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A New Look at P. Berol. 11771 (Pack² 1641)

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In memory of Günther Zuntz

Bibliography: Wilamowitz, Sitz.-Ber. Berlin (1918) 743ff., E.Fraenkel in O.Morgenstern, Sokrates 6 (1918) 366, A.Körte, Ber. Leipzig 71/6 (1919) 36ff. and Arch. Pap. (1924) 144f., cf. RE s.v. Komödie 1260.5ff., G.Vitale, Aegyptus 2 (1921) 82ff., E.Wüst, Burs. Jahresb. 195 (1924) 172, G.Norwood, Greek Comedy (London 1931) 56ff., M.Platnauer in J.U.Powell (ed.), New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature 3 (Oxford 1933) 166f., G.Zuntz, Mnemosyne 5 (1937) 53ff. and Aegyptus 31 (1951) 329ff., D.L.Page, Greek Literary Papyri 1: Poetry (London 1941, 1942) 232ff. no. 48, C.Ferrari, Dioniso 11 (1948) 177ff., T.B.L.Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy (Manchester [1]1953, [2]1970) 59, 76, K.J.Dover in M.Platnauer (ed.), Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship (Oxford 1954) 117f., J.M.Edmonds, The Fragments of Attic Comedy 2 (Leiden 1959) 498ff. no. 260A, L.Gil, Est. Clas. 14 (1970) 333f., C.Austin, Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta (Berlin/New York 1973) 239ff. no. 239, R.L.Hunter, ZPE 36 (1979) 37.

P.Berol. 11771 was first published by Wilamowitz and subsequently re-edited by Zuntz (1937), Page, Edmonds and Austin; the most useful other discussions come from Fraenkel, Körte, Zuntz (1951), Dover and Hunter. The papyrus, deriving from mummy cartonnage and written in a fine book-hand of the third century B.C., contains several fragments from one comedy, three tiny but one sizable (15 x 13.3 cm). This last has a whole column (fr. 1 i) of 26 iambic trimeters well preserved apart from the opening two to five letters which are lost in all lines except 12 to 14 and 20, and the opening letters of part of the following column (fr. 1 ii). Part-division is indicated at line beginnings by paragraphi (fr. 1 col. i 13, col. ii 27, 34, 41, 44, 51, 52, 53), and in mid-line by spaces of about one letter's width (col. i 13, 17, 21). Fr. 2 has the sign χο]ρ οῦ, indicating a choral song with words not recorded, as in late Aristophanes (Eccl., Plut.) and Menander.

The text below is based on photographs here published for the first time (pl. II). It is followed by a brief apparatus, a short discussion of a selected number of passages, and a survey of the dramatic problems posed by the papyrus.

Fr. 1

col. 1   col. ii

(A) τὸ δ]αιμόνιον τὰ τοιαῦτα το[ῖc] φ[ρονοῦcιν] ε[ῦ]   __[__

παρα]δείγματ᾽ ἐκτίθηcιν, ἀλλοτρίαν ὅτι   [

ζωὴ]ν ἔχομεν ἅπαντεc, ἣν ὅταν δοκῆι   [

πάλ]ιν παρ᾽ ἑκάστου ῥαιδίως ἀφείλετο.   30 [

5   ἀλλ᾽] εἰσιὼν μετὰ τῆς ἱερείας βούλομαι   [

τὴν] ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν προσηκόντων λαβεῖν   [

(B) ...]γ᾽, εὐλάβει, βέλτιστε· πρὸς θεῶν πάρες.   [

διώ]κομαι γάρ, κατὰ κράτος διώκομαι   _[__

ὑπὸ] τοῦ καταράτου κληρονόμου· ληφθήσομαι.   35 [

10   (C)   ....] δίωκε, Cωσία, συνάρπασον   [

τὸ]ν ἀνδραποδιστήν, λαβέ, λάβ᾽ αὐτόν. οὐ μενεῖς;   [

(B) ὦ φιλτάτη Δήμητερ, ἀνατίθημί σοι   /.[

ἐμαυτόν, ἀξιῶ τε σώιζειν. (C) ποῖ σὺ, ποῖ;   λ[

(B) ἤρου με; πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ἐνθαδὶ   40 ω[

15   †ει...κ᾽† ἐμαυτὸν ἀντεταξάμην τέ σοι.   _μ[

(C) οὐκ] ἔστ[ι]ν ἀσφάλειά που πεποιηκότι   δ[

τοιαῦτ᾽·] ἀκολ[ο]ύθει θᾶττον. (B) ἆ ἆ μαρτύρομαι,   λ[

μαρ]τύρομ᾽ ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες· ἂν τὴν χεῖρά μοι   θ[

πα]ρ[ὰ] τῆι θε[ῶ]ι τις προσφέρηι, πεπλήξεται   45 α[

20   παραχρῆμά τ᾽ εὐθὺς τἀπίχειρα λήψεται.   ου[

(C) τί] φήις; ὑπὸ σοῦ, μαστιγία; (B) νὴ τὸν Δία   λ[

τὸ]ν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εὖ γε καὶ   σο[

πα]λαιστρικῶς· πεῖραν δ᾽ ἐὰν βούληι λαβέ.   μ[

(? Χορ.) ἅπ]αντες ἡμεῖς γ᾽ οἱ παρόντες ἐνθάδε   50 κα[

25   νομιζ]ομέν σε παρανομεῖν εἰς τὴν θεόν.   _ὑπ[__

(?B) ....]ό γ᾽, ἄνδρες, εὖ γε· προσπαίζειν δοκεῖ   τ[___

    ακ[__

      Fr. 2   Fr. 3

                     ]οιός γε καὶ

    ]..επρ[   ]ην τῆς τύχης

                     ]κατὰ τὴν φ[ύσιν

    ΧΟ]Ρ   ΟΥ   65].ερα δὲ

                    ]φρονεῖν

55   ]λέγω τρ..[λ]ογον

    ]νοισι μηθεν[   ]. .αι[

    ]μεναπραγ[   ]..ασ..[

    σ[υγγνώμη.[70]ουσ[

    ]αι γὰρ αὐτὸσ[   ].α.[.]υκ.[

60   ]υσ εἰμ᾽ ἄγα[ν   ]ασ.[

    ]...[   ]ροσκυν[

                     ]ποινα[

Fr. 4   75   ]ηϲινε.[
76   ]ραιδιων[
        ]ζουϲι δελ[
78   ]..αυταιϲ[

Unidentified supplements come from the ed. pr. (Wilamowitz). B = the papyrus. 1 το[ῖϲ] φ[ρονοῦϲιν] ε[ὖ] Fraenkel in Zuntz (1937) 2 παρα]δείγματ' Körte (1919) ματαεκ B 6 τωμ B 7 ἄνα]γ' Austin in Menandri Aspis et Samia II: subsidia interpretationis (Berlin 1970) 72, n. on Sam. 360, ἄπα]γ' Arnott, πάρα]γ' Zuntz θεωμ B 10 ἰοῦ] Wilamowitz, ἔπου] Austin, ὦ παῖ] Arnott 14 punctuation after ἀϲφάλειαν· Beazley in Page 15 ειϲτηκ' apparently B: a corruption of ? ἔϲτηϲ' Arnott (after Zuntz) 19 πα]ρ[ὰ τῆι θε[ῶ]ι Zuntz 24 ϲύμπ]αντεϲ Zuntz 25 παρανομεν B before correction 26 νὴ τοῦτ]ό γ', ἄνδρεϲ, εὖ γε· Arnott 42 or α[, λ[B 43 or α[B 57 τὸν] μὲν ἀπράγ[μονα Fraenkel in Zuntz (1937):]μενα πράγ[ματα Wilamowitz 59 κ]αὶ Wilamowitz 60 ειμι B 62 or]ρ B.

1-2. τὸ δ]αιμόνιον τὰ τοιαῦτα ... [παρα]δείγματ' ἐκτίθηϲιν: the closest parallel to this expression appears to be Polyb. 15.20.5 (ἡ τύχη) ἐξέθηκε κάλλιϲτον ὑπόδειγμα πρὸϲ ⟨ἐπ⟩ανόρθωϲιν τὸν τῶν προειρημένων βαϲιλέων παραδειγματιϲμόν; cf. also 4.24.9 καλὸν δεῖγμα τῆϲ ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέϲεωϲ τοῖϲ ϲυμμάχοιϲ ἐκτεθειμένοϲ, Dinarchus 1.107 ἢ πᾶϲιν ἀνθρώποιϲ παράδειγμα ἐξοίϲετε κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆϲ πόλεωϲ, ὅτι μιϲεῖτε τοὺϲ προδόταϲ; Herodas 5.12f. ἢν μὴ ... τῆ ϲ' ὅλη χώρη παράδειγμα θῶ with Headlam's commentary ad loc. - In Greek of the 4th century and later τὸ δαιμόνιον, as a vaguer substitute for δαίμων, ranged in meaning from a god one did not know or did not wish to name (e.g. Isoc. 1.13, SIG 2³ 539.15f., 545.14f., 601.14f., all from Delphi at the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C.) to the concept of fate or τύχη (so here and Men. Epitr. 911f. εὖ μοι κέχρηται καὶ προϲηκόντωϲ πάνυ / τὸ δαιμόνιον). Cf. M.Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus (Göttingen 1909) 221ff., Andres in RE Suppl. III s.v. δαίμων 292.37ff., W.Ludwig, Philologus 105 (1961) 60f., and G.Vogt Spira, Die Dramaturgie des Zufalls (Munich 1992) 170f. n.12.

2-4. For the idea Zuntz (1937) compares Lucian, Apologia pro Merc. Cond. 8 ὡϲ οὐδενὸϲ ἡμεῖϲ κύριοι, ἀλλ' ὑπό τινοϲ κρείττονοϲ ... ἀγόμεθα οὐ ἑκόντεϲ, which *may* be inspired by comedy (= com. adesp. fr. 1401 Kock, but see A.Nauck, Mél.Gr.-R. 6 (1894) 134ff.). The mutability of fortune, when applied in particular to possessions (rather than to life or human nature: cf. Eur. El. 942) is a popular cliché (Dover, Greek Popular Morality (Oxford 1974) 174f., my paper in Phiolologus 125 (1981) 224f.); the nearest approaches to the P.Berol. wording are Eur. Phoen. 555ff. οὔτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοί, / τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντεϲ ἐπιμελούμεθα· / ὅταν δὲ χρήζωϲ', αὔτ'ἀφαιροῦνται πάλιν, Alexis 267.3-8 Kassel-Austin ὁ γὰρ θεόϲ ... / λαβὼν ἀφείλεθ' ὅϲα δεδωκὼϲ ἦν πάλαι, Men. Dysk. 803f. αὕτη (sc. ἡ τύχη) γὰρ ἄλλω, τυχὸν ἀναξίω τινί / ἀφελομένη (so B, supported by the parallels cited: παρελ- mss. of Stob. Ecl. 3.16.14) ϲου πάντα προϲθήϲει πάλιν.

6 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν προςηκόντων λαβεῖν. although exact parallels for τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν λαβεῖν cannot be cited, as Wilamowitz already realised (normal in Attic is τὴν ἐπ. ἔχειν, but ἐπιμελοῦμαι, παρέχομαι, ποιοῦμαι + accusative, τυγχάνω + genitive are also found), Isocrates in particular is fond of similar expressions with λαμβάνω: e.g. 1.47 τῆς τελευτῆς αἴcθηcιν λαμβάνομεν, 5.68 τήν γ᾽ εὔνοιαν ... τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἣν πολὺ κάλλιόν ἐcτι λαβεῖν, 15.123 μηδὲ μικρὰν ὑποψίαν περὶ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν.

7. When Pyrrhias rushes on stage at Men. Dysk. 81 in the belief that he is being hotly pursued, his first words are πάρες, φυλάττου, πᾶc ἄπελθ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ μέcου. The opening words of the new entrant in the Berlin papyrus (...]γ᾽ εὐλάβει) may well have been similar, with the first word, if similarly a command to one or more characters already on stage, in all probability a compound of ἄγω in the imperative. Zuntz (1951) supplemented with πάρα] γ᾽: intransitive in comedy at Ar. Av. 1720, Euphron 9.15 K.A., Men. Dysk. 556, 780, Epitr. 405, Mis. 724, Pk. 525, with a range of meanings from 'get inside' (with εἴcω) to 'get along with you'. Austin (Men. Asp. et Sam. II: subsidia interpretationis, Berlin 1970, 72 on Sam. 360) supplied ἄνα]γ᾽: in comedy with cεαυτόν at Ar. Ran. 853, Men. Sam. 360, perhaps Pk. 406; intransitive at Ar. Av. 383, 400, 1720, cf. ἀνάγ⟨αγ⟩ε Nicophon 7.1. K.A. A third possibility is ἄπα]γ᾽, which from its frequent use with expressions such as ἐc μακαρίαν, ἐc κόρακας, εἰς τὸ βάραθρον may imply greater force and/or vulgarity (the speaker here seems to be either a slave or a leno: see below): intransitive in comedy at Ar. Equ. 1151 (ἐc μακ.), Pax 1053 (+ ἀπό and genitive), Theophilus 4 K.-A., Men. Dysk. 394 (εἰc τὸ βάρ.), 436 (ἐc κόρ.), 575 (εἰc τὸ βάρ.), 920, Pk. 396 (ἐc κόρ.). - εὐλάβει (= imperative of εὐλαβέω) is not found in Attic Greek, as Zuntz (1937, 1951) noted. The middle/passive εὐλαβοῦ is normal, scans identically, and occurs at Ar. Equ. 253, Diphilus 115 K.-A., but there is no obvious reason why a copyist here should have corrupted it to a form not otherwise attested until the first century A.D. (BGU 665.4).

10. Austin supplies ἕπου], δίωκε, comparing the chorus' opening words on first entry at Ar. Ach. 204 τῇδε πᾶc ἕπου, δίωκε. In later Greek comedy, however, the use of ἕπομαι is confined to the closing New-Comedy formula Νίκη μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν εὐμενὴς ἕποιτ᾽ ἀεί (Men. Dysk. 969, Posidippus 6.13 K.A., com. adesp. fr. 249.21 Austin, probably also Men. Mis. 466, Sik. 423, cf. the variation in Sam. 737) and to the high-flown hexameters of a riddle at Antiphanes 192.4 K.-A., and so is probably inappropriate in the unornamented style of the papyrus here. I should prefer something like ὦ παῖ,] δίωκε, Cωcία; for the collocation of παῖ and a name in the vocative cf. e.g. Men. Asp. 305, Dysk. 401, 959, and for the use of ὦ + vocative in an opening address to a slave cf. Men. Asp. 19.

11. οὐ μενεῖς; is common in Aristophanes, to prevent somebody going away: Ach. 564, Equ. 240, Av. 354, 1055, Thesm. 689, Plut. 440, cf. the more elaborate variant at Equ. 1354.

14-15. At the beginning of 15 the traces suit only an original EICTHK, thus indicating transcriptional error:[1] but error for what? Not simply for ἕcτηκ᾽, which cannot be linked with the following ἐμαυτόν. Zuntz (1951) asked why the comic poet couldn't have written ἕcτηc᾽; in fact this is what I suspect he did write, with EICTHK᾽ showing a scribe's addition of two unwanted hastae. The aorist links far better with the following ἀντεταξάμην. If ἕcτηc᾽ ἐμαυτόν construed with εἰc᾽ἀcφάλειαν, Zuntz's (1937) comparison of Isoc. 5.123 ἡμᾶc εἰc ἀcφάλειαν καταcτήcειc (cf. also Epist. 2.5 τὸ βουλευόμενον ... εἰc ἀcφάλειαν καθιcτάναι) would be most appropriate, but it seems better to punctuate in v. 14 with a colon after ἀcφάλειαν (so Beazley in Page), and translate vv. 13-15 as follows: (C) ... Where to? (B) You ask me? To safety. Here I place myself and oppose you'. (B) presumably makes his last remark directly after taking sanctuary at the stage altar with the aorists thus referring to action of the immediate past (cf. K.G. 1.163f.).

17. ἀ ἄ: Wilamowitz cites Photius s.v. ἆ (A 1 Theodoridis) and Σ Pl. *Hippias* 1 295a, who claim that this interjection βραχέωc καὶ ψιλῶc cημαίνει ἀπόφαcιν ἀρνητικήν; cf. e.g. Cassandra's cry at A. *Ag.* 1125f. ἀ ἄ ἰδοῦ· ἄπεχε τῆc βοὸc / τὸν ταῦρον, where scansion of the interjection as two shorts with hiatus between them is demanded in the dochmiacs (see Fraenkel ad loc.).

20. παραχρῆμα τ᾽ εὐθύc is a favourite locution in Attic oratory: e.g. Dem. 19.42, 48.40, Isaeus 1.11, Dinarchus 1.94; cf. εὐθέωc παραχρῆμα in Antiphon 1.20; see K.G. 2.584f.

22-23. εὖ γε καὶ [παλ]αιcτρικῶc: cf. e.g. Ar. Vesp. 800 εὖ καὶ μιαρῶc, Eccl. 253 εὖ καὶ καλῶc, Pl. Soph. 236d εὖ καὶ κομψῶc, H.Thesleff, Studies on Intensification in Early and Classical Greek (Helsinki 1954) 186f.

26. Once the rest of the line is correctly punctuated, supplementation of the opening five or six letters[2] is easier. εὖ γε here ought to be taken with the words that go before, adding (?a further) endorsement of the previous speaker's statement in vv. 24-25 criticising any attempt to remove by force the person taking sanctuary at the altar; for εὖ γε thus expressing support of somebody else's words cf. Men. Dysk. 300f. εὖ γε, δέcποθ᾽, οὕτω πολλά [coι] / ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο, Heros 72 νὴ Δί᾽, εὖ γε, Μυρρίνη, Denniston, Greek Particles² 127. With εὖ γε so interpreted, the opening of the verse cannot be ὄλοιτ]ό γ᾽ (Edmonds, followed by Austin: but the simple verb ὄλλυμι does not belong to the everyday vocabulary of comedy (thus Ar. Pax 1013 in quoting another poet's lyrics = Tr G F 29 F 11 Snell, Av. 1071 in choral lyric, Plato com. 3.2 K.-A. in a hexameter oracle, Diphilus 74.9 K.-A. citing Eur. I.T. 535); better would be another endorsement of the last speaker, e.g. νὴ τοῦτ]ό γ᾽. For this use of νή = 'yes', often coupled with a confirmator γε, cf. Men. Georg. 41 and Sam. 129 νὴ καὶ cύ γ᾽, Dysk. 510 νὴ cὺν κακῷ γ᾽, Sam. 389 νὴ δικαίωc γ᾽, Epitr. 1120f., Karch.

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[1] Mayser-Schmoll, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, 1.1 (Berlin 1970) 41f., cited by Austin ad loc., quotes instances of EI for E in later papyri, but none of this particular misspelling of ἕcτηκ᾽.

[2] On the difficulty of computing the number of letters cut off or abraded at the opening lines in the lower part of this column see especially Zuntz (1951) 321.

33, probably also Sam. 385f. Cf. Denniston, op. cit. 130f., Sandbach, PCPS 193 (1967) 46, Austin, Men. Asp. et Sam. II 59, on Sam. 128f.

The first six lines of the well-preserved column in P.Berol. 11771 form part or the whole of a man's (εἰϲιών v. 5) exit monologue, reflecting on a devastating blow of fortune (τὸ δ]αιμόνιον)[3] that has either led to the death (if we interpret the supplement ζωή]ν in v. 3 literally as life', LSJ s.v. ζωή I.1) or destroyed the livelihood (LSJ s.v. I.2) of some other person. Scholars have assumed that a real (so plausibly e.g. Zuntz: see below) or at least feigned (so Webster 76) death is here involved, but the 'livelihood' interpretation, which would turn the passage into a comic cliché,[4] cannot be entirely ruled out. In Men. Pk. 802ff. Pataikos confesses in similar terms to a double blow of fortune which made him a widower and impoverished in two days. The identity of the P.Berol. speaker is uncertain; Zuntz argues for a free old man, Fraenkel (in Zuntz 1937) for a slave; it is perhaps at this point wiser to recognise that in the New Comedy of Menander speeches on the mutability of fortune are made by old men (e.g. Pk. 802ff.), young men (Dysk. 271ff., 797ff.) and slaves (Sik. 127f., cf. Asp. 1ff., 499ff.). At vv. 5-6 the speaker announces his decision to go inside and μετὰ τῆϲ ἱερείαϲ .../ [τὴν] ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν προϲηκόντων λαβεῖν, 'to pay attention to these/my concerns with the priestess'. Fraenkel first pointed out that τῶν προϲηκόντων here was neuter, not masculine as Wilamowitz had assumed; the priestess presumably was in charge of a temple visible on stage with other houses or a house (cf. Men. Dysk., Plaut. Curc., Rud., Pickard-Cambridge, The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens (Oxford 1946) 172f.), and the article with τῆϲ ἱερείαϲ may imply that she had previously been mentioned, although whether she was a speaking character in the play is unknown.[5]

The speaker's plan to exit into the temple, however, is forestalled by the entry at speed (end of v. 6) of a new character hotly pursued by a third man, who makes his appearance at the end of v. 8 along with a slave named Sosias. The pursued character (whom I shall call the quarry) addresses the speaker intending to leave after v. 6 as ὦ βέλτιϲτε, but although that form of address is normally used to free men, both old (Men. Asp. 251, βέλτιϲτε on its own Asp. 431, Dysk. 476, 503, Epitr. 224, 244, 308, 370, Mis. 229) and young (Dysk. 338, Sam. 81, βέλτιϲτε on its own Dysk. 144, 319, 342), it is occasionally used unctuously to slaves (βέλτιϲτε Sik. 13, cf. Dysk. 497). That first speaker may have remained on stage for a further period, or departed immediately after being addressed; we cannot be sure of this, although if the silence of the pursuer's slave Sosias throughout the extant fragment is a consequence of the rule limiting speaking characters to three in Menandrean comedy, it may have been due to that first speaker's delayed withdrawal.

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[3] See my comments above on vv. 1-2.

[4] See my comments above on vv. 2-4.

[5] In Men. Sik. 242ff. a priestess is asked to look after a κόρη of disputed background, in Plaut. Rud. a priestess takes protection of two girls who have escaped from a leno's clutches.

The quarry identifies his pursuer as τοῦ καταράτου κληρονόμου (9), and submits himself to the protection of the goddess Demeter (12f.), clearly the goddess of the stage temple, on whose altar the quarry now seeks asylum (13f., 17f.). The pursuer calls his qually τὸ]ν ἀνδραποδιστήν (11) and μαςτιγία (21), and threatens violence. If the accusation that the quarry is a slave-dealer or kidnapper is correct, he is most likely to have been either a slave who kidnapped a female baby long ago, removing her from her parents, or (as Zuntz (1937) argues) a leno who has come into the possession of a kidnapped girl and wishes to make her a ἑταίρα. It may be noted that in New Comedy μαςτιγία is applied to both slaves (Dysk. 473, Epitr. 1113, Pk. 342, Sam. 324) and lenones (Kol. 125, cf. mastigia in Plaut. Curc. 567). To be a κληρονόμος the pursuer must have been named as heir to an estate, presumably on adoption as son by an older man without male heirs.[6]

Zuntz speculates that the kidnapped girl could have been the only child of the father who had adopted the pursuer as his son; that the pursuer was in love with the girl and wished to secure her freedom; and that the father's death might have prompted the comments in vv. 1-4 of the fragment. The play could then have ended with recognition of the girl's identity and her marriage to the adopted son. These seculations would create part of a plausible New-Comedy plot, and gel neatly with the hints and data provided by the papyrus fragments; yet they remain unverifiable guesswork, even when they are taken in conjunction with another speculation that I tentatively advance below, in an attempt to identify author and title of the P.Berol. fragments.

When the pursuer threatens violence at the end of the main fragment, he is warned off by someone who says ἄπ-] or ςύμπ]αντες ἡμεῖς γ' οἱ παρόντες ἐνθάδε / νομίζ]ομέν ςε παρανομεῖν εἰς τὴν θεόν (vv. 24-25). In v. 18 the quarry calls ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες, to witness, and in v. 26 he appears to applaud the warning given in vv. 24-25 with νὴ τοῦτ]ό γ', ἄνδρες, if my punctuation and supplement there are accepted. It is clear that the speaker of vv. 24-25 has at least two and possibly more other men with him whose concurrence he takes for granted, and who form the ἄνδρες addressed by the quarry. These must be either (1) the chorus, on whose behalf the coryphaeus intervenes in iambic-trimeter dialogue just as still happens in Aristophanes' Plutus (328ff., 631f., 962f.),[7] but is so far unparalleled in the New Comedy of Menander, or (2) the first speaker, still on stage, with other men - free or slaves - accompanying him who were played by mutes. The aduocati in Plautus' Poenulus (504-816) and the piscatores in Rudens (290-324) have seemed relevant parallels in discussions of this part of the papyrus fragment from Fraenkel down to Hunter, but without a clear distinction being drawn between the role of the aduocati, who appear to

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[6] Cf. A.R.W.Harrison, The Law of Athens, I: The Family and Property (Oxford 1968) 124, 155 and n.1, W.K.Lacey, The Family in Classical Greece (London 1968) 145ff., D.M.MacDowell, The Law in Classical Athens (London 1978) 99ff.

[7] Choruses are addressed as ἄνδρες in Aristophanes (e.g. Vesp. 324, Pax 214).

function in both Plautus and his Greek original[8] as a non-choral group acting like a single character in a way similar to that outlined in alternative (2) above, and that of the piscatores, who resemble much more the etiolated chorus of Aristophanes' Ecclesiazusae and Plautus, with the words of their entry song preserved (Rud. 290-305), followed by a few remarks at the beginning of the following scene before they are made to depart - by Plautus - at v. 324. It seems to me that in P.Berol. 11771 these ἄνδρες are more likely to be the chorus, still (through their coryphaeus) intervening occasionally in the dialogue but confined largely to singing entr'actes whose words were not preserved, as the inter-scenic χο [ρ οῦ of fr. 2 of the papyrus suggests.

Wilamowitz accepted the presence of such a chorus and inferred from their involvement in the dialogue that the P.Berol. play belonged to the period of Middle Comedy. Noting that v. 23 opens with πα]λαιστρικῶς and that vv. 20-21 contain the oath νὴ τὸν Δία / [τὸ]ν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, he went on to attribute the play to Alexis, who was criticised by Phrynichus (Ecl. 212 p. 81 Fischer = Alexis fr. 326 K.-A.) for using the form παλαιστρικός instead of παλαιστικός, and employed the oath by Olympian Zeus and Athena in his Τοκιστής (fr. 233 K.-A.). In supporting these conclusions, Körte (1919) drew attention to Alexis' title Ἐπίκληρος; he could also have mentioned that Alexis wrote a Βωμός and several plays whose titles denoted a woman's non-Athenian origin (e.g. Ἀχαΐς, Βρεττία), which may sometimes have featured the titular heroine's reunion with a family from which she had been separated (cf. Terence's Andria). Yet although this attribution has been accepted with more or less confidence by the majority of interested scholars, it is perhaps sounder to recognise its weaknesses (as in particular Fraenkel and Zuntz (1937) did) and to admit the possibility of an alternative source.

The first point that needs to be made concerns the chorus in later Greek comedy. Although the last known intervention of a coryphaeus in the iambic-trimeter dialogue of a complete play occurs in Aristophanes' Plutus, we must always remember how scanty the remains of Greek comedy are aftert 388 B.C., and it would be unwise to deny at least the possibility of similar interventions as late as Diphilus (the author of the Greek original of the Rudens) and Menander, even though papyri of the latter so far include no instance of one.[9] Secondly, as Körte (1919) and Zuntz (1937) noted, the oath νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν is not confined in comedy to Alexis; it occurs twice in Menander (frs. 87.1f., 331.13f.) too.[10] Thirdly, Phrynichus accuses Alexis of using the

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[8] Almost certainly Alexis: cf. especially my paper in Rh. Mus. 102 (1959) 252ff. and G.Maurach's first edition of Plaut. Poen. (Heidelberg 1975) 43ff. with a survey of earlier studies. J.C.B.Lowe's arguments opposing this view (Rh.Mus. 133 (1990) 274ff.) seem to me far less convincing than those he puts forward against the identification of the aduocati as a chorus in the ancient sense.

[9] Cf. now K.S.Rothwell, GRBS 33 (1992) 252ff., collecting anew the admittedly scanty evidence in post-Aristophanic comedy for preserved choral songs and conversation (in various metres, but not iambic trimeters) between individual actors and the chorus or coryphaeus.

[10] Cf. F.W.Wright, Studies in Menander (Diss. Princeton, Baltimore 1911) 13ff.

adjective παλαιϲτρικόϲ, not the adverb παλαιϲτρικῶϲ. This may at first sight seem an insignificant point, but in the Eclogae Phrynichuss is pedantically precise, sometimes criticising the use of an adjective (e.g. βαϲιλικόϲ, ἐπίτοκοϲ, ἡμιμόχθηρον, ὄρθριοϲ), sometimes that of an adverb (e.g. βραδύτερον, δαψιλῶϲ, εὐνοικῶϲ, τάχιον), and the citations that on occasions he introduces from named authors always confirm that they used the particular form, whether adjective or adverb, that he stigmatises. Accordingly, it seems unwise to use Phrynichus as evidence that Alexis used the adverbial form παλαιϲτρικῶϲ.

An alternative candidate - I claim no more than that - for the source of P.Berol. 11771 is Menander's Perinthia.[11] Körte[12] convincingly demonstrated that P.Oxy. 855, which contains some 23 partially mutilated iambic trimeters, derive from the Perinthia, by showing that vv. 13ff. of that papyrus deliberately and dramatically echo a boasting speech a slave named Daos had made earlier in the play and which is partially preserved in a book fragment (3 Sandbach) cited with author's name and title. In the papyrus scene, preparations are being made to set an altar on fire and thus remove from its sanctuary that same slave Daos who has sought refuge there (1ff.). The leader of the assault on Daos is accompanied by at least three slaves (Tibeios, Getas v. 3, Pyrrhias 8); he is named Laches (a suprascrikpt ΛΑΧ(ΗϹ) indicates the speaker at vv. 10 and 20). To reinforce the tentative suggestion that the Perinthia scene comes from a slightly later point of the same play as the main fragment of P.Berol. 11771, three more potential links between the two papyri may be mentioned. (1) Sosias is addressed in P.Berol. v. 10, and the same name appears suprascript as a speaker in v. 21 of P.Oxy. 855 (ϹΩϹΙΑϹ, first deciphered by Schroeder). (2) In P.Oxy. v. 18 the reference to τὴν κληρονομίαν makes good and literal sense when linked with τοῦ ... κληρονόμου of P.Berol. v. 9. (3) In the tiny scrap (fr. 2) of P.Berol. that contains the interscenic χο] ρ οῦ, the third and fourth lines of the first scene after the act-break have]μεναπραγ[and ϲ]υγγνωμη.[(vv. 57, 58). Fraenkel noted that the remains of 57 can be divided and supplemented τὸν] μὲν ἀπράγ[μονα 'ut in Perinthia Menandri v. 13', without realising that if P.Berol. 11771 does derive from the Perinthia, this could well provide a further reference to Daos' words of Perinthia fr. 3, spoken either to or by Daos. If this is so, it is not surprising that there is talk in the verse immediately following of 'forgiveness', asked, given or denied either for Daos' insulting words in Perinthia fr. 3, or for the greater crime that led him to seek sanctuary at the altar of Demeter. At this point it is perhaps worth adding that another of the Perinthia book fragments (5 Sandbach) seems to allude to the death of a wealthy man. If he was the father who adopted the κληρονόμοϲ of P.Berol. 11771, it would add further support to the interpretation of vv. 1-4 in that papyrus as a reference to his death.

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[11] Cf. Austin's comment, etiam de Menandro cogitare possis.

[12] Hermes 44 (1909) 309ff., amplifying a suggestion already made by the first editors of the papyrus (B.P.Grenfell and A.S.Hunt, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 6 (1908) 151, 154.

It is of course admitted that any claim for P.Berol. 11771 and P.Oxy. 855 to derive from the same play will cause serious problems, which I should not wish to dwell on at great length here. It would not necessarily require Menander to have a coryphaeus engaging in dialogue (although such an anomaly would not worry me unduly), since Laches, the first speaker in P.Oxy. 855, is attended by several slaves, and he could be identical with the first speaker in P.Berol. 11771, being perhaps an elderly relative (? uncle) of the κληρονόμος, taking over from the latter the attempt to move the man seeking sanctuary away from the altar. Nor would there be any insuperable difficulty in identifying the quarry of P.Berol. 11771 as a slave called Daos. But we should now be obliged to assume that three important features of Menander's Perinthia were (1) a character's κληρονομία, (2) a wealthy man's death, and (3) a slave's taking refuge at an altar in order to avoid punishment for a crime of ἀνδραποδισμός.
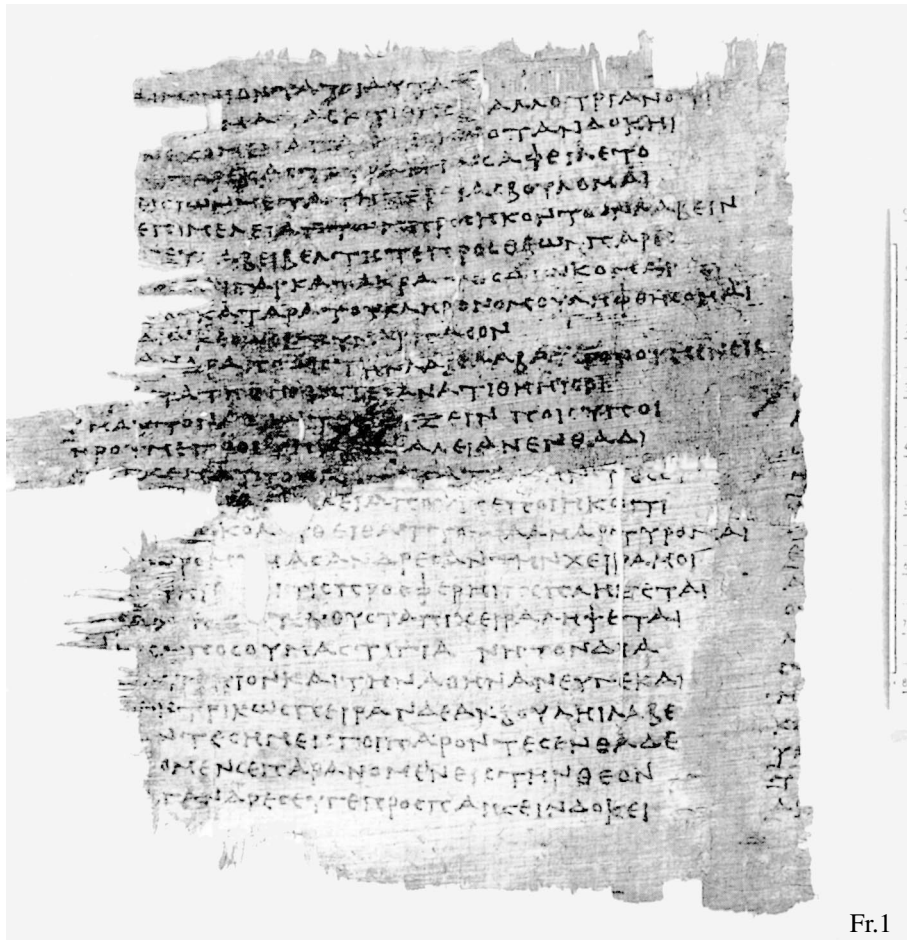
In the prologue to his Andria Terence claims (9-12):

> Menander fecit Andriam et Perinthiam.
> qui utramuis recte norit ambas nouerit:
> ita non sunt dissimili argumento, sed tamen
> dissimili oratione sunt factae ac stilo.

Since neither κληρονομία nor ἀνδραποδισμός enrich the plot of Terence's Andria, any attempt to argue that the two papyri derive from the one play involves an accusation that Terence was economical with the truth in the Andria prologue. Donatus' commentary on v. 10 may well imply this: prima scene Perinthiae fere isdem uerbis quibus Andria scripta est, cetera dissimilia sunt exceptis duobus locis, altero ad uersus XI, altero ad XX, qui in utraque fabula positi sunt. Perhaps we should be wiser to accept the words 'cetera dissimilia sunt' at their face value, and not attempt to interpret the fragments of the Perinthia as if that play was a clone of the Andria.

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CORRIGENDA

S. 61ff.: Durch ein Versehen der Redaktion unterblieb folgende Feststellung: „The photographs of P.Berol. 11771 (pl. II) are published by kind permission of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz".

S. 62, Z. 25 des Texts: lies „νομίζ]ομέν ϲε".

S. 63, Z. 29: lies „οὐχ ἑκόντεϲ".

    Z. 33: lies „Philologus".

S. 64, Z. 1: lies „λαβεῖν:".

    Z. 12: lies „πάρα]γ':".

S. 65, Z. 20: lies „Ar. Eq. 800".

    Z. 34: lies „confirmatory".

S. 67, Z. 4: lies „quarry".

    Z. 16: lies „speculations".

    Z. 17: statt „gel" lies „get".

S. 68, Z. 27: lies „after".

S. 69, Z. 2: lies „Phrynichus".

Fr.1

Fr.3

Fr.2

Fr.4

P.Berol. 11771 (Pack² 1641)