new shoots with straw or feathery fronds of acacia, for which ‘feathering’ is a graphic description. Actually there are two other later occurrences of *περίζω* at *Hippiatrica Parisina* 460.5 and *Hippiatrica Excerpta Lugdunensia* 143.3 (BT vol. II) with the apparent meaning ‘sprinkle, apply lightly’. Another derivative *περίματα*, cited by LSJ as false reading for *περυγίματα* ‘flapping of wings’ uniquely at Longinus *Prol. Heph. Ench.* (Heph. p.83 Consbruch), has more recently been reinforced by a second occurrence at *SB XIV* 11938.3a.141, a documentary text dated ca A.D. 250, edited by P. J. Parsons, *JEA* 57 (1971) 165–80, who discusses but does not translate the word (pp.176f); it defines a plot of land adjacent to an artesian pool, in contrast to desert sand on the other three sides of the pool. Might this watered border be a clump of feathery acacias?

26. The reading of line 26 is quite clear except for the termination of *πεντεκρηνη*. (which might be a *sigma* or *iota*, not -ου). All three adjectives are outlandish *hapax legomena* meant to dazzle, modeled on *καλλίνικος* (frequent in lyric and tragedy) and *καλλίκρηνος* (Pind. fr. 198b). If its ending is right, *πεντενίκου* may modify *αἵματος* or *ωλήνος* in 25. But the syntax is strained, the meaning opaque, and the significance of thrice-repeated *πεντε-* unknown. Austin suggests that all three adjectives should end in -οις, noting the scribe’s occasional carelessness with endings. *πεντε-* occurs again in lines 33 and 43. Austin observes, citing D. Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin/New York 1971) 159f, that Herodotus seems to associate *πεντ-* with rivers, describing both the Nile (2.10) and the

Ister (4.47) as πεντάκτομος. Also the Ister has five major tributaries (4.48), Thessaly five principal rivers (7.129). On the five victories of Tisamenus, see Hdt. 9.33–35.

27. ἐκτρίβων for ἐκτρίβων, as commonly in Hellenistic orthography. While the *kappa* of κιον is not the most canonically formed, *chi* and *omega* are impossible, and ‘egg-polishing’ would seem farfetched; *upsilon* (ποιήρης υἶον *sens. obscaen.*) might possibly be read, but is less convincing than *kappa*. Perhaps κίων ‘pillar, stele’ denotes an aniconic cult object. Huxley suggests πῖον ‘unctuous, oily’ hence ‘glistening’, here “... you would make shiny either ... or...”; an irregular *pi* is possible. κύνου πεπρόν occurs elsewhere only at Eur. *Rhes.* 618 (and with τιλβ-) in Athena’s comparison of the gleaming whiteness of the horses at night.

28. Besides the serious surface damage to the first part of this and the six succeeding lines, there is another problem here. Apparently the scribe began by repeating the same first letters he had written in line 27, caught himself and tried to erase them, then slightly above the third letter began the intended new line. As the first word Austin’s suggested περιφάνη may be right, but the traces of ink are too few and faint to confirm any conjecture except for the final *eta*. φαλακρόν ὡς ἀνθήλιον is metrically smoother if one must avoid the hiatus of the papyrus. The poet, however, may well have written λαμπρῶς ὡς, which the scribe ‘corrected’ to rectify an apparent dittography; *cf.* the similar figure in line 32 with note.

29. γίνεθ’ (Austin), the *koine* form for the poet’s Attic γίγνεθ’. The papyrus has ωραία (not ὠρία), which is metrically possible since in an intervocalic j-diphthong the vowel may be counted short, the *iota* a semiconsonant, as in ποεῖν for ποιεῖν; so at 14 μαιώταις, 15 οἱ ἀπό, 27 ποιήρης, 31 τοιαύτης, 34 ποιήσων, *etc.*

30. To keep the reading of the papyrus, either δοκεῖ θεωρεῖν ‘it seems you are looking at’, or imperative as Parsons suggests, δόκει θεωρεῖν ‘imagine that you are looking at’. Other possibilities are δοκεῖ(ν) (Austin) or δοκεῖ(ς).

31. The first half of this and the following line have suffered severe surface damage (possibly ancient), and a prominent horizontal fibre has absorbed ink dissolved from the script; readings, therefore, remain very doubtful. Influenced by λευκομηρίδος at line 30 I believe that I can see παρθένου, assuming that a shadow above *pi* is a trace of the expunged text. This word completes the syntax of the preceding lines and presumably the climactic speech of Speaker B. The following adverb may be either a modifier of θεωρεῖν or an exclamation of applause attributable to Speaker A, as Austin suggests, citing Plut. *De*

aud. 15 p.45F. Although I know no instance of πλήρως in such usage, I find no other dissyllabic adverb of this length with initial *pi*.

32. Two traces of ink (from one or two letters) in the left margin are presumably a residue of the lower expunged text. The syllable preceding ανυσον may be καὶ 'also' or the prefix καθ. This line awards the accolade to the fine work (or speech) of our chef. In τοντονικητηριον one τον must be excessive by haplography: the line would thus scan

—ο— | οοο—, σὸν | γὰρ τὸ νικητήριον

Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 1253 Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον (Austin). Notable is the figure of parochetic anastrophe in -σον, σὸν, which may have induced the scribe's ensuing haplography.

33. ἡ λοπάς, though not sure, seems probable. On λοπάς 'casserole' as the proper pan for boiling or stewing fish, see Sandbach's note on *Dysc.* 520 in *Menander, a Commentary* (Oxford 1973) 217. In the sequence ερεσθωι the *sigma* most resembles *gamma* but could conceivably be *tau*. Immediately after θωι is a raised dot, probably residual but possibly punctuation. Ephebes (*cf.* line 10) were associated with the Plynteria, but why *five* here? *Cf.* lines 26 and 43.

34. After γῦρον Austin astutely suggests ἀύλητοῦ, providing a fine example of chiasmus with κολυμβητοῦ βυθόν. I have found no parallel satirizing flute-players for obesity, but the contrast of the almost rhyming girth and depth is fitting in this context. ποίησον is of course to be scanned as a bacchius.

A line in the margin immediately following line 34 belongs to the otherwise expunged earlier text.

35. ανθεσιν might be miswritten for ἔνθεσιν. θροίου could = θρούου, but perhaps for θρίου. For . [.]κιλων I tried to read ποικίλων, but I cannot see *pi* in the first trace and find too little room for οι in the lacuna. The unusually wide and straight *lambda* might be *delta* with loss of its base, though the scribe's usual *delta* is curved and cursive. Austin would read λ[ε]κίδων, which is indeed possible, citing Epicharmus fr. 70 Kaibel (*cf.* also *Iambl. V. Pyth.* 26.119.3), basically '(clay) dish' but glossed by Hesychius παρωσίς, 'dainty side-dish, sauce', attractive in this context although the syntax seems awkward. Doric ἀδυεμάτων is unexpected; if λεκίδων is right and is allusive to a Doric idiom (*viz.* Epicharmus), the Doric form may be in keeping.

36. πολυλεπιετων 'much-peeled' (Austin) or πολυλεπίτων 'many-layered', in either case a new word. The scribe wrote δε for τε, as often in papyri, in *scriptio plena* before ὀρειγάνου. The accusative κλάδων seems ungoverned; probably it is miswritten for the genitive κλάδων.

37. It may be questioned whether Nereus here is the sea god or the chef who figures in the list of famous chefs at Ath. 9 379E quoting Euphron, *Adelphoi* (fr. 1.6 K.-A., cf. Meineke, *FCG* I 372): Νηρεὺς δ' ὁ Χίος γόγγρον ἤψε τοῖς θεοῖς; also, Ath. 7 295E, quoting Anaxandrides, *Nereus*=fr. 31.1–4 K.-A., where Nereus is credited with introducing the γλαῦκος, θύννος and other fine seafoods. But χῦμα πηγὸν, if rightly read and has here the meaning 'salt stream', clearly favors the god; πηγός has this meaning as an archaism at Straton fr. 1.36–39 K.-A.=Austin, *CGFP* no. 219, cf. D. L. Page, *GLP* pp.261–68, where a cook uses obscure, obsolete, and extravagant words. Properispomenon χῦμα 'stream, flow', though not in LSJ, is frequent in medical writers, most often in context with οὔρον (A) 'urine'—a touch of scatology here? χῦμα is cognate with χυμός (II) 'flavor', Arist. *Ph.* 245a9 *et al.*, cf. Gal. 11.450.

The syllable following ἀπὸ κρήνης ought to be long if λαθρον is right, but με for the apparent μέλαθρον would be both unmetrical and meaningless in this context, while λαθρον does not occur independently; an *epsilon*, though it has lost its upper stroke in a split of the fabric, is surely intended (cf. the one beginning line 39 *et passim*). A scholium to Theocritus (*ad* 7.63) cites μάλαθρον (which cannot be read here) as a gloss to ἄνηθον 'dill' (repeated in the *Suda s.v.*), which is attractive in this context. Perhaps the scribe, not recognizing so rare a word in his antigraph, unthinkingly wrote the archaic but frequent word μέλαθρον. Or perhaps at one further remove by a commonplace lapse of dissimilation of *lambda* for *rho* he intended the very common μάραθρον 'fennel'; either dill or fennel is a useful herb in sauces, and their spellings are sometimes confused (e.g. in the variant text traditions of Hierophilus at 2.3.4 [Ideler] and 458.5 [Delatte]). Austin, observing that fresh water is needed as complement to the salt (cf. Antiphan. fr. 221.4f K.-A., Sotad. fr. 1.7, 31 K.-A.) suggests that the poet, alluding to Homer's κρήνη μελάνυδρος (*Il.* 9.14, 16.3, 160, 21.257, *Od.* 20.158, and *Theog.* 959), had written ἀπὸ κρήνης μέλαν ὕδωρ, which in momentary distraction the scribe corrupted to μελαθρον. However attractive this emendation may be, the scribe's faulty text beginning μελα- offers no further support.

38. ὄξος δριμύ occurs at Arcestratus fr. 153.6, 167.4 and 192.8 (Lloyd-Jones). The first two strokes of the initial letter of the word following δριμύ may be *alpha*, *lambda*, or the first half of *mu*; if *mu* begins, space allows only three medial letters, otherwise four. λεπτόν 'subtle, keen' is possible (cf. Eur. *Med.* 529, κοῖ δ' ἔστι μὲν νοῦς λεπτός, Jason to Medea), although a stronger word might be expected; μιάρων is too long and its medial letters do not fit the traces of ink. Austin suggests μωρόν, citing Diod. fr. 138 Wellm., ἔπειν ... τὰ

μωρὰ μετὰ ὄξους, as an oxymoron; but I find ὦρ even less secure than επτ here, and the context seems to me not congenial.

The agent noun διοικητής, most familiar as the title of Ptolemy's minister of finance, is first met in Menander, at *Kolax* 7 and *Pk.* 280 (Austin); the parent verb or other derivatives, however, are found at *Ar. Eccl.* 305 and often in Thucydides, Lysias, Isocrates and other fifth- and fourth-century orators and historians.

39. βαθεῖα seems not to occur with λήκυθος elsewhere, and why in Ionic form here? παρθένου is poorly written and smeared, but fairly certain; if right it might possibly allude to Io: cf. *Soph. Inach.* fr. 269a.34–38 Radt (*TrGF* IV). Elsewhere *taurōpis* occurs as an epithet also of Isis, Hera, Mene/Phoebe, and in Nonnus by modifying μορφή even of Zeus, Dionysus, Oceanus and a satyr. Io's relevance to this context is dubious; here probably Isis, since Harpochrates appears in line 44. Although wife of Osiris, mother of Harpochrates/Horus and sometime goddess of fertility, in a Pyramid Text (*Hymn to Osiris*) she is called the 'the Great Virgin', and at Dendera was identified with *taurōpis* Hathor. *Taurōpis* was an epithet of Isis in Samothrace, as the Isis Invocation (*P. Oxy.* XI 1380.107) informs us at line 107 (Austin); see note *ad loc.*, which suggests a connection of Isis with the Cabiri. That the Isis cult was known at Athens as early as the late fifth or early fourth century is attested by *IG II²* 1927 lines 148–50 (*ca* 325 B.C.), where the patronymic of Διόδωρος Ἰσιγένουσις Ῥαμνοῦσιος, διαιτητής, indicates that his grandfather had given his father a theophoric Isis-name; cf. S. Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens," *HTHR* 30 (1937) 221, 228f.

40. For the imperative Parsons suggests πρόχευσον, possible if the traces below the putative second *omicron* are vestiges of the underlying expunged text, though the final four letters are too damaged to confirm the reading.

41. A trace of ink above *omicron* in ὄλην may be a square rough breathing (Turner's form 2), if so the only diacritical mark visible on the papyrus; more likely it is a trace of the prior writing not fully expunged; ὄλην of course refers to the lekythos. The initial letter of the third word most resembles *pi*, which in this hand is sometimes hardly distinguishable from *mu*; since no word beginning *pi* fits the subsequent traces, with *mu* I read μετάρσιον 'aloft', counting *iota* as semivocalic. Of the possibilities (λ, π, ρ, υ) for completing κκεων, with Austin I read *lambda*, taking κκελῶν to be the legs supporting the large lekythos.

42. The metre requires the excision of ἡ λοπάς; it is no doubt a gloss (Austin).

43. The first word is compressed and smeared so that the two distorted medial letters are uncertain. The initial letter most resembles *sigma*, yet the same form in this hand is sometimes an *epsilon* lacking its top stroke like the fist letter of line 39. εὔδε ‘relax, be at ease, take a break’ (LSJ *s.v.* εὔδω II) is possible, but Austin’s reading *ceie* ‘shake (up)’ is more likely, although I have found no other instance where the word has his preferred meaning ‘stir’. With πρὸς μυκτῆρα Austin compares Eubulus fr. 75.9 K.-A. Again πεντ-; *cf.* lines 26 and 33 with notes; πενταδράχμους=‘very costly’.

44. The finger-sucking child Harpocrates, though a popular image in Hellenistic art, seems not to be mentioned by name in extant Greek sources before Eudoxus of Cnidus (fr. 292.23 Lass.), the fourth-century B.C. astronomer. Horus, his adult and heroic *alter ego*, figures in Herodotus (2.144, 156) and the Middle Comedy poet Theophilus (fr. 8.6 K.-A.). Here the name has the archaic spelling with *chi* instead of the later commonplace *kappa*, as if more directly from Egyptian *Har-pa-khrat*, ‘Horus-the-child’. In any case the Isis cult is satirized.

45. Though common in epic and lyric, Ζεῦ πάτερ occurs only once in tragedy (Soph. *OT* 202) and twice in comedy, at Ar. *Ach.* 225 and Men. *Dysc.* 191 (Austin). πέφρικα is written in *scriptio plena*.

46. τὴν ... Βοιωτὸν, the rival Copaic eel, which the casserole will henceforth reject. κατάζηλος ‘envious’ is a new word, analogous in formation but contrasting in meaning to ἐπίζηλος.

47. For the papyrus’ obscure τεραγμων read τεράμνων (Austin), a Euripidean word on which see W. S. Barrett’s note on *Hipp.* 418. The scribe’s τεραγμων seems not to exist.

48. ἔσθειν for ἐσθίειν: omission of stem-*iota* is expressly mentioned as characteristic of Archippus; *cf.* comment at fr. 20 Kock, and the *Suda s.v.* ἐσθῶς. Austin adduces ἔσθοντα at Philippides fr. 9.5 K.-A., and with ἐν ὄπλοις περιπατεῖν compares Ar. *Lys.* 558 περιέρχονται ... ξὺν ὄπλοις.

49. Possibly ἐπαλκῶν, but more likely ἀχάλκων ‘penniless’ or perhaps ἀναλκῶν ‘cowardly’ (there being no εμαλκων).

50. In this hand the first word, like the first in the preceding line, can be read as either μῆ (Lewis) or ἦν (Bingen). ἦν would suggest a continuation of Speaker B; if μῆ, as I prefer, a change of speaker would seem to be implied, though Austin thinks that Speaker B continues in either case.

Between ἐπι and υφαιον surface damage and a split in the papyrus have dis severed the strokes of possibly two letters. At the left edge of the split is the beginning of a heavily written *kappa* and to its lower right the tail of the vertical stroke of the broken letter on the right

edge of the split, which I take to be the broken bowl of *rho* with only its right and left arcs and part of its characteristic medial tongue preserved, its vertical hasta reappearing at the lower left of the split. I therefore read ἐπὶ κρυφαῖον, 'for disguise', providing a metron of the required shape $\cup \cup \cup - -$. The *phi* closely resembles a *rho*, which would yield a word like θυραῖον or unmetrical οὐραῖον; microscopic examination, however, convinces me of *phi*.

The final four lines signal the onset of the revel with which a comedy traditionally ends. For the meaning of κωμάσῃ in this context see LSJ *s.v.* III.

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