

THREE NOTES ON MENANDER

THESE notes are offered to E. R. Dodds in gratitude for much kindness and for much instruction on Greek drama and religion.

I. *Heros*

The main lines of the story are clear from the summary, the list of characters, the two papyrus passages and the fragments. But the second papyrus passage can, I think, be made a little clearer and something can be said about the *Heros*. For understanding these the beginning and the end of the summary are useful: 'An unmarried girl (Myrrhine) bore twins (Plangon and Gorgias) and gave them to a guardian (Tibeios) to bring up. Then later she married her raper (Laches). . . . When things became clear, the Old man (Laches) discovered his children (Plangon and Gorgias), and the violator (Pheidias) took the girl (Plangon) willingly.'

The second of the two papyrus pages begins with the last two lines of an Act; then the new Act (the fourth because it has the main recognition scene) starts with a short agitated soliloquy of Laches (55–63). He has returned home and found that the girl Plangon whom he had promised to his slave Daos has borne a child to an unknown father (I assume that Daos' claim has been rejected): this, I think, is what he comments on in his fragmentary soliloquy. Then Myrrhine comes out.

The essential lines here are (68–70).

τὴν Θραῦττα[ν
σύ τάλαινα. τί; φανερώς γε νῆ Δί', ὦ γύναι,
ἐς κόρακας. ἐξέστηκας·

The parallel with *Samia* (352 f., 369 f.) is so close that Laches evidently says that he is turning out Plangon and Sophrone (the Thracian girl). Gomme¹ rightly saw that Myrrhine herself was not being turned out, but ἐς κόρακας in Menander cannot mean 'It's the devil'; even in *Dysk.* 112 it means 'to the devil'. Dr Christina Dedoussi² shows that τάλαινα must be used by a woman; I take it of Myrrhine addressing the absent Plangon. The sense is L. 'She shall take the Thracian and go—' M. 'You will be thrown out, unhappy one?' L. 'What? Certainly, wife,—to the devil.'

The next clear lines are 76–7 where Myrrhine says, 'How pitiable that I bear this unbelievable misery alone', and then Laches asks whether someone raped her. In the gap before 76, as Gomme saw, Myrrhine must have told him that she was the mother of the twins. It then comes out that someone raped her in a holy place as Herakles raped Auge (83 f.), and Laches says it is coming clear (96). Whether he has already suspected himself in his soliloquy (60), the text seems too uncertain to decide: I should prefer to take ἄσωτο[ς there of Pheidias.

To draw the mythological parallel as close as possible, Körte (on l.84) assumed that Laches had raped Myrrhine in a shrine of Athena; but the only essential is a holy place, and the precinct of the *Heros* is a more likely suggestion. Van Leeuwen³ connected with this *fr.* 4, ἐπεφαρμάκευσο, γλυκύτατ', ἀναλυθεῖς μόλις. I doubt whether Myrrhine could call her husband γλυκύτατε, but surely her nurse, the Thracian Sophrone could.⁴ I take the words to mean 'you were drugged, my dear, and had with difficulty been made to relax'.

¹ *CR* 61, 1947, 72.

² *Hellenika*, 180, 1964, 3 f.

³ *Menander*³, 10.

⁴ γλυκύς is Habrotonon's word in the *Epitrepontes* (17, 542). Probably used by an old nurse in *fr.* 396,

cf. T. Williams, *Hermes* 91, 1963, 305. I suspect that the shepherd who is pitied and is called γλυκότητος is received by the women slaves of the household (*fr.* 676).

The Heros is the Hero of the deme Pteleai (21 f.). As far as I know, we know nothing about him. But local Heroes are both dangerous and helpful powers. They occur in the list of powers causing the Sacred Disease. 'All these are mentioned as deities who *caused* mental trouble. Presumably all could cure what they had caused, if their anger were suitably appeased.'⁵ We can guess that Laches had offended the Heros and came to his shrine to be cured, and while he was drugged raped Myrrhine.

The *Dyskolos* has shown that Menander's gods are more interested in the younger generation than the older generation (their union, after all, is the purpose of comedy). So here the Heros had probably also caused Pheidias to fall in love with Plangon, and the recognition of Laches as her father makes marriage possible. All this he will have told in his prologue speech after the opening scene.⁶

II. *Phasma*

A somewhat similar scene to the recognition of Laches in the *Heros* has been recently published by E. G. Turner.⁷ It comes from the *Phasma*. The terminology of Fragment A recalls the *Heros*: *καταισχύνειν, πηνίκα, τάλαινα*. It is a conversation between husband and wife (11) about the rape of another woman, and the keywords are, 'She will say "You, at the Adonia"' (5-6). The general situation is given by Donatus on *Eunuch*, prol. 9, 3: the stepmother of a youth kept a girl (the Apparition) whom she had conceived from a neighbour, secretly in the neighbour's house. This past rape is the only rape, as far as we know, in the *Phasma*. There are two houses, A with youth A, father A, and stepmother A, and B with the girl, father B, and wife B. (Other characters can be considered as we need them.) The rape under discussion is the rape of stepmother A before she was married by father A, and the speakers are father B and wife B.

The text only gives the middle of the lines so that the paragraphoi are missing. A certain change of speaker is given by the empty space in l. 8. The first line is spoken by the husband: 'Who is responsible? Who brought her to shame?' Then the wife answers: 'He escaped notice. I do not know. I was young and there was a night festival and dances. Don't you understand? You should interrogate the woman who suffered then. She will say in a brief word: "You at the Adonia." "When?" I was not there. She wandered alone, poor dear.' The husband then cries out in astonishment.

The dialogue goes on, but the only important further point is in l. 12 *ἀπόκει]ς γάρ ποτ' ἐν Βραυ[ρῶνι σύ*. This led E. W. Handley to suggest for l. 5 *οὐκ ἐξελέγξεις; ἢ δ' ἐρεῖ Βραυρωνίους*. But this leads to the mention of two festivals since l. 6 begins with *Ἀδωνίους*; *Βραυρωνίους* is too long for the space. There are two solutions: (1) to end l. 5 with *Βραυρωνίους δὴ*, (2) to abandon this as a false clue and end l. 5 with *βραχεὶ λόγῳ*, which I prefer. The object of *ἐξελέγξεις* I take to be *τὴν ὀδ[υνηθείσαν τότε* at the end of l. 4, and that in its turn suggests the verb for the aposiopesis of the woman's supposed answer *Ἀδωνίους σύ*.

Stepmother A was raped by father B at the Adonia as Plangon was raped by Moschion in the *Samia* (39 ff.): 'they carried "gardens" on to the roof, they danced, they scattered in the Pannychis. I am ashamed to tell the rest.' Moschion confessed and promised to marry the girl; father B escaped. The Adonia was a private festival and could be celebrated just as well in a country house at Brauron as in a town house in Athens.

This scene, which must come from late in the play, shows that wife B had already heard the story from stepmother A. The other new piece, Fragment B, is rather earlier. It

⁵ E. R. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 77. For a recently discovered instance in Old Comedy, cf. R. Merkelbach, *ZPE*, 1, 1967, 97.

⁶ In *P. Oxy.* 862 a slave tells Pheidias of the birth of a child (cf. *Georgos fr.* 4; *Samia* 63 f.). This may

well come from this play. (In the *Synaristosai* both mother and daughter were seduced at the Dionysia: *fr.* 382 = *Cist.* 89; *fr.* 763 = *Cist.* 157).

⁷ *P. Oxy.* 2825, cf. *GRBS*, 10, 1959, 307 ff.

consists of 18 lines of iambs followed by 18 lines of trochaics. I propose not to discuss these in detail but to draw certain conclusions from them. In the iambs a slave Syros tells a young man that a marriage is 'on again', which evidently involves his sister. A cook comes out to borrow a pot, curses Syros, and presumably goes in again with him. In the trochaics a slave tells a young man that another young man has been kissing a girl violently; he hopes that this will stop the first young man's love for her; the young man then says that he will go in and see his sister, who will be distressed about the marriage. The link-character who receives conflicting reports from the two slaves is the son of House B, since we know from the old Leningrad page that the son of House A has both had a marriage arranged for him with the daughter of house B and is in love with the Apparition. Syros must be the slave of House A, who has reasons of his own for persuading youth B that the marriage is 'on again'. The other slave must be the slave of House B, who is reporting earlier gossip from Syros (B ii 4-5).

Two suggestions may be made. First, the tone and intention of the slave from House B is so like the tone and intention of the slave in the old Leningrad passage (27 ff., particularly 50 f., 'if you had a real trouble, you would need a real cure'), that the Leningrad passage must also be a dialogue between the youth and slave of House B and not, as was previously thought, between the youth and slave of House A. For House B the Apparition is simply a poor girl of doubtful parentage and so an undesirable match for the son. Secondly, the two reports are meant to have the effect of discouraging not only youth B's interest in the Apparition but also House B's enthusiasm for youth A as a son-in-law. In House A, however, the stepmother would like her stepson, youth A, married to the Apparition rather than to daughter B, so that the situation is ripe for the women of the two households to meet and for wife B to learn that her husband is the father of the Apparition. This leads up to Fragment A, and the play will end with father B betrothing to youth A⁸ his newly found daughter (the Apparition), instead of his daughter from wife B.

III. *Theophoroumene*

E. W. Handley⁹ has brilliantly put together the Mytilene mosaic, the papyrus of the *Theophoroumene*, the Dioskourides mosaic with a flute-player and two young men with cymbals and tympanon, and a new Florentine papyrus with a hymn to Kybele in hexameters interspersed with instructions to bystanders in iambs. I cannot add much but should like to explore a few possibilities.

We have three scenes: the Mytilene mosaic and the old papyrus, the Dioskourides mosaic which shows a serenade, and the hymn. The Mytilene mosaic fixes them as belonging to the Second Act. The mosaic shows Lysias on the left dancing with cymbals, Parmenon advancing and gesticulating, Kleinias standing with a tympanon (?) in his right

⁸ Possibly *P. Oxy.* 2329 belongs between *fr.* B and *fr.* A. The single paragraphos in l. 4 marks the end of a section (scene, act, or extract?). ll. 1-4, a young man in great distress is told to keep quiet while someone does something elsewhere (youth A and Syros?). ll. 5-28. A young man comes out of the house with his mother, having made a confession. He has had some unexpected news about his sister. He wants to marry the daughter of Kle(oubole). He is then left alone, praising his mother and saying that he needs the help of Dromon. This may be youth B confessing his love of the Apparition to wife B. She agrees to talk to the stepmother. He sees the need of Dromon (the slave of the trochaic part of fragment B) to keep watch for him.

This needs detailed commentary for which there is no place here. Note (1) that the names seem to rule out Barigazzi's ascription to the *Georgos* (*Aethnaeum*, 34, 1956, 350), (2) τὴν τῆς Κλε[οβούλης] θυγατέρα. The mother's name is given, not the father's. The father is either dead or unknown (as at present in *Phasma*). The girl is, therefore, more likely to be the youth's choice than a girl proposed by the mother (cf. *Heautont.* 1061, 1065). Kle(oubole) then is the name of the stepmother, (3) φυλακὴ, does not mean 'watch', in the sense of police, but 'watching' by Dromon, as a spying slave.

⁹ *BICS*, 16, 1969, 88; L. Kahil, *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 6, 46 ff., pl. 6.

hand, and a small figure holding something, which I am inclined to regard as a flute. The convention in the Mytilene mosaics is to differentiate by scale between actors and extras: the small figure of the Mytilene mosaic may therefore be identical with the full-scale flautist of the Dioskourides mosaic. Parmenon, according to L. Kahil, makes a gesture of surprise with his right hand; I should say that he arrives and makes a report, and that as a result of the report Lysias starts to dance: these mosaics often read from right to left, *cf.* the *Synaristosai*.

The papyrus shows that the central door of the skene is an inn (presumably the two side-doors are the houses of the father of Lysias and Kleinias, if they are brothers, and of Kraton). Handley interprets the papyrus as a report quoting dialogue heard in the inn and inclines to Parmenon as the reporter: it is followed by the experiment of the serenade, to which the *Theophoroumene* will react, if she is genuine. Before she can come out and sing the hymn, Parmenon must go off because the actor has to play her part; the serenade, illustrated by the Dioskourides mosaic, must therefore take at least 10 lines.

In the last section of Parmenon's report (before Kleinias and Lysias take over) the girl complains of the loss of her gifts. Someone asks very rudely, 'How do you know the man who gave them to you? What is the youth doing? Why are you walking outside? Are you mad? Why are you not shut up inside to be mad?' Madness is the gift of prophecy; she ought to be shut up so that she can be consulted (Kassandra also was difficult to restrain, *E. Tro.* 341). I do not know whether the speaker is the inn-keeper or a rival. Handley suggests that the girl's 'gifts' are recognition tokens, which is very attractive. But there are other possible explanations: Mr John Feneron suggested to me that they may be the cymbals and the tympanon as the tools of her trade. Note that Lysias and Kleinias already have them on the mosaic, so that they must have stolen them from the inn during the break between Act I and II, and this must have been planned in Act I. Parmenon is reporting what happened in the inn after the theft: 'What is the youth doing?' means 'What is the youth doing stealing them?', and the speaker (rightly or wrongly) implies that the youth had previously given them to the girl. I should prefer to think that it is the speaker who interprets the gifts as the cymbals, etc., but that the girl meant her gifts as a prophetess (*cf.* *E. Hel.* 364; *Alc.* 247), which in fact depend on the cymbals.

If this is right, we may be able to push back a little further. L. 17 (before the girl speaks) begins *ἔπλησα*. Handley notes that it should mean 'I filled up (the cups)' and quotes *fr.* 3, 'swiftly circulate (or 'he circulates') the first cup of unmixed wine to them', and *fr.* 4, 'being fairly drunk, he drained the cup'. These may come earlier in the report, and in particular *fr.* 3 may be a quotation of Lysias (?) instructing Parmenon to get the others drunk to cover the theft.

If *ἔπλησα* is taken as Parmenon's own report on his action in the inn, this may throw some light on ll. 15–16 *ζυγ[.]στατο[.]ταχ . . . κατασταξαντεσοιδαπομ[μάτων]*. This is always taken of tears dripping from the girl's eyes, with *σταγόνες* earlier on. Could this be a false trail? Bekker, *Anecd.* 98.6 quotes *ζυγοῦν* as a Cilician word for drink (used in the form *ζυγοῦν* by the comic poet Nikostratos, 38K). *ζυγόστατον* might mean 'a drink-stand'. Then the end of l. 16 may be *οἶδα* (probably an interjection into Parmenon's report by Kleinias or Lysias) *ποματίου* or *πώματος*: 'drops on the drink-stand falling quickly—' 'I understand'—'of drink. I fill up. "My gifts", do you hear?', the girl says.' Knocking over the cup was part of the diversion to cover the theft.

The serenade inspires the girl to sing her hymn invoking Kybele¹⁰ with accompanying ritual. But this alone does not constitute 'possession'. Alkiphron ends his letter from

¹⁰ On the connection between Kybele, Korybantēs, Dionysos see *Greeks and the Irrational*, 77 f. Here in l. 7 Bartoletti saw that *σεισικάρηνοι* suggested Maenads but rejected them for Kouretes. I should

like *Σάτυροι σι]μοὶ καὶ σεισικάρηνοι | Μαινάδες*. The connection of satyrs with Kybele is at least as old as the sixth century in Sardis, *cf.* G. M. A. Richter, *Korai*, fig. 524.

Glykera to Menander (IV, 19) καὶ μαντεύσαιο ἡ Φρυγία τὰ συμφέροντα κρείσσον τῆς Θεοφορουμένης σου κόρης. This implies that the girl prophesied, which is what we should expect,¹¹ but not necessarily that her prophecy was 'inexpedient'—κρείσσον may mean 'even better than'. This is the key-scene and is only in the second act. It must somehow have advanced the story like the arbitration in the *Epitrepontes*. No respectable girl would be in an inn, apparently employed to prophesy for the drinkers. We know that the intrigue was complicated (*fr.* 6); we have an unhappy old man, Kraton, who may turn out to be her father (*fr.* 1, *cf.* Plutarch, *Mor.* 739 f.), and someone is greeted as a *deus ex machina* (*fr.* 5), so that *we* can prophesy recognition and marriage for the girl.

Bartoletti,¹² as noted by Handley, was reminded of the *Theophoroumene* when republishing *P.S.I.* 847. It seems to be an interrogation of someone who does not know identity or place of origin. It has an illustration, apparently a seated figure in a garment which exposes the leg from the knee: male, therefore, rather than female. This should exclude the girl in the *Theophoroumene*. It would not exclude the slave in the *Hiereia* (Körte, I, 147) who got entry to the house of the priestess (of Kybele) by feigning 'possession'. As he was spying for his master, he had in any case to conceal his own identity. But, although ignorance of identity is a well-attested feature of possession, it does not seem to appear in the Greek literary tradition, unless one should reckon under this head the ignorance of self with which Teiresias taunts Oidipous or Dionysos taunts Pentheus.

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¹¹ *Cf.* e.g. Apuleius, *Met.* 8, 27.

¹² *SIFC*, 34, 1962, 21.